Understanding attitudes relating to regional drinking practices: An analysis of post mining communities in Doncaster

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Copyright statement

Dedications and acknowledgements

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Abstract

Drinking practices across Britain are not uniform and in each locality reflect the historical, socio-economic and cultural context unique to each specific part of the country. In South Yorkshire, the drinking cultures that exist in the area reflect the industrial heritage of the area, particularly the steel, rail and coal industries. The decline of traditional industries across Britain has had a significant impact on these drinking practices as Britain has transitioned from having an economy dominated by heavy industry to a post-industrial economy defined by Neoliberalism. The decline of the coal industry in Doncaster in particular has had a significant impact on the general everyday lives of people in communities that once had economies centred around the coal industry. This impact is reflected in the changes to drinking cultures.

This study focuses specifically on two post-mining communities in the Doncaster Borough (Rossington and Denaby Main and Mexborough), which have faced significant change in the socioeconomic landscape due to the decline and eventual loss of the mining industry. Post-mining communities have been subject to significant study and analysis from an economic regeneration aspect, but there was an identified gap in literature regarding research that specifically focuses on drinking practices in these areas.

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, the research utilised a constructivist grounded theory methodological approach, as gaining intimate familiarity with the research topic was of high importance, due to criticisms of past research having the preconceived notions or specific interests being imposed on them by the researcher. The grounded theory methodology was initially chosen due to the advantages it has when conducting research on under-researched topics such as attitudes to alcohol in post-mining communities. Twenty-four participants (five from Denaby Main and Mexborough and twenty-one from Rossington) were questioned about their attitudes to alcohol in semi-structured interviews in the case study areas.

This study made significant use of reflexivity as a methodological tool to put to the forefront the complexities of conducting qualitative research. This became particularly important in documenting the impact of the political context at the time and how this may have impacted on how the participants engaged with the researcher (the Brexit campaign, Brexit Referendum and the post-referendum period).

The research revealed that in both case study areas economic and cultural identities of the past have had a significant influence in shaping drinking practices. Drinking practices in the post-mining period have formed as a result to adapting to endogenous influences that have drastically changed the economy in the two areas. Whilst endogenous traditions such as maintaining closely-knit ties and respectability and sociability were emphasised by participants to have been maintained, the function of drinking associated with the mining industry (such as recovery) and institutions with links to the industry had declined. This decline in both the function of drinking and of institutions such as pubs and clubs had faced decline due to changing local socioeconomic context. Exogenous influences such as large supermarkets, an increasing presence in both areas from national off-licence franchises and increasing opportunities to engage in privatised leisure significantly influenced the strategies that participants used to adapt to post-industrial Doncaster.

The study contributes to knowledge in this area by contributing knowledge of localised drinking practices within a post-mining context in South Yorkshire although a gap may still remain for future research regarding research into drinking practices in post-mining communities. The research emphasises the need for researchers and policy makers that engage in future research in communities similar to the two case study areas to engage in reflexive practice, specifically in the current political context.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis focuses on how attitudes to alcohol are formed in the context of individuals from post-mining communities in the Doncaster borough. The stimulus for this study was an informal analysis and reflection of cultural differences regarding differences in alcohol consumption though my own experience as a Youth Worker in Kirklees and in the Doncaster borough; the two having significant differences regardless of them both being boroughs with industrial backgrounds.

This first chapter of the study introduces the context of the research, outlines the stimulus of the research; outlining my interest in the chosen field of research, a brief history of my career, and the influences of my education and practice. This introduction serves the purpose of locating this study within the context of changing consumption landscapes in Britain. This chapter will also aim to determine the boundaries of the research before outlining the structure of the thesis by providing an overview of the chapters.

1.2 Background

In countries across the world alcohol is amongst one of major consumed recreational psychoactive drugs (Baer, Singer & Susser, 2003; Plant, Single & Stockwell, 1997). It is one of the drugs that have the longest history of consumption by human beings. All societies that consume alcohol invest specific cultural meanings and emotions to the practice and there are significant cross-cultural differences in alcohol related behaviours and attitudes (Baer, Singer & Susser, 2003). This is true in the context of alcohol in British society as the establishment of the consumption of alcoholic drinks in Britain, such as beer, cider and imported European wine predates the Roman Conquest of Britain in 43 AD (Plant & Plant, 2006).

It is widely agreed amongst alcohol researchers that the effects of alcohol on individual behaviours are related to different cultural beliefs and also social norms regarding alcohol as opposed to the chemical actions of ethanol (The Social Issues Research Centre, 1998). Diverse and heterogeneous political, economic, social, cultural and spatial

practices and processes all having an influence on drinking cultures (Jayne, Holloway & Valentine, 2006). Throughout history however there have been shifts in British society regarding attitudes towards alcohol. Most notably, the shift from pre-industrial British attitude that alcohol was a beneficial substance to the mid-nineteenth century when the dominant attitude was that alcohol was a substance that causes social problems (Dingwall, 2006).

Britain does not have a uniform drinking culture, but instead drinking cultures that are determined by the historical, socio-economic and cultural contexts of the area (Holloway, Valentine & Jayne, 2012). Traditionally working class localities however have seen a drastic change in the drinking landscapes due to socioeconomic factors, such as the decline of traditionally male industries like coal and steel and with drinking cultures transforming, with a general shift from an economy reliant on production to an economy centred around consumption. The context of working class communities' drinking behaviours have changed to reflect socioeconomic, political and cultural factors and conditions that these communities experience; the demands of the workplace being a key factor (Baer, Singer & Susser, 2003; Winlow & Hall, 2006). Declining industrial employment during the 1980s and 1990s has had a profound effect on communities in the UK; an era of rapid social fragmentation that changed the function leisure served for the economy (Winlow & Hall, 2006).

Regional variations are reflected in statistics that emphasise 'public health' concerns regarding alcohol consumption. In the '2009 Health Profile', all local authorities in Yorkshire and the Humber report statistics that are, 'significantly worse than the England average' for 'binge drinking adults', with Bradford as the only exception, reporting results 'not significantly different from the England Average' (APHO & Department of Health, 2010). Inequalities in the Yorkshire and Humber region are reported to be associated with deprivation and social class (Harker, 2012), though populations in North Yorkshire, York and East Riding report better health than the national average, whilst the population of

Doncaster was identified as one of the areas suffering from relatively worse health (APHO & Department of Health, 2010).

There have been various studies that have focused on how regional and local contexts have affected attitudes to alcohol in post-industrial areas in the north of England, though not in the context of post-mining communities. Holland's (1995) study in Newcastle focuses on how the Geordie identity constructed during the 'heyday' of industry in the area affected the drinking attitudes of students in Newcastle's drinking culture and the night time economy; selectively adapting historical images and traits and combining them with their own present experiences and realities whilst navigating conflict with the 'locals'. Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister and Winlow (2003) in their case study of Manchester's night time-economy describe the alcohol industry's presence as dating as far back as the development of the city itself; a population placing importance on leisure activities within the night time economy as a method of escapism from the poor conditions of the time. Valentine, Holloway, Jayne and Knell's (2007) research in Stoke on Trent and Cumbria identified differences between tolerance thresholds and behavioural expectations; drinking cultures in Stoke-on-Trent being more rooted in pottery industry practices and work patterns as opposed to drinking cultures in Eden which were historically moderated by individuals and close communities.

Post-mining communities have not had as much of a focus on them in research with regards to health research in general. They are localities that have experienced "the most contemporary example of social transformation in Britain since the Second World War" (Bennett, Benyon and Hudson, 2000, p.1). The loss of the coal industry in areas that relied on it left communities with immediate issues relating to health and wellbeing such as the decline in the environment, economic disadvantage, social deprivation and poor outcomes in health including outcomes relating to problematic drinking (Audit Commission, 2008). It can however be argued that the health aspect of regeneration has not been focused on as much as the economic aspect. Whilst economic regeneration is important, a focus on health is important as "social regeneration has been the least

successful component of regeneration in the coalfields" (Audit Commission, 2008, p.26). The report *A mine of Opportunities: Local authorities and the regeneration of the English coalfields* states that "services such as education, housing and public health were not viewed as components of regeneration to the same extent as land-use planning and economic development" (Audit Commission, 2008, p.69).

1.3 The stimulus of the study

This section serves to briefly explain the stimulus of the thesis; why I was initially interested in this particular topic and what motivated me to complete this research. I approach this study with both personal and professional motivations in order to understand more fully the attitudes to alcohol in post-mining communities, with a focus on the chosen case study areas within Doncaster. The professional stimulus of this particular study is rooted in my professional experience of the field of youth work and my experiences of conducting research for my dissertation for my undergraduate degree in Youth and Community Work.

Before my undergraduate studies at The University of Huddersfield, I was focused on gaining experience in the voluntary sector to help me decide what career path I may want to follow after studying for a foundation degree in Sound Engineering and Design at The University of Bolton, this youth work would eventually resulted in me gaining professional contacts at Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council [DMBC] and these contacts helped me secure a placement on DMBC's volunteer programme a youth worker from 2009 to 2010. This programme called V-Talent was introduced by the New Labour government to engage young people in volunteering. This was my first experience in the youth work sector. The area that I was based in was in the village which I lived in; at the youth centre in the village, which can be identified as a post-mining village. The issues that I was frequently faced with by members of the community were mainly related to alcohol consumption, specifically alcohol-related anti-social behaviour amongst young people in the area. I worked voluntarily in the youth work profession at a time when the local media and members of the community were actively voicing concerns regarding alcohol

related anti-social behaviour in the borough. In response to this the Local Authority [LA] with South Yorkshire Police emphasised the implementation of enforcement-based measures to reduce alcohol related anti-social behaviour in the borough. The interventions emphasised alcohol as a public order issue. Examples of these were implementing cumulative impact zones within the borough and conducting operations to reduce alcohol-related anti-social behaviour, such as Operation Alcohol; emphasising a 'crack down' on underage drinkers by being more active in confiscating alcohol and making test purchases in local shops, particularly in Doncaster town centre. The service I was based at worked face-to-face with young people in the community and focused on providing diversionary activities for young people. With a lack of research on my part, a lack of awareness of relevant academic theory and experience in the field I often found myself engaging with the prevailing discourse of colleagues in the organisation; which was the assumption that alcohol consumption amongst young people in the area is a social problem resulting in 'out of control young people' and that it is also increasingly becoming a public order issue in the area.

After my placement experience I was fortunate to have another opportunity to enter academic studies once again; securing funding for a first year of university studies from the V-Talent programme after my year of placement with DMBC. With an interest in attitudes to alcohol consumption sparked, I decided to pursue further studies in Youth and Community Work; seeking also status as a qualified Youth Worker. Throughout my undergraduate experience I had to go on placement which meant I gained a significant amount of voluntary work experience with Kirklees Council as a youth worker, which later would give me enough experience to secure paid employment as a youth worker, and I stayed in post until 2016. In line with requirements of my course, in 2013 I then returned to DMBC to do a year of placement. During my second time with this LA, I conducted research in a Doncaster post-mining village that involved interviewing young people about their drinking practices. This involved conducting both qualitative and quantitative research. I consider this period to have had a significant influence on my present research

as I gained more of an interest in more local issues. I found it particularly liberating to be able to engage in discussions with young people free from the pressure of having to talk about alcohol consumption from a public-order perspective; allowing me to gain an increased understanding of the role that alcohol plays in the lives of young people in the area. What I found particularly interesting was how young people would describe the drinking culture of their village and also of the borough in general, which made me compare this to the area to Kirklees which I was also working in as a Youth Worker; and I found interesting similarities and differences between the two, such as both populations in these communities viewed alcohol consumption amongst young people as an anti-social behavioural issue but the communities generally had differing attitudes to alcohol consumption. My insights gained from the undergraduate research made me realise that I have a lack of awareness of the attitudes to alcohol in these communities.

On completion of my undergraduate studies, I gained a scholarship from the University of Huddersfield and saw this as an opportunity to use my postgraduate studies to concentrate on increasing my own understanding of attitudes towards alcohol in post-industrial communities in the South Yorkshire area and also contribute new knowledge and understanding to the field of qualitative alcohol research. I felt this was a part of Britain that has been neglected with regards to qualitative alcohol research; a topic that warrants further exploration at a level that I was unable to engage in before due to the restrictions of studying at undergraduate level.   Initially, the research intended to generally focus on post-industrial communities in the South Yorkshire area (including the metropolitan boroughs Doncaster, Rotherham, Barnsley and Sheffield) but became much more focused on post-mining communities due to the diversity of each of the boroughs within the South Yorkshire area with regards to the dominant industries of the past.

1.4 Further situating myself within the study

This section serves to situate myself as a researcher by reflecting on my cultural background, thoughts, actions and assumptions; this section serving as part of the reflexive strategy. Whether or not the researcher is part of the researched and shares

experiences of the participants is important in the reflexive process (Berger, 2015). Charmaz (2014) argues that as a researcher it is my obligation to be reflexive; both the researcher and the participant bringing assumptions, possessing prior knowledge, occupying a status in society they live in and expressing views and performing actions that are influenced by their "purposes" (p.27). This is especially true regarding qualitative research elements of this research project which sees me (the researcher) engage with participants who live in post-mining communities and will possibly have diverse experiences of alcohol consumption in their communities. It is important that I am open with my own experiences and attitudes towards alcohol.

Pillow (2003) argues that researchers today have relatively more freedom to choose to research their own communities. In the context of my own research this freedom provided me the opportunity to conduct research that I feel passionate about in an area which I felt was under-researched. This however brings concerns regarding how my background and social world I inhabit will effect my practices, as Bourdieu (2003, p.282) warns against an "explosion of narcissism sometimes verging on exhibitionism". Being open about my own politics is important as they have the potential to shape the research. What generated my interest in studying attitudes to alcohol was my informal analysis of drinking behaviours and the drinking culture in Doncaster town centre; comparing these with the drinking behaviours and drinking culture in cities I lived in (Manchester and Leeds) during my two periods of undergraduate study.

I can identify myself as a long-term resident of a Doncaster post-mining community (outside of the case study areas that have been chosen). I was born in Doncaster in a poor single parent household and brought up in the community I presently live in from when I was a child. Due to living in the same borough as the potential participants I initially came to the assumption that I hold the role of the 'insider'. I also have two members of my family that worked in a colliery in the Doncaster area, which means I am entering the field with prior knowledge. I felt that this study of 'the familiar' offered me three advantages that are highlighted by Padgett (2008) and Kacen and Chaitin (2006):

an easier entry into the community being researched, a head start in the collection of knowledge regarding the subject and an understanding of the nuanced reactions of the participants. The 'insider' role in the context of research in mining communities is also an advantage as individuals in these communities that have been researched in the past have accused 'outsiders' (academics who are unfamiliar with these areas) of continually portraying mining communities and the people who live in them "all wrong" (Warwick & Littlejohn, p.33). In this sense I did not experience the barriers to gaining rapport and trust that someone from outside the area would. My accent is unambiguously local to the area and when my social dialect is taken into account can be associated with the working class.

I do however recognise that I can and have been in my experience of living in Doncaster still been seen as an outsider due to my racial and cultural background, perceived class and perceived level of masculinity. Despite the fact I am a working class male who is currently living within the Doncaster borough in a post-mining village possibly similar to the participants I identify myself as a minority, as I am a black male with an Afro-Caribbean background in an area that is predominantly white working-class statistically; 0.82 percent identify as black or black British whilst 96.33 percent identify as white (Doncaster Data Observatory, n.d.). This has led me in my own experience to be seen as an 'outsider' amongst many in my own community, which in the past I feel has been exacerbated by my introverted personality and distance I have unintentionally maintained though my lack of engagement and involvement in community activities and visits to social drinking spaces in the area such as pubs.

The action of drinking alcohol is something I can associate with but more specifically at family events. I was exposed to family members drinking alcohol throughout my childhood and adolescence; alcohol being seen as a substance that aids socialisation and helps ease tension. I can identify my drinking on certain occasions as 'carnivalesque'. This term is used as 'binge drinking' fails to capture the way in which drinking is understood and practiced; failing to capture they key role of sociability in the drinking experience. This

therefore like Haydock (2010) makes me sympathise with the motivations of those that are labelled binge drinkers. I have never really associated alcohol with drunkenness and do not associate drinking alone with negative drinking behaviours and attitudes.

Whilst the amount of alcohol I drank at occasions could be defined as 'binge drinking', there was always an element of self-control; maintaining elements of sociability and also self-control out of respect for the older generations of the family who have always been present at these occasions. Taking this into account, my engagement in 'carnivalesque' drinking has always been in the context of private 'parties' in the form of family occasions and special events with friends and family; the main focus of these events as well as socialising being on food, alcohol and music.

With regards to drinking in on-trade locations I enjoy drinking in moderation for the taste in relatively quieter and less 'carnivalesque' locations with friends and family in quieter on-trade locations. I do however often attend live music events and club nights in on-trade locations such as nightclubs and bars, though alcohol is used as an accompaniment to compliment the central experience which is the music. My preferred locations to drink are the more cosmopolitan drinking environments that are located in the city centres of Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield as I find them often to be more diverse with regards to the décor, the atmosphere, the music and the clientele; often varying with the type of bar. I also prefer to drink spirits, wines and cocktails and find that bars in the larger metropolitan areas cater to my preferences more. I seek new experiences with regards to alcohol, meaning I am slightly dismissive of the relatively more mainstream drinks.

Though I understand the appeal of the traditional pub, it is an environment that I have never actively sought to drink in; my lack of interest in real ale and the fact there is no emotional connection to these establishments exacerbating this. This is probably due to my upbringing and cultural background. Alcohol has always been associated from when I was a child with party and dance culture; as a compliment to the main experiences of food and music. There was never an event were alcohol was not accompanied by soul or reggae music. At parties as a child while the older members of my family would drink I would be

given the job of changing the records on the record player to keep me entertained. Though on a personal level I associate alcohol with mostly positive attributes I am aware of the existence of possible risks and consequences associated with hazardous alcohol consumption as from a young age (under five years old) I have experienced loss within the family related to alcoholism. My grandfather, who was an immigrant from Jamaica died from due to the effects of alcoholism in his old age in the early 1990s.

I recognise the privilege I have as a university graduate and a postgraduate researcher, which may see participants see me as a 'middle class academic' and also 'the expert', though I also recognise the dismissal that I may experience in the area, due to the attitudes to education that I may approach in the area. Johnson (1999) details on how attendance was improved at the local school I attended in Doncaster that serves the large post-mining community of Bentley. He describes a culture that devalues education as significant number of parents with negative attitudes towards education pass on their value system to their children. The potential uncomfortableness that people may have with me as an academic may potentially be a barrier. What attracted me to the grounded theory approach is the potential it has to allow me to reduce and address the assumptions I go into in the case study area with and provide an understanding of social phenomena that is grounded in the data collected from participants; giving the participants more of a voice.

Reflecting on my own inconsistent attitudes and experiences with alcohol in a community and family context have been significant influences on my viewpoint that there is no single drinking culture and the way that individuals form certain attitudes towards alcohol is a complex process with many influences. Reflecting on my own attitudes towards alcohol and on the influences that have determined them reminds me how challenging it possibly may be for participants to reflect on what has influenced how they view and consume alcohol. It also makes me realise the importance of taking other factors into account such as the racial and cultural backgrounds of individuals.

1.5 The case study areas: Defining the term 'pit villages'

The colliery villages that will be focused on are settlements that fit the criteria of "pit village". It is important to differentiate the different types of colliery settlements that exist in South Yorkshire as it can be identified that not all colliery settlements are the same; each having a different origin, design and were developed in either the nineteenth or twentieth century (Jones, 1999). Colliery villages throughout Doncaster and South Yorkshire's history have played an important role in shaping the landscape of these areas; these settlements being a defining feature of South Yorkshire for at least 200 years (Jones, 1999). These are communities that have seen change on a large scale. Some of South Yorkshire's mining communities do not exist anymore, though many of these communities still remain, though in most cases through regeneration efforts, newer buildings have replaced the old original buildings that once stood (Jones, 1999). One important determining factor on the characteristics of colliery villages was whether they were on either the concealed coalfield or the exposed coalfield. The concealed coalfield had deeper shafts which meant coal was buried deeper below the surface and as a result were only sunken towards the end of the nineteenth century as technological advancements allowed the colliery companies to do so and also that areas had to remain as distant from each other as possible to avoid merging into each other (Jones, 1999).

In this research Jones's (1999), definitions of five basic types of colliery settlements which identifies and defines five types of colliery settlements based on their size, shape, age of origin and internal design:

1. *Small colliery settlements, often in the form of a single or small number of terraced rows*

2. *Medium-sized colliery villages of nineteenth century origin… largely unplanned and away from existing villages*

3. *Large colliery settlements in the form of small towns, with no overall plan developed over a long period in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries around the cores of pre-existing villages (pp.123-124)*

4. *Large colliery settlements that grew up over a long period in the nineteenth century, often with no overall plan and built away from pre-existing villages*

5. *Large planned colliery villages, all on the concealed coalfield, all of early twentieth century origin.*

The Doncaster borough has Colliery settlements in it that could be defined as number three, four or five. Mexborough is defined as type three, a large colliery settlement in the form of a small town and Denaby Main is identified as type four, a large colliery settlement "that grew up over a long period" (Jones, 1999, pp.123-124). The majority of colliery settlements in the Doncaster however are on the concealed coalfield and can be defined as type five: "Large planned colliery villages, all on the concealed coalfield, all of early twentieth century origin" (Jones, 1999, p.124). Jones (1999) mentions villages all in the Doncaster borough such as New Edlington, New Rossington, New Bentley and Woodlands (Jones, 1999). Pit shafts in the area were much deeper and therefore designed to cover much larger areas, so settlements were separated from each other by a relatively larger distance; (Jones, 1999).

1.6 Defining the term 'Carnivalesque'

Throughout this thesis the term carnivalesque is used to describe certain drinking practices, specifically those that transgress everyday norms. The concept of the carnivalesque differentiates everyday drinking norms from drinking occasions where these norms have been altered. The carnivalesque refers to occasions "when everyday norms and conventions are set aside, and the world is – for a limited period only – turned inside out" (Haydock, 2015, p.1). The Carnival as Bakhtin (1984) identified is an occasion of ambivalence, which reflects the reality of past and contemporary drinking practices as these are not experienced with "celebration free from fear" (Haydock, 2016, p.1061).

The decision to use the term carnivalesque was based on the inadequacy of terms such as 'binge' drinking to convey the nature of specific drinking practices. The term 'binge

drinking' does not capture the experiences, understandings and emotions that individuals feel when engaging in drinking practices. The term simply implies a perceived excessive amount of alcohol consumed; what is defined as excessive dependent on the context. 'Binge drinking' and 'binge drinking culture' are concepts that are commonly referred to within the context of alcohol policy discussions and are often used to refer to an amount drunk or a specific drinking culture. However, as Berridge, Herring and Thom (2009) argue 'binge drinking' is a confusing concept as within policy and academic contexts it has been used to refer to a diverse range of drinking practices, from 'heavy' drinking sessions by individuals who have an alcohol addiction to individuals who drink over the daily recommended alcohol limit.

Prime Minister David Cameron's foreword to *The Government's Alcohol Strategy* (HM Government, 2012), whilst it does not condemn what is referred to as "responsible drinking" condemns 'binge drinking'; highlighting it is a "serious problem" (p.2). 'Binge drinking' is presented by The Government as not so much a problem that is rooted in a "problematic substance" being available, but instead a problem of "problematic individuals" consuming an excessive amount of a specific substance (Haydock, 2015, p.3). What is implied is that what exists in Britain is a culture of 'binge drinking'; this placing emphasis on the existence of a wider culture surrounding drunkenness generating "mayhem on" Britain's streets, spreading "fear" in communities, and wasting resources in Hospitals, particularly at night (HM Government, 2012, p.2). The idea of a time when it is acceptable to engage in 'anti-social behaviour' such as public drunkenness has immediate similarities with the concept of the carnivalesque.

Haydock's use of the term carnivalesque to describe specific drinking practices and cultures was based on Bakhtin's (1984) ideas of carnival, which describes the occasion as a period when "laws, prohibitions, and restrictions that determine the structure and order of ordinary, that is noncarnival, life, are suspended'' (p.122). What the term carnivalesque also achieves better than terms such as 'binge drinking' is conveying how places such as

pubs and clubs in a neoliberal economy cultivate an image of fun and escapism from everyday norms. For Haydock's (2016) participants the carnival was "a spectacle, with gendered and classed dynamics" (p.1066).

The term Carnivalesque is therefore for the purpose of this research used as it is a better concept to describe and understand specific drinking practices. It is a term that does not carry the negative connotations that the term 'binge drinking' has associated with it and recognises the "complexity and ambivalence" of contemporary British drinking cultures (Haydock, 2016, p.1066).

1.7 Thesis structure

What chapter one aimed to do was introduce the topic and give the necessary background knowledge regarding drinking practices within a national and regional context and introduce the topic of drinking practices within the modern post-industrial context; giving a short rationale of why this research will focus on post-mining communities. The terms 'pit village' and 'carnivalesque' were also defined. It has been emphasised that this research topic was approached with both personal and professional motivations to understand drinking practices within these particular communities; an interest in understanding drinking practices and cultures through experiences of drinking and experience working in the statutory youth sector whilst studying for a degree in Youth and Community Work being important stimuluses. As part of the reflexive strategy of the research project, the cultural background, thoughts, actions and assumptions of the researcher were also highlighted and analysed. What was found were inconsistent attitudes and experiences with alcohol, which further highlights that the formation of an individual's attitudes to alcohol is a complex process. What is particularly relevant is the fact that the researcher resides in the Borough that the case study areas are located in and also lives in a post-mining village similar to the areas that were studied. In the initial processes it felt as though as a researcher the case study area was being entered as an 'insider', though being of Afro Caribbean decent in a predominantly working-class white

community and engaging in what can be perceived to be different drinking practices to the majority of Doncaster's population arguably means having the status as 'outsider'. A higher education background and lack of engagement in localised drinking places also potentially inhibiting engagement with participants and effecting how the project is engaged with by the researcher, which is why a grounded theory approach was used.

In the following sections the study questions and aims and objectives of the research that underpin the research will be highlighted. The following chapter will reflect the importance of contextual factors of drinking practices within the case study areas. To successfully gain an understanding of drinking-practices in post-mining communities an understanding of the historical context both on a national and regional level is important.

The second chapter of the thesis will describe the historical context of post-mining communities from both a national and regional perspective; the main aim being to describe the extent of how the mining industry presence influenced past and present drinking practices in these areas. Using Bulmer's model of The Ideal Mining Community, which recognises eight 'typical' characteristics, the term 'traditional mining community' will be defined and also the limitations of the model with regards to describing the character of post-mining communities in particular; from gender relations to the emergence of a new youth culture during the 1970s. This chapter will focus on is the transition of these communities from the mining context to the current post-mining context. As the Miner's Strike of 1984-85 was a particularly significant period of history with regards to this transition, there will be a focus particularly on this. Waddington et al's (1991) model of *Tradition and change in mining communities* gives further detail how exogenous changes such as a change from an economy that relied primarily on heavy industry to a post-industrial service-based Neoliberal economy impacted on endogenous traditions of the mining community. This chapter explores previous literature on mining and post-mining communities and identifies a gap in knowledge regarding drinking practices in post-mining communities. Research into drinking practices within post-mining communities has been restricted by a disproportionate focus on class and economy and a problem oriented-

approach which has been concerned with reducing and treating problems related to 'problem drinking'. Romanticism is also argued to have been prevalent particularly in research focusing on post-industrial drinking cultures in city and town centre environments; emphasis on negative aspects of post-industrial drinking cultures reproducing myths and clichés regarding 'traditional working-class drinking' that as a result transform the miner into a mythical figure that never actually existed in real life. There is a significant gap in knowledge regarding research that has a focus on drinking practices in Doncaster's post-mining communities that doesn't approach the subject from a problem-oriented, public health perspective that also takes into account the importance of the historical context of these communities.

Chapter three goes further into detail regarding the historical context to situate the research, but focuses on the regional, boroughwide and local contexts. This chapter gives a general profile of the Doncaster Borough and the history of the coal industry in the area. This chapter emphasises is the uniqueness of the wider context of the Doncaster Borough due to the presence of the horse racing industry which has been present in Doncaster since the eighteenth century and has had a significant impact on the drinking culture in the area. This historical analysis identifies the transition of Doncaster from a market town, to a racing town and eventually to a town dominated by heavy industry; coal and the railway industry being the dominant two. As this research focuses heavily on an aspect of culture within a South Yorkshire post-industrial community (a post-mining area), I will highlight how culture within these post-industrial communities has often been portrayed; in particular how popular media and journalists have portrayed these communities as being 'relics of a bygone era' and in a process of renegotiation of their culture and customs within a post-industrial context; these areas commonly being characterised by loss and uncertainty. The local media narrative throughout history is also explored, this emphasising the importance of studies of drinking from a more local level as whilst the Doncaster town centre has throughout history been characterised by hedonistic drinking

practices, drinking practices in mining communities have been characterised by respectability.

Chapter four introduces Rossington and Denaby Main and Mexborough; the two case study areas that are focus of this research project. This chapter aims to provide the contextual knowledge that is necessary to understand the environment in which participants engage in drinking practices in. Each profile will consist of a short geographic portrait of the area describing its location and the historical context with a particular focus on the changing presence of industry in the area from the past to the present; the focus being on the process from being an area with a society centred around industry to the post-mining area characterised by loss and rapid change. A short account of demographic data will also be given for each area; each location characterised by being predominantly working-class and less racially diverse when compared to other locations within Yorkshire and the Humber.

Chapter five focuses on providing more detail regarding the research methodology. This analysis of the methodological process is split into a three-stage process: (1) the initial planning process, (2) the research methods employed and (3) the reality of the grounded theory approach. The grounded theoretical aspect of the research process proved to be the most challenging, so during the initial planning process Crotty's framework for research design was used to plan out and demystify the research process and gain a basic understanding of designing a qualitative study as a Postgraduate student who was new to conducting a study on this scale. What this chapter also states are the reasons behind this research project using Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory approach and not the traditional Glaserian and evolved Straussian approaches to grounded theory. One of the advantages of constructivist grounded theory is the emphasis on the importance the researcher having an awareness of their role in the construction of the collection, selection and interpretation of research data. What this chapter addresses is the centrality of Pillow's (2003) uncomfortable reflexive approach throughout the research project to

address criticisms of past research for lacking engagement in reflexive practice and not giving good representations of the pit villages that were the focus of their research.

The research findings will then be presented using two chapters. Chapter six will explore the Endogenous traditions and institutions (influences from inside the community) of the case study areas and chapter seven will go into detail regarding the exogenous changes (influences from outside of the community) that these communities have experienced. The endogenous traditions and institutions related to drinking practices in both case study areas for the participants were characterized by the centrality of the mining industry in both communities; work, family and community life all being interlinked (Rind & Jones, 2015). Highly present in these narratives of 'decline' is a sense of collective self as participants created a construction the area as a lost community in response to social change that they were faced with (Blokland, 2004).

In Chapter seven, the exogenous changes that participants highlighted will be discussed. Exogenous economic, cultural, political and ecological influences had a significant impact on the drinking practices of the participants. The decimation of the mining industry during the 1980s, particularly the 1984-85 Miner's Strike, was the event that acted as a divide between the past and the present; forced economic transition from a relatively self-sufficient economy to the area losing self-reliance and becoming a suburb of Doncaster town centre. Participants characterised the post-mining era with loss. Greater access to relatively cheaper alcohol in supermarkets and disillusionment with the post-industrial on-trade drinking cultures both in their case study areas and in Doncaster town centre facilitated the transition to engaging in more home-based drinking. The drinking practices of the participants were characterized by their individualist nature, though the participants emphasised a conservation of values associated with mining-era drinking practices, particularly the maintenance of closely-knit ties, respectability and sociability.

Finally, in chapter ten a summary of the main findings of the research will be presented as five key findings: an identification of an ongoing presence of parochialism in the case

study areas reflected in post-mining drinking practices, the emphasis on the Miner's Strike of 1984-85 as the divider between industrial and post-industrial drinking practices, an increasing home drinking in the case study areas, a stigma of identifying as a 'drinker' and a demonization of adolescent and youth drinking that was perceived to be a threat to endogenous traditions. As the methodological approach played a central role throughout the research process there will be a critical reflection regarding this and an identification of the main strengths and weaknesses of the research; the main contribution of this research being the in-depth analysis of drinking practices specifically in post-mining communities.

1.8 Study question and the aims and objectives of the research

1.8.1 Research Question

This research investigates drinking practices in two post-mining communities within the Doncaster area. What is argued is that pit-villages have undergone significant social transformation (Bennett, Benyon and Hudson, 2000) and have transitioned from having an economy and culture that is centred around mining to the post-industrial context which has significantly changed the role leisure plays in these areas.

During the time conducting this research, one question that has been frequently asked is 'what is your focus?' A question that has frequently followed this has been 'does this research focus on the problems of misuse within post-mining communities?' Discourses regarding the impact of decline in post-mining communities have had a predominant focus on socioeconomic aspects (Benyon, Hollywood & Hudson, 1999b) and when drinking practices in post-mining areas have been the subject of analyses they have often been from a public health perspective; this perspective having its focus on problematic aspects of drinking practices (Savic, Room, Mugavin, Pennay & Livingston, 2016). This approach doesn't address the scope of experiences of drinking in post-mining communities; therefore, missing an opportunity to represent the diversity of drinking practices in post-

mining communities and give visibility to those who consider themselves to engage in 'normal' drinking practices.

This stimulus to focus on aspects of drinking in mining communities besides problematic aspects led my initial question to be: what are the major influences behind drinking practices in post-mining communities in the Doncaster borough?

1.8.2 Research Aims

From initial interest in this area and engagement with literature, three aims for this study were developed. These aims developed through an interest in the study of drinking practices and recognising a gap in the literature regarding drinking practices specifically in post-mining communities. One important aim is determining whether the decline of the mining industry has influenced post-mining era drinking practices in the two case study areas of Rossington and Denaby Main and Mexborough. What will be investigated is whether area specific factors have impacted on drinking practices amongst the partcipants in the chosen pit villages (case study areas). The individual experiences and characteristics of drinking practices amongst long-term residents in the case study areas will also be considered; this being an important aspect of the primary research.

These aims will be achieved by conducting qualitative, semi-structured interviews to gain an insight into individual experiences of alcohol consumption in the case study areas. Whilst the primary research aspect of this study is of significant importance, what will also be engaged in is an analysis of the characteristics of each case study area using secondary data to gain an understanding of the context aspects of the drinking practices of the participants in the case study areas.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the literature that was identified to be relevant to the research. It was identified from review of the literature that there is a gap in knowledge regarding drinking practices in mining communities. Though Dennis et al. (1969), Waddington et al. (1991) Warwick and Littlejohn (1992) and Turner et al. (2000) have discussed drinking practices in mining communities, this was not the main focus of their study, thus drinking practices only got a brief mention; the economic consequences of the disappearance of the mining industry being the focus.

What this chapter aims to achieve is to demonstrate how the research compliments these studies and address the limitations of past research, particularly with regards to literature on drinking practices in metropolitan centres and problem-oriented alcohol research. What the chapter will address first is literature that focuses on historical and contextual factors so that the context that the drinking practices have formed in can be fully understood.

2.2 The historical background of mining communities

The mining industry has played an important role throughout British history. Coal during the industrial revolution was recognised as one of the core industries in Britain; the industry, along with other core industries in the country, emphasised Britain's status as being at the forefront in the industrial revolution and also global politics (Ebke, 2018). The coal industry supplied power to other industries. Dennis *et al*. (1969) referred to the West Yorkshire area to outline this point; the areas in the county known for textiles such as Huddersfield, Halifax and Bradford, relied heavily on the coal industry.

The coalfields were concentrated geographically in Central Scotland, South Wales, and in Northern England and the Midlands, specifically in areas such as the North East, Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire (Philips, 2018). Coalfield communities have in the past been characterised by their relative isolation, cohesiveness amongst those that lived in

these communities and dominance by one industry (Bulmer, 1975; Dennis *et al*., 1969; Strangleman, 2001; Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992). The areas that mining communities are situated in, have in most cases been farming villages before the mining industry; settlements were rapidly developed to situate a large workforce and their families (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992). Coal can only be extracted from where it is found and many coalfield communities are situated a relatively long distance away from major urban centres (Foden, Fothergill & Gore, 2014). Douglass (1990) likens pit villages to the towns of the wild west in America; in that they are relatively isolated communities.

Established landowning families were the main beneficiaries from the discovery of coal in what was to become 'coalfield areas' (Taylor, 2001). Further investment was also made in the infrastructure such as the railways and canals to allow for easier transport of coal; the profits from these investments allowed these families to live more affluent lives than that were employed in the collieries that they owned (Taylor, 2001).

Many of the workers in the mining industry came from different regions of the country and in some cases Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Although Jones (1999) identified five types of colliery settlements that geographically differed from each other, all colliery settlements have similarities, particularly when immigration patterns are considered. The coal mining industry in these areas was defined by the relatively rapid process of settlement building after the discovery and sinking of coal, rapid immigration followed due to the demand for large workforces to work at the colliery despite the precarious nature of the job. The area of Hemsworth in West Yorkshire is an example of an area heavily affected by immigration and this was linked to the colliery in the village, there was a large number of migrants that from South Staffordshire; thus "less than a third of miners" in the village were "likely to speak with a Yorkshire accent" (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992, p.51).

The experience of living and working in a pit village can be identified as taking the form of a "manifest community" (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992, p.17); the process of identities and

consciousness being formed that is different from others that are a part of the same society. Dual experiences are described by Warwick and Littlejohn (1992) as:

> *Hardness, ugliness and danger on one side, and friendliness, closeness and solidarity on the other* (p.17)

These experiences are influenced by the classed character of the areas and the social institutions within them and separateness from similar areas.

Lockwood (1975) defined the miner as the 'traditional proletarian'; the epitome of the traditional working-class worker. These traditional workers are defined by the high importance they place on occupational identity, their residence in a homogenous occupational community and strong affiliations to trade union activities (Strangleman, 2018). Community ties are also defined as being relatively strong in 'traditional' communities. Burrell (2017) defines the culture of these communities as being a shared culture based on the occupation of mining that places an importance on collectivism, trade unionism and interpersonal relationships that reflect the dangerous nature of the job of mining; watching "'each other's backs'" (p.456)

The leisure facilities that exist in mining communities reflect the importance these communities placed on maintaining community cohesion and ties between colleagues. The culture within them also reflected the insecurity and the fact that many of the people in the area shared the same job and therefore the same risks; mainly that of danger and financial insecurity. Dennis *et al*. (1969) use the word "frivolous" to describe this culture that operates on the attitude of "giving no thought for the morrow" (p.130).

Mine owners though, prior to the establishment of these areas, had a significant influence on the character and culture of these areas. This was due to the industry's early involvement in providing social and recreational facilities for the miners and their families that had migrated from other areas of the country. Douglass (1990) states that the mine

owners felt a need to provide these facilities due to the fears the owners of collieries had following the actual disorder caused by miners that was prevalent in seventeenth century mining areas. This also meant that mine owners, particularly in the South Yorkshire coalfield, ensured that provision was made in villages for the consumption of alcohol. As well as providing facilities where miners and their families could engage in alcohol consumption, mine owners provided a vast range of facilities for their employees, and Taylor (2001) stated this showed a significant degree of "moral responsibility for their workers" (p.15). The mining companies provided education, housing, medical aid and religious guidance (Taylor, 2001). The disadvantage to the miners of the mining company having a significant involvement in the lives was that the workers faced loss of everything provided by the company, for example, eviction from housing (Taylor, 2001) if they lost their job.

2.3 The Miner's Strike

Despite the existence of facilities for the benefit of miners and the relative loyalty miners had to the colliery they worked at, the mining industry throughout its existence faced significant conflict between worker and company. Major disputes include the 1926 general strike, the 1969 strike which stopped operation temporarily at 40 per cent of collieries in Britain and The Miners' Strike of 1984 to 1985 (Douglass, 1990). These events are all described by Douglass (1990) as being events when the colliery was the "chief battleground" of class warfare (p.5).

The success of the mining industry was threatened during the 1970s and 1980s largely due to the economic and political environment. During the period of nationalisation under the National Coal Board [NCB] the coal market faced significant decline as demand for coal changed and foreign coal became cheaper to import (Goodchild, 2001). An important factor of the decline of the coal industry was also the increasing amount of political prejudice aimed at it (Goodchild, 2001). What also happened during this period was rapid

modernisation and restructuring of British industries and employment practices (Samuel, 1986).

During the strike period existed a frequent interplay of "self-help, sociability, hardship and play" (Samuel, 1986, p.10). Places such as the Miners Welfare, an establishment associated commonly with drinking culture in these communities embodies this phenomenon. The organisation in these communities played a major role during the strike as a place that had multiple functions. As opposed to the National Union of Miners [NUM] headquarters in Sheffield, community places such as the Miners Welfare were seen as being at the centre of the strike for miners and their communities (Samuel, 1986). As Samuel (1986) states:

> *It was the daily port-of-call for the more active supporters of the strike… at lunch-time it was a gigantic communal restaurant. In the evenings, the venue of benefits, parties and 'dos'. Hardship cases were monitored there, strike relief paid out, emergency services maintained (p.10).*

The Miners' Strike is also seen as an occasion defined by intergenerational solidarity, which Samuel (1986) emphasises by the presence of young people during the strike in drinking and community places associated with traditional working-class male drinking. Temporarily bringing generations together from generation segregated drinking places; bringing young people "from heavy metal pubs and the discos to the picket line and the miners' welfare" (Samuel, 1986, p.30).

As a result of the defeat the miners faced during the 1984-85 Miners' Strike, control that people in mining communities had of their own areas can be seen to have been taken away; the process of community restructuring taken out of their control (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992). Samuel (1986) predicted that the closure of such a large employer and industry that has a significant influence on the community would have had negative consequences as "the closure of 'uneconomic' pits creates 'uneconomic' communities" (p.37).

The decline of the mining industry has shown as time progresses to have had significant long-term consequences; Strangleman (2001) stating that as a consequence "hundreds of occupational communities" across the country have been "wiped out" (p.253), though it can be seen that the pit villages themselves did not disappear, but instead entered slow decline with a slow exposure of the worst effects (Samuel, 1986). Large numbers of people that lived in pit villages relied on the mining industry as a source of employment and the local economies of these areas in general relied on the mining industry for survival, therefore economic capital in these communities significantly declined. The decline of the coalfields, as Bennett, Benyon and Hudson (2000) describe, is "a story of industrial change and it's social and spatial consequences" (p.1). Generally, throughout Britain after the Second World War, the social, political and industrial contexts have changed on such a rapid scale that the states of economy, politics and society that are central to the concept of Britishness do not resemble social realities of the 1990s and 2000s (Ebke, 2018). This phenomenon can arguably be seen to be reflected in the everyday lives of the people that live in post-mining communities.

Warwick and Littlejohn (1992) predicted in their study of four pit villages, that cultural capital as well as economic capital in these communities would fade away due to the mining industry providing employment and also a basis for political and social organisation. The mining industry in these areas, due to the long period it has existed in these communities, has had a major role in shaping the economies, landscape and culture (Foden, Fothergill & Gore, 2014). In a Sheffield Hallam University report (Foden, Fothergill & Gore, 2014) on economic and social impacts of the decline of mining across Britain, it was found that as a result of the colliery closures "43 per cent of all neighbourhoods in the coalfields fall into the worst 30 per cent in Britain, according to Indices of Deprivation" (p.6). This means that post-mining communities, despite being regarded in that past for their cohesiveness face social deprivation on a long-term scale when compared to other

areas in Britain and also a rapid change in the cultural landscape as institutions linked to the mining industry are eroded.

2.4 The ideal mining community and attitudes to alcohol

Industrial communities such as those associated with mining have a drinking culture unique to other areas. The industries of iron-making and coal mining in areas are stated by Basini (2005) as going "hand in hand" with the rapid consumption of beer amongst male workers, as employees would go into public houses after their work shifts, specifically to relax by consuming alcohol (p.30). Waddington *et al*. (2001) identified similarly the high value placed on alcohol by men in mining communities. Dennis et al. (1969) place emphasis on being able to handle drink as an important marker of masculinity and an important determinant of whether an individual would be accepted in a social circle:

> *This is not just a matter of different levels of culture and education; miners evaluate a man according to whether or not he is a 'good sport' and can take a drink with them, and he can soon join their group despite being a non-miner (p.212).*

Models have been attempted to be constructed to describe the ideal mining community and these can also be used to gain initial understandings of attitudes to alcohol from past studies in mining communities. One of the most prominent is Bulmer's (1975) model of the traditional mining community. Bulmer's model of the ideal mining community is inspired by Dennis *et al*'s (1969) classic study *Coal is our life* with its case study of the mining community of 'Ashton'. Bulmer's describes a community that looks inward with members that have little to no contact with people outside of it (Crow & Allan, 1994). It describes a community dominated by men where miners primarily engage in social activities outside of the domestic environment with colleagues in drinking places such as pubs, clubs and also outside of drinking contexts in sports groups (Waddington, Wykes & Critcher, 1991).

Bulmer's model of the traditional mining community consists of eight characteristics: (1) isolation physically and geographically; (2) dominance of the mining industry; (3) working conditions that promote pride and cohesion among miners; (4) a community consisting of one class with low social or geographic mobility; (5) miners engage in a majority of their social activities with each other; (6) the female's domain is domestic and maintain relationships with females in the community; (7) the existence of conflict and divisions between workers and employers which contributes to class solidarity on both sides (the existence of unions) with power in the favour of the employers; and (8) the formation of close-knit and connected collectivities that have a shared history and engage in social interaction confined to the area (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992). Turner (2000) identified the relative isolation of pit villages as contributing to a culture of parochialism, which he argues was endemic:

> *Parochialism was reflected in the lack of willingness to leave a locality and the inward-looking nature of the community, which looked to its own to socialise, to help when assistance was needed, to procreate. Sometimes its intensity was such that it might be difficult for outsiders to understand (pp.170-171).*

Turner (2000) emphasised the importance of understanding the parochial nature of social networks in mining communities to understand cultural practices in these areas. While parochialism was identified as limiting it provided assurance and security within the community. Within the context of drinking practices, Turner (2000) identified the phenomenon as assuring that people in community do not deviate from hegemonic drinking practices as to break social norms meant the loss of social networks in the community:

> *In a mining area, a transgression of a social norm became public knowledge… and, in the maintenance of social discipline, ostracism, too, would play its part. Anyone who broke the trust of the community norms might find that the community did not want to know him (p.221)*

Bulmer (1975) argued that this occupational community exists due to 'voluntaristic' reasons, rather than structural reasons. This reflects Engels *et al*. (1971) arguments

stating that miners are an oppressed group who face defeat by the capitalist system, despite expressing resistance through strike action. Engels portrays miners as people who lack religious morals and engage in alcohol consumption to escape the poor working conditions. The attitude of 'living from day to day' being a result of the precarious nature of the job is summed up by Dennis *et al*. (1969):

> *In Ashton these pleasures are mainly drinking and gambling. With the former the miner was able to escape temporarily from the consciousness of the limitations of his way of life. With the latter, if he won a moderate sum he could spend it on drinking to escape from his limitations in fantasy, and if he won a large sum he could escape in fact (p.137).*

Wilson (2005) suggests in his analysis of the role of the pub in Irish culture, drinking practices and other aspects of culture merge together in these places, meaning that identity and identification within these contexts are important. The model of the traditional mining community suggests that that mining communities are homogenous, and this is reflected in attitudes to alcohol and drinking practices amongst those that live in the community. Waddington *et al*. (1991) also implies this by emphasising the centrality of alcohol in masculine leisure activities in mining communities that are stated to hinge "around self-organised activities" as opposed to drinking activities and provision provided by the commercial and public sector. Rind and Jones (2015) also similarly suggest a homogenous and collectively organised social structure reflected in working and living environments and also leisure. Dennis *et al*. (1969) emphasises the communal nature of the masculine drinking culture of the traditional mining community and implies homogeneity with regards to drinking and other leisure practices:

> *Staying at home bores them; they prefer to have a drink or play a game of darts with their mates in the club (p.183).*

Even during periods when innovations such as bingo, television, cars and foreign holidays started to increase in popularity the pub and club is stated to be at the centre of traditional leisure for men who live in mining communities; the recent innovations in leisure which

were just incorporated into this "pit lifestyle" (Waddington *et al.*, 1991, p.101). What Waddington *et al.* (1991) also use is an account given by a miner from a Yorkshire pit village that places emphasis on the club he attends being a "drinking place":

> *All they do is play cards, talk about the pit, play dominoes and drink cheap beer. Nowt else: no strippers, no hanky-panky going off in any of the rooms. No, it's just a drinking place* (p.101)

What Waddington (1991) suggests in the post-strike context is a balance between leisure pursuits associated with privatised culture and leisure associated with traditional working-class culture that was public and communal. Engagement in this 'pit' culture, specifically for men that lived in the community was argued by Turner (2000) as an essential, but yet unhealthy social ritual that guaranteed those that engage in it with a 'healthy' social life:

> *Many things in the miner's life might not have done him much good – working in the pit, for one thing, smoking, drinking – though most aspects of his life were within the law. And it was a social ritual that you had to incorporate into your life (p.197).*

Moore (1974) disagrees with the suggestion that mining communities are homogenous with regards to their drinking practices. It is argued that the model of the traditional mining community relies on stereotypes as he states that "not all miners were beer-drinking gamblers" (p.15). Moore's (1974) study of miners in Country Durham identified a community of miners with relatively conservative Methodist beliefs that actively resisted social imagery associated with the traditional proletariat. This identified that religion was a determining factor in differences in consciousness and trade union practices. Their resistance towards the image of the traditional proletariat saw them attempting to become a section of the working class seen as more respectable; seen to not be engaging in anti-social behaviour related to excessive alcohol consumption such as drunkenness and fighting (Crow & Allan, 1994).

Warwick and Littlejohn (1992) support the idea that Bulmer's traditional mining community model relied on stereotypes that emerged from the *Coal is our life* study; challenging the notion of a homogenous working-class community identity and consciousness.   Their research identifies the existence of a local cultural capital, a community where "history and biography have combined to create a consciousness of skills, knowledge and sensibilities" (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992, p.165).   Key individuals and groups in the community are involved in reproducing this cultural capital and create different formulations and attach different shades of meaning to it and to the concept of a mining community (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992).

Bulmer's (1975) model of the traditional mining community can be argued to not be adequate to explain the "contemporary reality" (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992, p.129) that people living in mining communities experience; the social processes and institutions that existed in mining communities argued to be "more of a memory than a reality" (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992, p.130).   Hopkins (1991) argues that during the periods of the seventies and eighties leisure activities were still shaped predominantly by patterns that were established in previous post-war decades, meaning that establishments such as working men's clubs and pubs still played a significant role in the lives of people that lived in these areas.

Deviation from traditional routines associated with mining can be identified to have taken place, therefore having a significant effect on the role of alcohol and individual drinking patterns in these areas.   Waddington *et al*. (1991) also make a similar argument, challenging notions that the strike had a "cataclysmic effect"; implying a rapid fragmentation of community life taken place during the post-strike period (P.174).   The change of culture in mining communities is recognised instead as a gradual process.   It is argued that the impact of the strike varied in different elements of community life and that to understand the strike and its impact the context of communities prior to the event becoming more exposed to changes in wider society has to be taken into consideration.

2.5 Gender relations in mining communities

Experiences and reflection on lifestyles associated with mining are permeated with gender difference (Spence & Stephenson, 2007). Dennis *et al*. (1956) and Bulmer (1975) have both attempted to describe the 'ideal' mining community in the form of describing characteristics essential to mining communities. These studies often depicted women as being 'excluded' from public economic, political and leisure activities; instead being restricted to the domestic environment with the responsibility of maintaining the house and servicing their families (Allen & Measham, 1994). Waddington *et al*. (1991) also state that "strict role segregation" (p.28) was a societal norm in mining communities. It is argued that the domain of men is outside of the domestic environment in drinking places such as pubs and clubs as well as in other environments such as the garden (Waddington *et al*., 1991). This domain for men is "a comfortable world, secure in its own dominance" (Waddington *et al*., 1991, p.100).

Due to the dominance of men in the mining industry, gender relations in research were often described as a result of the physical labour of men working in the pits and also their commitments to engagement in leisure activities in pubs, clubs and sporting activities (Allen & Measham, 1994). Bulmer (1975) describes his model of the traditional mining community using what can be described as what can be considered 'traditional' gender roles. The woman's domain is in the home and the domain of the man is in the workplace; the men's world including political and economic activities, therefore men being involved in the creation and recreation of "working-class consciousness" (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992, p.73).

The description of gender relations in drinking spaces reflect those of women's general role in mining communities. The domestic environment with regards to men's leisure is portrayed as being relatively less important than public drinking places such as pubs and clubs, therefore it is suggested that women and men's leisure exists in "different spheres" (Dennis *et al*., 1969, p.170). Drinking spaces in the traditional mining community were

dominated by men, however it is stated that it was socially acceptable for women to visit during special occasions, but accompanied by men (Dennis *et al*., 1969; Bulmer, 1975). Female presence at local clubs and pubs were described by Dennis *et al*. (1969) to be limited to 'visits' accompanied by men; women transgressing their confinement to the domain of the home and family risking being looked down upon in the mining community. Dennis *et al*. (1969) did however identify variations in attitudes towards female drinking between different mining communities. The restrictions put on women in drinking spaces in the mining community of Ashton is compared by Dennis *et al* (1969) to the more occupationally diverse area of 'Castletown', where unaccompanied women in drinking spaces in 'Castletown' is identified to be a relatively more common phenomenon:

> *No 'self-respecting' young woman will go into a public house unaccompanied by her husband or if unmarried by her fiancé. Ashton is still sufficiently small for any woman guilty of such a misdemeanour to be made to feel the weight of public opinion (p.202)*

Warwick and Littlejohn's (1992) research conducted in 'Ashby', the same area as Dennis *et al*'s (1969) research *Coal is our life* found that attitudes towards women in traditionally male drinking spaces had changed. Women were observed to be engaging in what were considered traditionally male activities in pubs and clubs, suggesting a shift in change in the drinking culture from the culture Dennis *et al*. (1969) described due to social drinking being observed to be more inclusive of women than previously observed (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992).

Allen and Measham (1994) argue against the narrative of 'gender segregated mining communities' and state that gender segregation was not a main identifying characteristic of mining communities and was not a main characteristic of any other working class or middle-class communities; these depictions as a result failing to raise their analyses of gender dynamics in mining communities "beyond simple caricature" (p.100). Crow and Allan (1994) agree with Dennis *et al*. (1969) that mining communities were dominated by males and as a result ensured males received significant advantages over females in the

community, but disputes the level of involvement women had in shaping the culture and managing their own lives. According to Crow and Allan (1994), the experiences of men regarding occupational community structure, the growth in the trend of the home being at the centre of leisure and unemployment "produced a corresponding invisibility in relation to women's experiences (p.61). "Androcentric research" in mining communities has focused on quantifiable actions and events relating to industrial disputes, therefore failing to understand "processes of change" that have affected women in mining communities as changes affected women are not easily quantifiable (Allen & Measham, 1994, p.113).

In research aiming to understand women's commitment to the miner's strike of 1984-85 and the level of involvement in political activities it was recognised that the female participants embraced a collective identity: an identity as a woman, a Northerner, a member of the working class and as members of mining families and communities (Allen & Measham, 1994). This collective identity is relatively more complex than the role of housewife that Dennis *et al*. (1969) identify women as embracing.

Within the domain of the club, local male dominance was identified to be sustained through club committee structures, giving men more of a chance of gaining elevated status "and possibly a few free drinks" (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992, p.80), therefore suggesting women are permitted to participate in the drinking culture but restricted from increasing their status beyond that of a consumer or member. Changes in the culture however were recognised as significant to them as it elevated their status; a decline in the dominance of mining sector meaning women could possibly compete on a relatively more equal level to the men for employment (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992). It was however recognised that a declining mining industry meant a general decline in job opportunities for both genders (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992). Waddinton *et al*. (1991) state that the strategy of seeking leisure activities outside of the locality that young people employed, particularly young women, was a response to the restrictive role that that they had available to them; the

high level of participation in local clubs and organisations reflecting a continuation of traditional male dominance in leisure activities.

2.6 Exogenous and endogenous change in mining communities

Drinking culture in mining communities can be identified as one element of a way of life that is currently experiencing significant change. Waddington *et al*. (1991) and Bulmer (1975) both suggest that mining communities have faced changes that pose significant threat to ways of life that have been established during the existence of the mining industry. Rather than being pushed reluctantly into a new century, the economic system that is responsible for the development and establishment of mining communities has experienced change on a scale that means there is significant difficulty in applying this new economic system in these areas without the necessity of cultural change (Waddington *et al*., 1991).

Bulmer (1975) argued that social change as a whole in mining communities should be analysed with regards to exogenous change (influences from outside the community), endogenous change (influences inside the community) and whether these function at the level of social structure or social interaction. Waddington *et al*. (1991) however suggests that these changes, that have mostly occurred during the post-war period, can be defined simply using just the two definitions, exogenous and endogenous. Waddington *et al*. (1991) applied this relatively more simplified model due to the Bulmer's model having the potential to be too complex. It is suggested that changes in mining communities have operated at four levels: economic, political, geographical and cultural. Waddington *et al*'s (1991) model summarises tradition and change in mining communities and differentiates and compares exogenous changes on different levels with the endogenous traditions of mining communities.

This model when applied to the study of attitudes to alcohol and drinking practices in mining communities suggests influences emerging from outside of the community since the post-war period as well as influences from inside of the community need to be taken

into consideration when conducting an analysis. The consequences of economic, political and cultural change inside these communities can therefore be linked to the consequences of change that has been generally experienced by society as a whole (Waddington et al., 1991).

Waddington et al. (1991) suggests that in post-mining communities, leisure was balanced between the traditional forms of leisure associated with mining and privatized forms of leisure that are relatively more home-based.   Robertson, Smyth and McIntosh (2008) however do not identify a balance and argue that a "individualism or atomization of community" has taken place. This is described as having a significant effect on the older residents' understandings of community as this had diminished due to a decline in face-to-face encounters that they perceive to be "basic constituent elements of community and place identity" (p.57).

Figure 1: Tradition and change in mining communities (Sourced from Waddington et al., 1991, p.178)

	Exogenous changes	Specific form	Endogenous traditions
Economic	Monetarist inducement of post-industrial service economy	• Contraction of manufacturing industries • New energy policies • Deskilling via automation	• Defence of mining industry • Coal as a key energy source • Established skills
Political	Simultaneous class polarisation and shifting alignments	• Domination of new right • New movements • Centralised state power	• Labourism • Trade unionism • Local political power
Ecological	Changes in land use, housing tenure and social significance of space	• Influx of commuters and council tenants • Disposal of NCB properties • Motorways allowing mobility	• Homogenous communities • Rented NCB housing • Geographical insularity
Cultural	Shifts in composition, context and role of family social networks and leisure	• Nuclear family • Greater female equality • Youth culture • Home-based consumer-oriented culture	• Kinship system • Female subordination • Adult culture • Public and communal leisure

2.7 Social change and youth after the 1984-85 Miners' Strike

Despite literature existing that criticises Bulmer's model of the traditional mining community for not being adequate to explain social phenomenon in modern and post-mining communities, it can be identified from literature written after the 1984-85 Miners' Strike that these communities retained a strong sense of community, what Bulmer defines as "close-knit and connected collectivities" (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992). In Waddington *et al*'s (1991) study of three mining communities in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, 80 per cent of the sample from the Yorkshire mining community that was studied expressed feelings of a "strong sense of community" (p.14). Two primary themes and two secondary themes were identified from the participant narratives regarding sense of community. The two primary themes were feelings that "'everybody knows everybody else'" and the perceived "centrality of the pit and mining" in the community (Waddington *et al*., 1991, p.15). The two secondary themes were a perceived "family history and tradition within the village" and "mutual supportiveness" in the community (Waddington *et al*., 1991, p.15). Social life in these communities' post-strike were portrayed by Waddington *et al*. (1991) to be continued to be influenced by tradition but at the same time experiencing change. Within the context of the Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire coalfields, after the 1984-85 Miners' Strike, the function of leisure in mining communities is "sustaining the culture of mining communities" (Waddington, Wykes & Critcher, 1991, p.103).

What is pertinent from the study by Waddington *et al*. (1991) are the differences between the younger and older generations regarding engagement in local leisure activities; they argue that the emergence of a new youth culture in these communities was a significant factor in the generational divide regarding engagement in social activities (Waddington *et al*., 1991). Within the post-mining context Waddington *et al*. (2001) describe the focus of this "inter-generational conflict" as being the "threatening presence of disaffected youths on community street corners" (p.213).

It was by argued that "much of the pain experienced in these ex-mining communities is pattered around generational conflict". In an analysis of generational conflict in the mining areas of Mansfield and the Welsh valleys of the Rhona, the Cynon and the Taff, Bennett, Benyon and Hudson (2000) argues that a generation of 'older people' despite how different they are from one another are grouped together by young people in these post-mining areas to form an 'other' that they seek to differentiate themselves from by using whatever resources are available to them.

Waddington *et al*. (1991) identify an apparent 'localness' for the majority of leisure that older adults engage in whilst younger people travel outside of their localities to engage in drinking activities, mainly due to perceived inadequacy of leisure provision in their areas. This statement from a social worker in the village of 'Yorksco' in the research as cited by Waddington *et al*. (1991) describes this phenomenon:

> *The middle-aged don't tend to go outside the village for entertainment or anything like that. They don't tend to go outside the village for entertainment or anything like that. They tend to drink within pubs and clubs in the village. It is only the younger, eighteen-to twenty-year-olds, who do actually go outside the village (p.103).*

This arguably can be identified as a phenomenon not unique to mining communities. Wilkinson and Wilkinson (2017), in their qualitative study of *Night-Life and Young People's Atmospheric Mobilities* involving participants aged 15 to 24 in the suburban settings of Wythenshawe and Chorlton in Manchester, describe the nights out of young people as "characterised by movement in, through, and beyond, drinking spaces" (p.78). A night out in Manchester city centre for the young participants provided young people with an escape from the aesthetic experiences that are typical of the localities they live in (Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2017). They created "affective atmospheres" by employing the use of alcohol on various modes of transport available to them so that they could create an enjoyable atmosphere for themselves and their drinking circle.   The positive

experiences and attitudes towards drinking in places not designated for drinking that the participants held were however stated to conflict with the preference that authorities and planners have for spaces that are heavily regulated, therefore dismissing "relational, dynamic, and processual aspects of young people's night-life" and perceiving their practices as anti-social behaviour (p.92).

Millie, Jacobson, McDonald and Hough (2005) identify three narratives of anti-social behaviour that are all rooted in understandings of social and cultural change. The two narratives of worsening anti-social behaviour due to "social and moral decline" and "increasing disengagement of a minority of British youth and/or their families" are argued to be interrelated (Millie et al., 2005, p.26). The third narrative suggests a misunderstanding of the behaviours of young people, arguing that most anti-social behaviour can be defined as "mischief", though identifies a changing context and consequently has resulted in people perceiving these behaviours as anti-social and expressing fear (Millie et al., 2005, p.26). This third narrative suggests the need for dialogue and negotiation between generations rather than the enforcement and re-engagement project approaches that the first and second narratives suggest.

Conflict regarding perceived levels of regulation similar to what Wilkinson and Wilkinson (2017) describe can also be identified in literature regarding 'traditional' working-class drinking places, though between dominant local institutions and certain groups in these communities. Though Wilkinson and Wilkinson (2017) identified outliers in their research that preferred to drink in their local areas due to "slower rhythms" and a "more relaxed" experience (p.84), young peoples' drinking practices were portrayed to differ from their 'adult contemporaries. Waddington *et al*. (1991) like Wilkinson & Wilkinson characterise modern youth culture by the essentiality of mobility. Waddington et al. (1991) then argue that youth culture is incompatible with the traditional mining culture associated with older generations as youth culture has mainly exogenous influences that conflict with the endogenous traditions of the mining community. Youth culture is emphasised to be an

influence that in mining communities threatens the social fabric as the demands made by young people are ones that the local culture cannot provide adequately (Waddington *et al*., 1991). It was found however in a study of unemployed young people in a post-mining community in the North East by Coffield, Borrill and Marshall (1986) that youth drinking practices are influenced by the local culture as the masculine drinking culture is widely exposed to them, therefore portraying the studied group of young people as following "tradition" (p.132). This therefore suggests that while modern youth culture can be seen as incompatible with traditional mining culture, young people's drinking practices are still influenced by their surroundings.

Cherrington (2012) argues that this conflict between young people and adults began before the 1984-85 Miners' Strike. It is suggested that young people from the 1970s began to become disillusioned and disengaged with the clubs that dominated working class communities, this being due to an increase in influences outside of mining communities such as popularity in youth-oriented venues such as 'trendier' pubs and discotheques during that period and also changing trends within popular culture. She states that working men's club culture, despite it being welcoming of 'all ages', was a male dominated institution that placed an emphasis on formal and informal learning of rules and working-class social values, particularly those associated with alcohol consumption, clubs and fostered a culture that ensured young people and children were "seen and not heard". Samuel (1986) implies that "young, single miners" before the strike preferred to socialise and consume alcohol outside of their localities in places such as "heavy metal pubs" and "discos"; the strike being an event of discovery of community for them rather than an expression of it (p.30).

2.8 The privatised worker and individualist consumption
The dominant narrative within academia has been that drinking practices have changed along with the broader socioeconomic changes (Haydock, 2009a), a trend that Waddington *et al*. (1991) highlights in their *Tradition and change in mining communities* model (Figure 1). Haydock (2009a) states, often what is emphasised is a transition from "traditional

drinking" that is performed in mainly community places, to a relatively individualistic drinking approach that engages the individual in constructing identities through consumption; community existing in the form of brand loyalty created by large companies (p.1).

A significant amount of literature focuses on individualistic alcohol consumption, though often the consumption by young people. This literature can be identified to reflect "the dominant city-centre geographical imaginary of problem drinking" of the 2000s (Jayne *et al*., 2011, p.57). These practices are often portrayed as new and compared with 'traditional' drinking associated with working class communities that have close knit local social networks. Young people, within the context of post-industrial Britain, are argued to lack stable employment (Hobbs *et al*., 2003), lacking the opportunities past generations had to develop stable identities, often associated with the dominant industries of the past. Hall and Winlow (2005) similarly link changes in drinking practices to a changing economic context in a post-industrial age. What is identified is a fragmentation of the traditional working-class community due to the increasing prominence of what is defined as "competitive individualism" which as a result causes "traditional forms of friendship and community" to change (Hall & Winlow, 2005, p.32). Hollands (1995) also links the post-industrial period and the consequences it has had on the household, family, workplace and citizenship in what were traditional industrial areas to changing drinking practices, particularly amongst young people. Government policy in the post-industrial age, also emphasises this new role that alcohol plays in the lives of individuals as drinking is no longer regulated with the aim of ensuring workforce productivity like it was before the post-industrial age, instead drinking is framed as a form of consumption that benefits the economy (Haydock, 2009a).

Academic literature has often focused on post-industrial individualistic drinking practices emphasising the argument that young people in the post-industrial context have rejected traditional drinking practices associated with collectivism, an obsessional focus on

drinking, promiscuity and violence. What is identified by Haydock (2009a) however is a more complex and nuanced relationship between individualism and post-industrial drinking as it was identified as not being simply individualistic. The young people that engaged in environments associated with post-industrial individualistic drinking expressed a sense of community as opposed to embracing entirely individualistic drinking practices (Haydock, 2009a); young people expressing loyalty to drinking places that offered opportunities to socialise with people they know. Individuals that chose to reject the idea of the individualistic post-industrial drinker however associated with the Neoliberal economy expressing individualistic and consumerist ideals through the expression of "ideas of the responsible, sensible, sociable, moderate drinker familiar from government discussions of drinking" (Haydock, 2009a, p.18).

Literature focusing on social change in mining communities describe a similar phenomenon, the 'rise' of the 'privatised worker'; these 'workers' and their families have migrated into mining communities, but embrace more individualist styles of consumption. The existence of both the private and public housing markets in mining communities attracted individuals who entered the area with economic and social interests outside of the colliery and community and this created tension between them and those living on the mining estates.

Lockwood (1975) identified, the miner can be identified as a 'traditional worker'. This sociological concept encompasses the 'proletarian worker' associated with heavy industries like mining and the relatively conservative 'deferetial worker' associated with non-industrial craft jobs, agriculture and small-scale family businesses. The 'proletarian worker' in particular places an importance on collectivist leisure activities rooted in traditions of class consciousness and solidarity. The communities they reside in can be identified to be a creation of the community members themselves and also as a product of social structural characteristics, including isolation and development based on the community relying on 'one industry' (Crow & Allan, 1994). The 'traditional worker'

according to Lockwood (1975) will express "pride in doing 'men's work'" and also expresses "feelings of fraternity and comradeship" as a result of their shared work experiences. Arnold (2018) similarly states that the identity of the miner is one that is defined by production, collectivism, communal bonding and masculinity (Arnold, 2018). Dennis *et al*'s (1969) *Coal is our life* study and Bulmer's (1975) model of the ideal mining community both describe the leisure activities that populations of mining communities engage in as reflecting their collectivist ideals. Leisure activities in these traditional communities were collectively organised and were centred around colliery life (Rind & Jones, 2015).

These experiences and associations that traditional workers hold on to are represented in the leisure activities they engage in, which are typically performed with other colleagues within drinking places associated with male dominance such as clubs and pubs. This group is also stated to lack social and geographical mobility and live in a homogenous area with regards to class, all of which heighten cohesion in the community (Lockwood, 1975).

The 'traditional worker' is of significant contrast to the relatively new and more affluent 'private worker' who is much more likely to live in diverse communities not defined by a particular industry and work in a newer industry (Strangleman, 2018). The 'private worker' is defined by Lockwood (1975) to be a "'pecuniary model' of society" meaning that individuals within this group perceive class divisions "in terms of differences in income and material possessions" (p.21). Work attachments are instead perceived as functioning as a means to an end, "having no desire to carry over into their leisure-time the atmosphere and associations of work" (Blauner, 1960, p.351). Lockwood (1975) describes how status systems form in privatised communities:

> *Whereas in the traditional proletarian community status is allocated (or more precisely made indeterminate) through the individual's participation in several overlapping cliques, the status order of the housing estate is based on conspicuous consumption, by means of which people judge their social standing relative to others without usually associating with them in formal or informal leisure-time activities (p.23).*

When applied to the context of the drinking place in a post-mining community, there is considered a division between traditional and privatised communities, this implies that the two communities have different 'drinking lives'; the drinking places of those who associate with the traditional community relates to drinking in public communal places and those who associate with the privatised community drink in the domestic place. The employment of the privatised worker is argued by Lockwood (1975) to be "socially isolating", "socially meaningless" and they are not in possession of strong "class consciousness"; instead have feelings to escape from the environment (p.22).

Waddington *et al*. (1991) describes a relatively more complex phenomenon that describes a balancing of tradition with social activities associated with privatised and home-based leisure. This portrayal of working-class life analysis of working class leisure differs to those of Dennis *et al* (1969) and Bulmer (1975) that all portray the lives of people in these 'traditional communities' as simply reflecting the traditional, male dominated working class culture of mining. Dennis *et al*. (1969) however addresses the existence of television, but however situates the club as being central in the leisure lifestyles of men in the area, implying a division between the privatised lifestyles of women and the communal lifestyles of men:

> *Even those husbands who do not do a lot of 'clubbing and pubbing' do not pursue many joint activities with their wives (p.183).*

Waddington *et al*. (1991) identified that in their case study area of Yorksco the presence of commuters who work outside of the community has contributed to a fragmentation of the sense of community in the area. The case study areas of Yorksco and Derbyco are described as consisting of "two separate halves", one populated by mining families and one populated by non-mining families that commute outside of the area to work (Waddington *et al*., 1991, p.27). It can be suggested that the social context rather than the increased economic prosperity of the privatised worker is the most important determinant of their lifestyle (Lockwood, 1975). Cherrington (2012) addresses the change

of social context amongst those that live in 'traditional' communities and reasons for their lack of engagement with clubs, stating that family life has changed significantly as activities that can be performed in clubs can be done elsewhere.

Owner-occupation was supported by Saunders (1990) in his book *Nation of home owners*, he argues that home ownership provides an increased sense of emotional security, as well as the development of the individual identity and people who own their own homes have an increased likeliness to engage with clubs and organisations within the community. Crow and Allan (1994) however highlight contradictions with this, pointing out the links that Saunders identified regarding the association that home-owning has with a relatively more privatised lifestyle. Furthermore, Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005) completed a study of Cheadle in Manchester, this is an area populated by "affluent middle class" that Saunders would identify as becoming "increasingly separate" from the working classes (p.119), but in their study it was found that there was a sense of community amongst residents which was identified in the form of a culture of 'neighbouring'. This 'neighbouring culture' was found to extend to a culture of sociability in the area, particularly for men who socialised with others in the community who were often found to either socialise in pubs regularly or were members of the local Conservative Club. These men, unlike those in traditional working-class communities, worked in jobs characterised by instability and "spatial dispersion"; commuting either to Manchester or Stockport or working on a mobile basis (Savage *et al*., 2005, p.109). This neighbouring culture, unlike in traditional communities, was characterised by the importance of boundaries; relationships that are not too intrusive, but recognise the importance of helping neighbours in times of need (Savage *et al*., 2005).

Crow and Allan (1994) present the argument that home ownership increases the likelihood of people engaging in public leisure and they say this is because of the assumption that home ownership gives these people higher control over everyday activities, in comparison to tenants (Crow & Allan, 1994). Pahl (1984) identifies the advantages of home ownership

to the individual and these relate to self-sufficiency and the realisation of individual goals, though these individuals however are seen as becoming "increasingly isolated, politically impotent and socially invisible" (Pahl & Wallace, 1985, p.221). Lower income households within a community experience a restriction in options regarding leisure activities when the phenomenon of increased privatised lifestyles is prominent (Crow & Allan, 1994).

2.9 Considering the geographic context

Due to the dominance of the medical and public health perspectives this has meant geographic factors have been less resonant or absent in alcohol studies literature and research. However, geographic factors, such as regional inequalities, can have an impact on attitudes towards alcohol consumption, thus it is necessary to have an understanding of the spaces and places where people consume alcohol. Jayne, Valentine and Holloway (2008) state that alcohol studies research has a tendency to "under-theorize" the importance of geographic factors and that the geographers who do take into account these factors "fail to have a significant impact beyond the discipline of geography" (p.227). They emphasise that researchers should consider context, location and relationships between people and locations as they argue it is often detached from the study and seen as "less important" (Jayne *et al*., 2008). A geographical aspect has always traditionally been focused on in alcohol research but has just existed as a location or focus rather than being a key part of research (Jayne, Valentine & Holloway, 2011).

Regional drinking practices can be identified as being based on a social performance of an identity that can be considered associated with an "older heteronormative performance" (Spracklen *et al*., 2013, p.317) of 'traditional masculinity' (Thurnell-Read, 2016). Thurnell-Read (2016) states that masculinity within the context of traditional working-class drinking is determined by whether an individual can 'hold their drink' and not 'lose control' of their behaviour and conduct. This meaning quantity of alcohol units are less relevant than behaviour, drinking context and individual conduct as measures of safe and sociable drinking. Jayne *et al*. (2011) describe relatively different drinking practices

existing in Stoke-on-Trent; a drinking culture associated with the Pottery industry where the Temperance Movement has had relatively less influence and one that historically has been associated with excessive leisurely drinking. Within a 'binge drinking' context, Shelton & Savell (2011) argued that variations in attitudes towards alcohol and variations in alcohol-related behaviours were associated with regional variations in drinking. It is suggested that "a different alcohol culture prevails in London and the south than the rest of the country"; arguing that attempts to encourage drinking behaviours similar to those in London on a national level may be unachievable (Shelton & Savell, 2011, p.790).

Within the context of mining communities, it can be identified that respectability with regards to behaviour and conduct was important in drinking places in that dominated these communities such as pubs and clubs. As well as the importance that was placed on 'handling one's drink', The separation between socially accepted conduct in the pit and "out of the pit" emphasises the importance miners placed on respectable drinking. Dennis et al. (1969) emphasises the importance of the value of respectability in drinking places by differentiating the behaviours and language of miners at work and in the pub:

> *"When they are in the pit… it is the most violent, i.e. the sexual swear words which are used. Just as the miner does not go into a public house for a drink in his pit-muck he does not indulge in this violent swearing 'on top', i.e. out of the pit. When he goes into a public house he dresses smartly and respectably, and in addition he speaks respectably" (p.214)*

Drinking behaviours can be understood as drinking with interdependence; what are considered acceptable drinking behaviours as interpersonal and intrapersonal as it manifests both within individuals as self-restraint and between individuals as conformity to the expected code of respectability (Thurnell-Read, 2016) within a particular local context. The process of self-identification as a sensible drinker is reflection on personal behaviour and the "relational distancing from that of others" (Thurnell-Read, 2016, p.14). Within the context of the research of Thurnell-Read, participants who were predominantly lower-middle class, expressed a sense of working-class identity linked to the regions where

they come from; emphasising their working-class roots and therefore their social mobility. The participants however described their drinking as respectable by positioning themselves against their perceptions of an implicitly "working-class, binge drinker" (Thurnell-Read, 2016, p.15); a drinker that is often associated with the hedonism of the modern Neoliberal night-time economy of the town and city centres Plant and Plant (2009) describe.

Latham (2003, p.1714) in a study of urbanity, lifestyle and the existence of a new urban cultural economy in Auckland, New Zealand expresses the need for local contexts to be the focus of more detailed study within research as the relevance of local history and relationships are often underplayed; describing the way researchers often see this information as "idiosyncratic background noise".   Within the context of alcohol-specific research, Jayne, Valentine and Holloway (2008) on reviewing past alcohol studies literature that take into account geographic factors, argue issues such as context, location, and how individuals relate to locations have been considered to be peripheral issues; a failing that "is best exemplified by a lack of research that seeks to compare or contrast research in different research contexts and at different spatial scales".   Research by Valentine *et al*. (2007) which investigated the links between alcohol consumption and location echoes the importance of considering geographical factors; the results of the research identifying differences in the thresholds of tolerance and expectations of appropriate drinking behaviours between urban Stoke-on-Trent and rural Eden in Cumbria. There are many diverse cultures of drinking within Britain that are rooted in wider historical, socio-economic, cultural contexts and social relations within communities (Valentine *et al*., 2007; Jayne, Holloway and Valentine, 2006).

2.10 Drinking practices and emotional geographies

It is important to take into account how individuals each interact with the environment they are in and also how they react to the consumption of alcoholic substances as the consumption of alcohol is an activity that varies and is constructed through the diverse practices and experiences of individuals (Jayne, Holloway & Valentine, 2006). The study of individual factors in the formation of attitudes to alcohol consumption is important

because individuals and social groups react differently to living and working in a city, and urban life is underpinned by the interplay of cosmopolitanism and more localised identities" (Jayne, Holloway & Valentine, 2006, p.465).

Emotional geographies aim to understand the experience and concept of emotions in terms of social-spatial mediation and articulation (Bondi, Davidson & Smith, 2007). Of particular interest to this study is of the relationship between alcohol consumption and emotional geographies, which sees alcohol and the interplay between individual emotions and places of consumption (Jayne *et al*., 2008). Jayne *et al*. (2008) expresses the success of this approach at "unpacking emotional and embodied geographies in the context of broader political, economic, social, spatial and cultural practices and processes" (pp.225-226). This addresses concerns with geographical studies, as they often present a "world devoid of passion" with "spaces ordered solely by rational principles" (Bondi, Davidson & Smith, 2007, p.1). Emotions are relatively difficult to define and hard to express as a result of emotions never being surface phenomenon; geography studies as a result tend to avoid, downplay, deny and downplay the complex emotional landscapes present in certain phenomena (Bondi, Davidson & Smith, 2007).

Jayne *et al*. (2011) provides a more detailed analysis of how individual factors shape alcohol consumption behaviours. *What are units? Critical geographies of alcohol policy* criticises the effectiveness of units and other dominant medical discourses in informing individual decisions regarding alcohol consumption. It was found cultural and inter-group norms as well as peers, expectations, environmental factors and embodied feelings guide individual alcohol consumption. Jayne *et al*. (2011) emphasise the advantages of engaging with the "interpenetration of individual and collective emotional and embodied experiences of alcohol" (p.835). It is stated that the advantages of taking into account embodied emotions can help understand how alcohol consumption interacts with: embodied identities (such as age and ethnicity), emotional and embodied states (such as hunger,

sadness and excitement), neurological responses to alcohol, the social mix, the personal interactions, the atmosphere (such as sounds, moods and feelings), the interaction with non-human materialities and environmental factors (such as the layout of venues or public spaces) (Jayne *et al.*, 2011).

Emotions are argued by Hubbard (2007) to be distinct from long-term attitudes, preferences or feelings regarding the environment. Emotions are both a state of mind and also a physical experience, but "encounters between the self and the world elicit a strong affective reaction which is emergent rather than a pre-given" (Hubbard, 2007, p.121). Individuals construct their sense of self by managing their emotions; sociocultural circumstances dictating and in certain circumstances restricting how they as a member of a specific social group should manage them (Hubbard, 2007). An example of this in certain societies men are told to repress their emotions that are associated with vulnerability and encouraged to react differently than to how a woman would (Hubbard, 2007).

In Hubbard's (2007) study of emotion and embodiment in the night-time economy it was found that decisions of where to drink were determined by the individual's understanding of the level of emotional management might be needed for them to cope in that setting. The tendency for individuals to characterise city centre drinking spaces as "exuberant, lively and crowded" (p.127) was found to be common meant that city centre drinking spaces were associated with less civilised encounters, whilst out-of-town venues were associated with relaxation and casual ambience. For individuals preferring out-of-town drinking spaces it meant being able to adopt a mode of "civil inattention" meaning they could adopt emotional management strategies "not so different than those associated with sites of consumption and sociality during the daytime" (Hubbard, 2007, p.130). It was therefore concluded that city centre and out-of-town sites were associated with different methods and forms of emotional management (Hubbard, 2007).

This study of Hubbard (2007) does not focus on the role alcohol itself plays as well as the drinking space. Philo, Parr and Burns (2002) in their study of *Alcohol and mental health* in rural Highland communities in Scotland find that alcohol is ingrained into community life, playing an important role in maintaining social relations and as a substitute to unavailable leisure opportunities. Alcohol, particularly whiskey, was also seen to be highly symbolic of the Highlands and associated with relaxation, reward, coping strategies and both isolation and belonging; concluding that alcohol consumption in the area is "intimately bound up with broader historical, social, economic and cultural specificity of the Highlands" (Philo *et al.*, 2002, p.18). The research describes how geographies of drinking are gendered with male drinking more likely to take place in public spaces whilst female drinking was predominantly in the private space; inequalities in alcohol consumption playing role in wider inequalities between genders in the area. The study also identified differences in how participants perceive the drinking culture. Participants who immigrated into the area from elsewhere not only seen the drinking culture from the context of the Highlands, but as examples of the wider cultures of drinking in the country; comparing attitudes towards alcohol in England with those of Scotland (Philo *et al.*, 2002).

In the context of Northern England, Spracklen, Laurencic and Kenyon (2013) identified alcoholic drinks recognised as real-ale to be markers of masculinity in northern England; markers that are situated within British cultural norms that identify male drinking as the norm and female drinking as an increasing societal problem. Real-ale was seen to be deeply embedded in working class popular culture and particularly in northern areas such as Lancashire and Yorkshire was seen to have strong associations with masculinity. Real-ale provided a means for the participants to express emotions of pride in their localities and navigate these areas with more positive portrayals of the area as "real-ale tourists" (Spracklen, Laurencic & Kenyon, 2013, p.312).

It is important to consider how individuals are affected by their emotional experiences, especially in the context of alcohol consumption as alcohol is often used in drinking spaces and also the domestic domain as a means of release and to strengthen social bonds (Philo *et al*., 2002). Whilst Hubbard (2007) focuses on how sociocultural norms dictate how individuals choose to engage with certain drinking spaces, Philo *et al*. (2007) focus on analysing why certain individuals in a community choose not to transgress cultural norms regarding emotional expression and the role alcohol plays in that. There have been however few academic studies that take into consideration the relative appeal of both town centre and out of town leisure appeal to a range of people without going into the stereotypical portrayal of "lager louts" (Hubbard, 2007, p.119).

As Jayne *et al*. (2008) states, understanding the emotional experiences of research participants can allow a greater understanding of how they make sense of drinking spaces and manage their emotions. Areas suggested for to include in studies of emotional geographies include "the relationships between excitement, anticipation, apprehension, affection and sociability bound up with drinking, performativity and national, regional and local and identities" (Jayne *et al*., 2008, p.226). In the context of post-mining communities taking into account the local context when discussing emotional geographies is important as kinship networks, memories of past individual and collaborative efforts to achieve social justice and local institutions are important social and cultural resources in post-mining areas (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992).

2.11 Attitudes to alcohol, public space and the night time economy

There is literature on alcohol consumption that takes into account the geographic factors focusing on drinking, public space and the night-time economy from an urban-planning and local governance perspective; research that has had a significant presence in alcohol studies (Chew, 2009; Jayne *et al*., 2008). This research engages with geographic factors and considers how alcohol consumption, public spaces and the night-time economy (Jayne *et al*., 2008).

The research has had a significant focus on binge drinking; research that has built on concerns of the 1980s regarding people labelled as 'lager louts' (Measham and Brain, 1980; Thurnell-Read, 2017). This literature focuses primarily on drinking in city centres and authors argue that the increased corporatisation of the night time economy has had a role in sustaining the attitudes to alcohol that young people in particular have (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003; Winlow & Hall, 2006; Plant & Plant, 2006; Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister & Winlow, 2005). This literature has a significant focus on young people and women who engage in urban drinking; identifying them as individuals who are the perpetrators of anti-social behaviours, the most at-risk and the exploited.

Whilst Plant and Plant (2006) emphasise the role of policy in the formation of attitudes, Chatterton and Hollands (2003) portray a similar image of the night time economy but focus on the impact that post-industrial restructuring and the increasing corporatisation of nightlife spaces has on alcohol consumption. Three types of night-time economy spaces are defined: the mainstream, residual and alternative (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003). It is argued that while mainstream spaces become more cosmopolitan, gain favour over other alcohol consumption spaces by local governments, they are also becoming much more standardised. Alternative spaces like owner-operated clubs, bars, music venues and residual nightlife spaces, such as traditional pubs and alehouses, are becoming more

marginalised as a result of local government hoping to use mainstream spaces to revitalise the local economies. Localised spaces are seen as catering to 'rougher' clientele. It is implied that these spaces reflect the attitudes to alcohol that the young people engaging with them have and reflect also their motivations for engaging with these spaces; "young adults make their own nightlife, but not under conditions of their own choosing" (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003, p.8). Whilst alternative and residual spaces are depicted as spaces for genuine relationships and authentic cultural expression, mainstream spaces that dominate night-time economies are depicted as hedonistic and superficial spaces, which is similar to Plant and Plant's (2006) description of these spaces. Young people's drinking is often associated with fun and hedonism in comparison with traditional drinking in pubs and alehouses where drinking above ones limit is frowned upon (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003; Winlow & Hall, 2006).

Winlow and Hall (2006), similar to Chatterton and Hollands (2003), focus on consumerism and the transformation of communities from having economies relying on production to economies relying on consumption; these impacting on youth drinking cultures and the spaces where cultural activities take part. It is argued that work has lost meaning beyond providing a means to consume and that class identities are now relatively more unstable, which means friendships based on drinking are less close and are just a means to an end; alcohol consumption losing the function it did before the decline of industries such as manufacturing and mining.

Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister and Winlow (2005) in *Bouncers: violence and governance in the night-time economy* are relatively more specific in the geographical location they are analysing as they present a case study of Manchester's night-time economy and go further in depth in discussing the political, economy and historical context regarding alcohol consumption and the night-time economy in Manchester city centre and the implications these have on alcohol related disorder and violence. Similar to Chatterton and Hollands

(2003) and Winlow and Hall (2006) the night-time economy in contemporary post-industrial Manchester is portrayed as been transformed into a central aspect of the local economy; a city that has gone from relying on the textile industry to one that relies on the consumption of leisure (Hobbs *et al*., 2005). It is emphasised that alcohol consumption for Mancunians is associated with fun, hedonism and escapism and that "commercial night time leisure and its associated problems of crime and disorder have played a key role in the creation, maintenance and reproduction" of "Mancunian mythologies" (Hobbs *et al*., 2005).

These analyses however can be criticised as unfairly depicting urban drinking areas as "drinking ghettos" where young people engage in violent behaviours due to excessive alcohol consumption (Jayne, Holloway & Valentine, 2006, p.256). The research makes assumptions about individual motivations, therefore not taking into account that drinking activities are varied, take place in a diverse range of environments and are constructed through diverse practices and experiences (Jayne, Holloway & Valentine, 2006). Plant and Plant (2006) negatively portray youth drinking; portraying youth drinking cultures as uniform and thus not taking into consideration the possibility of the existence of unique localised drinking cultures.

Another disadvantage of this research has been the lack of focus on unique local contexts, which has resulted in the reproduction of uniform drinking landscapes which ignores the distinctiveness of different localities and thus reproduces the same landscapes. Jayne, Holloway and Valentine (2006) argue that while there has been a rapid increase in standardisation through post-industrial regeneration in different cities, with certain motifs being regenerated and becoming dominant, pre-existing drinking landscapes and lifestyles in areas have interacted with the ones brought by regeneration and gentrification; suggesting that there has been a relatively complex relationship between alcohol consumption and the regeneration of drinking spaces.

2.12 The limitations of the previous studies in the context of attitudes to alcohol in post-mining communities: gaps in knowledge

2.12.1 The metropolitan centres and declining post-industrial areas

The majority of debate and research has focused on attitudes to alcohol consumption on a national level and has lacked focus on studying the phenomenon of attitudes to alcohol consumption from a regional and local perspective and there has also been limited analysis on possible regional variations (Garresten & Goor, 2006). Drinking cultures are not uniform, but unique to each locality and are "complexly embedded in wider historical, socio-economic and cultural contexts" (Valentine *et al*., 2007, p.73).

In general, a significant amount of discourses of mining communities have made an effort to "homogenise the experiences of the mining industry" (Strangleman, 2018, p.23). Strangleman (2018) links this issue to the desires of politicians, media commentators and some academics to disregard the differences between communities and also inside communities so that identifiable tropes can be recognised and pandered to. Though the identification of mining communities as typical models of a traditional working-class settlement or as an example of a typical isolated 'one-industry' community is argued to have been legitimate within the context of early discourses, there are significant issues that come with assuming these models to be reflective of real mining communities (Strangleman, 2018). This homogenisation arguably extends into discourses regarding attitudes to alcohol in these communities.

Literature on alcohol, when authors consider the local context have often focused on localities which Chatterton and Hollands (2002, p.98) identify as the "metropolitan centres" and what Tickell (1996) classifies as regional financial centres. These are cities which night time economies "have benefitted from the spoils of professional and business service decentralisation", undergoing processes of corporatisation and gentrification in the leisure and entertainment industries (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002, p.98). Northern cities

such as Leeds, Manchester and Newcastle are all identified as being dominant economies (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002; Tickell, 1996). Dutton (2002) in *Leeds Calling: The influence of London on the gentrification of regional cities* focuses on The Calls area of inner city Leeds and identifies a middle class, transitory population of professionals and managerial workers with relatively higher disposable incomes; a part of the population whose consumption practices are heavily relied on by the local economy. The growth of metropolitan centres is significantly different to post-mining communities which are identified as being at a larger economic disadvantage exacerbated by inadequate infrastructure and isolation due to geographic location of these areas (Audit Commission, 2008).

Alcohol research in localised contexts, regardless of whether the context is a metropolitan centre or not, has often been restricted when the categories of areas most frequently researched are taken into consideration. Research focuses on two extremes which besides the home, are densely populated cities and relatively lower populated rural areas. When researching attitudes to alcohol that exist in post-mining communities in the Doncaster borough, based on existing research such as Jayne *et al*'s. (2011) study of North Staffordshire and Cumbria, alone would ignore the unique cultures that existed in working class areas as, especially in the case of North Staffordshire the impact of the pottery industry in the context of attitudes to alcohol, area was of significant importance. This indicates there is a limited focus on areas that do not fit these categories such as post-mining communities in Doncaster.

Using existing research that explains attitudes to alcohol within either the context of urban or rural is problematic, as post-mining communities cannot be strictly defined as either one of the extremes; urban assuming high density and rural assuming low density. Post-mining communities are defined by Bennett, Benyon and Hudson (2000) as neither rural nor urban areas; one main factor in the uniqueness of post-mining communities being a change in categorisation to 'rural' districts from the original nomenclature 'urban' districts

due to the pace and intensity of the decline of the coal industry's decline. This is due to the decline of industrial employment and also the removal of industrial landscapes which dominated these localities and also other services particularly in leisure and health that were connected to or reliant on the mining industry (Bennett, Benyon & Hudson, 2000).

The removal of industrial landscapes and the removal and landscaping of mines and slag heaps, despite giving post-mining areas a relatively more attractive look, has had a considerable impact on the health and wellbeing of these communities (Bennett, Benyon & Hudson, 2000). Rind and Jones (2015) emphasised the unique situation that post-mining areas face in comparison to other post-industrial areas; the socioeconomic conditions and other factors related to the mining past creating significantly worse complications that these areas.

The loss of the coal industry in areas that relied on it left communities with immediate issues relating to health and wellbeing, such as the decline in the environment, economic disadvantage, social deprivation and poor outcomes in health (Audit Commission, 2008). It can however be argued that the health aspect of regeneration has not been focused on as much as the economic aspect. Whilst economic regeneration is important, a focus on health is important as "social regeneration has been the least successful component of regeneration in the coalfields" (Audit Commission, 2008, p.26). The report *A mine of Opportunities: Local authorities and the regeneration of the English coalfields* states that "services such as education, housing and public health were not viewed as components of regeneration to the same extent as land-use planning and economic development" (Audit Commission, 2008, p.69). The lack of focus on health is reflected also in academic research which has a significant focus on the economic impact of the loss of the mining industry.

Past studies have also identified a transition from a labour market dominated by men to a labour market dominated by traditionally feminine professions and industries (Valentine,

Holloway, Jayne & Knell, 2007). Relatively recent studies, like those of Winlow and Hall (2006), identify the emergence of a relatively new post-1980s 'rave scene' drinking culture based on consumption that is often contrasted with the more 'traditional' drinking culture which was based on working class masculinity, geographically-based concepts of community and the workplace. These studies often focus on the role that government policies on both a local and national level regarding planning and licensing in city centres and the influence consumerism has on government policy; identifying city and town centres as the primary locations for consumption and focusing how these affect the drinking of people on a broad level.

2.12.2 The focus on class and economy

Despite the lack of attention the topic of alcohol within the context of post-mining communities has had, these areas have been of significant interest outside the field of alcohol research. As Strangleman (2001) has stated, mining communities have had a significant amount of attention to them within the context of sociological discussions regarding class and place. Dennis *et al*. (1969), Bulmer (1978) and Warwick and Littlejohn (1992) have all provided an analysis of class and place within the context of mining communities.

Within the context of these areas post-decline of the mining industry, analysis has been conducted from different angles: the economic history angle that focuses on shifts in the British economy from macroeconomic and institutional perspectives and the social and cultural history perspective that utilises historical data to focus on analysis of how the decline of the mining industry has impacted on specific communities (Ebke, 2018).

The Miners' Strike of 1984/85 has received significant academic analysis due to its impact on the political landscape in Britain and the communities where the strike taken place (Ebke, 2018). Williams (2009) has provided an analysis of the impact of the Miners' Strike on the political landscape and the impact that utilisation of the national news media by the Thatcher Government has had in post-mining areas. Douglass (1990) described events

that he personally witnessed at Orgreave involving Doncaster miners from Hatfield and Armthorpe and the police as "class warfare"; emphasising the extent of the violence that was witnessed during the event. Ebke (2018) meanwhile focuses on how the coal industry's decline and disappearance from the British Landscape has impacted on discourses and cultural narratives regarding Britain as a nation and a society. Mining in Britain is identified as a political symbol; its use by the Conservatives under Thatcher, Old Labour and New Labour being to symbolise outdated and therefore disappearing lifestyles and political orientations (Ebke, 2018).

In comparison, issues of health in post-mining communities in relation to the wider issues of regenerating these communities, have had a lack of attention on the regeneration agenda in favour of the economic aspects of regeneration, such as increasing employment and investment in aesthetic improvements (Shucksmith, Carlebach, Riva, Curtis, Hunter, Blackman, & Hudson, 2010; Benyon, Hollywood & Hudson, 1999b; Audit Commission, 2008).

Where the health factors have been considered these have been either analysed the 'issue' of health in post-mining communities in general terms, studied aspects of health other than alcohol or combined drugs and alcohol together within the context of substance misuse. The report *Health Inequalities in Ex-Coalfeld / Industrial Communities* (Shucksmith *et al*., 2010) provides a generalised overview of health in post-mining communities and due to this generalised overview the diversity of communities that make up the coalfields across Britain are not taken into consideration. Alcohol is stated as a concern along with smoking, nutrition, physical activity and drug use, though drinking is framed within a misuse context; implying a focus on drinkers at the extremes of the consumption spectrum.

Benyon, Hollywood and Hudson (1999b) again include alcohol consumption among other aspects of health, though provide local context to their research; using the Cynon Valley,

Easington, Mansfield and St.Helens as case study areas. The study however focuses on ex-miners in particular and the historic association these communities have had with ill health and argues that rather than the decline of mining eradicating issues of ill health has exacerbated these problems. Particular attention is paid to analysing alcohol from a public health and misuse perspective, though identifies possible variations amongst the areas regarding attitudes to alcohol; acknowledging St.Helens as possibly having a considerable cultural acceptance of alcohol misuse compared to the other case study areas (Benyon, Hollywood & Hudson, 1999b).

Rind and Jones (2015), in their study of post-mining communities in the Durham and Northumberland coalfields, link the factors that impact the engagement of individuals in these communities in physical activity; considering the historical context and the setting of the North-East coalfields. Despite Rind and Jones's (2015) study being in the context of physical activity it places importance on the attitudes and beliefs rooted in the industrial past of these areas and urges consideration of socio-cultural histories and socio-economic realities of post-mining areas.

2.12.3 The problem-oriented approach and drinking cultures

One issue that can be identified in past literature that has documented attitudes to alcohol in post-mining communities (and also research conducted during periods when the mines was active) has been the employment of the problem-oriented approach; an approach concerned with treating and preventing alcohol consumption that can be identified as deviant and problematic or research that identifies solely problematic consumption.

An increasing amount of alcohol studies in academia, specifically regarding the study of drinking cultures is driven by policy discourses, which aim to intervene and change what is viewed as a problematic drinking culture (Savic *et al*., 2016).   This public health approach is described by Savic *et al*. (2016) as being "concerned with the description, prevention and alleviation of health and social problems" associated with alcohol (p.270).

A focus on alcohol consumption and problems related to alcohol isolates these two phenomena from other factors that influence drinking cultures and this focus also does not address the many different dimensions of drinking cultures (Savic *et al.*, 2016).

The research of Shucksmith *et al*. (2010), Hollywood, Benyon and Hudson (1999) all frame alcohol consumption with the problem-oriented or problem identification approach. Bacon (1973) argues that this approach reflects past dominant discourses; the negative image of drinking emphasised by the temperance movement and the disease concept associated with the medical profession. The problem-oriented perspective gives disproportionate attention to a minority of drinkers who engage in problematic drinking whilst the drinking practices of people outside of this group with drinking practices identified as 'normal' receive less attention from academia (Bacon, 1943, 1973; Heath, 1987). Whilst there is a significant issue in problematic drinking receiving significant attention in policy and academic discourses, there is still a need to highlight harmful practices, but whilst doing so abandoning the use of ambiguous terminology such as 'binge drinking'. Valentine *et al*. (2007) identified the need to address "drinking to excess" but emphasised the need to abandon the term 'binge drinking' and to use other terms to describe practices that can be potentially harmful (p.71). The 'binge drinking' narrative within policy discourses identifies that drinking culture needs to change due to the negative impact it has on society as a whole, but due to the ambiguity of the term 'binge drinking' a significant challenge is addressing what is required to change (Savic *et al*., 2016).

Though there is a gap in knowledge regarding alcohol studies in post-mining communities, criticism of sociological studies of mining communities from people who live within them argue that researchers often get their communities 'wrong'; portraying the drinking practices of these communities as social problems and suggesting "a failure in the local culture" (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992, p.24). An example of this is the study *Coal is Our Life*, which is criticised by Warwick and Littlejohn (1992). The study only explains leisure

in mining communities using two categories of social influence which are (a) the mining industry and the functions associated with it, and (b) the development of a local culture in the context of a dangerous industry. The *Coal is our Life* study portrays the drinking culture of the majority of people in mining communities as problematic; the consumption of alcohol portrayed as a frivolous pleasure going 'hand in hand' with gambling that serves the function of escapism (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992). Heath (1987) emphasises the dangers of misinterpreting normative behaviours as deviant; arguing that habitual drinking is wrongly on in a lot of cases associated with problematic drinking and behaviours associated with it.

2.12.4 The 'romanticising' of miners and mining culture

Outside of the 'problematic' discourse is a romanticising of the miner, the culture that is associated with the mining industry and the communities that the mining industry had a presence in. Where positive representations of miners have been present they have often been portrayed miners as "talismanic figures" (Strangleman, 2008, p.23). Harrison (1979) recognised "a long-standing tradition" of miners being portrayed as "the original and quintessential proletarian" (p.2). The mining community throughout their existence have been subject to "mythologizing"; the dominant image of the mining community being of tight-knit and cohesive communities that were relatively class conscious (Gilbert, 1995, p.47). This dominant image of the mining community is argued by Gilbert (1995) as becoming fixed in the political and cultural landscape and that those across the political spectrum benefit:

> *There is political capital to be made for both left and right in a construction of mining communities as archetypal working-class industrial communities. The archetypal mining community can stand for a lost moral order: for a time and a place when working-class people respected each other and each others' property, when back doors were always open, help always forthcoming for those in need, and full attendance at local chapels or union meetings always guaranteed. The archetypal mining community can also stand for a lost political order: an egalitarian, self-consciously working-class local society, radical in political outlook, and disciplined and determined in strikes or when threatened* (p.49)

The problem of the ideal-type miner and the ideal mining community is that it results in what Ackers (1996) identifies as "romantic historicism"; perpetuating stereotypes that "in reality" existed "barely anywhere" (p.162). Although analyses of drinking practices amongst miners such as that of Dennis *et al*. (1969) portrayed their drinking practices as problematic and reflecting the precarious nature of their job, the portrayal of the drinking culture as reflecting the positive values of collectivism, class solidarity and interpersonal relationships based on mutual support. This does not emphasise that communities are "sites of contestation" (Gilbert, 1995, p.52). As Bourke states, the focus on 'community' does not address the existence of minority groups and the individual, and generalisations regarding working-class communities provide "no mechanism by which we can know who at any one time belongs or does not belong" (p.123).

This romanticism of working-class drinking can also be identified in relatively modern analyses of drinking practices, again specifically in "the dominant city-centre geographical imagery of problem drinking" of the 2000s (Jayne *et al*., 2011, p.57). Whilst city centre drinking amongst young people is looked down upon as problematic, traditional working-class drinking practices that can be identified with the mining industry are implied to be less problematic within the context of the increasing prominence of drinking practices associated with neo-liberalism. Hall and Winlow (2005) define social activities of the traditional working class such as drinking being underpinned by "long-term mutuality, reciprocity and loyalty" whereas modern drinking practices outside of traditional working-class communities associated with young people are defined negatively as being underpinned by the "neo-liberal ethos of self-interest" (p.34). Chatterton and Hollands (2003) research into young people and nightlife also similar to that of Hall and Winlow (2005) reproduces clichés and stereotypes regarding the night time spaces they were researching, though this can be identified as existing due to the lack of critique aimed at participants that were defined as the "more bohemian interviewees and academic 'experts'" (Grazian, 2004, p.268). The alternative nightlife spaces were described as

places where more authentic culture, genuine relationships and diversity. The lack of criticism as a result increased the romanticisation of the alternative spaces and therefore reproducing what Grazian (2004) described as "a set of tired myths and clichés regarding urban bohemia that come off with some frequency as naïve" (p.268).

Strangleman (2008), Ackers (1996) and Harrison (1979) instead advocate for an approach grounded in reality that addresses the complexity of identities that exist in mining communities. Analyses that avoid romanticised and "one-dimensional characterisations of mining communities" and addresses the diversity within them, therefore giving a voice to the "absent, less powerful and marginalised" (Gilbert, 1995, p.53). Within the context of drinking practices, like Valentine, Holloway, Jayne and Knell (2007) argue, research needs to consider that within communities that are studied there are a range of drinking practices that contribute benefits and problems to the lives of people that live there.

2.13 Rationale behind research in post-mining communities in Doncaster

Post-mining communities provide an interesting contrast with previous research on other urban areas in the North of England; research that has focused often on post-industrial cities in Yorkshire such as Leeds and Sheffield that have status as 'regional capitals' and have a large student population, relatively larger number of middle-class professionals and a relatively bigger number of private sector investment. Taking these points into account, the wider setting of the Doncaster borough is particularly interesting and demands analysis as whilst it is often defined in academic research, local research and in the media as a post-industrial borough has throughout the majority of its existence relied on the leisure, hospitality and sports sectors which still play a considerable role in the borough's economy. The industrial revolution had a relatively less significant impact on Doncaster than it did in nearby Barnsley (which had collieries, colliery settlements and villages established in the nineteenth century) and in other towns in Yorkshire known mainly for the textiles

industry such as Huddersfield, Halifax, Hebden Bridge and Todmorden. Doncaster was initially a market town that played significant importance as a stopping point for coaches and wagons. It was later established by the middle of the eighteenth century as an important centre for horse racing; as a result the hospitality industry having a more prominent presence in the town along with businesses such as inns and facilities built by Doncaster Corporation to entertain people with high status and influence (Manby, 1980).

Industry has played an important role in shaping drinking cultures that exist in Doncaster. It is important to differentiate Doncaster town centre from the post-mining villages that the Doncaster borough contains as Doncaster as a whole was not only just reliant on the coal industry. Dominant industries in the area such as the leisure industry (horse racing), mining and the railway shaped drinking cultures in the areas where they were the dominant employer. Drinking institutions in the mining villages have historically had a strong link with the mining industry whilst drinking in the town centre has a strong history associated with the leisure industry. These mining villages in what can be defined now as within the Doncaster borough were established in the twentieth century designed with consideration to the mining industry of the time. Many were later extended due to further domestic immigration. These were villages built for the purpose of housing miners, their families, their children and others such as those working at institutions and amenities such as food shops, etc. In the case of some mining villages, space was purposely made by developers for the provision of drinking facilities. The brewery companies on obtaining their license to sell alcohol would also have a further role in investing in the area; having to accept the condition of making a financial contribution towards amenities in the village. An example of this in the planning of Armthorpe colliery village designed by Charles Markham of the Staveley Coal and Iron Company (Walters, 1927). The importance of providing adequate drinking provision is expressed, implying that whilst colliery companies were relatively relaxed with their employees engaging in alcohol related activities, they

placed importance on control of these activities, particularly on the types of institutions where drinking took place:

> *The public-house question always arises in connection with these new villages, and the colliery companies naturally do not feel that they have any right to insist upon prohibition if the men themselves desire that facilities for obtaining drink should be provided. It is quite certain that anything is better than a multiplicity of clubs, which would certainly spring up all around the villages if no public-houses were provided (Walters, 1927, p.25).*

It is important to define the context of alcohol consumption of the area. This means analysing the background of the borough of Doncaster which contains these mining communities and the post-mining communities themselves; their background, demographics and the mining industry in the case study areas, highlighting characteristics that are important with regards to the drinking landscape.

The Doncaster borough is arguably a unique area in the context of the mining industry as the coal mining industry in Doncaster has been active for a longer period than most areas; the last active colliery operating until 2015 due to the closure of Hatfield Colliery. The closures of Thoresby Colliery in Nottinghamshire and Kellingley Colliery in Selby, North Yorkshire (the last to close) in the same year brought an end to deep coal mining in Britain, therefore it can be seen that there is a need for further analysis regarding attitudes to alcohol in these areas after the indefinite disappearance of mining from the landscapes of Doncaster, North Nottinghamshire and Selby.

The following will introduce the Doncaster borough and discuss and describe the unique characteristics of the area; briefly summing up the history of the area and describing what have been identified as the borough's key economic assets. Then the main skills and employment sectors and the borough's natural environment will be explored, which will then lead to the introduction of the two case study areas, Rossington in the east of the borough towards Nottinghamshire and Denaby Main and Mexborough in the west of the borough towards Barnsley and Rotherham. These area profiles will focus on the development of the villages, the growth and decline of the mining industry in them and a brief summary of the population demographics of the two areas.

Chapter 3: Situating the research: the regional and borough contexts

3.1 The local context: general profile of the Doncaster borough

Doncaster is defined as being "a large and historic market town, situated in the heart of England, with a rich manufacturing, railway, horse racing and mining heritage" (Key Cities, n.d.). It is one of the oldest towns in the country, though the appearance of the town doesn't suggest this (Phillips, 1921). *The story of Doncaster* by Phillips (1921, p.6) states that "Doncaster followed Doncaster"; implying that Doncaster has constantly evolved with no effort made to conserve the past. It can also be implied from this statement that throughout the town's history it has changed according to the dominant industry of the time. Phillips (1921) states:

> *It is often said that for an ancient town Doncaster has few memorials of the mighty past… While York teems with relics of the past, there is hardly one memorial of those times to be found in Doncaster… Doncaster has had five or six phrases. It has altered its dress with the times. One period gave place to another, and no attempt was made to preserve the memorials of preceding ages. Time after time the town seems to have been rebuilt. Abbey churches, friaries – all have vanished; mediaeval buildings, such as the town halls, have been demolished… even the church is modern… a copy of the old one that visitors sometimes make the mistake of thinking it is the original home of the town's worship (p.9).*

The Doncaster borough is the largest in England by area (220 square miles) and has West Yorkshire, North Yorkshire, East Yorkshire, North Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire bordering the borough (Key Cities, n.d.). It is an area often commended for being 'well connected'; having the East Coast Mainline running through it, a new small regional airport and relatively good access links to the UK's motorway network (Key Cities, n.d.).

Doncaster currently has the second largest economy in South Yorkshire after the city of Sheffield (Key Cities, n.d.). The Doncaster borough became part of the Sheffield City Region which was established in 2014 (Sheffield City Region, n.d.a). This agreement was part of proposals made by the 2010-2015 Conservative – Liberal Democrat coalition government to create a 'Northern Powerhouse'; aiming to transfer national powers and

control over funding to core Northern cities, therefore giving the areas inside the defined 'city regions' more power regarding transport, skills, regeneration and infrastructure (Sheffield City Region, n.d.a). The Sheffield City Region includes nine other areas: Barnsley, Bassetlaw, Bolsover, Chesterfield, Derbyshire Dales, North East Derbyshire, Rotherham and Sheffield (Sheffield City Region, n.d.b).

Figure 2 The Doncaster Borough within the context of the Yorkshire region (sourced from Google, n.d.)
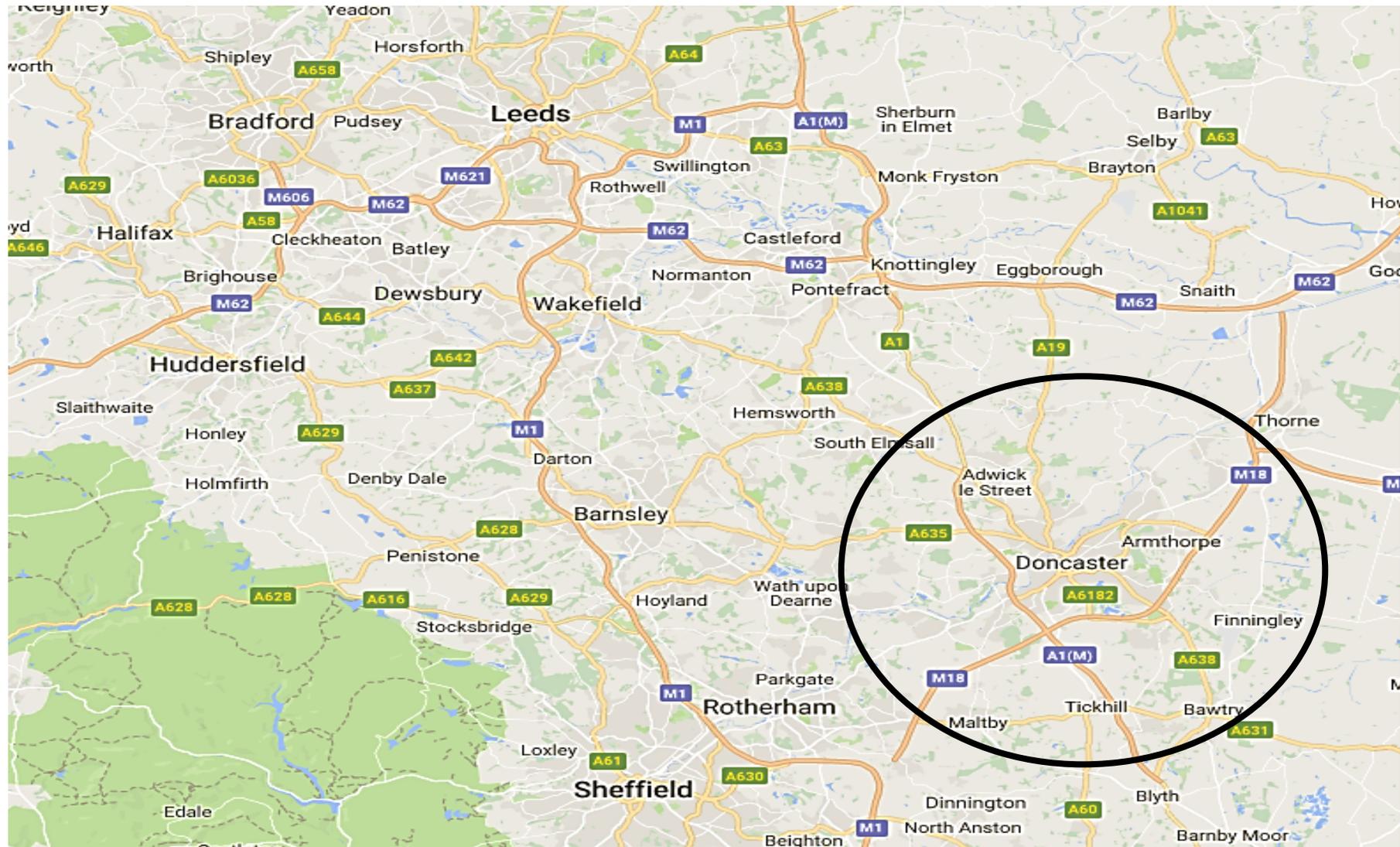
3.2 The coal industry in Doncaster

> *A change has now come over the scene. Doncaster is destined to be the centre of a great and rich industrial centre. The base of this country's industrial greatness is coal… Doncaster is the centre of not only the newest but the richest coalfield in Great Britain… the manufacturer has plenty of coal at Doncaster. The coal merchant has seven railways and a canal at his service if he wants to sell it or to ship it to a country across the sea. Doncaster therefore, is in a good position to make headway; and whilst some enthusiasts think the town may some day be a second Leeds or Sheffield, there are others who think its greatest developments will be its coal trade, and that it may be in a few years time a second Cardiff as a coal-distributing centre (Phillips, 1921, pp.333-337).*

The discovery of coal in Doncaster as Phillips (1921) expresses, marked a significant transition for the borough as a whole; marking an era of prosperity. Though the introduction of the railways in Doncaster fuelled a population growth, the coal industry increased Doncaster's population at a fast rate (Winterton, 2015).

At the beginning of the nineteenth Century (from 1905 to 1925) it was found that there were coal seams around the Doncaster area, which resulted in various colliery companies competing with each other for royalties beneath the estates of the landowners; the aim being to secure large profits from selling coal (Fordham, 2009). This coal was primarily from the Barnsley Coal Seam, which unlike the coal seams in the Barnsley and Sheffield areas, was found at greater depths (Fordham, 2009). This meant that any extraction of coal would require a large amount of money to be spent before any coal was extracted, furthermore, a large acreage of coal was needed to make a profit, and large modern plants with deep shafts that were sunk to the Barnsley Coal Seam (Fordham, 2009) were also required.

The scale of the operation to extract coal in the Doncaster area and the need for large modern plants meant that a large workforce was needed and this workforce would have to be housed. It was envisaged that model villages would be built to house their employees. The town planning and garden city movements of the time meant cheap

company owned housing estates were no longer acceptable (Fordham, 2009). This resulted in the transformation of the Doncaster borough in the twentieth Century into an industrial centre with model villages being built around the borough (Fordham, 2009). This included new, but largely unplanned small colliery villages, this also expanded old villages to create colliery towns, and villages grew alongside existing ones (Doncaster History, n.d.). Vernon (1984) describes the level of control that mine owners had over these communities:

> In some colliery villages the mineowners had control of every facility in the village; grocery stores and even public houses as well as the dwellings in the village would be owned by the colliery company. It can be seen that the mineowners had a vice-like grip over the workforce. Even the churches had a reserved pew for the mineowners and their satellites. They would supply the local vicar with his fuel for the year, free of charge. They were the aristocrats of the mining communities. In several disputes between the workforce and management it was not unknown for striking miners and their families to be thrown out of their homes in wintry conditions in order to break their spirit (p.2).

Vernon argues that environments of Miners' Clubs emphasised the hierarchy of the pit; an environment where corruption was rife as miners would attempt to ensure a decent living wage as colliers relied on the deputy's generosity to make what they considered a decent living wage. Vernon (1984) gives an example of corruption in Miners' Clubs in the 1930s involving his undermanager Mr. Robinson and colliers in the Miners club which he argues was "rife":

> When Robinson went in the miners' club the "Leeches" would fall over one another to buy his drink. On one occasion one of the "leeches" told him he's won the raffle prize, a basket of fruit. Robinson said, "how can I have won the raffle I haven't bought any tickets. "I've bought them for you!" the leech replied. (p.20).

After World War Two, the government put into force the Coal Industry Nationalisation Act 1946, which meant that the government took control of collieries across the UK and in the Doncaster borough, the collieries were taken control of by the National Coal Board, which was established in 1947 (Working Class Movement Library, n.d.). The Doncaster area was arguably important in the coal industry, as the National Coal Board set up their regional

headquarters and several national departments in the town centre by the late 1960s. The 12-storey building named "Coal House", which eventually became Doncaster Council's "Council House" was built for the National Coal Board (CAST, 2015).   The relatively high earnings from the mining industry in the borough can be argued to have made Doncaster's town centre prosperous; CAST (2015) stating that "the pits kept the town's shops relatively prosperous throughout the swinging sixties".

Even though the town has always historically been defined as a 'market town' and has seen growth in service-based sectors, such as the retail sector, these in Doncaster are identified as being relatively vulnerable to the effects of decline in other sectors; relying on the success of manufacturing and heavy industry sectors at all levels outside of it (DMBC, 2013). It is acknowledged by DMBC (2013) that in order to sustain and increase success and employment within this sector requires employment in relatively more advanced and professional sectors to increase the general success of Doncaster's economy.

A major theme that is prominent through analysis of media coverage of the decline of heavy industry in areas such as Doncaster is 'change' and an 'inability and struggle to change'. This narrative is expressed in *The Economist* (2015), in which they report on a case study of the 'soon to be' unemployed miners working at the now closed Hatfield Colliery in the north of Doncaster; unflatteringly depicting them and the generations of their families as 'relics of the past' who lack skills and knowledge and the skills they have are incompatible with modern society and also the present jobs' market:

> *Trudging from the mineshaft, black with coal-dust from their plastic helmets to their steel-capped boots and naked legs, the Hatfield miners appear as a vision from a former age… No wonder if the Hatfield miners, weary from their shift, tread even more heavily than usual as they head for the showers, spitting gobfuls of chewing tobacco which, like snuff, another mucous-inducing defence against dust, they are among the last Britons to use. Mining is all most of them know… Mr Martin's father, brothers, uncles and cousins all worked at the colliery. His grandfather was a Welsh miner, as were his fathers before him.*

The entertainment media has also focused on the consequences of industrial decline in South Yorkshire and on how the decline of the industries is portrayed as 'old' and 'traditional' and how this impacts on the individual, their colleagues and their families. The films *Brassed off* (1996) and *The Full Monty* (1997) are stated as examples by Ebke (2018) and Arnold (2018). The films, whilst they are seen as "feel-good" entertainment by some critics, they can also be viewed as showing the viewer how these characters interact with and negotiate the rapid social and economic change that is taking place around them.

Brassed Off depicts a Barnsley community impacted on by the closure of their local colliery and *The Full Monty* depicts a group of Sheffield steel workers that have been affected by redundancy and unemployment. Ebke (2018) states that these films portray these communities and the individuals who live in them as being in a "period of transition"; their "local communities, their cultural traditions, social norms and roles" all having to be "renegotiated" (p.134). These films reconfigure "crushing defeats" as victories by focusing on the celebration of resilience, transformation and liberation of individuals and their communities (Arnold, 2018, p.8). Interestingly however Ebke (2018) argues that in *Brassed Off* mining is not only employment for the characters, but a guarantee of a "time-worn social structure" (p.134); post-mining industry decline symbolising loss and uncertainty.

The manufacturing and heavy industry sectors, regardless of having experienced decline, have continued to hold a significant influence on Doncaster's cultural landscape. The industries across the borough have left the area with a legacy of clubs such as Miners Welfare organisations, Working Men's Clubs and colliery bands, all of which the *Partnership Creative and Culture Strategy 2016 – 2021* argue "provide social settings and entertainment in communities" (DMBC, 2016). These institutions however as Waddington et al. (2001) identified can be seen as being in decline due to the disappearance of the industries they historically associated themselves with, which brings to question what impact this has had on Doncaster's drinking culture as well as its cultural landscape.

In the Arts Council's (2016) *Active People Survey*, Doncaster is the eighth lowest; identifying the borough as having only 31.33 percent adults in the borough "who have either attended an arts event or participated in an arts activity at least three times in the past 12 months". York (52.86%) and Harrogate (51.43%) in comparison are identified as having the highest engagement in the arts in the Yorkshire and Humber region (Arts Council England, 2016). Despite investment in the arts in the area in the form of the £22 million performance venue called Cast, that opened in 2013 as part of the Borough Council's town centre regeneration process, the area retains relatively low cultural engagement.

In an interview reported in *The Guardian* with Brown (2014), the director of the Cast facility Kully Thiarai, he described Doncaster as "a town that's not meant to engage with culture in quite the way other urban towns and cities do". This statement can be perceived to be patronising towards those that live in the town. There are however known geographical differences in how people engage in work and leisure activities and Rind and Jones (2015) identified in their study of physical activity in mining areas that leisure time in pit villages existed to promote social cohesion. Leisure activities, including drinking activities, were organised around colliery life and reflected the homogenous and collectivist working and living environments of these areas (Rind & Jones, 2015).

3.3 The media narrative of alcohol consumption in the Doncaster borough

DMBC's emphasis on alcohol and anti-social behaviour reflects the Labour government's 2004 Alcohol Harm Reduction Strategy for England (Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, 2004) and the Conservative and Liberal Democrat Coalition's 2012 Alcohol Strategy (HM Government, 2012); both emphasising binge drinking as a crime and public order issue. Media attention on social drinking in Doncaster has often reflected this as articles have often focussed on issues related to town centre drinking amongst young revellers;

publications often emphasising the 'binge Britain' discourse; town centres full of drunken and rowdy revellers, though Doncaster has throughout history been criticised for its hedonistic drinking culture.   This hedonistic drinking culture can arguably also be linked to the local historic context as Doncaster has throughout history emphasised the town as a place of leisure and consumption. On a 'trip' to Doncaster to attend the St. Leger Festival at Doncaster Racecourse in 1857 Charles Dickens, described what he saw of Doncaster's streets from his apartment during his stay as being full of noise and turmoil:

> *Looking down into the main street… is full of horse jockeys, bettors, drunkards, and other blackguards, from morning to night – and all night (Dickens, cited in Breed, 1957, p.39).*

This description of hedonism and drunkenness during the mid-nineteenth century is similar to Engels (1971) description of Manchester during the Nineteenth century at the height of the industrial revolution, in which he emphasises his disgust at witnessing groups of intoxicated working-class people "staggering" and also "lying in the gutter"; describing what he saw as "intemperance… seen in all its brutality" (p.152). Within the relatively more modern context, Dicken's description of streets rampant with anti-social behaviour are similar to relatively recent headlines from the local papers and papers for the South Yorkshire region. All of these imply image that 'binge drinking culture' in the Doncaster borough has led to crime (mainly crimes related to 'anti-social behaviour') and need for medical attention spiralling out of control, with statutory services, particularly medical systems, justice systems and uniformed statutory services such as the police and ambulance services all 'struggling to cope' (Bateman, 2004; Mason, 2015).   Besides 'wanting to get drunk', all of these media analyses put an emphasis on the 'drunken' behaviour rather than the attitudes to alcohol that individuals in the area hold.   Often media coverage of alcohol-related issues in Doncaster (Mason, 2015; Peace, 2014) has implied a tougher approach taken by local law enforcement agencies; this approach often

described as a 'crack down'; as images suggest this being on people seen as being 'lager louts'.

High profile operations in the town centre area have taken place during the 2000s to 'crack down' on alcohol related offences such as assault and drunken disorder. In 2005, Operation Alligator was launched by both South Yorkshire Police [SYP] and DMBC in a bid to reduce the number of anti-social behavioural offences in the area and address the reputation the town's nightlife has, which the local media at the time (Doncaster Free Press, 2006a) quoted at the time as being the like the "Wild West" and being 'overrun' with "beer-swilling binge drinkers". The emphasis on alcohol and issues with public order however is not unique to Doncaster as three quarters of Local Authorities reported that alcohol was related to public order problems and police data also revealed that "violent 'hot spots' were overwhelmingly distributed among concentrations of licensed premises" (Hayward & Hobbs, 2007, p.440).

Figure 3: Town calls time on the booze yobs (sourced from Mason, 2015)
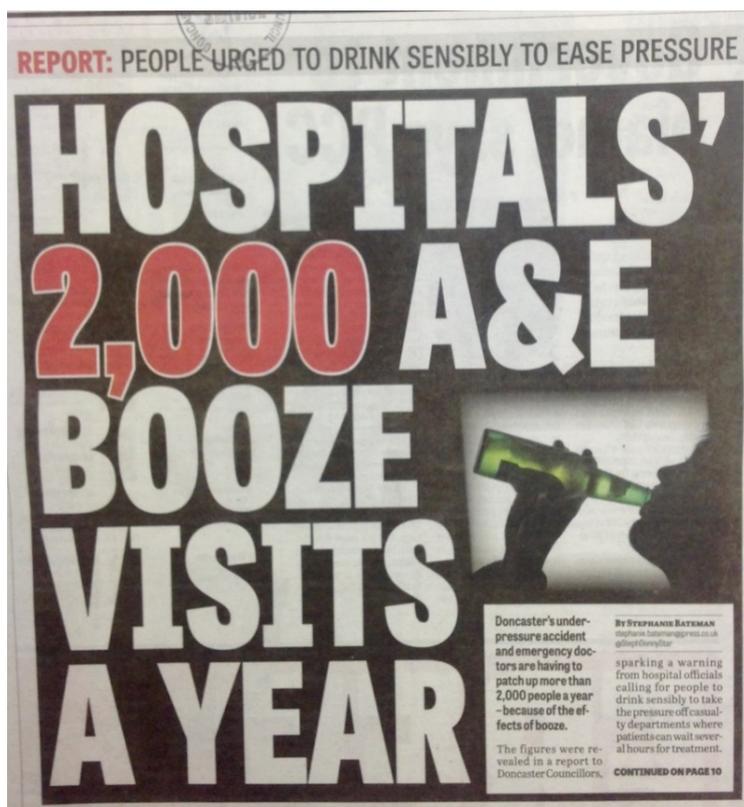
Figure 4: Hospitals' 2,000 A&E booze visits a year (sourced from Bateman, 2004)

Figure 5: Stop our boozing youths (sourced from Peace, 2014)

3.4 The Horse racing industry and its effect on Doncaster's drinking landscape

Unlike towns and cities in West Yorkshire, such as Huddersfield, Bradford and Leeds, which saw a rapid expansion of mills and immigration from countries such as Germany and Ireland (and later in the twentieth Century from South Asian countries) (Critchlow, 2014), the industrial revolution only had a relatively slight effect on the appearance and fortunes of the Doncaster borough (Manby, 1980). Manufacturing was still largely carried out on a craftsman level besides industries such as milling, brewing and waggon building (Manby 1980). Until the railways came to Doncaster, the area had no distinctive industry like Sheffield (steel), Manchester (cotton) or Leeds (wool) (Phillips, 1921).

It can be identified however that places associated with the serving of alcohol have played an important role through the town's history. One of the most important aspects of the economy in Doncaster was catering for travellers, horses and transport, which also included heavy goods transport by water; the town centre had, at the time, a high number of inns and hostelries (Manby, 1980). These places however were not just known as drinking establishments, but as clubs "for shopkeepers and professional men" and social places for members of the community (Phillips, 1921, p.245). As the town made the transition from a market town to a racing town the number of inns and public houses increased. Doncaster was a town Phillips (1921) described in the early period of racing in the town as a place where once a year "every amusement that ingenuity could suggest was practiced" (p.243).

Drinking establishments have also played an important role in the history of the town. The St. Leger Stakes, one of the most important in the racing calendar was given its name as a result of a meeting at the Red Lion Inn; "a gathering of noblemen and gentlemen". The race was instituted in 1776 by Anthony St. Leger (Howse, 2001). This turned, what were mainly local events, to races that were recognised and respected internationally (Howse, 2001). The Red Lion Inn still currently stands and operates as a J.D. Wetherspoon

pub and also an inn; displaying plaques, photographs, artwork and posters to the public documenting Doncaster's racing an industrial heritage.

The dominance of the railway industry in the town centre during the late nineteenth century also had an impact on the local drinking culture. The transition from dominance of horse racing to rail was argued by Manby (1980) to have been important in creating more secure employment, and more industrial elements to the local economy, which brought with it attempts to control elements of the 'social scene' in Doncaster that had grown, such as the betting rooms and the "unsavoury elements" attracted to racing in the town. This is reflected by comments made by Charles Dickens (cited by Breed, 1957) regarding binge drinking, gambling and rowdy and noisy behaviour during the race season in Doncaster. This could be argued to be similar to modern attempts to control alcohol related anti-social behaviour in the borough, particularly in the town centre.

Horse racing in Doncaster, despite the decline in people attending the races relative to attendance numbers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, has continued to sustain relevancy with regards to the Doncaster and South Yorkshire's economy. The horse racing industry contributes a significant amount to Doncaster's economy and Doncaster Racecourse is one of the most attended racecourses in Yorkshire after York Racecourse. In a study in 2011 by Sheffield Hallam University, horse racing was stated to have contributed £228 million to the Yorkshire Economy, in which York and Doncaster Racecourse were the two top contributors (Lawless & Wilson, 2011). Doncaster Racecourse in 2016 was described by DMBC as "one of the borough's most treasured assets" (DMBC, 2016, June 07). The racecourse is recognised as a major contributor to the local economy that attracts a relatively significant amount of investment from the private sector.

Chapter 4: The case study areas

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the local context, more specifically, introduce the two case study areas that were used for the research project, Rossington and Denaby Main and Mexborough. This will help to situate the research and give necessary context regarding the history and industrial past of each area. The context regarding each case study area will detail the transitions areas went through from their development into pit villages built for the purpose of housing miners and their families to the post-industrial era characterised by the decline and eventual loss of the mining industry. The research also gives a brief summary of the demographics of each area, more specifically demographical data regarding: resident population, age structure, economic activity, qualifications, the main occupations residents are located in and the ethnic make-up of the case study areas.

Generally, the Doncaster Borough has a higher older working age population (age 45 to 64), "higher than regional and national comparisons" (Doncaster Data Observatory, 2012, p.8). In all case study areas this age demographic is also one of most represented. Also, whilst Doncaster is a predominantly white town (Thorleifsson, 2016), there is the presence of other ethnic groups in the area. However, Doncaster Council's document *Doncaster: an atlas of our BAME communities* illustrates, using ONS data, that mixed, Asian and black minority groups are relatively higher concentrated in areas closer to the town centre than the two case study areas; the area of Denaby Main and Mexborough in particular significantly lacking in diversity (Strategy and Performance Unit, 2018).

This chapter emphasises that although pit villages share some similarities, particularly with regards to being dominated by one industry, both areas being predominantly white and having older than average populations, each area has a unique historical context. Each case study area has also fared differently in the post-mining era with regards to

regeneration; Rossington attracting relatively more 'regeneration' and benefiting more from links to Doncaster town centre than the Denaby Main and Mexborough area; Denaby Main and Mexborough identified as areas with significant issues related to deprivation (Team Doncaster, 2014).

Figure 6 The case study areas within the Doncaster borough (sourced from Google, n.d.)
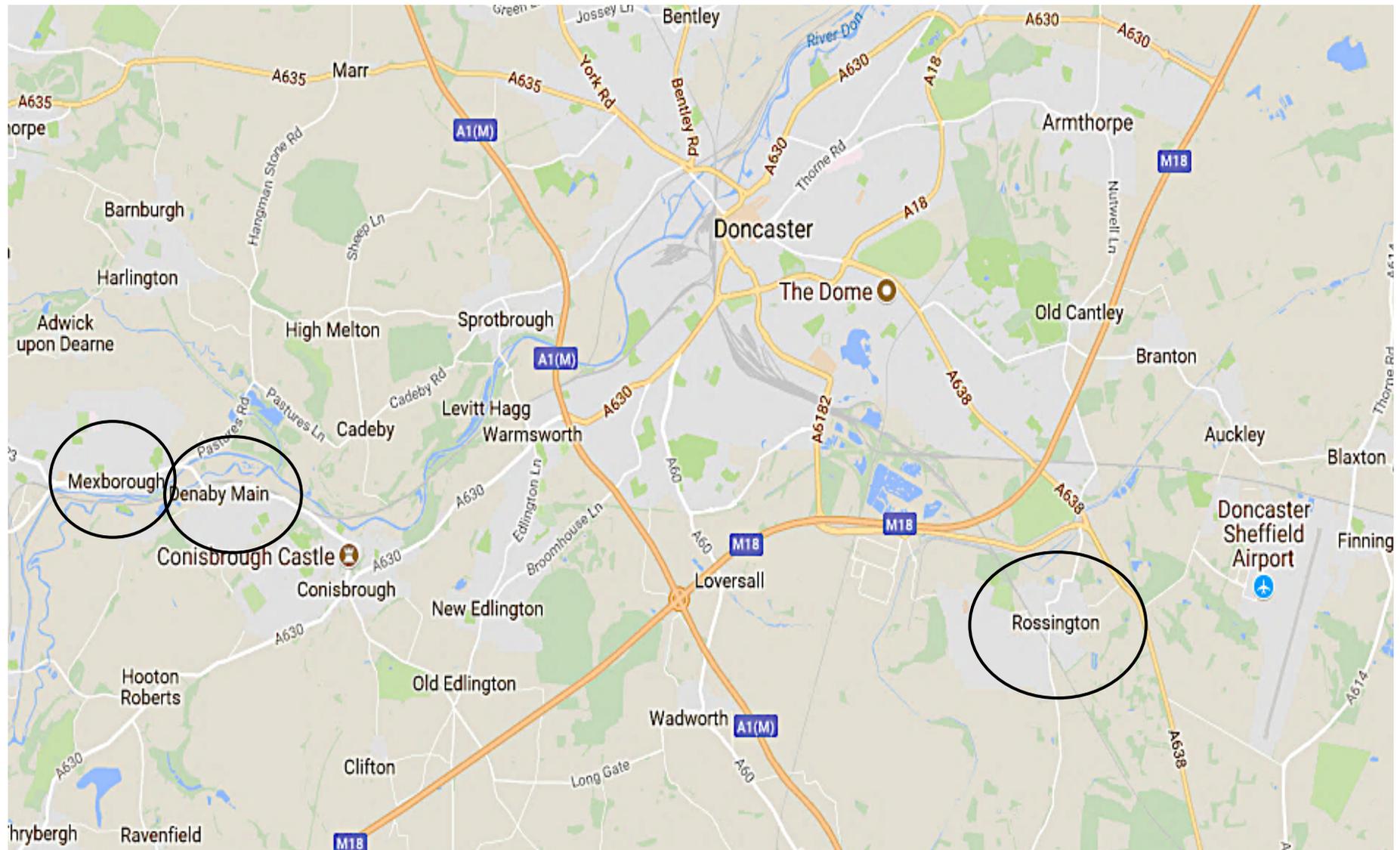
4.2 Rossington

Rossington is a village in the Metropolitan District of Doncaster adjacent to the A638, the Great North Road and a short distance (around three miles east) from Robin Hood Doncaster Sheffield airport. The village is five miles south of Doncaster town centre and it is separated from the town centre by the M18. The East Coast Mainline from London to Scotland separates the village into two contrasting communities. On the east side of the village (the entrance into the village from the Great North Road) are modern housing estates built during the mid-twentieth century and a pub; this is an area that has connections to Rossington's rural and manorial past. When the East Coast Mainline is crossed into the west side of the village there is a model colliery village that was built during the early twentieth century to house miners working at the Rossington colliery and also their families. The model village has since declined rapidly since the closure of the colliery, the miners' strike of 1984-85 and the end of British Coal. Shelter (n.d.) describes Rossington before the decline of the mining industry as "thriving"; the pit closure leaving the village "as one of the most deprived wards in England" (p.6). Team Doncaster (n.d.). however have identified significant improvements regarding deprivation in the Rossington area.

The village of Rossington before the twentieth century was a rural area. From 1472 the area was owned by the Doncaster Corporation and was run by the Corporation as mainly a farming settlement that provided a large amount of food for the town. Income also came from timber, clay, tolls from the mill, fishing rights and the village's fishery. 1838 marked Rossington's transition from a rural village into an area dominated by industry.

The development of the coal industry in Rossington began when Streatfeild decided to enter into a joint business venture with steel manufacturers John Brown of Sheffield, which led to the Rossington Main Colliery Company being created, which was registered on 1911 (Adam, 2008). The company was granted leases and rights to land on Streatfeild's estate on the west side of the railway line in Rossington. The sinkers began work at the colliery

site in 1912 and the pit shafts were sunk in 1914. It was ensured that the new development stayed on the west side of the railway, keeping it away from the hall on the east. As well as building a colliery and a rail link from the East Coast mainline to the colliery site there were plans to build a completely new community.

The model village that was built was inspired by the ideas of Ebneezer Howard; creating a model village that aimed to promote higher standards of health, prevent the spread of disease and generate better living and working conditions for the working class. Adam (2008) describes the standards of the houses built as "superb by the standards of the day" (p.43) as the houses featured relatively 'good' sized rooms, hot and cold running water, a bathroom and toilet on the ground floor and large gardens situated back from the wide streets. In 1915, shops were constructed by the Doncaster Mutual Cooperative society, the first school was erected and St. Luke's church was built and opened. Recreational and welfare facilities, such as the Welfare Hall and grounds, were also built which offered facilities such as large rooms, a library, football pitches and also bowling greens. By early 1930, Rossington Colliery had active sports teams that people inside and outside the community were encouraged to join. Adam (2008) stated that it was the football and cricket teams that saw considerable success from playing competitively against other colliery teams. Players with considerable talent were encouraged to relocate to the village with the promise of employment at Rossington Colliery and payment for playing.

The electoral roll for New Rossington by 1925 was predicted to be 3,034 though the population would have been larger, approaching 6,000 as women and children would not have been included (Adam, 2008). By this time also men from Wales, Northumberland, Lancashire, Staffordshire and Scotland had moved and settled into the Rossington area for the work opportunities due to unrest in the *industry* in those regions. By 1927, the area had experienced considerable growth and the colliery company had successfully created a self-enclosed community (Adam, 2008).

Rossington eventually became part of Doncaster as the Local Government Act 1972 came into effect in 1974, which meant that the Metropolitan Borough of Doncaster was created and took control over the civil parishes that were under the Doncaster Rural District.   This meant that Rossington Parish Council lost a considerable amount of power and influence regarding the development of the village. It is however mentioned that the majority of residents attempted to maintain independence and retain their identity. The inclusion of Rossington to the Doncaster area can arguably be reflected in growth in housing developments and the population in the old village of Rossington after DMBC was formed.

The residents of these new houses relied mainly on Doncaster town centre for employment, shopping and leisure whilst those in the model colliery village still were dependent on the colliery and facilities in the village (Adam, 2008). Wyness questioned whether the relatively newer residents of Rossington would engage with the community in places in the village, such as the pubs and clubs; describing those coming to live in Rossington as 'commuters' who settle in the village "because they find pleasant housing in a convenient 'commuter' suburb of Doncaster" (as cited in Clarke, 1986). Rossington Parish Council (2019) stated that generally people in post-industrial Rossington look "mainly to Doncaster Town Centre, to meet many of their day to day retail, community and other needs" (p.10).

The Miners' Strike in the village, that started during 1984 in Rossington, is described as "the worst year in the village's history" (Adam, 2008. p.143) and as a result had devastating costs for the community. Shops, local businesses and also the DMBC, through offering free school meals supported miners and their families during the strike, though they still suffered significant hardship. In March 1985 the strike was called off and the men returned to work in the colliery. As a result of the strike the colliery's workforce was reduced, local businesses had lost business to Doncaster town centre and Rossington's economy became more reliant on elderly members of the community and those who were less mobile. The rural past of the village is argued to have declined. Clarke (1986)

described Rossington after the strike as a village now seen as a commuter location that does not show anything that expresses its rural and manorial past. Unlike other villages in the Doncaster area Rossington was able to keep producing coal after the end of British Coal in the 1990s, though at a greatly reduced scale. The village however still suffered with high levels of unemployment and poverty. Eventually in 1992 Rossington Colliery ceased production, however the colliery closed permanently in 2007 after the owners of the colliery UK Coal made the decision that they were unable to finance resources needed to develop new coal faces.   In 2012 a reclamation project of the colliery spoil tip began with plans to build housing and other infrastructure on the site.

4.3 Demographics of Rossington

Rossington according to Office for National Statistics (ONS) data from 2011 has a usual resident population of 13,537 people (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a) that according to the Doncaster Data Observatory are concentrated more in the New Rossington area (66.74%) rather than in 'Old Rossington' on the east side of the East Coast Mainline (33.26%) which has a smaller population. The Rossington area has a slightly larger female population of 6,994 (51.7%) than it does male, in total there being 6,543 (48.3%) in the area.

The village as a whole has a population with significantly more residents aged 45 to 59 (20.1%), a higher percentage of residents aged 75 to 84 (5.7%) than both the Yorkshire and Humber and England average and has a higher percentage of people aged 60 to 64 (6.3%) than both the Doncaster and England and Wales average (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a). This suggests the area has an older population compared to other areas. 26 per cent of Rossington's population is over the age of 65 (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a), which Rossington Parish Council identifies "is above the equivalent borough (21%) and national (16%) averages" (Rossington Parish Council, 2019, p.9). An increasing ageing population however is not unique to Rossington; the "65 plus age group" forecasted

"to increase by over 41% between 2014 and 2034" (Rossington Parish Council, 2019, p.17).

Rossington is also predominantly white as 98.2% of the village's population belong to a white ethnic group (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a). Whereas 96.5 per cent identify as either white English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British, 1.1 per cent belong to an 'other' white ethnic group (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a). Only 0.7% of Rossington's population identify as Asian or Asian British and only 0.6% identify as black, African, Caribbean and Black British (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a). An lower percentage of people identify as mixed or multiple ethnicity (0.5%) and the area has an even lower representation of people belonging to an 'other' ethnic group (0.1%)(Office for National Statistics, n.d.a).

67.4% of Rossington's population belong to an economically active group; the majority of the population being in employment (59.3%) and working in a full-time job (38.5%), while 5.8% of Rossington's population are economically active unemployed and 2.3 per cent are full-time students (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a). The area however has 32.6% that belong to an economically inactive group; the majority being retired (14.6%), whilst 5.3 per cent look after home or family and 6.4% are long-term sick or disabled (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a). Amongst the long-term unemployed are 2.0 per cent of Rossington's population and amongst the unemployed that have never worked are 0.9 per cent (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a).

People with no qualifications make up the majority of Rossington's population (32.3%), whereas 18.5 per cent of the population obtain level two qualifications such as a GCSE (at grades A*, A, B, C), level two national diploma or an O-level (at grades A, B or C) and less

of Rossington's population (13.8%) have obtained a qualification level four and above such as a HND, degree with honours or PhD (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a).

The decline of the mining industry has meant that industries where Rossington's population are represented the most have changed. Only 1.1 per cent of Rossington's population identify that they work in a mining and quarrying occupation, whereas Caring, Leisure and other service occupations (15.2%) and elementary occupations (14.6%) are now the occupations where Rossington's population are represented the most (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a). According to the National Statistics Socioeconomic Classification (Ns-SeC), Rossington's population are represented the most in semi-routine occupations (21.1%), routine occupations (18.1%), lower managerial, administrative and professional occupations (14.9%) and intermediate occupations (11.5%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a). The category where Rossington's population is represented the least is in the higher managerial, administrative and professional category (5.1%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a). Whereas men are significantly represented in routine (21.9%) and lower supervisory and technical occupations (14.8%), women are represented significantly in semi-routine (27.4%) and intermediate occupations (16.9%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a). More specifically, men predominantly work in skilled trades occupations (24.4%) whereas women predominantly work in caring, leisure and other service occupations (24.6%) and the percentage of people defined as 'managers and senior officials', 'professionals' and 'associate professional and technical' are all lower than both the Doncaster and England and Wales' averages (Office for National Statistics, n.d.a).

4.3 Denaby Main and Mexborough

4.3.1 Denaby Main
Denaby Main is a post-mining village in the Metropolitan Borough of Doncaster situated approximately eight miles away from Doncaster Town Centre midway between Doncaster and Rotherham. What makes these areas unique to the other case study areas are that they are relatively close to both the Metropolitan Boroughs of Rotherham and Barnsley.

The area was originally given the name Denaby Main Colliery Village to distinguish it from the village of Old Denaby (which at the time was called Denaby). The 'Colliery Village' part of the name though time has eventually been lost and the village became known as Denaby Main (Jones, 1999). Denaby Main is described by Baylies (2003) as being a village that "fits the model" of a village built "exclusively" for mining (p.20).

The case study area is relatively further from Doncaster town centre compared to the other case study areas. It is an area characterised by having being built and dominated by one-company and being located away from pre-existing settlements (Jones, 1999). The villages are all relatively close to each other and separated from the nearby Doncaster overspill housing estates and suburbs of Warmsworth by two miles, separated by a strip of countryside and a limestone quarry known as the 'Dolomite Quarry'.

The village of Denaby Main came to exist when the Denaby Main Colliery Company was registered in 1868; the owners Messrs Pope and Pearson also owning collieries in West Yorkshire. Before the village was developed the area was farmland and the closest villages were Old Denaby and Mexborough. Despite the deepness of the seam of coal and the doubt that the sinkers could reach the Barnsley seam, it was the reached four years later in 1967 (Jones, 1999). In 1983 the Denaby Main Colliery Company opened another colliery close to Denaby Main Colliery called Cadeby Main Colliery and due to this new development the company was renamed Denaby & Cadeby Main Collieries Ltd (Jones, 1999).

The village of Denaby Main was dominated by colliery-owned houses; two up and two down miners' cottages with no bath and only outside water closets. Like in many colliery-owned villages the colliery-owned houses were 'tied', meaning that if an employee of the colliery left employment or was involved in an industrial dispute, the family risked being evicted from their home by the colliery company (Jones, 1999).

Denaby Main is described by Macfarlane (1976) as being "a 'company town'" as the colliery company built and owned all of the houses, amenities and institutions such as "the local school, church, hotel, co-operative store, miners' institute and the boy scout, football, cricket and St John's Ambulance facilities" (p.143). This meant that other than the union (the Yorkshire Mineworkers Association), the colliery company had significantly large amount of control over most institutions in the area. The owners of Denaby Main colliery had a higher amount of social power than colliery owners in areas that shared social infrastructure with established industries such as wool and textiles. Macfarlane (1976) highlights the ruthlessness and uncompromising nature of the Denaby Main Colliery Company and describes life in Denaby Main as "'total institution'" for both colliery workers and other members of the community (p.143). The village for the mining company was used as a means of social control for the population of Denaby Main.

Denaby Main Colliery was closed in 1968 and Cadeby Main Colliery closed later in 1987 following the Miner's Strike of 1984-85 (Jones, 1999). At present there is little that remains of the original mining village as many terraced houses were demolished and replaced with modern semi-detached houses (Jones, 1999). Development has since taken place on the old colliery sites. What was the entrance to Denaby Main Colliery is now marked by a colliery winding wheel and the Dearne Valley Leisure Centre was built on the site. The area where Cadeby Main Colliery was operational was chosen for the development of an attraction called The Earth Centre, though the site has since been developed into an activity centre by educational firm Kingswood.

4.3.2 Demographics of Denaby Main

Denaby Main is a part of the Conisborugh and Denaby Main ward and this area has a total population of 14,333 and like Rossington has a similar ratio of male and female residents; the Conisborugh and Denaby Main area having 6,994 female residents (51.4%), which is slightly higher than the 6,543 (48.3%) of male residents in the area (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). Unlike Rossington, The Denaby Main area unlike Rossington has been identified as been in the most deprived 1 per cent nationally and from 2011 Census data

was identified as having "deprivation issues in all categories" and has not seen the improvements that the New Rossington South area has seen (Team Doncaster, n.d.). This "deprivation measure uses employment, education, health and housing measures to give an overall 'score'" (Team Doncaster, 2014, p.4). Denaby Main is also stated along with Mexborough, Toll Bar, Highfields and Balby areas where more than 45 per cent of children are living in poverty (Team Doncaster, 2014).

Like the Rossington area, the most represented age category in the Conisbrough and Denaby Main area is the 45 to 59 age group (19.6%) and the second most represented age category is the 30 to 44 age group (18.5%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). From an analysis of ONS data, 22.4 per cent of Conisbrough and Denaby's population is aged 60 and over (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c).

A lack of diversity is also evident from ONS statistics regarding the ethnicity of Conisbrough and Denaby's population as 98.3 per cent belong to a white ethnic group (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). 97.3 per cent of the population identify as white English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British and a 0.6 per cent identify as being 'other' white (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c), which is lower than the percentage of the population who identify as such in Rossington. Asian or Asian British people are represented less in Conisbrough and Denaby Main (0.5%) and even less identify as black, African, Caribbean and Black British (0.3%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). A slightly higher percentage of people in Conisbrough and Denaby Main however identify as mixed or multiple ethnicity (0.8%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). Despite people of different ethnicities being present in this area, from analysing this statistical data it is clearly predominantly white.

Relative to Rossington, there are less people in Conisbrough and Denaby Main that are economically active (62%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). Whilst the majority of the population are in employment (52.8%) and working in a full-time job (32.6%), a larger percentage of Conisbrough and Denaby Main's population are economically active

unemployed (7.2%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c).   38 per cent of people in Conisbrough and Denaby are economically inactive; the majority being retired (15.5%), 6.3 per cent looking after home or family and a higher percentage of people long-term sick or disabled than in Rossington (9.4%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). The area has a higher percentage of long-term unemployed (3.0%) and people that have never worked (1.6%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c).

A higher percentage of people in Conisbrough and Denaby Main than in Rossington have no qualifications (39.8%), whereas 15.5 per cent of the population have obtained a level one qualification and 15.7 per cent of the population have obtained a level two qualification (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). Less of Conisbrough and Denaby Main's population have obtained a qualification level four and above (10.5%) compared to the population of Rossington (13.8%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c).

Despite Denaby Main being named after the colliery that existed in the area, only 0.1 per cent of the population work in a mining and quarrying occupation and in the modern era, unlike Rossington, the occupation where Conisbrough and Denaby Main's population are most present are elementary occupations (16.4%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). People in this ward According to the National Statistics Socioeconomic Classification (Ns-SeC), are represented the most in routine occupations (21.2%), followed by semi-routine occupations (19.5%) and lower managerial, administrative and professional occupations (11.6%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). Like Rossington's, the population is represented the least in the higher managerial, administrative and professional category, but at a slightly lower percentage (3.5%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). Similar to Rossington men are significantly represented in routine (25.3%) and lower supervisory and technical occupations (14.1%), whereas women in Conisbrough and Denaby Main are represented significantly in semi-routine (25.2%) and routine occupations (17.3%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c). Again, like Rossington, men predominantly work in skilled

trades occupations (26.6%) and women work in caring, leisure and other service occupations (22.3%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.c).

4.3.3 Mexborough

Mexborough is a large colliery settlement situated approximately eight miles away from Doncaster town centre that unlike Rossington and Denaby Main was a colliery settlement in the form of a small town (Jones, 1999). Mexborough is also the only case study area with a railway station and a bus station. The expansion of the railways in Doncaster by the South Yorkshire Railway Company in 1850 resulted in Mexborough becoming a successful and busy railway junction that transported the coal mined from the area (Dearne Valley Landscape Partnership, 2019) that in the modern era is a commuter route from Doncaster to Sheffield. Despite this the town remains relatively isolated from the rest of Doncaster compared to the case study area of Rossington, which has a faster road link to the town centre and motorway network.

Mexborough is a post-mining area that is significantly different from the others. Rossington which is defined as "a large planned colliery settlement", and Denaby Main, which is a large colliery settlement "that grew up over a long period" (Jones, 1999, pp.123-124). Mexborough is a large colliery settlement in the form of a small town which had "no overall plan" and the town developed "over a long period in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" around the core of a pre-existing village (Jones, 1999, p.123). Mexborough relative to other areas had a relatively more diverse economy than the other two case study areas; Mexborough "representing a community with a much more diversified economic base" (Baylies, 2003, p.20). However, throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and the majority of the twentieth centuries Mexborough's economy was dominated by coal mining, despite there being other industries such as glass manufacture and ceramics production (Baylies, 2003).

Mexborough rapidly developed into an industrial town from 1800 as the River Don Navigation made the existence of large-scale industry in the area viable (Dearne Valley Landscape Partnership, 2019). The coal industry however dominated the area; coal mines being sunk in the area in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Jones, 1999). Mexborough was a location that served as a residence for a large number of miners as the town was relatively close to the Manvers, Cadeby and Denaby Main Collieries. Ashby (cited by Heard, 2010) described Mexborough as a town that was once prosperous and has not recovered from losing all its major industries; the closure of the collieries in the surrounding areas having a significant impact.

The Mexborough area after the decline of industry in the area is described as having "deprivation issues in all categories" (Team Doncaster, n.d.). Ashby (cited by Heard, 2010) emphasises the lack of employment opportunities in the town; opportunities existing at a call centre and warehousing complex outside of the town, but the majority of the population needing to travel to nearby Doncaster, Rotherham, Barnsley and Sheffield for employment opportunities. This issue that Mexborough has at offering employment opportunities to its residents is highlighted in the *Anti-Poverty Needs Assessment (APNA) 2014: Evidence Base Anti-Poverty Strategy 2014-2017* (Team Doncaster, 2014). Mexborough was identified as having one of the highest proportions of young people not in education, employment or training (NEET), higher than the national and regional average (Team Doncaster, 2014).

4.3.4 Demographics of Mexborough

The Mexborough ward has a population of 15,244, which makes it the case study area with the largest population (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). Like the other case study areas, the ratio of male and female residents is near to equal; Mexborough having 7,753 female residents (50.9%), which is slightly higher than the 7,491 (49.1%) of male residents in the area (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). Mexborough along with Denaby Main has been identified as an area where 45 per cent of children are living in

poverty (Team Doncaster, 2014). Also, like the Denaby Main area, Mexborough has been identified as having "deprivation issues in all categories" (Team Doncaster, n.d.).

Similar to the other case study areas, the most represented age category in Mexborough is the 45 to 59 age group (20.1%) and the second most represented age category is the 30 to 44 age group (19.1%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). From an analysis of ONS data, the number of people aged 60 and over in Mexborough is 22.2 percent (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b).

When analysing the maps from *Doncaster: An atlas of our BAME communities* (Strategy and Performance Unit, 2018), it can be seen that Mexborough lacks diversity relative to other areas. Similar to the other case study areas, at 98.2 per cent of Mexborough's population belonging to a white ethnic group, it can be identified the area is relatively homogenous with regards to white ethnic groups being highly represented (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). 96.2 per cent of the population identify as white English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British and the area has the highest representation of 'other' white ethnic groups compared to the other case study areas (0.6%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). Asian or Asian British people are represented at the same percentage as Conisbrough and Denaby Main (0.5%) and less identify as black, African, Caribbean and Black British (0.4%), though the area has a higher percentage of people who identify as mixed or multiple ethnicity than black or Asian (0.7%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b).

There is a slightly higher percentage of people in Mexborough that are economically active than in the nearby Conisbrough and Denaby Main ward (63.4%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). A higher majority of the population are in employment (54.1%) and working in a full-time job (33.1%), but a larger percentage of Mexborough are economically active and unemployed (7.4%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). 36.6 per cent of people in Mexborough are economically inactive; the majority being retired

(15.4%), 5.7 per cent looking after home or family but less people are long-term sick or disabled than in nearby Denaby Main (8.4%), though unlike Denaby Main, a higher percentage of long-term unemployed live in Mexborough (3.3%) but a lower percentage of people never having worked before (1.3%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b).

Less people in Mexborough than in the Conisbrough and Denaby Main ward have no qualifications (36.6%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). The percentage of people have level one qualification are 17.2 per cent and and 16.9 per cent of the population have a level two qualification, though a similar percentage of people in Mexborugh have a level four and above qualification to the Conisbrough and Denaby Main ward (10.5%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b).

Like the other case study areas, less people work in mining and quarrying in Mexborough's post-mining era (0.5%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). Like Conisbrough and Denaby Main's population, Mexborough's population are most present are elementary occupations (17.0%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). The Ns-SeC identifies Mexborough also like Conisbrough and Denaby Main as having its population represented mostly in routine occupations (20.3%), followed by semi-routine occupations (19.0%) but the third most represented is intermediate occupations (12.7%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). Similar to the other case study areas the population is represented the least in the higher managerial, administrative and professional category (3.4%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). Also similar to the other case study areas men are significantly represented in routine (24.7%), but in Mexborough men are also significantly represented in semi-routine occupations (14.0%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). Mexborough's women are represented significantly in semi-routine (24.0%) and intermediate occupations (18.7%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b). Similar to the other case study areas men are highly represented in skilled trades occupations (25.6%) but Mexborough's

women are highly represented in sales and customer service occupations (22.4%) (Office for National Statistics, n.d.b).

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter briefly described the histories and demographics of the two case study areas. What this chapter aimed to emphasise are some of the similarities and differences between the two case study areas. Both of the case study areas have faced significant changes regarding their socioeconomic landscape as all the case study areas have transitioned from having economies that relied on mining to economies where the majority of resident work in routine occupations and semi-routine occupations. Examples the Education Committee (2014) give as semi-routine occupations include "Traffic wardens, Receptionists, Shelf-stackers, Care workers" and "Telephone Salespersons". What this change regarding the occupations that the populations of these case study areas possibly highlights are implications regarding the possible 'self-identification' of populations in these case study areas who work in these occupations as 'working-class':

> *While a large proportion of adults may self-identify as working class as a result of their backgrounds or their parents' occupations, this does not correspond well with the proportion of adults who now work in semi-routine or routine occupations or are unemployed (Education Committee, 2014).*

What is clear however is that post-mining communities in Doncaster whilst maintaining characteristics such as a level of homogeneity which is characterised by the areas being predominantly white and the geographic isolation away from other areas, post-mining areas have gone through a significant change. From this analysis of the case study areas it can be identified that the case study area of Mexborough and Denaby Main has fared worse than the Rossington case study area; regeneration attempts, improved infrastructure and large-scale house building and job creation projects being emphasised as providing significant benefits to the area.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The following will explain the methodological process that was used to conduct the research. When the methodological process began to be considered it was felt early that it was important to be clear on what the methodology needed to address. One the main aims of the research design process was constructing a research design that is appropriate to the research project. In particular, this involved identifying an epistemological and methodological approach that fits with the research aims and objectives.

The most important challenge it was felt needed to be considered was the context. Early in the literature review process, particularly during analysis of Coal is our life by Dennis et al. (1969), one of the major concerns that occurred was as a researcher not giving a realistic representation of the studied communities, at the worst, unintentionally reproducing caricatures of miners, the people that live in mining communities and the communities themselves that Dennis et al's (1969) study was criticized for producing. As Warwick and Littlejohn (1992) state, people that live in mining communities that have been the focus of studied have often been vocal in their criticisms that researchers 'get their communities all wrong' (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992).

The methodological process will be explained in three stages: the initial planning process, the planning of the research methods and discussion addressing what the 'reality was found to be using the grounded theory approach.

5.2 Stage one: The initial planning process

5.2.1 Crotty's framework for research design

One other important factor that had to be considered was that the research project would be approached by a postgraduate student who was relatively new to postgraduate level research. This meant that there was a particularly high learning curve that had to be overcome.   Initially the process of building a methodological approach that was

appropriate for the research project was the most intimidating aspect of the research process and proved to be challenging, particularly in understanding where to start in the process. Understanding how research projects are designed and understanding how research projects I analysed in the literature review were designed and their rationale for their approach helped a great deal in overcoming this barrier.

Crotty's framework for research design helped a great deal in understanding and demystifying the research design process. This made clear what the basic elements of the research process are. Crotty (1998) argues that often in social research texts the terms epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and research methods are often "thrown together in grab-bag style as if they were all comparable terms" (p.3). This framework emphasises the need for researchers to provide a clear structure to the research process. It portrays the process of research design as a four-step process which identifies the epistemological approach, the theoretical perspective, the research methodology and research methods as being defining aspects of the research.

Figure 7: Crotty's framework for research design (Crotty, 1998)

| Epistemology | → | Theoretical perspective | → | Methodology | → | Research methods |
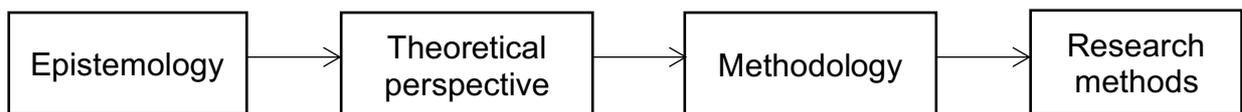
5.2.2 Research epistemology: The constructivist approach

The main factors of the selection of the research epistemology that was employed were the aims of the research and the researcher's own epistemological position. Crotty (1998) defines the epistemology as "the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology" (Crotty, 1998, p.3).

What this research subscribes to a constructivist epistemology. For Charmaz (2014), constructivism acknowledges subjectivity and the construction and interpretation of data that the researcher engages in. Subjectivity is argued to be "inseparable from social

existence" (Charmaz, 2014, p.14). This standpoint challenges the perspective that there is an objective reality and that researchers can approach their project as passive and unbiased observers (Charmaz, 2014). The objectivist approach therefore suggests that meaningful entities can exist independently of consciousness and that there is truth and meaning residing in them (Crotty, 1998).

It is important to distinguish the constructivist approach from the constructionist approach. Crotty (1998) advocates for a constructionist approach as he emphasises how constructionism fosters a "critical spirit" and criticises constructivism for "tending to scotch any hint of a critical spirit" (p.58), Charmaz (2014) however argues that constructionism approaches erase subjectivity. Despite Charmaz (2014) stating that researchers that have embraced constructionism have created "impressive analyses of the constructions of the worlds they studied", she argues that approaches have tended to treat their analyses as accurate renditions rather than as constructions (p.14).

What the main attraction was to the constructivist epistemology was, is how it addresses the role of interplay between the participant, the researcher and the outside world and the role that social experiences such as history, culture, ideology and politics play. It accepts that an objective reality exists, though if focuses on how knowledge is constructed and understood. Individuals construct their own meaning in relation to the same phenomenon and don't just discover knowledge like objectivism suggests. What this means is that the idea that researchers (or 'experts') can be neutral observers and that the idea of an individual being value free is discarded. The importance that is placed on context, interaction, the sharing of individual viewpoints and interpretive understandings (Charmaz, 2014) is the advantage of this stance.

This approach offers a significant advantage in analysing attitudes to alcohol in a case study context as it identifies the attitudes that exist and how individuals in these communities have constructed their identities; the approach regarding the social practices

people engage in as the main focus (Andrews, 2012). Room (1984) argues that the social constructivist approach offers advantages in that it is able to identify changes that occur in drinking patterns, how they occur and societal responses to them, and the consequences of them. In comparison, alcohol consumption problems from an objectivist standpoint are simply objective conditions (Orcutt & Rudy, 2003).

The catalysts that encouraged the application of this epistemological approach to this research project were the recognition that that there is very few in depth analyses of drinking practices in post-mining communities. Also, on reading qualitative literature that focused on mining communities, it was recognised there is a need for honesty regarding the beliefs and biases of the researcher. One of the main fears of embracing a more critical approach that Crotty (1998) advocated was the reproduction of what Grazian (2004) described as "tired myths and clichés" (p.268). The embracing of a constructivist epistemology was to address resist "one-dimensional characterisations of mining communities" mining communities that Gilbert (1995, p.53) identified were prevalent in research in these areas.

5.2.3 Theoretical perspective: Symbolic interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is a perspective that sees human beings as active agents in activities in their worlds and emphasises the way they realise these activities (Charmaz, 2014). Whilst the grounded theory methodology provides the tools for analysis, symbolic interactionism provides inspiration. Charmaz (2014) stated that:

> *symbolic interactionism underlies many grounded theory studies", and can be applied to a diverse range of disciplines, though she argues that it is often "misunderstood and misrepresented (p.20).*

Blumer (1969) conceived the term 'symbolic interactionism'. This perspective views society as preceding individuals and that they live in an environment that is material. What is assumed by symbolic interactionism is continuous reciprocal processes taking

place between individuals, collectivities, and the environment. This therefore views the data given by individuals as subjective and each perspective as being relative. The approach of symbolic

Though Charmaz (2015) recognises that symbolic interactionism is often seen as the foundation of grounded theory, Charmaz also views symbolic interactionism and grounded theory as being able to work together in research. For Charmaz, to realise the potential that symbolic interactionism is capable of is to realise that symbolic interactionism can provide both conceptual analyses, particularly in "social justice research" and therefore help work towards "further social change" (Charmaz, 2015).

What symbolic interactionism can offer to this research project is a world-view and language that can be used during the data collection process. Rather than concentrating on what the participants tell the researcher, using symbolic interactionism, the perspective of the researcher is also taken into account, particularly how the researcher asks, sees, tells and also learns (Charmaz, 2014). As Blumer (1969) points out, the conduct of individuals is formed from social interaction and is not just expressed as a result of it. This links to one important concept of symbolic interactionism that Blumer (1969) pointed out, which is "gaining intimate familiarity". Charmaz (2015) defines this term as "gaining an in-depth knowledge of the research participants, their setting or settings and their situations and actions" (p.53).

Glaser and Strauss's (1967) approach to grounded theory, despite analysing and implications relating to the methodology of symbolic interactionism did not fully embrace fully Blumer's theoretical program, as the focus was more on "empirical realities" as opposed to emphasising the "insider understandings of participants' worlds", which reflects the relatively objectivist and positivist nature of their approach (Charmaz, 2015, p.53). As Charmaz does not perceive symbolic interactionism as simply a "methodological

lament", she emphasises the importance of using the perspective to address implications related to social practice and theory.

The freedom of being able to gain intimate familiarity was important in determining the selection of the theoretical perspective as grounded theory as a methodological approach relies on the researcher to maintain an openness to the unexpected in the research settings (Charmaz, 2008). As drinking practices in post-mining communities is relatively under-researched topic compared to drinking practices in the town and city centres, it was felt that this was an important approach to take, taking into account grounded theory's emphasis on emergence.

Charmaz (2008) argues that the failure to gain intimate familiarity with the topic results in "imposing either preconceived problems or narrow interests" on the study which results in a stifling of emergence and therefore "undermines effective use of grounded theory" (p.162). The aim of gaining intimate familiarity will hopefully enable me to gain knowledge of drinking practices from individuals. Using Blumer's (1969) recommendations, intimate familiarity will be achieved by: perceiving situations from the position of the participants or collective, gaining "a body of relevant observations" in the form of "descriptive accounts" from the participants regarding how they see the world, ensuring that preconceived ideas do not an effect on the research findings and challenging these preconceived ideas (pp.51-52).

5.2.4 Methodological approach: The case for a grounded theory study

Throughout the methodology process different methodological approaches were considered. Grounded theory however was considered to be the most appropriate for the research project. The focus of grounded theory is ensuring the act of theorising stays grounded in the collected data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The act of theorising means to stop, ponder and have a fresh approach to thinking; stopping the process of studying and expanding experience and deconstructing it (Charmaz, 2014).

The grounded theory methodology advocates the discovery of theory from data obtained through systematic social research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The generating of theories from data allows hypotheses and concepts to be developed in relation to the data during the research process. The participant identifies issues of concern or importance regarding the subject matter as opposed to the researcher. Data that is gathered is then constantly compared; in the initial stages data with data is compared but then with interpretations that have been translated into codes and categories and more data (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006). This methodological approach can be viewed as one that challenged quantitative positivist research of the mid 1960s (Charmaz, 2014). Researchers advocating for this method emphasised the importance of quantifiable methods of systemic observation, experiments that can be replicated, logical hypotheses and evidence that is confirmed (Charmaz, 2014).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) are noted as the developers of grounded theory, which initially was a response to the trend of field research becoming more distant from the people in the environments being researched, remaining solely ethnographic and consisting of analytic description (Charmaz, 1990). The grounded theory approach aimed to: bring the researcher closer to the experiences and processes of research participants; provide a method to identify, capture and render processual analyses; develop a methodology that is rigorous, has integrity and has values naturally different from those of qualitative research; and promote significantly more detailed, substantial and formal qualitative research (Charmaz, 1990).

The main reasons as to why a grounded theory approach was implemented over a thematic analysis approach, with regards to this research project, were the strength of the method in areas where a lack of previous research exists and the ability of grounded theory to generate theory with explanatory power (Birks & Mills, 2015). By implementing this approach, the experience of the participants is put to the forefront; the experiences of

participants determining the approach to collection and analysis taken (Charmaz, 1990). Thematic analysis was initially considered to be used as the main analysis method, though was withdrawn later, as this method has the disadvantage of struggling to "deal with the meaning of the text in terms of its implied meanings, how the meaning draws on what has just been said, what follows or even what is left unsaid" (Denscombe, 2010, p.283).

What makes the grounded theory approach unique is that the collection and analysis of data in grounded theory research are both performed simultaneously. Research approaches that do not apply grounded theory collect a large amount of secondary research before the analysis of data and the collection of primary data. Grounded theory uses emerging categories to structure primary data collection (Charmaz, 1990). Grounded theory also uses analytic codes and categories that are developed using primary data sources such as one-to-one interviews, as opposed to using secondary data sources such as existing research (Birks & Mills, 2015). This means that by employing this approach the researcher enters the field with no or little preconceived ideas that may affect the research; meaning this method has often been described as inductive (Birks & Mills, 2015). Despite the uniqueness of the grounded theory approach, this methodological approach has been used for a significantly long time and it provides procedures that have been tried and tested to construct theories, which is another advantage of applying this approach.

Mills, Bonner and Francis (2006) identify two of the main approaches to grounded theory, the traditional Glaserian approach and the evolved Straussian approach. Both have had a significant influence on the second generation of grounded theorists whom Birks and Mills (2015) state "have in many cases used the original work as a launching pad for their own iterations" (p.3). There are significant differences between the two approaches with regards to philosophy and methodology that influence how the essential grounded theory methods are implemented in the research. The main differences between the traditional Glaserian and the evolved Straussian approaches are how theoretical sensitivity is gained and whether the researcher is active or passive. The Glaserian approach states that

theoretical sensitivity is gained through emersion in data by a passive researcher who implements disciplined restraint, while the Straussian approach states that theoretical sensitivity comes from methods and tools put into place by an active researcher. This division of grounded theory into two 'schools of thought' however is argued by Birks and Mills (2015) as not being very helpful as it does not consider developments in grounded theory design that have taken place from 1986 to the present and subtleties and differences in each. Despite the differences of each approach, Charmaz (1995, 2014) recognises that there are features that all grounded theory designs have:

- Concurrent collection and analysis of data

- Analytic codes and categories that have been created using data and not by conceptualisations that already exist

- An analysis of actions and processes as opposed to themes and structure

- Middle range theories that explain basic social processes

- Memos that are used between coding and writing

- A search in the studied categories or processes for variation

- Categories are elaborated on using theoretical sampling

- The delay of the literature review

The advantage of the grounded theory approach is that it is an approach that is open to the unexpected. What makes the grounded theory approach distinct is its focus on 'grounding' the research in the collected data, the emphasis on analysis of actions and processes and "remaining open to new theoretical possibilities (Charmaz, 2015). Though Grounded theory methods have received greater recognition and have been applied in other forms of qualitative research, what frustrates Charmaz (2015) is the obscuring of the distinct qualities of grounded theory application of methods associated with the

methodological approach. This is argued to result in studies that consist of just description and reproduce conventional perspectives.

The consideration of applying a grounded theory approach was when it was found that the approach would be an advantage when conducting research in under-researched areas like attitudes to alcohol in post-mining communities in the Doncaster borough. The main reason however for being drawn to the grounded theory approach was its focus on the participants. Grounded theory research starts with the story of the participant and then the story is expanded upon by attempting to identify the action within a social process, however this may not be directly expressed (Charmaz, 2014, p.87).

5.2.5 The Constructivist grounded theory approach

The grounded theory approach that was initially selected was the constructivist grounded theory methodological approach by Charmaz (1995). Constructivist grounded theory can be seen as adapting an interpretivist theoretical perspective compared to Glaser and Strauss's (1967) grounded theory methodology which is associated with positivism, therefore assuming an objective external reality and a passive and neutral observer (Charmaz, 2014). This methodological approach attempts to remove assumptions that the researcher involved in the project is neutral. In Constructing grounded theory (2014) Charmaz (2014) outlines the reasons why the term "constructivist" was used in describing the approach, she stated:

> *I chose the term 'constructivist' to acknowledge subjectivity and the researcher's involvement in the construction and interpretation of data and to signal the differences between my approach and conventional social constructivism of the 1980s and the early 1990s (p.14).*

Charmaz's model detailing the constructivist grounded theory process recognises that the grounded theory process is not linear in nature. This model however emphasises the importance of memo writing and the application of a constant comparative process until

categories reach saturation point throughout the part of the process past the "recruitment and sampling of participants" step.

Constructivist grounded theory emphasises the importance of the background of the researcher, the relationship the researcher has with participants and writing (Birks & Mills, 2015). Charmaz (2014) expresses the dissatisfaction with social constructionist approaches to research common in the 1980s and 1990s, which saw researchers not take into account the processes used to construct data and the moral and ethical implications of these. These researchers treat their collected data and analyses as accurate instead of as constructions of the researched environments; Charmaz (2014) stated that this trend saw other researchers erasing their subjectivity rather than engaging in reflexivity processes. As opposed to erasing the subjectivity, constructivist grounded theory recognises that the researcher is actively involved in construction and interpretation of data and that these may occur under conditions which the researcher may not have control of or aware of.

Figure 8: Charmaz's visual representation of a grounded theory (Charmaz, 2015)

Writing up / dissemination

THEORY BUILDING

FOCUSSED CODING and CATEGORISING

INITIAL CODING

Data collection

Recruitment and sampling of participants

Research question

Memo writing

Categories reaching **SATURATION**

Incomplete understanding raises questions, fill properties or categories

Examples present within the data or from new data

Theoretical sampling develop theoretical categories

CONSTANT COMPARATIVE METHOD

5.2.6 Grounded theory and theoretical sensitivity

Theoretical sensitivity is a multidimensional concept defined as the ability of the researcher to be able to understand and define phenomena present in the data in abstract terms and demonstrate abstract relationships between studied phenomena. Birks and Mills (2015) define theoretical sensitivity as "the ability to recognise and extract from the data elements that have relevance" to the emerging theory (p.58). This means that the researcher should be able to distinguish more important elements in the data from elements that aren't so and have the capability to understand the processes (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Mills, Bonner and Francis (2006) state that theoretical sensitivity is determined by how much prior knowledge and insight into the research area the researcher has, their ability to understand the nuances and complexity of participant descriptions and the ability to recreate meaning.

This is important in grounded theory as the approach addresses the disadvantage of grounded theory research which is that people who employ this approach only have their own knowledge of the topic and are unaware of the importance of this with relation to the research (Birks & Mills, 2015). Three characteristics are identified as important to the concept: (1) the reflection of personal, professional and experiential history, (2) the enhancement of theoretical sensitivity using various techniques, tools and strategies and (3) the increase theoretical sensitivity as the research progresses (Birks & Mills, 2015).

Traditionally research, has sought objectivity, though this is problematic for qualitative researchers as researchers interact with participants and both parties bring "perspectives, training, knowledge, assumptions and the data" (Corbin and Strauss, 2015, p.77). Corbin and Strauss (2015) highlight the stark differences between sensitivity and objectivity, the former meaning having an insight, being aware of the environment and being able to identify "relevant issues, events, and happenings" in the data collection and analysis process (p.78). What is stressed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) is the importance of theoretical sensitivity in the grounded theory approach as theories emerge from the data.

This is described as something that is "forever in continual development" as it is something that is developed throughout a researcher's career (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Corbin and Strauss (2015) however highlight the possibility that experience can have an effect on the perception of researchers 'blinding' them to new phenomena, though it is also argued experience can give a researcher the advantage of being able to recognise new phenomenon faster.

One of the reasons why theoretical sensitivity is important in this research are concerns regarding any subconscious bias or expectation having an effect on the research findings. Glaser and Strauss (1967) address this concern, arguing that the researcher loses theoretical sensitivity when commitment is made to a preconceived theory, which eventually leads the researcher to be dogmatic regarding this theory; as a result, not being open to questions that challenge it or cast doubt on it. On addressing this, Glaser and Strauss (1967) advocate for the 'traditional' grounded theory approach to data collection, which is to withhold any secondary data collection prior to primary collection.

In gaining a clearer understanding of theoretical sensitivity, it was necessary to define first the term 'theorising'. Charmaz (2014) defines 'theorising' as "stopping, pondering, and thinking afresh" (p.244). She therefore views theoretical sensitivity as being gained by looking at the research subject from multiple standpoints, comparing, following on leads and successfully building on ideas that have been formed (Charmaz, 2014). What is important to Charmaz's (2014) perspective on constructing a theory is the idea that creating one is not a "mechanical process" (p.245).

Tools can increase theoretical sensitivity be defined as either one of the two main strategies, both important staples of social sciences research. These are comparing data and asking questions regarding data (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). Grounded theory uses the constant comparative method which involves the breaking down of data and following on from that each piece compared for similarities and differences. The grouping of

conceptual similarities forms a category and eventually the integration of each category around a core category.

One of the analytic tools stated by Corbin and Strauss (2015) that will be of prime importance in the process of analysis is questioning; used during every stage of analysis from the beginning to the final writing process. Asking questions will also allow greater understanding of the researched and to allow the researcher to "enter the world of the participant" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p.92). Besides the typical "who, what, when, where, how, and with what consequences" (Corbin & Strauss, p.92) other types of questions will be asked during the collection and analysis processes: sensitizing questions, theoretical questions, practical questions, and guiding questions (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Having a "comparative base to work from" will also be of significant help to aid in asking questions, an example being contrasting descriptions from one participant against another.

What Charmaz (2014) recommends researchers engage however in is what she defines as "theoretical playfulness", which sees "whimsy and wonder" help in being able to see the "novel" in "mundane activities" (p.245). Being open to unexpected is identified as improving theoretical sensitivity as it expands the researchers view and therefore the possibilities of the research theoretically (Charmaz, 2014). This approach as Kenny and Fourie (2015) describe can be perceived as an approach that is "more interpretive, intuitive, and impressionistic" as the constructivist grounded theory approach usually ends with a conclusion that is focused around the researcher's interpretive meaning of the data rather than make "prognostic or predictive" theories (p.1279).

5.2.7 Uncomfortable reflexivity

It is important to recognise the importance of researcher reflexivity, which involves engaging in self-aware analysis of intersubjective dynamics between the researcher and the participants (Maso, 2003). Probst and Berenson (2014) emphasise the importance

that reflexivity plays in modern research, especially in a world that is multi-cultural, where many opinions and streams of discourse exist and the impact of bias and inequalities in power cannot be ignored or controlled. Charmaz (2014) gives the following definition of reflexivity:

> *The researcher's scrutiny of the research experience, decisions, and interpretations in ways that bring him or her into the process… a reflexive stance informs how the researcher conducts his or her research, relates to the research participants, and represents them in written reports (p.344)*

Reflexivity recognises the researcher is a main figure in the construction of the collection, selection and interpretation of research data; subjectivity being identified and transformed from a problem to an opportunity (Maso, 2003). Reflexivity involves the researcher legitimising, validating and questioning research practices and representations. The most common use of reflexivity is to explain how the researcher's social position and values will or have influenced the attainment and production of data (Pillow, 2003).

It is recommended however that the use of reflexivity as a methodological tool to gain better and more valid data be interrupted in favour of putting the complexities of doing qualitative research at the forefront as reflexivity is argued to often be treated as a confessional act for the researcher and a practice that aims to seek familiarity between the researcher and the researched. Probst and Berenson (2014) argue that reflexivity does not improve the authenticity, truthfulness and value of research and still does not address the issue of representing the realities of research participants. Similarly Pillow (2003) argued "some researchers use reflexivity as a methodological tool to better present, legitimize, or call into question the research data". Confessional accounts used in reflexive recordings do not allow the reader to engage in questioning at a more complex and in-depth level (Pillow, 2003). Pillow (2003) identifies four common trends in the use of reflexivity: reflexivity of recognition of self, reflexivity as recognition of other, reflexivity as truth and reflexivity as transcendence; all of which are problematic in that they move

towards a more comfortable use of reflexivity which is argued to lead "too easily and too closely to the familiar" (Pillow, 2003, p.192).

The reflexive process employed in this research project was inspired by Pillow's (2003) practice which was termed uncomfortable reflexivity. This addresses the disadvantages of common trends in reflexivity as it seeks to know but situates this knowing as weak; addressing the importance of addressing the researcher's position and not intimidated into not stating the unfamiliar (Pillow, 2003). What Pillow (2003) advocates is gaining an awareness regarding how reflexivity is practiced and why it is used:

> *This vigilance from within can aid in a rethinking and questioning of the assumptive knowledges embedded in reflexive practices in ethnographic and qualitative research and work not to situate reflexivity as a confessional act, a cure for what ails us, or a practice that renders familiarity, but rather to situate practices of reflexivity as critical to exposing the difficult and often uncomfortable task of leaving what is unfamiliar, unfamiliar (p.177).*

Reed, Miller, Nnawulezi and Valenti (2012, p.25) state that "sharing our experiential knowledge with our colleagues and peers, messy of a process though it may be, facilitates critical dialogue about how and why we do our work". The aim of paying significant attention to reflexivity in this research project was not to demonstrate confident use of various reflective tools, but "engagement in the complex and slippery process of struggling to understand the meaning of human experience" (Probst and Berenson, 2014, p.826). Uncomfortable reflexivity requires researchers to expose their own prejudices and biases; bringing struggles encountered throughout the research process to the forefront without the expectation of possible solutions being developed, though this in future has better potential for lessons regarding working with and interpreting the lives of participants to be identified.

5.2.8. Reflexivity and race
To understand the possible effects of racial identity on how data is collected, selected and interpreted it was necessary to gain an understanding regarding how reflexivity can be employed by the researcher to analyse how racial identity shapes their thought

In a critique of how mainstream sociology employs reflexive approaches, Emirbayer and Desmond (2011) argued was that reflexive thinking cannot just be a simple analysis of how race as a social identity could possibly affect data analysis. This argument, similar to Pillow's (2003) argues that researchers engage in reflexivity as a simplistic and routine exercise that simply addresses how social identity and the location can affect how the researcher perceives the world (Emirbayer & Desmond, 2011). Another suggestion as to why reflexivity needs to go beyond simply engaging in an analysis of social identity is the wider context of increasing calls for and an embracement of cosmopolitanism and calls for reflexivity to go beyond a simple analysis of identity; an engagement in more nuanced analysis suggested instead. Expanding on the work of Bourdieu, it is argued that intellectuals often bring the world into question, "but very few" actually "call the intellectual world into question (Emirbrayer & Desmond, 2011, p.586).

What is suggested by Emirbayer and Desmond (2011) is the use of a three-tiered typology of racial reflexivity that critically analyses the influence of race that considers three levels of hidden presuppositions: the social, the disciplinary and the scholastic. This three-tiered typology is inspired by observations made by Bourdieu (2000) in *Pascalian Meditations.* Which he identified several levels that objects of inquiry are preconstructed*.* Observations that are perceived to be common sense influence "preconstruct the objects of our inquiry at several distinct levels, each more deeply hidden than the last" and each level requiring a more nuanced mode of reflexivity (Emirbrayer & Desmond, 2011, p.578). The typology used by Emirbrayer and Desmond only takes into consideration three of the levels that Bourdieu identified

The social unconscious takes into consideration where the researcher is located with regards to the racial order and how this affects their presuppositions. Researchers are located in a society where racial domination is prevalent and their social experiences that

vary depending on the privileges and disadvantages individuals have due to their race or ethnicity shape their perspectives. What this suggests is that white researchers in society due to their privilege experiences are shaped by the privileges they have in society whereas persons of colour are disadvantaged; whiteness functioning as a standard which all other racial categories are compared.

A black researcher in a predominantly white community can be identified as an outsider, therefore it could be argued that the researcher is more aware of racial dynamics compared to a white researcher. As a black researcher, my knowledge of how race conditions perceptions may be increased compared to that of a white researcher; "persons of colour" evincing "a remarkable knowledgeability in respect to white culture and psychology" due to curiosity and also a need for survival within a society that privileges whiteness (Emirbrayer & Desmond, 2011, p.581). Emirbrayer and Desmond (2011) however emphasise a lack of engagement in reflexive practices by white researchers as opposed to white researchers just inevitably being unable to see aspects of racial domination.   Insider perspectives are argued to not lead to new knowledge that is unperceivable to an outsider as scientific insight comes from "rigorous reflexivity" and not simply from an individual's position within the case study area (p.582). What I wanted to avoid however was, as Emirbrayer and Desmond (2011) suggest, absolving myself of engaging in reflexive practices. What I wanted to avoid was any positioning of myself as an expert in the study of race and leaving my own experiences of living in a predominantly white post-mining community uncritically examined. Whiteness also is the "unspoken norm" of the racial order and therefore "influences all minds" regardless of race (Emirbrayer & Desmond, 2011, p.580).

It is not enough however to simply analyse the how the researcher's own racial identity and the social position they have in society shapes their thought. Whilst the researcher's

position in 'the racial order' is important race with regards to the positions that they take, there may be other factors that are more salient; attentiveness required in analysis of field and discipline the researcher operates in (Venkatesh, 2012).

The reasoning of taking the disciplinary unconscious into account is due to the reasoning that the impact of whiteness is transmitted also through the specific fields within academia that the researcher is situated in. As Emirbayer and Desmond (2011) argue, "the structures and dynamics of a scholarly field profoundly affect how larger societal (racial) influences come to be expressed within it" (p.582). The disciplines the researcher is situated subtly focus attention on certain things, but also blinds the researcher to certain phenomenon as "works or theories tend to become foils for political, not intellectual, reasons" (Emirbayer & Desmond, 2015, p.41). Each discipline has unique problematics, habits of thought, shared beliefs, self-evidences, rituals and consecrations that are considered to be 'common'. There are two main components of a field to take into consideration, (1) the Social organisational dimension and (2) the intellectual or scholarly currents prevailing in the field. As well as highlighting these aspects of the field it is emphasised that it is important to acknowledge the constraints and opportunities from the view of the researcher. This acknowledges that researchers not only have a different position within the racial order but engage in activities within their fields in different ways according to the constraints and opportunities they are presented, which results in differing types of work produced.

As a black researcher, it can be argued that due to my position within the racial order I benefit less from a white supremacist system both materially and psychologically compared to my white peers within the field of drinking studies. Academia within the British context has historically been dominated by people from white middle-class backgrounds. Whilst many of the universities considered to be 'older' 'elite' institutions

still lack diversity with regards to students outside of the white middle-class demographic and remain dominated by this group (Chatterton, 1990). In the case of this research, it is important to deconstruct how intersections of race, ethnicity and class impacted on how past researchers in the sociological, anthropological, historical and health fields have portrayed mining communities and situated them within the regional and national context. Historically mining communities have been characterised by their relative homogeneity with regards to class and also race; miners commonly being portrayed as or implied to be belonging to an indigenous white ethnic group. The dominance of the 'urban' in drinking studies means that there has been less opportunities to explore racial dynamics in areas that cannot be defined as urban such as post-mining communities. Neal (2002) identifies differing "social and discursive processes" of racism in large cities such as Birmingham and London compared to rural areas; the denial of racism being a prominent a relatively more potent phenomenon in the rural context "because of their (apparent) whiteness" (p.456).

The third and final level of the scholastic unconscious described by Emirbayer and Desmond (2011) as

> the level of scholastic life itself, with its characteristic attitude of pure, disinterested thought, of detached intellectuality, unconstrained by social and economic necessity and drawn to a playful, 'as-if' mode of engagement with the world and its problems (p.585).

This again is reflected in how mining communities are presumed to be 'white'. The 'neither urban or rural' characteristic of mining communities has meant that in research whiteness has often been presumed to be a characteristic of these areas; critiques and analyses of race often not present in research and differences regarding class being the major point of analysis. In the research of Dennis et al. (1969) and Bulmer (1975), the areas studied are implied to be homogenous communities of working-class white people. Warwick and Littlejohn's (1992) criticism of Dennis et al's study focused on the relative class privilege

the researchers had over the participants, though does not address the impact of role the race of the researchers had in the construction of the research data. Waddington et al. (1991) however places emphasis on the class divisions inside the researched communities from the mid-twentieth century to the post-strike era, though characterises the mining-era drinking practices of the researched communities as being characterised by collectivism and relatively stronger community cohesion and solidarity. As Gilbert (1995) emphasises the community is a site of 'contestation" (p.52) and it therefore important to understand who does and does not belong at a particular moment of time, in this instance racial and ethnic minorities.

From considering my scholarly unconscious, what I must address is the privilege I have of being able to withdraw from the social world of the two case study areas and analyse participant statements from my position of a PhD student.   The two reasons I recognised were the possibility of expressing a condescending attitude towards the drinking culture of people within the area and the danger of a cult-like celebration or affirmation of 'white-working class' drinking culture in the area, both reproducing "a set of tired myths and clichés" (Grazian, 2004, p.268). Whilst the former implies flaws in the popular culture of the localities, celebrating the relative authenticity of working-class drinking cultures relative to drinking practices within town centre environments naively romanticises the drinking cultures in the case study areas.

5.3 Stage two: The research methods

In this section the process that was used to recruit participants will be explained and the factors that had to be considered in the collection of the primary research data including how participants were interacted with, and ethical considerations.

5.3.1 Research design outline

This study is a qualitative research project which will aim to interview long-term residents that live in two case study areas in Doncaster that have been identified as post-mining communities. The study began with the intention of using the grounded theory method

to gather data. This was employed with the intention of 'grounding' the research around the information given by the participants themselves to reduce the possibility of the researcher unintentionally letting prejudices and biases affect the data collection and analysis process. This meant that the literature review was initially intentionally limited to a contextual analysis as it was felt it was important to understand local contextual factors relevant to the topic of drinking practices prior to entry into the case study area.

5.3.2 Planning the data collection and negotiating access

It was decided that community-based services would be more appropriate to approach as they would have knowledge of the local drinking practices in the area and also possibly have additional contacts for accessing other relevant community services. The main problem that was encountered that is specific to post mining communities was the lack of services that existed that would allow for access to participants, many services that were present in the past were connected to the mining industry. It was not seen as relevant to use services based centrally in Doncaster town centre.

All the services that were approached were briefed on the research, the research methods and the ethical implications of the research and how these would be identified for and addressed to ensure safety of their service users. Firstly, I used contacts that I had from the local authority I had gained during my voluntary and placement experience as a youth worker before and during my experience studying Youth and Community Work at undergraduate level. Through research and information seeking from present contacts five community-based services in the Doncaster area in post mining communities were approached by email and telephone initially. One service that was approached and that allowed access to participants was The Depot Community Drug and Alcohol Team based in Mexborough, Doncaster. The participants who attended this service also has substance misuse issues. Other services in the area were approached but they either declined permission to access participants or simply did not respond to requests or they failed to engage effectively. Most of the participants eventually were accessed through a community café in the Rossington area of Doncaster I got a contact for by using the

contacts that were gained in the Denaby Main and Mexborough areas. Recruiting participants in this location was advantageous because the participants were not necessarily involved with other services or engaged in substance misuse. The facility was open to members of the public. Another advantage was that the organisation did not perceive the research to have a problem-oriented approach; the research not analysing drinking practices from a public health perspective with the main focus being on substance misuse.

5.3.3 Participant recruitment

As the research focuses on alcohol, and it was established early in the research that there would be a focus on seeking information from long-term residents, it was perceived as necessary to be very specific regarding the inclusion and exclusion criteria. This was due to ethical considerations and also to ensure participants were able to provide the appropriate information.

The participants who were sought were those who have resided in the chosen case study areas that had been defined as 'pit villages' in the Doncaster borough. The study was not intended to have a focus on the drinking practices of miners and ex-miners. The focus was on general populations that live in post-mining communities. The participants could have either worked in the mining industry, currently work in the mining industry or just be a long term resident in the area. What is important to consider however is that the last deep coal mine, Kellingley in North Yorkshire (a short distance from the Doncaster Borough) closed in 2015. Prior to this Hatfield Colliery in the Doncaster Borough closed also in 2015. Taking into account that the primary research data collection process taken place in 2016 it was therefore perceived as unlikely that I would come into contact with anyone working in a deep coal mine in the case study areas.

The minimum age for participants was 18 years' old. This is in line with the minimum age that people living in the United Kingdom have to be to purchase alcohol and to also drinking in on-trade premises. Those under the age of eighteen were excluded from the study as

the study doesn't intend to focus on underage drinking. The phenomenon of underage in post-mining communities was identified to be one that warrants a separate study due to the differences of adult and underage drinking, specifically how the alcohol is sourced from and where it is drank. In a situation where there is concern that a potential participant is not disclosing their correct age (when they are under the legal age to purchase alcohol) they will be unable to participate.

The interviews were conducted with participants who had lived in the area for a minimum of five years in the case study areas. This criterion was included to ensure that participants were able to provide an adequate amount of information regarding the local context. Also as Rind and Jones (2015) argued in their study of physical activity in mining communities in the North East of England, this allows interviews to be conducted in familiar environments where they would have most likely established a social network.

5.3.4 Profile of the research participants

The participants that were interviewed for the purpose of this study were all residents that lived in one of the two case study areas (either Rossington or Denaby Main and Mexborough). The recruitment of the participants taken place between February 2017 and December 2017.

The majority of the participants were recruited in the Rossington area. This was due to issues regarding the recruitment of participants in the Denaby Main and Mexborough case study area, data collection in this area only taken place between February and March 2017. The data collection ended due to issues with the sourcing of the participants in the case study area because of unexpected changes regarding management and funding of the service. The majority of the participants therefore were recruited in the Rossington case study area from July 2017 to December 2017, when the primary data collection process ended and the research as a result maintains a primary focus on this area.

The majority of participants had not worked in the mining industry before, though ten participants stated that they had not worked in the mining industry but had friends, family or other people within their kinship networks who had worked in the mining industry during its existence in the borough. Only four of the 21 participants had any experience in the mining industry. What was found to be interesting was that two of the participants who had worked in the mining industry were female but worked in roles that didn't involve going underground. Whilst Carol worked as a cleaner at Rossington Colliery, Helen worked as an administrator for British Coal, which at the time was based in Sheffield. This is important to highlight as it stimulated a reflexive process regarding the assumption that the only participants who would have worked in mining would be male in the case study areas. Early in the process Allen and Measham's (1994, p.100) appeal for research in mining communities to go "beyond simple caricature" regarding gender dynamics increased in relevance regarding this research project.

There was no quota put into place in the initial planning process regarding gender and age due to the prior identification that it would not be possible to recruit a balanced number of participants no quotas were put into place. Despite this, the majority of participants were older adults; only four participants aged 20 to 30 being recruited. The table below (figure 9) shows the age range of both the male and female participants that were recruited overall. It is clear from analysis of the data that the majority of the participants were between the age of 30 and 59 and female. In total 17 female participants were recruited and the majority of these female participants were recruited in the Rossington case study area (17 participants); only one female participant able to be recruited in the Denaby Main and Mexborough case study area. What this means is that there was a disproportionate number of female participants compared to male participants. Only seven men were able to be recruited; three men from Denaby Main and Mexborough and four men from the Rossington area. Though this gender imbalance can be identified to be a weakness of the research, the high representation of women who lived in these case study areas long-term provides an opportunity to gain an account female experiences of

mining and post-mining drinking culture. This can address a gap in research as the majority of research in mining communities has focused on men and positioned women as being restricted to the home (Allen and Measham, 1994). The research findings are contrary to the suggestions of Dennis *et al*. (1956) and Bulmer (1975) who depicted women as being 'excluded' from leisure activities. Jenny, Sharon, Katrina and Carol all recollected their experiences of engaging in drinking in public places that were relatively mixed gender compared to the gender segregated clubs described by Dennis *et al*.

All of the participants who taken part in the study identified as white British, except Sarah from Mexborough who identified as white English. Also Louise, despite defining herself as 'white British', emphasised also pride in her Scottish identity; her family having migrated from Scotland to work at Rossington Colliery during its existence. James and Charlie, also like Louise identifying as 'white British' also emphasised pride in their Yorkshire identity, both expressing a positive characteristic that they associate with the region. Whilst for James the region invoked positive images that he constructed of Denaby Main and Mexborough's industrial past, Charlie emphasised importance of sociability in Yorkshire's drinking culture.

Few of the participants had over a level three qualification; Louise, Josie, Helen and Jenny being four of the exceptions. Louise and Josie had both had acquired an honours degree (a level six qualification), Helen had acquired a HND (a level five qualification) and Jenny had acquired a master's degree. The other participants ranged from having no qualifications, having done other work-based certifications, to having acquired level three qualifications. Whilst James and Katrina had acquired A-level qualifications (level 3), six of the participants stated that they had completed a level two qualification; Tim, David, Susan and Grace having acquired GCSEs and May and Stephanie having completed a level two college course. The rest of the eight participants stated that they had acquired no qualifications. Liz, Paul, Leanne and Margaret however did state that they had done a form of work-based training.

A significant number of the participants that were interviewed were unemployed. This needs to be taken into account as the potential reduced income may have had an effect on their drinking practices. Whilst 11 stated that they were unemployed, five of the participants had retired, though distanced themselves the 'label' of drinker, despite engaging in occasional drinking. This is possibly due to the stigma associated with defining themselves as a drinker. Amongst both of these groups though were participants who had either retired or were unemployed due to health related reasons; Sarah stating that she was unemployed due to her disability and Grace stated she retired due to "ill health". Three of the unemployed participants despite their unemployment volunteer in their spare time and Tim stated that he was currently a student. He emphasised during the later stages of the interview his passion for his studies. The eight participants that were employed all however emphasised the impact that their positions within the post-mining era had on their drinking practices; their patterns of drinking they described not reflecting the drinking associated with the mining industry.

Religion was identified to have had no impact on participant drinking, with two exceptions. While 11 of the participants expressed that they did not identify as practicing any religion, 12 of the Participants identified as practicing a denomination of Christianity, though for 10 of them, they expressed this had not in the past or present had an effect on their drinking. The exception was Sharon who defined herself as a "very good church goer" and Grace who stated that she only drinks a glass of wine when she attends her church "supper club", which is provided with a meal. Sharon stated that she did not drink before she was 20 years old because of her dedication to practicing her religion (Church of England) and her commitment at the time to being a Sunday school teacher.

 The profile of the participants below (table 1), shows a list of: the participants (their pseudonyms), information regarding where they are located, their gender, age, highest qualification, religion, level of experience in the mining industry and whether they stated

that they had anyone involved in their kinship circle who was involved in the mining industry, whether they identified as a drinker and their employment status. The participants who were identified as stating that they don't drink, but stated that they do so on occasions highlights the inconsistent nature of how individuals report their drinking practices and how they identify themselves as drinkers.

Figure 9: Age of male and female participants

Age of male and female participants
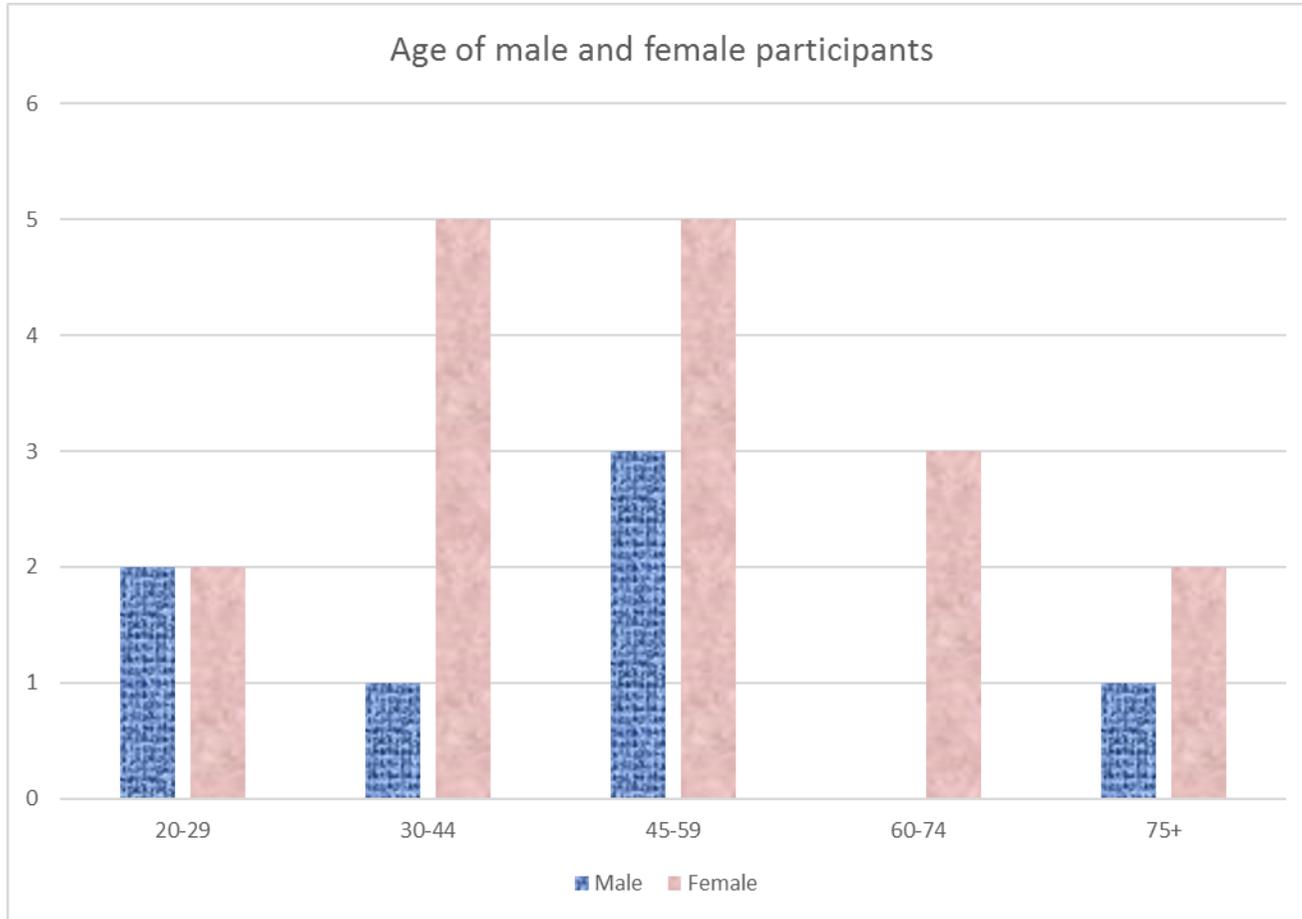
Table 1: Profile of the participants

Name	Location	Gender	Age	Highest Qualifications	Race/ethnicity	Religion	Mining industry experience / kin with mining experience	Drinker	Employment status
Tim	Mexborough	M	42	GCSEs	White British	None	No / No	No (but on occasions)	Unemployed / student / volunteer
Sarah	Mexborough	F	54	None	White English	Christian	No / Yes	No	Unemployed / disabled / carer
James	Denaby Main	M	29	A-Levels	White British	Atheist	No / No	Yes (but on occasions)	Unemployed / carer
David	Denaby Main	M	21	GCSEs	White British	None	No / No	Yes	Unemployed
Linda	Rossington	F	68	None	White British	Church of England	No / yes	Yes	Retired
Gary	Rossington	M	54	None	White British	None	No / Yes	Yes	Employed / Builder
Stephanie	Rossington	F	25	NVQ Level 2	White British	None	No / No	Yes	Employed / Shop assistant
Liz	Rossington	F	51	Work based training	White British	None	No / No	Yes	Unemployed / Dependent on partner
Paul	Rossington	M	54	work based training	White British	None	Yes / No	Yes	Employed / delivery driver
Leanne	Rossington	F	39	Work based training	White British	Roman Catholic	No / No	Yes	Unemployed / Dependent on partner
Mark	Rossington	M	52	None	White British	Church of England	No / No	Yes	Employed / Warehouse worker
Jenny	Rossington	F	68	Masters	White British	Church of England	No / Yes	Yes	Yes / Manager
Katrina	Rossington	F	50	A-Levels	White British	None	No / Yes	Yes	Yes / Community worker
Helen	Rossington	F	44	HND	White British	Christian	Yes / Yes	Yes	Yes/ Community worker
Mary	Rossington	F	43	Level 2 college certificate	White British	None	No / Yes	Yes	Unemployed
Carol	Rossington	F	77	None	White British	Church of England	Yes / Yes	Yes (but on occasions)	Retired
Charlie	Rossington	M	81	None	White British	Church of England	Yes / Yes	Yes	Retired
Sharon	Rossington	F	84	None	White British	Church of England	No / Yes	Yes	Retired
Josie	Rossington	F	48	Honours Degree	White British	Church of England	No / Yes	Yes	Employed / Community work
Louise	Rossington	F	23	Honours Degree	White British	None	No / Yes	Yes	Unemployed / Volunteer
Susan	Rossington	F	38	GCSEs	White British	None	No / No	Yes	Unemployed / volunteer
Margaret	Rossington	F	63	Work based training	White British	Methodist	No / Yes	No	Unemployed / Housewife
Grace	Rossington	F	53	GCSEs	White British	Catholic	No / No	No (but on occasions)	Retired
Brenda	Rossington	F	39	None	White British	Christian	No / No	No	Unemployed

5.3.5 The interview process

The participants were all met at the services; the venues were where the services were based. However, two of the participants were met and interviewed at Rossington Gala which the organisation encouraged me to go to knowing that I could meet the participants there and built trust within a community setting. All the potential participants were approached informally prior to engaging in an interview. In doing so the researcher introduced himself and gave them an information sheet about the research and asked if they would be willing to take part. It was deemed appropriate to form a relationship with the participants initially to build up trust before informing them about the research in some cases. This involved the researcher taking part in activities with the potential participants that the organisations delivered, as well as volunteering at the services.

All of the interviews were impromptu, it was decided that this was the best approach and kept the process fairly informal which suited the needs of the participants. It made them feel more comfortable, it was deemed that a more formal approach would have been unsuitable for the purpose of the research and the environment that the participants were interviewed in.

The service the researcher accessed in the Mexborough and Denaby Main case study area had relatively more restrictions with regards to participant engagement due to the nature of the service, the organisation had more involvement in the participant selection process, however participants from this service were screened in addition by the researcher informally to ensure they met the inclusion criteria. The participants agreed a time and date for the interview and this was usually on the day that they were initially approached.

5.3.6 Saturation and participant Sampling

An issue that was concerning and was consistently reflected on throughout the research process was how many interviews should be conducted to satisfy the aims and objectives of this research. Charmaz' (2014) response to the question if "how many interviews should a researcher conduct" made me reflect for a considerable amount of time about how many participants I would possibly be able to interview during this interview project and also the general proposed plan for data collection. Charmaz (2014) makes the point that the question of "how many interviews should be conducted" assumes single interviews are the only method of data collection, though she recommends the following guidelines that can be used to determine if more interviews are needed:

- The topic is controversial

- Surprising or provocative findings are expected

- There is a need to construct complex and conceptual analyses

- Interviewing is being used as the sole method for collecting data

- Professional credibility is sought

The research I intend to do does cover alcohol consumption; a topic that could be described by many to be 'controversial'. It was decided that a small sample size was the most realistic to aim for due to the nature of the research and the lack of guarantee that a large number of participants could be gained. What was aimed for was ten participants from each case study area. This was stated as the minimum sample size as ten participants from each area was perceived to be the most realistic sample size. There will however be no limit to the sample size.

The advantage of having a relatively small number of participants is that they can be interviewed relatively more intensively. Intensive interviewing in the context of this

project is important and allows the pursuit of new leads; the repeated process of grounded theory allows the researcher to focus, reflect, revise certain points and develop further the interview questions and skills required to carry out the project. This approach Charmaz (2014) argues also allows key participants to be returned to in order to obtain useful information; the advantage of this being that the participants already are familiar with the interviewer and the interview process, therefore more detailed and thought-provoking answers can be obtained. Charmaz (2014) provides a visual representation of the grounded theory interview process, which demonstrates how four theoretical concerns affect the interview process: theoretical plausibility, direction, centrality and adequacy (Charmaz, 2014).

5.3.7 Data analysis

5.3.7.1 Managing the data and data analysis

When the interviews were conducted they were recorded using a Dictaphone and afterwards the interviews were transcribed verbatim. Transcription of the interview that was either an individual interview or focus group was carried out preceding the interview as opposed to being transcribed simply towards the end of the primary data collection process. To speed up the process of transcription, Siri for iPad was used. Dragon NaturallySpeaking was initially used but Siri was eventually chosen instead due to its accuracy.

Transcribing the interviews, regardless of the use of Siri to speed up transcription was a time consuming process, but this allowed the researcher to gain a greater understanding of the data early in the process, therefore allowing the building of familiarity and immersion in the data. Repeating what the participants said on recordings also ensured that the information was properly consumed as opposed to just typing what the participants said on recordings. This often inspired the note taking process and also initially sparked ideas of how to code certain lines and paragraphs throughout the transcription.

5.3.7.2 The coding process and the development of concepts

Charmaz (2014) describes grounded theory coding process as the following:

We take segments of the data apart, name them in concise terms, and propose an analytic handle to develop abstract ideas for interpreting each segment of data (p.113).

Taking this into account, the coding process of this research consisted of two main stages, (1) the initial coding phase and (2) the focused coding phase which involved using codes created during the initial coding process to decide on the most important codes and also the renaming of codes. The second stage of the coding process reflected the development of a deeper understanding of what is important in the emerging analysis and an advancement of the theoretical direction of the project (Charmaz, 2014). This usually involved the identification of recurring codes and codes that are particularly significant. Kenny and Fourie (2015) in *figure nine* present Charmaz's Constructivist Grounded Theory coding process as a two stage process:
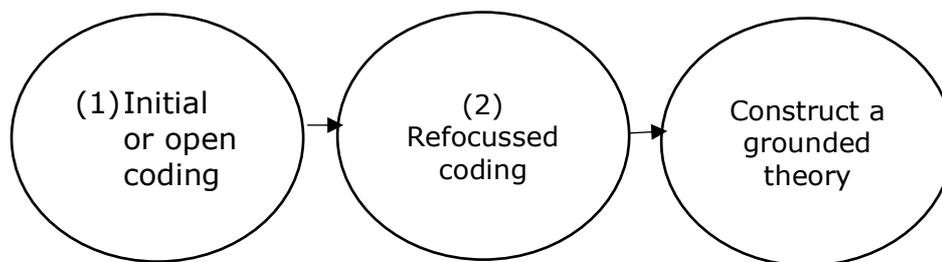
Figure 10: Kenny and Fourie's (2015) Constructivist Grounded Theory coding process

Though coding relies on having data that is "solid" (Charmaz, 2014, p.136), the coding approach can have a significant effect on how data is presented. Taking this into account, the coding approach that was used was the coding approach advocated by Charmaz (2014) that sees the researcher coding using gerunds as opposed to coding for topics and themes. This means the researcher focuses on actions and the theoretical cues (Charmaz, cited by

Kenny & Fourie, 2015). Using this approach is argued to be advantageous as their experience can be preserved better and using them encourages the researcher to analyse the data from the perspective of the participants as opposed to just analysing the data from the perspective of an outsider which coding for topics and themes encourages (Charmaz, 2014). This means that coding identified processes and did not assign people with labels.

Though it was seen to be important to analyse the data from the perspective of participants, which using gerunds helped with, one fear that was identified prior to the coding process was simply reproducing what the participant stated without engaging in critical thought. What was identified to be needed was an approach to coding that encourages critical thought and identification of thoughts and processes; avoiding total immersion in the world views of participants. To encourage this Line-by-line coding was applied, which is described by Charmaz as a "heuristic device to bring the researcher into the data" (p.121). This was chosen due to the ability that it has to enable researchers to detect nuance in the data, therefore identifying ideas that can be built upon (Charmaz, 2014). Charmaz (2014) also suggests that the advantage of this approach is that it encourages careful coding, meaning that it is less likely for researchers to let their personal agendas dictate the research.

Line-by-line coding was eventually used as a useful tool as opposed to a necessary part of the coding process. The forced use of line-by-line coding proved to be difficult and time consuming. What was found was the result of being focused on line-by-line coding was what Glaser (1992) calls a "helter skelter of too many categories and properties that yield no analysis" (p.40). The result of line-by-line coding on the first attempt at coding interviews resulted in over-conceptualisation of single incidents that made analysis a confusing and frustrating process. Also, line-by-line coding was made difficult as not every line of the transcription contained a complete sentence (Charmaz, 2014) and forcing coding of these resulted in irrelevant codes. Glaser (1992) explained that focusing on

labelling every incident results in too many irrelevant concepts that do not explain what the participant perceive as their main concern or problem. Instead of placing a priority and necessity on line-by-line coding, a less restrictive approach was applied. As well as coding line-by-line if it was perceived as necessary, the researcher engaged in comparing incident with incident, which seemed to be a more suitable approach to coding the data as this sparked fresher ideas.

It also was recognised that Word–by–word coding in some cases was necessary. This was used in cases where it was seen to be necessary to move through certain sections of the transcript word-by-word. This specifically helped address the meanings that participants attached to certain words.

The secondary process of refocussed coding involved the development of categories. In the development of these categories from data emerging from the initial coding process the constant comparative method was used which Corbin and Strauss (2015, citing Glaser & Strauss) describe as the act of comparting data against another piece of data. Data that was conceptually similar was grouped together. The constant comparative process was conducted throughout the primary data collection process to develop categories, which was initially ideally until theoretical saturation; when no new themes emerge (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

One aspect of the research that was constantly thought about was when to stop collecting primary data, ideally when the point of saturation has been reached. Corbin and Strauss (2015) argue that rather than saturation being until 'no new categories emerge', saturation means "the theory is dense and logical and there are no gaps in the explanations" (pp.139-140). Though, it would have been ideal to stop the collection of data when categories were saturated this was not possible due to two factors, time constraints of the PhD and also the perceived difficulty of gaining participants in the area. A small sample of participants can be argued however to allow for a more in-depth study

than a study that has a large number of participants. It was recognised that time (the short length of PhD studies and also the time it takes to find and negotiate participants), restrictions put into place by organisations that have offered their support in recruiting participants and the expectations of the educational institution (The University of Huddersfield) are also elements that restrict the number of interviews than can be conducted. All of these restrict the possibility of conducting a research project in this area that has a large number of participants.

5.3.8 Ethical considerations

The potential ethical implications that could occur as a result of the research were a prominent concern throughout the research project due to the sensitive nature of the subject and also problematic aspects of past studies into mining communities. Though it was recognised that ethical guidelines would provide a basis for the conducting of ethical research, what was recognised was that ensuring the research was 'ethical' did not mean just adhering to strict guidelines (Ali & Kelly, 2018). Throughout the research process decisions regarding ethics would have to be considered, especially considering the unpredictable nature of local, national and international contexts (Ali & Kelly, 2018). This is relevant to this research project as the political, economic and cultural contexts experience constant change.

Ali and Kelly (2018) cite Beauchamp to outline four fundamental principles that are fundamental to ethics in social research. (1) beneficence, meaning that researchers have to protect against risks by balancing and providing benefits; (2) non-maleficence, meaning to avoid the potential causes of harm to the participant; (3) a respect for the autonomy of participants, and (4) to ensure justice, meaning that researchers must be fair in distributing risks and benefits.

Haydock (2009b) argued that the principles of Beauchamp (cited by Ali & Kelly, 2018) are consequentialist in nature. The problem with the consequentialist approach however is

that anticipation of the consequences of research projects is not fully possible, as research can be interpreted in different ways by different people, in some cases the individual's interpretation being unfavourable towards the participants (Haydock, 2009b). What is also important to note however that the identification that research can be interpreted differently depending on the individual is important, so it is important to consider how it can be perceived. Research can however change "change participants' outlook, and potentially lead to a challenge to the status quo", though as Haydock (2009b) highlights, whether this is desirable is dependent on the moral and political views of the researcher (p.147).

It can be identified that throughout the research a consequentialist approach to ethics was used to identify ethical concerns before and throughout the primary research collection process and throughout the writing of the results of the research. The main concerns were regarding the negative consequences that participants could potentially experience as a result of participating in the research. The reflexive process was also considered to play an important role in the ethical process regarding the implications of the research.

Beneficence, non-maleficence and justice
To ensure that the principles of beneficence and non-maleficence were upheld it was ensured that the research brought clear benefits to society in general and also the lives of the individuals taking part in the study. It was however identified that the risk always exists of causing the participant to be reminded of a painful, unfortunate or tragic event that happened in the past when attempting to gain information about their lives. On the gaining of consent as Townsend, Cox and Li (2010) highlight, the estimation of risk with regards to "emotional upset" is a difficult task, but it can be anticipated and therefore appropriate measures can be implemented (p.623).

Decisions were made throughout the interview process regarding when and when not to probe further. The wellbeing of the participant was established as the priority. Regardless of researcher curiosity and interest, "the risk to a person's emotional well-being may

outweigh the hope of gaining rich data" (Townsend et al., 2010, p.623). Risks were also balanced with the potential benefits to the study. The research as well as offering a greater understanding of drinking practices in post-mining communities from a non-problem-oriented approach offers the participants the opportunity to discuss and reflect on their drinking practices and also express their feelings regarding their locality, whether positive or negative, in a non-judgemental environment.

What was also considered was the principle of justice as the risk of treating some individuals unfairly compared to others was identified early in the research planning process. The decision to adapt a constructivist grounded theory methodological approach reflecting this. As Charmaz (2014) highlighted, researchers are not neutral beings. This therefore creates the risk of the researcher communicating in a way that is less judgemental to participants that are perceived as more favourable. Being aware of this ensured that participants were communicated to and treat in the same way. Reflexive recordings were also important in addressing and reflecting on the possibility of researcher bias.

Ensuring confidentiality

As the collection of primary data is a significant aspect of the research the way it was worked with was considered. Confidentiality was considered prior to the research process and the procedures were approved of by the SREP panel. The data collected such as paper records, digital transcripts and cross-referencing systems was kept confidential. This confidential data, specifically paper records, digital transcripts and digital recording devices, was only transported between the sites with appropriate permissions from the SREP board and was done so with diligence and securely.   Whenever it was seen to be relevant, electronic data created in Microsoft Office applications such as digital transcripts of interviews were password protected using the 'Encrypt with Password' facility that is available to use.

The research required a significant amount of travelling between the case study areas in Doncaster, home and the University of Huddersfield, so ensuring that confidentiality was maintained throughout the primary data collection process was considered. Whenever in the case study area, the paper files and electronic data were always kept with the researcher and never left unattended or left with staff in the services where participants were sourced. Whenever digital recording devices were used however they were always made visible to the participant and the participants were always informed that interviews were going to be recorded so if they wish they could refuse to be recorded. Digital audio recordings were deleted from the devices as soon as they were no longer needed.

Informed consent

Gaining the informed consent of the participant aimed to support principles of individual autonomy and also to safeguard the rights of people participating in the research (Ali & Kelly, 2018). As discussed in the participant recruitment section above, steps were taken to ensure that informed consent was given by the participants.

Every participant that taken part in the research was explained to in simple terms what the research project was about, what the aims and objectives of the research are and their role within the research project. Specialist jargon that was determined to have the possibility of being 'too confusing' for participants who do not necessarily have a background in this area of research was avoided. The participants were also provided with an information sheet that explained to them: why the research was important, the purpose of the research, why they had been approached, their rights to decline to take part, what is expected from them, the benefits of taking part and confidentiality and anonymity. Participants were also provided with the researcher's contact information on so that they could request information or drop out of the research if they wished to do so at any time. It was also ensured that participants signed consent to participate in the research before they took part in the research.

Individuals identified as not having the capacity to participate either by the researcher or by the recruiting organisation were also excluded from participating in the research. An approach that was used to ensure the exclusion of people who are intoxicated was the inclusion of a visual assessment of intoxication which would help screen out these individuals. Using just this approach alone however is not sufficient as there is still the risk of intoxicated participants 'slipping through the net'. Another approach that will be used to ensure participants have the capacity to give consent is to ensure information is understood. Information provided to participants will aim to be comprehensible and appropriate. If the participants identified as not having the capacity to take part they will be excluded from the research.

Pseudonyms

Pseudonyms were used throughout the research to name participants and also certain places. Pseudonyms were given to participants due to the perceived risk of participants experiencing negative effects to their lives as a consequence of participating in the research. This was also to ensure that participants feel comfortable that they will remain anonymous and untraceable in the community. As well as names, any information that was determined to allow participants to be identified was either anonymised or in some cases deleted.

It was decided that the localities that were being studied should retain their names, though it was accepted that once data is put into the public domain "their impact becomes very difficult to control" (Crow and Wiles, 2008). Past research that had taken place in mining communities was considered. In the studies of Dennis et al. (1969), Waddington et al. (1991) and Warwick and Littlejohn (1992) all use pseudonyms to name the localities they studied. Waddington's (2001) study however retains the names of the case study areas. The name of the case study locations will not reveal any personal information (all areas have a population of over 5,000 residents). The names of facilities within the case study areas, for example bars and shops and social clubs will be given pseudonyms.

5.4 Stage three: The reality of the grounded theory approach

5.4.1 Grounded theory and the issue of the 'literature review'

Grounded theorists were found to have firm stances when it came to the collection of secondary data, this being due to the intention to 'ground' research findings in the data. This meant that the major concern with implementing a grounded theory approach to analysis was how and when to engage with existing literature as Glaser and Strauss (cited by Dunne, 2011) argue the importance of projects 'grounded' in data obtained from primary research obtained in the field.

The 'classic' grounded theory approach conceptualised by Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasised the importance of refraining from conducting any prior research of secondary data in the form of a 'literature review'. This is due to the fear of forcing thinking; instead researchers are encouraged to instead study literature from other areas and fields to promote theoretical sensitivity. This approach to the literature review again emphasises the idea that theory should be "grounded" in the data and not in pre-existing theories. The researcher enters the case study area and the worlds of the participant as a 'blank slate' (Charmaz, 2015).

Strauss and Corbin's version of grounded theory however challenges the 'classic' approach to grounded theory which advocates for entering the field with no prior research of secondary data. Blending the literature throughout the grounded theory process can add another voice that contributes to the researcher's theoretical reconstruction (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Charmaz's approach is similar to Strauss and Corbin's approach to grounded theory, though she suggests that the literature is compiled in a literature review chapter as well as being distributed throughout the thesis, which differs from a traditional approach where the literature is confined to the literature review chapter. What she advises however is delaying the literature review chapter until the data analysis stage to ensure that the process of emergence is isn't stifled. Kenny and Fourie (2015) identify

Charmaz's approach as being consistent with her constructivist stance as constructivists believe that research is "influenced and informed by the context in which the researcher is operating" (p.1285).

The decision to collect contextual data was considered by considering the stance grounded theorists have taken on the collection of secondary data prior to collecting primary interview data in the research environment. Dunne (2011) challenges Glaser and Strauss (1967) approach that places an emphasis on refraining from prior research of secondary data. Dunne (2011) accepted the validity of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) concerns that the uncertain risk of contaminating research with previous knowledge exists but emphasised how disproportionate the purist stance is; by not taking into account the ability of researcher to be mindful (Dunne, 2011). Charmaz (2015) also makes a similar argument, stressing how unavoidable the researcher bringing their perspectives and experiences is. Instead, what is advocated is addressing the existence of these perspectives and experiences (Charmaz, 2014).

Taking Dunne's (2011) argument into consideration, this argument is relevant with regards to this project as emphasising existing literature and gaps in knowledge, the historical context of the case study areas and providing readers with an area profile of each case study prior to presenting the data is important in ensuring quality and that research objectives are relevant to the study. Engaging in an analysis of the contextual factors in the form of an area profile was seen as necessary for the purpose of this research; addressing the context which the research resides before engaging in the primary data collection process (individual and group interviews) (Dunne, 2011). An important element of this research is to develop a greater understanding of how individuals interact, and the specific cultural practices associated with historic and present drinking contexts in the case study areas (Jayne, Holloway & Valentine, 2006). The practice of drinking alcohol in different regions has similarities and also differences with regards to

emotional geographies; how individuals interact in geographic locations and the contextual environments.

5.4.2 The situating of myself within the study during and after the data collection process

Initially, I visited the case study area with the assumption that I was entering as an 'insider' as I currently reside in the borough in a pit village in the area. On the first day I went to the case study area of Mexborough and Denaby Main however I quickly realised that I did not feel like an 'insider'. I felt this when I engaged with the participants. I did not feel like I was living in the same borough.

On reflection, what I learnt from the experience of conducting this research is that researcher brings important aspects to the interview that can affect dynamics between the researcher and participant. As Charmaz (2014) stated, "The researcher's race, class, gender, and embodiment, may raise questions among ethnic, indigenous and disability communities" (p.72). In this case, I was entering the case study area as a Black Caribbean man who lives in another post-mining community in Yorkshire. I entered the case study area as an outsider in three aspects: the fact I am a postgraduate researcher, I do not live in the localities, and also my ethnicity, I am often perceived to be 'different' by the majority white population. With regards to the men, I was attempting to recruit, I also felt as though my perceived masculinity was a significant factor also. Regardless of all this however, during the initial stages of the research process I regarded myself to be an 'insider'. This I believe was due to me comparing my background to the perceived backgrounds of other researchers that have conducted qualitative alcohol research in general.

During the initial methodological planning process, I felt as though the fact that I did not visit these areas on a frequent basis was overlooked. On reflection, I still felt confident that I have more 'insider knowledge' regarding the local context and historical backgrounds

of these case study areas as a resident of the Doncaster borough. There was a however a level of overconfidence on my behalf regarding the perceived knowledge of the culture of pit villages.

One reason I felt that I was an outsider was the relative isolation of these areas. On entering both of these areas by public transport it quickly struck me how relatively isolated from Doncaster town centre the areas were compared to the pit village where I am located, which is relatively close to Doncaster town centre by bus and train and also has a train service to Wakefield and Leeds. As Grace, one of the participants stated:

> *In Armthorpe I know you can drive through Armthorpe and that's where people stop; "oo yeah, i'll stop there". Whereas to get to Rossington you physically come into the village don't you?*

Both case study areas though were linked by major transport, linking them to major towns and cities in the region. It was felt that people from outside the area would just travel through these areas. Even in the case of Mexborough, which is served by a train station that links the area with Sheffield and Doncaster, it felt relatively more isolated. On reflection this may be due to the relative difficulty of travelling to the area, as most routes from Doncaster to Sheffield do not call at this station. Again, the fact that I do not visit these areas on a frequent basis was overlooked.

It was felt that the lack of knowledge and a lack of experience with the area, and a lack of prior contacts in the case study areas exacerbated the difficulties I had in gaining access to facilities where participants could be sourced. Rind and Jones (2015) emphasised in their research of mining communities in the North East, about how important the support of organisations in the area they studied such as the Miners' Welfare were in the sourcing of information and also participants. I was unable to gain that level of support, however using a non-drinking venue allowed me source participants who would not frequently visit on-trade premises or use institutions such as Miners' Welfares and clubs.

The racial dynamics between the researcher and the participants was also noticable. It could not be ignored in that these areas, when compared to the 'inner city' areas of Doncaster, are in comparison homogenous when race is considered; the majority of residents in the case study areas were white British. Despite identifying as a black Caribbean male and knowing that from experience I would likely be perceived differently to a white male researcher by the participants, I felt confident prior to the primary data collection process about engaging with participants, this was because I had spent the majority of my life living in the Doncaster borough and encountering and engaging with the local population.

What was found in a significant number of literature that was read regarding power dynamics between the researcher and the researched was that this was often discussed within the context of a researcher from a relatively privileged group interacting with participants, which Ali and Kelly (2018) describe as "vulnerable groups" (p.56). These are identified as disadvantaged and disempowered groups within society such as children, the elderly, individuals with learning disabilities, the homeless, refugees and ethnic minorities (Ali & Kelly, 2018).

Whilst I could identify that the participants within the context of geographic location and their working-class socioeconomic status within white middle class hegemonic discourses I identified myself as entering the case study area from a relatively disadvantaged position regardless of educational background and income as my ethnic background is non-white. It was recognised that I could be perceived to be black middle class due to my educational level, though my racial identity would still be the most prominent. Meghji (2017) identified that black middle-class individuals in South Africa, the UK and the US all negotiate their identity according to hegemonic white norms; blackness eclipsing middle classness and "understood within the confines of a lower-class position" (p.10).

As well as the power dynamics relating to race, the national and global political context during the data collection process was important to consider, as I believe this could have possibly had an effect on the data collection process. This was important to consider as this specifically could have had an effect on the way participants and others who were asked if they wanted to participate, perceived me, communicated with me and could have influenced the views they expressed. This is important to address within the context of this research, as Britain voted to leave the European Union on 23rd June 2016 with 51.9 per cent voting to leave (Hunt & Wheeler, 2018). This event happened during the middle of the data collection process, as the primary data collection process took place in January 2016, what also needed to be considered was how the Brexit referendum campaign could have an impact on how people engaged with me in the case study areas (all of whom were white). In Doncaster 69% of the population opted to leave the European Union (Doncaster Council, 2018). Jones (2018) in a Guardian article titled *Brexitland: 'Too many foreigners – way, way too many'*, suggests racism, xenophobia and economic concerns driven the vote to leave the EU. Jones (2018) also argues also that Doncaster is a town "that divided along lines of class, education, race and, perhaps most strikingly, age", implying throughout the article that older, white British, working class people with relatively low education who have a relative lack of exposure in their lifetime to non-white British people voted to leave.

Taking Jones's argument into consideration, all of the participants I interviewed can be identified as white British people who except for two participants were over 40 years old. What was prominent amongst those who never wished to participate was a sense they did not welcome the prospect of having a discussion with an academic, or with me specifically. Though this may have been due to due to concerns such as the fear of having their drinking practices 'judged' or suspicion regarding my motives, it can be suggested the context I was operating in possibly influenced how people responded.

One experience that was pertinent was my engagement with a service user during the Brexit referendum campaign who did not want to participate in the research conducted in Denaby Main, who despite not having interest in my research was passionate about expressing his support for leaving the European Union and 'taking the country back'. He expressed to me his dissatisfaction with immigration into the country, certain minority groups and certain groups of migrants. I did not share his anger or agree with his opinions or conclusions he came to, especially as I am a third-generation migrant, black, identifying as having political views that lean towards the left and had experienced racist abuse in the area throughout my lifetime living in the borough. I felt uncomfortable, regardless of this I refrained from challenging his opinions and focused on listening to him and aimed to understand why he held the opinions he expressed.

Another experience that was memorable was my interaction with a man in the Rossington area, who I spoke to, informing him who I was and what my research project was about. He declined to take part in the research, but we continued to have a friendly conversation about the community. On stating who I was (a research student at the University of Huddersfield) he diverged from the topic of drinking in the area and asked a question regarding immigration and requested my opinion on the topic. Before I was able to answer he expressed clear anti-immigrant sentiment which was contrast to my beliefs and he made me feel uncomfortable, especially as it felt like I was one of the very few non-white people at the event. I did not want to answer the question as it was unanticipated, and I was unprepared to answer this in a way that does not create hostility; recognising that the topic of immigration is possibly a particularly sensitive topic in this community. I told the man respectfully that I would not be able to answer as it is a very 'complicated' issue; an issue beyond the scope of the research and my own knowledge.

What I began to become aware of was the political context and the possible effect it has on people in the case study areas. Brexit was seen to be a topic that amongst some people is particularly important and was therefore a topic they wanted to discuss instead

of the topic of drinking practices in their locality. The distrust and dislike of 'experts' was seen to be a common theme in political and media discourses (Motta, 2017). Motta (2017) identified that anti-intellectualism was frequently present in British and American political discourses in 2016; addressing its presence in both Donald Trump's presidential campaign and also in the 'Vote Leave' campaign during the Brexit referendum. Michael Gove (quoted by Mance, 2016), the Justice Secretary at the time who supported the 'leave' campaign, can be identified as attempting to appeal to these sentiments, as he stated, "people in this country have had enough of experts".

Though Motta (2017) addresses that prevalence of anti-intellectualism in political discourses is still a debated issue, the possibility that the political context at the time and the dominance of Brexit in the media and in politics had an effect on how participants communicate should not be dismissed. This is relevant, especially considering that the Doncaster borough voted overwhelmingly to leave the European Union. It can be suggested that it is possible that some people in the community had a distrust of me as a researcher and PhD student due to a perception that I am an 'expert' and the participant's perception of me as an 'expert' effect how they communicated with me.

My perceived gender can also be suggested to have impacted how participants interacted with me. What was particularly interesting was how I feel I was able to engage in discussion better with women than I did with men. Nayak (cited by Haydock, 2009b) stated that race is through the process of research stated that he understood gender as established through the research process and Haydock (2009b) identifies a similar process with regards to gender. He noted that as a man not perceived to be prominently masculine with regards to social presence and physical appearance, he was able to access women's accounts easier. My experience reflects this, however I feel that another factor is my upbringing, as I never really had any male role models and the majority of my social circle throughout my life were female. My hobbies and sectors that I had worked in I feel more comfortable communicating with women, though I cannot ignore the possibility of female

participants feeling uncomfortable giving me information about their drinking experiences and therefore deciding not to share certain stories due to my perceived gender.

I also felt that my perceived level of masculinity had an effect on how men communicated with me. A lot of the men that I approached declined the invitation to participate in the research, which was what made me reflect how other men perceive me as a man. I had a feeling that the men who refused to participate had a negative perception of me as a 'man' and possibly felt uncomfortable describing their drinking practices to me. Myself, I have never really engaged in drinking places associated with traditional masculine drinking practices such as local pubs and clubs and places that Turner (2000) identified as social hubs for the community such as Miner's Welfare institutions. Where I have drank with groups of men I have not really engaged in the 'banter' associated with the event. Throughout my experience working in 'masculine' work environments amongst men performing relatively 'conventional' forms of masculinity, I have been subject to what Turner (2000) defines as "social tests" that are required to be passed to be accepted by social groups. These are argued by Turner (2000) to extend into the drinking place:

> *Ridicule is good fun. Crucially, also, it is important to be able to take it. You have a serious social failing if you can't cope with having the piss taken out of you. It was the same at the pit. Those who behaved too seriously, those who wouldn't, or couldn't, join in with the banter, were subjected to the most acute and prolonged piss-taking. They deserved it. They had to learn to be able to take the piss (p.183).*

I was raised by my mother in a single parent household and was never really exposed to male dominated places such as these during my childhood and youth. Cherrington (2012) describes the club set-up as remaining "being based on a male head of a household" which made people who live in the community such as single mothers feel less welcome and less incentivised to join (p.179). The only experience I have however of these institutions is from entering them with the reason of attending private social functions such as wedding parties.

5.4.3 The racialization of the white working-class: national context

To understand why participants in the case study areas may interact with me differently as a black researcher, the following two sections will aim to understand processes throughout history that contribute to the racialisation of the 'white working-class' from a national, regional, boroughwide and local context. It is the histories and geographies of neglected predominantly white post-industrial areas that had a nigh number of people voting to leave in the Brexit referendum that are important in an analysis of race and ethnicity (Finlay *et al*., 2019). Having being born in what can be regarded as the post-industrial era it is also necessary to be reflexive regarding my own understandings of the racialisation of white working-class people and engage in research understanding the process and understanding the context behind this process.

Perceptions of race in the two case study areas can be identified to be rooted in practices of protectionism that were maintained throughout history; these rooted in the "spirit" that held these post-mining communities together "based on collectivism, kinship" and "advancement by co-operation rather than individuality" (Turner, 2000, p.4). The rhetoric of empire and colonialism also was identified to have had an impact on perceptions of race in the modern context; constructs of whiteness associated with superiority and constructs of blackness associated with degeneracy and uncivility. Class discourse within modern Britain also reflects the rise of populism and nationalist politics across Europe (Edwards, Evans & Smith, 2012) that maintains a rhetoric of land-based cultural nationalism that "maintains the racial, political and economic status-quo" (Mondon & Winter, 2018). Malik (2002) argued that in modern Britain, black people have undoubtedly been accepted as British, but what is unclear is 'how British' a black person can be perceived as being in British society:

> *The question of whether Black people can be British has now been replaced with the question of how far we are permitted to be so. And, perhaps more significantly, at what points are we denied Britishness? (pp.22-23)*

As a black researcher it was important to consider how the context of colonialism has had an effect on a local, regional, national and international scale regarding how black people might be perceived in predominantly 'white working-class' areas and how this may impact how participants and other members of the community interacted with me compared to a white researcher. This is especially important during the Brexit referendum, which "race was implicated through the colonial invocations and nostalgias of Brexit discourses" (Burrell & Hopkins, 2018, p.2). Throughout the campaign a racialised discourse was prominent that portrayed "the dynamics of unemployment and deprivation" in areas traditionally viewed as peripheral as uniquely affecting the 'white working-class' (Isakjee & Lorne, 2019, p.7). Understanding British colonialism is therefore important in understanding the racialisation of the 'white working-class' in Britain due to its significant impact in the creation of race and racial categories (Anderson, 2013) and the significance and relevance of race during the Brexit referendum.

What Evans (2012) argued was that white working-class, once a term that when expressed before the post-industrial era carried ethnic and political connotations is now a term now within the context of this 'reimagination of 'white working-classness' is one that when stated implies 'white working-class people' are an ethnic group. The 'white working-class' have a unique place in Britain as they are in possession of the privilege of whiteness (in relation to black and Asian people), though their culture is seen as one that lacks capital and from a class perspective, they lack the economic and social capital of the middle classes. As Edwards, Evans and Smith (2012) argue:

> *There are two inherent problems for working-class white people in the ethnic diversification of the working class. First, ethnicity is popularly associated with the racial and cultural difference of black and Asian people and second, white people's culture is dominantly associated with the "high culture" of white middle and upper class distinction. This means there are few things about white working-class life that are recognized as either properly ethnic or properly cultural and consequently publicly valued. As a consequence, the efforts of working-class white people to claim legitimate ethnic and cultural distinction for themselves are often either pitied and defended (by misguided public champions) or mocked and publicly derided as a national disgrace (p.7).*

Within working-class communities' enthusiasm for the British Empire was actively promoted and encouraged, which as a result had a significant impact on how black people were perceived. The church, schools, newspapers, literary works (particularly literary works written for children and young people) were all involved in the transmission of "the mythology of and imperial glory and heroism and of racial superiority" (Fryer, 1988, p.55). Communities across Britain were encouraged to celebrate Queen Victoria's Title of Empress of India in 1876 and later on in 1897 on Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, as a result Jingoistic patriotism and nationalism was incited across the country. Fryer (1988) states that the British working-classes simply believed what was communicated to them about the Empire from the government, the media and the institutions that were present in communities. What is important to consider is that white poor and working class in Britain were associated prior to colonialism with degeneracy and depravity and were perceived as embodying a degraded version of whiteness; during the colonial period gaining an elevated status due to their whiteness in comparison to those that lived in the colonies (Fryer, 1988).

The modern, post-industrial political context has played an important role regarding the racialisation of white people from working-class backgrounds. The prominence of the 'white working-class' concept in mainstream political discourse can be linked to the rising prominence of far-right groups and increasing interest in far-right politics in Britain. Holmes and Manning (2013) identified in research regarding dissatisfaction amongst members of the 'white working class' that the context of economic change and changing demographics in the areas they live have given parties such as the BNP, policies and newspapers an opportunity to racialize "white working-class disadvantage". As a result, communities get split along ethnic lines.

One factor that gave the opportunity to the BNP to gain a significant number of votes amongst working-class white people in post-industrial communities during was due to the rhetoric of "place- and kinship-based localism and protectionism" that throughout the

history of these communities has existed. This is argued by Evans (2012) to have been able to develop and be maintained in these communities because of the use of protectionism by early manual laborers as a survival strategy to maintain the advantages that they were able to acquire in the difficult working conditions they had to endure. This protectionism became an important foundational ethos of the way of life in these communities; reflected in all domains from the home to the workplace (Dennis *et al*., 1969; Evans, 2012). In Evan's (2012) ethnographic and historical study of the post-industrial Docklands of Southeast London, the community of Bermondsey, similar to the mining community of 'Ashton' from Dennis *et al's Coal is our life* study, was found to have imagined itself throughout its history based on kinship ties and residence. This is also defined by Evans (2012) as a "born and bred" criteria of belonging, which up until the relatively current post-industrial era has been maintained by the "remnants" of the community (p.22). Virdee and McGeever (2018) place an importance on that these "racialized codes of belonging" have regarding the relative ease populist politicians such as Nigel Farage have in 'selling' their narrative in working-class white communities:

> *Unlike the anti-racist left, politicians such as former UKIP leader Nigel Farage have very little work to do: he can parachute into a constituency and let racism do its work (p.1812).*

What defeated the BNP across the country in local elections however was a surge in grassroots local activism, which the BNP could not compete with, being viewed as outsiders and fascists; conflict within the party's leadership exacerbating the decline. Evans (2012), argued that in Bermondsey the BNP could not compete with the Liberal Democrats, who at the time reproduced in the area "a form of politics-as-patronage" that was recognised as localism. In Doncaster, Barnsley, Burnley and Hull, Holmes and Manning (2013) found participants generally expressed that they thought the extreme politics of the BNP were "distasteful" (p.494). What Evans argues is that a politics of racism within these communities is "a politics of last resort" (Evans, 2012, p.27). A move to the far-right by sections of working-class white people in post-industrial communities is argued to have

being as a result of the Labour Party's neglect of their core voter base and a lack of 'anything else' to fill the vacuum (Smith, 2012).

It was UKIP that eventually "replaced" the BNP as the 'far-right' party that was targeting the 'white working-class' in post-industrial areas dominated by the Labour Party. UKIP however can be identified to be a populist party, whereas the BNP were 'extreme right'. Whilst traditional racist hostility is less important motivation for supporting UKIP, dissatisfaction with the main parties and xenophobia were important motivating factors, similar to the BNP. UKIP can be seen to "act as a bridge to the supporters of the main parties who identify with the policies of the BNP but who do not wish to do so directly" (John & Margetts, 2009, p.508); UKIP seen as a relatively more respectable and legitimate right-wing party for protest over Europe. The Euroscepticism of UKIP has deeper roots in British politics, therefore the party and the grievances of their members are viewed as more legitimate and can benefit from mainstream media coverage and access to political elites.

The BNP shifted place and kinship-based localism characteristic of predominantly working-class white communities to an extreme cultural nationalism that placed importance on rootedness, indigeneity and a suspiciousness of those perceived as 'outsiders' (Evans, 2012). The BNP's discourse of citizenship was defined not by rights and responsibilities, but emotive appeals to land-based cultural nationalism; ethnic groups perceived to be non-indigenous, which meant not white, therefore seen as not British and labelled as migrants. What Thorleifsson (2016) suggested was that UKIP were relatively more successful at engaging with communities on a local level. Whereas the BNP placed an emphasis on ethnicity and race, UKIP framed migrants as threatening the national identity and livelihoods by applying nostalgia for industries in the localities they campaign in; turning them into symbols of security and imagined Englishness, successfully mobilizing "local disillusionment and discontent" (Thorleifsson, 2016, p.566).

The racialisation of the 'white working-class' wasn't just restricted to right-wing political parties. The emergence of the working-class as white also reflects New Labour's embracing of multiculturalism, but rather than as a political process rather than as a lived experience. Instead of focusing on economic disadvantage, it was narratives of cultural distinctiveness that were dominant in political discourse. Black and Asian people living in Britain were not imagined as also working-class, nor having a class position, but instead as the other. Using narratives of multiculturalism, New Labour used language that emphasised cultural distinctiveness rather than using language that is appropriate to address the existence of a multi-racial and ethnically diverse working-class. Racialised national politics was taken further following 2010 by Ed Miliband, who was the Labour Leader during the period following Gordon Brown and also MP for Doncaster North. Ed Miliband re-emphasised Labour's social Conservatism that appealed to certain categories of the working-class who had the key concerns of race, Europe and immigration. This rhetoric of social conservatism neglected concerns around race and gender and is argued by Virdee and McGeever (2017) to have been endorsed by New Labour to consolidate an anti-migrant working-class vote. However, by 2015, New Labour were increasingly losing influence in setting the racialised narrative that was being defined increasingly by Nigel Farage, leader of UKIP. The effects of managing diversity using multiculturalism by national and local government is in communities an 'us and them' discourse, which is rooted in a sense of a lack of equal consideration for ethnic groups, which is then appropriated by far-right parties as an instrument to use according to their agenda.

The geopolitical situation post-9/11 and the war in Iraq were also key in the creation of a new 'enemy within'. Anti-Muslim racism were key influences in New Labour and Conservative party to promote multicultural discourse to assimilatory nationalism. David Cameron's Conservative party argued that "recognition of cultural and ethnic diversity" within Britain perpetuated divisions within society. Across the political spectrum British political parties benefited from the racialisation of the working-class, as parts of the left also addressed immigration, positioning it as a key issue.

The result to leave the European Union as a result has raised important questions regarding belonging an identity in post-Brexit Britain (Britton, 2019). The positioning of immigration as a key issue was highly prominent in the Brexit campaign as working-class white people were positioned against classless migrants, refugees and those who are seen to represent a more diverse and multicultural British experience; perceived to threaten jobs, resources and British identity. Despite this new focus again on class inequality within British society, this focus is via the issue of the 'left behind' white working-class, which Bhambra (2017a) argues to be the reality of this renewed interest in class; "a new identity politics of race – where 'whiteness' trumps class position (p.S219). Mondon and Winter (2018) argued that the construction of the working-class as white and 'left-behind' was highly present in Brexit campaign and also in the Trump presidential campaign and reasserted white identity as a "legitimate political identity" and as a result racism became much more prominent and normalised within society along with the far-right (p.1). What Bhambra (2017b) argues has become pervasive in both social scientific and mainstream media accounts has been a 'methodological whiteness' which treats "dominance of 'whiteness' as anything other than the standard state of affairs"; the limited perspective of the white experience is treat as a universal perspective".

5.4.4 The racialization of the white working-class in Doncaster and its mining communities

What differentiates mining communities like the two case study areas from an area such as Bermondsey that Evans (2012) analysed, is the additional factor of the relative isolation of these communities, which also influences how relationships are formed. What these communities can therefore be defined as is an isolated mass. Clark and Siegel (1954) define an isolated mass as a group of people who exhibit behaviours and think different to people inside communities that are more 'interconnected' and 'conventional'. The norms inside mining communities are based on interpersonal needs to 'watch each other's backs'; communities characterised by collectivism, shared cultures based on occupation and trade

union activity. These relationships be rooted in the mining industry, where trust in the colleagues was incredibly important due to the dangerous nature of the job (Dennis *et al*., 1969).

Though the research was conducted within the context of the post-financial crisis period of 2008, it can be identified that it's the defeat of social movements and transformations of British society and the economy that have the most impact on the present. This is especially true in the two case study areas that were transformed from pit villages to post-industrial areas without the industry that the economies and societies of the two areas relied on. Following the decimation and eventual decline of the mining industry that was exacerbated by Thatcherite policies, the post-Thatcherite New Labour party exacerbated the taboo nature of the subject of the existence of the working-class and an emerging class of precariat within post-industrial locations in Britain. New Labour emphasised the importance of social mobility, meritocracy and the importance of the middle-class and aspiring to be middle-class. This was perceived in working-class communities to be an act of abandonment. As Evans stated, New Labour "forgot how to speak the language of the working classes", instead moving towards the centre ground and aiming to appeal to the middle-class electorate (p.26).

Following industrial decline and neglect from New Labour, Thorleifsson (2016) identified an existential insecurity amongst Doncaster's population, which resulted in a significant proportion of Doncaster's population creating a local identity around what they perceive as an 'industrial golden age'. The legacy of industrialism, increasingly precarious employment and increased migration were factors that made UKIP's nationalism attractive to a significant proportion of people in Doncaster. The way this success was achieved was through playing on fears of migration and its impact on the national identity and livelihoods (Thorleifsson, 2016).

New Labour aimed to "recruit" people within these working-class white communities "to a mission of individualized aspiration and social mobility" (Edwards, Evans & Smith, 2012, p.5), and this 'mission' involved what Turner (2000) would define as escaping the 'isolated mass'. Turner (2000) argued that it is individuals that embrace a worldview associated with cosmopolitanism that can be identified as being more successful at escaping this rather than those who embrace a worldview associated with 'rootedness'. Royce Turner (2000) in Coal was our life defines two groups of young people – a 'minor elite' and the 'mass'. The 'minor elite' embraced individualistic attitudes to education and culture associated with New Labour's neoliberalism whereas the mass are the majority that embraced traditional forms of masculinity and what can be perceived as 'traditional' working-class collectivism.

What can be argued against is the argument that the majority working-class white population of Doncaster were 'fooled' into voting to leave the European Union by political and media powers. What Thorleifsson (2016) highlights is that working-class white people in Doncaster were not passive victims of outside forces of politicians and the media as mainstream media narratives suggest. Instead, the working-class white population strived to give meaning to the new context that they live in, which is one which the dominant ideology is neoliberal globalisation. Embracing the concept of 'coal nationalism' was an opportunity to understand the context which they live (Thorleifsson, 2016). Whilst there are social actors in Doncaster that attempt to encourage locals that the future can be imagined using logic outside of structural nostalgia for the industrial past and protectionist nationalism, right-wing parties such as UKIP and the right-wing press have used the anxieties of working-class white people to their advantage; people in the area expressing disillusionment with promises of modernity that never came, successful economic transition and a promises of what they perceive as a successful integration with Europe (Thorleifsson, 2016).

This disillusionment with mainstream parties is also argued to have resulted in English Democrat Peter Davies, a right-wing nationalist, beating Labour's candidate (who came in third place) to become elected mayor of the town from 2009 to 2013 (Paul, 2009). The English Democrats are a right-wing political party that oppose 'political correctness', a key aspect of this they emphasise as being the "deliberate subversion of English national culture and interests, the denigration of English history and of the English themselves, and the promotion of the objectives of minority pressure groups" (English Democrats, n.d.). An opposition to multiculturalism and emphasis of the "public culture of England" as being that of the "indigenous English" (English Democrats, n.d.) is reflected in the policies of Peter Davies. During this period, he announced cutting community cohesion officers, translation facilities for ethnic minorities, twinning links with foreign towns, and funding for "International Women's Day, Black History Month and other things related to minorities and multiculturalism" (Lazenby, 2011). In 2013 he lost the mayoral vote to Labour candidate Ros Jones, the current Mayor of Doncaster (Reed, 2013).

What this research also does not want to suggest is that all 'white working-class' people resort to overtly racist and xenophobic discourses in attempts to make sense of their struggles. It was found by Holmes and Manning (2013) that certain groups of 'white working-class' people when trying to make sense of their economic struggles and struggle to negotiate identity in neoliberal post-industrial Britain were found to resort to racist discourses that blame immigration for the majority of issues that they face. The racism that is salient in discussions regarding the topic of immigration is a use of the one of the few means that are able to be used to attempt to understand the socio-economic exclusion and deprivation that is a part of their everyday lives (Holmes & Manning, 2013).

What Thorleifsson (2016) identified were two categories within the population of Doncaster. The first created a local identity that centred around what they perceive as 'Doncaster's golden age' and appropriate the past and the second taken inspiration from the relatively 'hidden' diversity in the area and take inspiration from outside of the locality

to cope with the phenomenon of decline in the area. Age was found to be an important factor in identity formation as younger generations of participants appeared "less nostalgic" and were found to be more likely "to draw on global cultural and economic flow" so they could "assign meaning and value to their lives".

Another event that happened in the backdrop of the Brexit campaign that may have had an impact in the case study areas regarding how I was perceived as a POC researcher was the Rotherham child sexual exploitation scandal that received significant national coverage from 2011; attention drawn to the scandal by The Times Newspaper (Britton, 2019). Rotherham is one of the neighbouring boroughs of Doncaster and is also relatively close to the two case study areas, particularly Mexborough and Denaby Main. Following the initial coverage of the scandal street protests taken place in Rotherham by the English Defence League (EDL), who mobilise activity around their anti-Muslim sentiment. Rotherham was positioned as a primary example of an area that had suffered the consequences of 'failed multiculturalism'; the EDL "tapping into unmarked whiteness under-pinning the town's dominant history and identity" (Britton, 2019, p.696).

The EDL have also positioned areas in Doncaster in a similar way to Rotherham, staging protests in 2014 and 2018 in the village of Hexthorpe because of tensions between Roma migrants and those positioned as the 'indigenous population'. This racialised narrative of 'failed multiculturalism' is prevalent in The Daily Mail's (Brooke, 2014) coverage of the issue, which places an emphasis on participant statements; these framing migrants as "dangerous and polluting others" and a drain on economic resources (Thorleifsson, 2016, p.563). The protest in both instances resulted in counter protests by local anti-fascist and anti-racism groups (South Yorkshire Times, 2018). Tufail (2015) in an analysis of the fallout from events that took place in Rotherham and Rochdale found from participants that they experienced increased racism in Rotherham following the coverage of the scandal which threatened their "inclusive sense of belonging" and forced them to challenge racism and articulate their attachments to the area (Britton, 2019, p.701).

What the phenomenon of the racialisation of the white working-class brings particular attention to are the intersections between my racial identity as a black man and my identity as a postgraduate researcher. These intersecting identities have particular implications regarding how participants and others in the community may perceive me. As a researcher I can be seen what Durrheim *et al*. (2018) defines as a "social elite" (p.402). The importance of the intersection of race and class is also important in understanding how anti-expert rhetoric was able to be transmitted in communities during the Brexit campaign and how this perpetuated the racialisation of the' white-working class'. The positioning of critics was used to mobilise popular support; criticism portrayed as coming from a privileged elite point of view disconnected from interests of those who are positioned by politicians such as Nigel Farage as 'ordinary people' (Durrheim *et al*., 2018). Racism was reappropriated as a 'card' used to discredit the 'concerns' of the 'ordinary people'; critics being accused of "playing the racism card—that constituted genuine prejudice against ordinary citizens" (Durrheim *et al*., 2018, p.401). These 'ordinary citizens' within the context of Doncaster's post-mining communities positioned as the predominantly 'white working-class' majority.

Within this racialised discourse, it can be perceived I would be entering the case study areas perceived as an 'other', though to offset this I engaged in a performance of 'embodied capital'. My experience of living in the area and my relatively sufficient knowledge of the local area expressed through an emphasis of accent and local knowledge that can both emphasise place-based identification to make participants feel more comfortable and challenge dominant constructions of the town as 'white working-class'. This emphasis on an ability to put participants at ease is emphasised by Holmes and Manning (2013) in their research addressing "political dissatisfaction amongst members of the white working class" (p.479). In this research Holmes and Manning (2013) conducted semi-structured interviews with white working-class people in Doncaster, Barnsley, Burnley and Hull and addressed the advantage that they had as white

researchers, despite being "white Antipodeans" or "a couple of white foreigners" (p.486). They identified their ownership of a "non-threatening and familiar" form of 'otherness' that was able to make participants feel more comfortable relative to a middle-class British academic (Holmes & Manning, 2013, p.486). This can be argued to be a form of 'otherness' allowing for greater engagement with participants in post-industrial Doncaster as they can be identified to be outside of British middle-class hegemony, which British academia is commonly associated with.

5.4.5 Defining local, borough and region.

Throughout the research process reference was made to the local, the borough wide level and the national level. Whilst at first a lack of thought was made into what is meant by these terms, it was during the middle of the data collection process that it became apparent that it would be important to properly define what is meant by these terms within the context of this research project.

What makes defining these terms important is the historical context of the Doncaster borough compared to other areas in the South Yorkshire area. Doncaster as a borough is far from a 'one industry' town. Whilst Barnsley has remained most famous for its mining industry that once dominated the borough, the Doncaster borough, though was also a location with a large mining industry presence, is a larger area that is often associated with one of three industries: horse racing and bloodstock sales, the railway industry and the mining industry. All of these industries have played a significant role in shaping the borough. Whilst horse racing and bloodstock sales and the railway industry remain and are associated with Doncaster town centre and 'inner city' areas close by, collieries were situated in villages in the Doncaster borough surrounding the town centre.

What became particularly important is distinguishing the local scale from the borough wide scale and the regional scale, especially as from reviewing the literature, it became

apparent that these terms, in particular local and regional, were often used interchangeably. In the research of Valentine et al. (2007) the term local is used to refer to the city of Stoke-on-Trent, but also the district of Eden in Cumbria which has within it the town of Penrith and other small towns and villages. Another example is, when the region of Yorkshire is referred to, often in quantitative research, it is referred to as 'Yorkshire and the Humber'. This does not reflect reality as the Humber region was abolished in 1996, as a result North Lincolnshire, North East Lincolnshire, Kingston upon Hull and East Riding of Yorkshire were formed. Criticism from people within areas that researchers and statutory organisations refer to as 'the Humber' regarding the naming of where they live (see Yorkshire Post, 2013) suggests that researchers should be considerate regarding how they define the areas that they study as this suggests research participants attach significant emotional importance to geographic boundaries and the meanings they attach to them.

Robertson, Smyth and McIntosh (2008) in their study of post-mining communities in Scotland link the concept of locality to sense of belonging as individual sense of belonging to a particular locality develops over an individual's lifetime and also intensifies during different events. This is important as location plays a significant role in how individuals locate themselves "socially and culturally"; allowing the participants to position themselves in the world (Robertson, Smith and McIntosh, 2008, p.2).

In this research project the term 'local' refers to the case study areas, as it seems relevant that the local context should be the smallest scale area that is referred to. This term will be used when referring to the post-mining communities of Rossington and Mexborough and Denaby Main that are the focus of the study. Using it in this way is appropriate as the term 'locality' refers to geographical locations where people live, where domestic life is experienced and for some participants where the work environment is located work or where leisure activities are performed. The locality is an area where individuals "exercise

their capacity for pro-activity by making effective individual and collective interventions within and beyond that base" (Cooke, 1989, p.12)

It was when the research findings were considered, it was decided that it was necessary to refer to the case study areas as the 'local', whereas the Doncaster area, including Doncaster town centre, was on the borough level. When participants sense of belonging to the areas that they lived in was analysed it was clear that the local context was of significant importance. The case study areas and the locations within the case study areas such as domestic places were where the participants mostly centred themselves when they discussed their experiences with alcohol, whereas a level of emotional distance was maintained when considering their position within the borough wide context. This was apparent when Doncaster town centre was referred to. Doncaster town centre was portrayed as outside of their locality and having a different drinking culture requiring different coping mechanisms.

Whereas the local scale refers to the case study areas and the borough wide scale refers to the Doncaster borough (the town centre and the other villages and towns within it), the regional level refers to the geographical territory of Yorkshire and the regions that it consists of (North Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and East Riding of Yorkshire). Sheffield and Leeds are in this research recognised as the two main economic centres in the region.

5.4.6 Concepts of 'space' and 'place'
What was found during the primary and secondary research process was that when people described the area where they lived, and more importantly the locations (in the context of this research) which they engaged in drinking activities in, they attached meaning to these locations and a certain amount of value. A common occurrence in secondary literature was the defining of these locations as 'spaces'.

During the data collection process there was an increasing uncomfortable feeling when referring to the locations that participants attached meaning and value to as 'spaces'. The way the participant described the locations which they and others drank in implied that they played a significant role in creating the atmosphere that defined it. James' description of a former club that had closed in the early 2000s is an example of meaning and value being attached to a specific 'space':

> *In fact if you drove past you'll see it. It is an empty building now and that's where that's where are used to go when I was little… It was good. It was good I do miss it. I miss it there because it was like a tradition on New Year's Eve*

James describes is a location that no longer exists. His sadness regarding the loss of the institution implies that he attached significant value and meaning to the location. The overlooking of the significant meaning and value that participants such as James gave locations in their locality on reflection was an undervaluing of the distinction participants made between space and place.

Tuan (1979) described the concepts of space and place as "basic components of the lived world" that are "taken for granted" (p.3). When locations are referred to as spaces what it implies is a location that has nothing of value and does not have any social connections within it (Tuan, 1979). The concept of Space is abstract and does not have any significant meaning. Places however are "centers of felt value" (p.4) and represent "security and stability" (p.6).

The two concepts cannot exist without each other as place can be perceived as a space, but with attached meaning (Tuan, 1979). The use of the term 'place' emphasises that individuals create a place by using the subjective and by using their agency (Gieryn, 2000). Gieryn (2000) describes space becoming a place when it becomes populated by people, practices, objects and representations.

The concept of 'place' is also defined by Cresswell (2004). He suggests that 'place' should not just be understood just in simplistic terms, but is a way that people differentiate locations from each other, such as in the context of villages, towns and cities. Instead of using the term to differentiate locations, what Cresswell (2004) proposes is an understanding of place as a concept that individuals use to see, know and understand the world around them.

What this meant for the research was an importance to understand and address that participants attach meaning and value in different ways to locations within their localities. It was found to be more appropriate within the context of this research to use the term 'place' as a term for the locations where the participants engage in their drinking activities as it addresses the role that the community has had in the construction of the history and atmosphere that defines these locations.

5.4.7 Advantages and disadvantages of focus groups and individual interviews

The intention on planning the primary data collection process was to conduct semi-structured interviews. This process was however found to problematic within the context of this study for two reasons, the restrictiveness of semi-structured interviews, the uncomfortableness the participants felt when being interviewed initially in the semi-structured format and the dominance some participants maintained in focus groups.

The reason why semi-structured interviews were proposed initially were the advantages they offer with regards to the research and also the researcher. As Corbin and Strauss (2015) highlight, the ability to maintain a level of consistency over some of the topics and concepts covered is one of the positive aspects of employing this method. While allowing for a degree of flexibility the method simultaneously is able to maintain a level of structure.

Another aspect of this was the comfort that was felt on entering the case study area for the first time knowing that a list of topics was available ready "to fall back on" if it is necessary, especially in the situation where participants were not talkative (Corbin and Strauss, 2015, p.39). Having spent a long period of time in youth work, with regards to career and higher education, meant that it felt more comfortable interviewing young people than adults, who from personal experience were in the majority of cases more open about their drinking practices. Entering a case study area to interview adults about their drinking practices was at the time a new experience.

What was found however throughout the process of primary data collection was that the semi-structured interview format felt restrictive, especially in situations when it felt some participants entered the interview process knowing what information they wanted to add to the interview process, therefore had a desire to control the structure of the interview. Corbin and Strauss's (2015) argument highlighting the difficulty of semi-structured interviews is relevant in this situation as it was difficult to maintain consistency; the issue of maintaining consistency over the concepts covered conflicting with the persistent worry about participants not feeling comfortable during the interview process. It can be identified that this form of interviewing makes it difficult for participants to mention problems and issues that are relevant or more specific to their lives or to ensure that concepts mentioned in past interviews are followed up on (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). What happened in a significant number of the interviews was that the interview would often eventually turn unstructured due to allowing the participants to set the course of the interview.

Corbin and Strauss (2015) highlighted the importance of assessing carefully why participants shift onto different topics. Reflecting on this point it can be identified there was a possible reluctance to 'bring them back on topic' due to the fear of possibly missing out on important information to the topic that is at the time perceived irrelevant and the risk or making the participant feel uncomfortable or threatened. Reflecting on the sensitive

nature of the topic, it was deemed important to be deeply mindful regarding "sensitivity" and to always be "thoughtful and caring" (Corbin and Strauss, p.38) and to also practice patience. Charmaz (2014) encourages researchers to aim to leave participants with positive feelings regarding the experience of being interviewed and about themselves.

Chapter 6: Endogenous traditions and institutions

6.1 Introduction

What this chapter will describe are the endogenous traditions of the two case study areas that are relevant to the formation of drinking practices that have been formed because of the context the participants are situated in. The context was found to be important in understanding the drinking practices of the participants as the mining industry played a central role in the communities and leisure institutions and cultural practices were influenced by the character of the industry (Dennis et al., 1969). This chapter therefore first goes into detail regarding the centrality that the mining industry had in the case study areas and how this impacted on the lives of people living in the two case study areas. What will then be discussed is the centrality of the mining industry to drinking practices in the areas and how mining industry decline impacted on these. Three endogenous traditions that were identified from analysis of the data will then be discussed: close-knit community ties, sociability and respectability and communal drinking. The chapter will then be concluded on a discussion regarding the identified reasons these endogenous traditions have declined within the community and the impact of this on drinking practices within the post-mining context.

6.2 The centrality of the mining industry

6.2.1 The centrality of the mining industry and sense of belonging

What was apparent during the primary data collection process was that the participants had a clear understanding about how they identified with these mining areas. In Robertson, Smyth and McIntosh's (2008) study of neighbourhood identity in three neighbourhoods in Stirling in Scotland, the key finding was that a neighbourhood's identity is established at the very early point of its existence; this being associated with historic male employment patterns. This finding is also true for the two case study areas; the identity of the area being recognised as that of a 'pit village'. Both case study areas, specifically that of Denaby Main and New Rossington are areas purposely built for mining. Jones (1999) states, New Rossington and Denaby Main can both be identified as "large planned colliery villages" (p.124).

Bennett, Benyon and Hudson (2000) discussed the post-decline of the mining industry and noted that there existed insecurities amongst people living in post-mining communities regarding their future and the changes that they are experiencing in the places where they have lived. This was due to the mining industry in the past having firmly establishing itself as being at the centre of these communities and it played a central role in the local economy of these areas. The drinking culture associated with mining communities can also be identified to be one of the many aspects of the participants' lives that is in the process of change, as the time the area has existed without the mining industry increases. The participants in this study, similar to those in the communities Bennett, Benyon and Hudson (2000) focussed on, expressed their insecurities and concerns regarding the changing drinking culture that threatens their firmly grounded feelings of a security with regards to their sense of belonging to the area they live in.

The results from the primary research process suggest that the participants in both case study areas have retained distinctive ties to these areas. Participants strongly identified with being residents of the case study areas rather than as identifying themselves as residents of the Doncaster borough. A sense of belonging was found to have a significant influence in determining the drinking strategies that individuals participated in and it was found that a sense of belonging could both restrict and enable participant engagement. A sense of belonging had a prominent influence on how participants interacted with drinking places, as well as the institutions associated with the consumption of alcohol and engagement in activities related to alcohol consumption both within and outside of the case study areas.

The sense of belonging that participants expressed was primarily based on place; in particular, the areas where they reside. The local context (the case study area) was of significantly more importance to the participants and invoked a relatively more positive response than the 'borough-wide' area and regional contexts. Many of the participants

statements reflected what was previously acknowledged, in McMillan and Chavis' (1986) research, as they made reference to geographic boundaries that were relevant to them to aid them in defining and signalling their membership of these communities.

Even in the context of participants who had migrated to Rossington from surrounding areas, they were found to have a background in mining. This emphasised the dominant presence that the mining industry had in the borough and in the other surrounding areas. For example, Susan who had migrated from another pit village in the Doncaster area, stated that during the time her father worked in the industry it was the biggest employer in the area she lived in:

> *my dad died, my grandad is dead so not any more really... they were both miners. They were all miners*

In Rossington, as well as identifying themselves as residents of the Rossington locality, participants typically associated themselves with specific areas inside the locality; these boundaries being defined by the legacy of the mines. These identities are linked to the area's history of being a planned colliery settlement. In New Rossington, the area of the village associated with the locality's mining heritage, participants referred to various estates within it that were built as expansions of the original mining village, which were built due to the growing demand for miners by the local colliery. As Taylor (2001) identified, prominent characteristics of the mining industry during the early twentieth century were rapid expansions and developments, and there were demands for large numbers of men to work inside the pits and this meant a constant demand for housing. After nationalisation of the coal industry, the National Coal Board also continued to build houses in the area up until 1976 (Benyon, Hollywood & Hudson, 1999a).

The migration that was of significant importance to the participants during this period of the area's history was from coalfield areas in Scotland and the North East. Participants

made reference to the Wimpey Estate in the area, where it was recognised that a lot of these migrants resided.   Louise, one of the younger participants describes that her grandparents came to live in Rossington to work in the local colliery:

> *both of my grandads. One of them passed away but my other grandad was in mining. He came from Scotland to do the mining so yeah… A lot of people did there're a lot of Scottish family is in Rossington because they came for the mining.*

The landscape of Rossington at present for the participants was identified by the legacy that the mining industry has left in the area, despite the colliery ending production in the early 2000s and the site being demolished in 2007.   A prominent example of this that is highly visible to visitors entering the village from the west side of the area (the Great Yorkshire Way link road) is all the new housing, which participants recognise is being built on the site that was once occupied by Rossington Colliery.   Even though there were female participants that had been working in the industry, in roles such as cleaning and administration, male employment in the mining industry constructed the social identity of their neighbourhoods.   Josie's statement on her experience reflects the experience that many participants had of the mining industry; early in their lifetime they gained familiarity with the mostly male work patterns and culture associated with the industry:

> *I don't have experience in the mining industry but my dad was. He was a miner in Rossington. I've lived with it all growing up I suppose. My dad was a fitter at Rossington Colliery. he did for about 30 years so he's retired now but yeah he worked for 13 years at the colliery*

Despite the identification that some individuals perceive the mining village as a 'lost community', some still identify the area as a mining village.   James, who had a familial connection to the mining industry gave clear identification that he sees the Denaby Main area as a 'pit village' as he identifies that the village was built for the purpose of housing miners working at the local colliery and miners working at collieries in surrounding areas that also reside in the area.   James places an emphasis on witnessing the loss of

landscapes associated with the industry in the village during the 1980s; using the decline of the mining industry during the 1980s as a divider between the past and the present:

> *If it weren't for the Main colliery, Denaby Main wouldn't have existed because it was built specifically for all that. There was Cadeby Colliery, Manvers; that is where my uncle used to work years ago. There were others dotted around. I don't know them obviously as I was born in 86. They were all shutting down you know? Things were coming down*

James' expresses a conscious knowledge of his area's industrial past. When he was asked about what he thought about the loss of the mining industry and the impact this has had on the area, he stated that the mining industry had a primary role in determining the landscape of the village. To emphasise his point, James asked me to imagine a hypothetical scenario where the mining industry does not exist in these areas:

> *As I said before Denaby Main what we know now was built for the pit. If it weren't for the pits that wouldn't be there so think how different this area would be have the pits never existed. Denaby Main would not exist now. You'd still be in Old Denaby which is further down.*

The evidence of the mining industry's influence on the case study areas and also its effects that it has had on the participants, was apparent. Louise, similar to James (another one of the younger participants), had a familial connection to the mining industry and she addresses the importance of the mining industry in Rossington but identifies certain housing in the area as being an important definer of a neighbourhood's social identity and history in the context of post-mining Rossington; mentioning the development and expansion that the village has experienced. She acknowledged an active interest in the historical background of the area she was born in; engaging in research locally. Louise positions the houses that can be identified as part of the original model village built to house miners as distinct from houses in other areas of Rossington; these being seen as remnants of the area's mining past:

> *Allenby, Aberconway; the big circle are the proper mining houses. A lot of them have moved back out or have moved to bungalows or something like that but a lot of those houses are the original mining houses.*

This reflects Edensor's (2005) notion of post-industrial ruins as "places where counter-memories are articulated" (p.163); this knowledge being "empathetic and sensual, understood at an intuitive and affective level" (p.164). Bright (2012) used this notion to determine whether it plays out in the coalfields of Derbyshire and argues that within these areas the mining industry continues to have a negative effect both socially and economically; this knowledge being rooted in "psycho-social ruins" (p.320).

The notion of post-industrial ruins in coalfield settings is apparent in accounts from participants when referring to Mexborough and Denaby Main. The participants frequently used the decline of the mining industry as a divider to separate the mining past from the post-industrial present. James' description of drinking routines amongst the older generation of miners can be seen as a stalled effect of trauma circulated due to "insubordinate histories" being made unspeakable due to the "complex practices of silence" that persist in these area (p.323). James himself also expressed feelings of disappointment in the area throughout the interview process and his main experiences of the mining industry in the area was that of the "shutting down" phase of Cadeby Colliery. James states how even after the closure of the colliery he has witnessed a deterioration in the Mexborough area; this feeling exacerbated by his analysis of images of Mexborough:

> *I heard about the area before when the mining was big and I have seen it deteriorate even now. It's not good compared to pictures of how Mexborough used to be.*

What was apparent from the accounts of participants from Denaby Main and Mexborough was that the participants did not simply see the loss of the mining industry as an economic issue, the participants also focused on the emotional impact that the loss of the mining industry had on them as individuals. As Pini, Mayes and McDonald (2010) in their study on the closure of Ravensthorpe Nickel mine in Western Australia identified that for the

participants the closure of the mine had more of an emotional impact; feelings of "anger, betrayal, resentment, exasperation and anxiety" were some of the feelings expressed (p.570). The decline of the mining industry consistently for individual participants in Mexborough and Denaby Main symbolised a loss and decline of community. This identification of loss and decline was interpreted through the participants own individual experiences. Tim perceived his community to be victims of "oppression" due to what he believes to be a loss of opportunities; alcohol functioning as an escape from this oppression the post-decline of the mining industry and also the "boredom" of unemployment.

Sarah expresses her disappointment that community cohesion has been lost in her community and that she can no longer trust anyone within it; the end of the miner's strike symbolising the beginning of community fragmentation. James in his day-to-day life sees the remnants of the mining past in his area in both the post-industrial ruins and also in the routines of the generation that worked at the local colliery in the past; as a result, he associates the decline of the industry with a loss of prosperity and a way of life. David, whilst he did not explicitly relate his experiences to the loss of the mining community, conveys a narrative where he associates the post-industrial landscape of Denaby Main and Mexborough with his experiences of the boredom and monotony of unemployment.

However, what was apparent travelling to the Rossington case study area to conduct the primary research was what looked like the ongoing development of the landscape; particularly the area the locals identified as "West Rossington". This area of Rossington which is what people first see from the newly built duel carriageway (and also Doncaster town centre and Doncaster Sheffield Robin Hood Airport) arguably symbolises the extent of social change that has taken place in the village. The participants often made reference to the historical background of the area to aid them in identifying it; Liz whilst helping me to locate the newly built highway referred to the area as the location "where the pit used to be".

6.2.2 Mining industry era migration and the impact on the local drinking culture

Past studies into mining communities have often implied that a homogenous white working-class population populates these areas. There can arguably be an element of truth to this statement, specifically concerning the percentage of non-white residents as ONS statistics for Rossington, Denaby Main and Mexborough identifies these areas as having over 98 per cent of their populations identifying as belonging to a white ethnic group (ONS, n.d.a., ONS, n.d.b & ONS, n.d.c). However, what was discovered, particularly in Rossington was that a more complex set of white working-class identities exist. The participants viewed the village as an area that has constantly experienced expansion and development. Migration into the village from other mining areas located around Britain reflected past, present and future infrastructure developments as the village expanded and continues to expand to house new migrants.

This infrastructure in Rossington was in the form of peripheral estates attached onto the 'original' mining village. A prominent example that participants referred to in Rossington was the Wimpey estate. Carol, rather than focusing on the Miner's strike as an event that separated the past and the present, uses ecological changes in the area as signifiers of the village's evolution throughout time. What is pertinent is her emphasis on significant increase in housing in the area and therefore of population, in particular the Wimpy estate. She describes the phenomenon as a gradual increase that happened throughout her time living in the village.

In Rossington there was acknowledgement of possible cultural diversity and also the existence of different northern English regional identities in the area that reflect the nature of migration into the area linked to the mining industry. Migration was found to be mostly from areas that can also be identified as be identified as being dominated by mining. Such as in the case of Katrina, who described her family's background in the mining industry in Doncaster and Rotherham:

> *You see my dad worked for less than five years in the pit in Rossington and then left to become a roofer. My grandad on my Mum's side worked firstly in Maltby and then in Rossington Pit and Collins grandad worked in Armthorpe and then came to work at Rossington. So I have got both sets of grandparents.*

Helen stated that her granddad migrated to Rossington from Lancaster during the early existence of Rossington Colliery. He was the only relative in her family that had worked in the mining industry:

> *My grandad was in the mines. He moved from Lancaster to Rossington when the pit was sunk, so he worked in the pit but that was the only relative that I have got I think that worked down a mine... my grandad loved it. He said it was the best job in the world and he would recommend it to anybody. He had good wages and things like that.*

Similarly, Sharon stated that though she was born in Rossington she recognises that her father migrated from the Durham coalfields in the North East of England to work at Rossington Colliery:

> *Only my father. Well I can't tell you exactly... from Durham to here... It was before I was born because I was born here.*

The participants, despite addressing their family's regional background, retained a commitment to the case study area, maintaining a strong sense of belonging. Similarly, Louise maintains a strong sense of belonging to the Rossington area but unlike Katrina, Helen and Sharon mentioned that she embraces her cultural background relatively more. Louise recounted that she comes from a Scottish background and implies that this continues to form part of her identity; mentioning that she proudly has higher resilience to cold weather due to her Scottish roots; her stating her family's tradition of having barbeques all year round. In this statement Louise reflects on the reasons Scottish people migrated into the area:

> *Yeah, both of my grandads. One of them passed away but my other grandad was in mining. He came from Scotland to do the mining... he said a lot a lot of his friends came as well from Scotland to work in the mines.*

Jenny, who lived in Hartlepool in the North East of England early in her childhood and retained links to her family in the town states that the migration of people from the North Eastern, Scottish and Welsh coalfields had a significant impact on the drinking culture in the Rossington area. In the following Jenny describes the atmosphere of a Working Men's Club in Rossington during a night of 'Turns' whose members and committee were predominantly from the North East and Scotland:

> *There was the Scottish, the Welsh, and the Durham Miners and some Kent miners came in because their mines were closing, but when they came the Scottish actually seemed to be in the majority at that club... there was a lot of Scottish in there because a lot of them lived on the Wimpy Estate that is at the back of that club... There was a lot of Scottish in there and a lot of Geordies and the committee of that club was nearly all Geordies and Scottish but they were good fun. They might have been drunk as skunks and like I said people getting up to sing you know sort of...*

In this statement she describes the drinking culture associated with miners that had migrated from the Tyneside region and Scotland as what Haydock (2015) would describe as being relatively more carnivalesque in nature. Jenny describes the groups of Geordies and Scottish people she witnessed drinking in the club using the term "drunk", a term that she uses later on in the interview could be associated with the 'binge drinking' narrative, but instead associates this behaviour with sociability and fun.   This statement identifies the existence of different drinking cultures specific to certain mining areas across the country. Jenny also associates a specific housing estate in the area with the Scottish migrants; the Wimpy estate. The statement implies that some residents not only have a strong sense of belonging to the locality (the case study area as a whole) but also to specific estates within the locality due to their associations with their particular community; the drinking places within close distance of these estates reflecting the cultural background of residents living inside them.

6.2.3 The centrality of mining and 'pit' drinking culture

Early exposure and identification of area drinking norms was important to the participants as it aided them in forming a drinking identity that was constructed within the context of the area which they live. It was clear throughout the primary collection process that the majority of participants maintained the perception that the mining industry was a dangerous industry to work in. The drinking culture (social life) associated with the mining culture however elicited relatively more positive responses from the participants.

Remnants of the mining past were not just present in the landscape of the case study areas. The drinking culture of the two case study areas can still be characterised by routines associated with the mining industry of the past. The participants had clear and similar interpretations of what they perceived was traditional working-class drinking culture. James identifies these in Mexborough and Denaby to be more prominent amongst the older generation:

> *Then you've got the other side who do as they would've done when they were in the pits; they had finished their shift 5 o'clock and they're go up a quick pint before they went home. Some people I know who are '60 odd' still do that. At 5 o'clock they'll go to the pub have a pint and come home, whereas before they have been at the pit before they are going to a club. They've just been sat in the house and then gone to a pub but they've still got that routine.*

What James identifies in the modern drinking routine of the older generation are remnants of family and community life during a time when the local colliery was active. This routine reflects the model of family and community life inside mining communities that Bulmer (1975) emphasised in his model of the ideal mining community; a model that identifies a close connection between the domains of work, family life and recreation within these areas (Rind & Jones, 2015).

The local drinking culture can be perceived to reflect the precarious nature of the job of working inside a mine. What participants described was a job where the risk of danger was frequent and the long-term consequences to health had a significant impact on quality

of life. As many of the participants had a link to mining through their family or wider social network, some participants described the health consequences that people who they knew who worked in mining faced. Gary expressed respect for these former colliery workers for putting their health and wellbeing at risk, positioning miners as distinct members of the community worthy of respect:

> *But then you use to get people like "them that used to work down the pit they ended up getting everything". I said I tell you what whatever they got right they deserve every penny. I wouldn't have gone down there for a gold pig.*

In the same interview, Linda provides more detail as to the consequences to health miners faced working down the mine providing the example of her friend who worked in the mining industry in the case study area:

> *My friend he is in his 80s and he worked down there all his life. His lungs are terrible. Absolutely terrible.*

Mary emphasises the danger associated with a career in mining, who whilst confirming her connection to the mining industry in the area states that her grandfather almost died during his career in mining; implying that the possible consequences of that were herself not being born:

> *I haven't, my grandfather was a miner. I haven't personally. Well, he died about four years ago. So, it would have been just when the mines had just about open Because he was in his 70s when he died. He almost died mining, so nearly didn't have any grandkids! *laughs**

The drinking culture associated with mining in the case study areas, as Dennis et al. (1969) describe, can be seen as one where those who participate in it give "no thought for the morrow" due to the precarious nature of the job; one where the danger of injury or death was a reality (p.130). Robertson, Smyth and McIntosh (2008) similarly identify remnants of the industrial past in the everyday customs of individuals that reside in mining communities. It was found that miners were seen as possessing a distinct identity; having

significant influence in the construction of modern social identities and social customs (Robertson *et al*., 2008). Miners were seen as distinct from others in the community, embracing drinking patterns and customs with roots in male employment patterns from the dominant industry of the past (Robertson *et al*., 2008). The traditional drinking patterns associated with mining had a clear function, that being a ritual that marked a transition from "work to play" (The Social Issues Research Centre, 1998, p.8) of self-medication to recover from the conditions inside the pit shafts. These conditions Gary associated with the development of emphysema; coal mine dust stated by Nemery (2009) to be a significant predictor of emphysema development. Linda describes this routine as being associated with "the traditional miner". As Paul, a former miner told me:

We used to go out for a drink because of the dust. Down the pit and that.

Paul, along with Linda describe the role of alcohol besides playing a role in socialisation and bonding between colleagues out of the work context being that of a necessary substance that aids recovery. Within Gary's narrative however he focuses on the relaxation and recreational aspect of drinking culture associated with the mining industry. Gary associates his own attitudes to drinking to the work rituals of miners, taking pride in maintaining traditional localised drinking patterns associated with mining:

You have got to wind down that's what I always say. You've been working all week. All weekend if you can't go out and have a good drink and relax... and unless you don't drink fair dos but I think on a weekend once you've been grafting all week like most of the pit went have a good weekend they went to chill out have a drink and relax.

His embracing of drinking patterns and attitudes associated with the historic and outmoded male employment patterns of the mining industry is a signal to the strong sense of belonging Gary has to his locality. This pattern of drinking fits in with traditional work patterns that predominantly men in the community engaged in. The supports Valentine *et al*'s. (2007) argument that socioeconomic, historical and cultural contexts are key in

determining local drinking cultures. In this case, Gary's perception of working class identity and drinking culture shapes his drinking attitudes and also allows him to express his local identity.

The embracement of the drinking culture associated with mining was particularly interesting in the context of individuals who decided not to pursue a career in the mining industry but maintained pride in living in an area that can be recognised as a 'pit village'. The main reasons participants mentioned when they explained why they rejected the opportunity to pursue a career in mining were the concern of risks to long term health and working conditions they perceived as undesirable. Gary was one of the first participants that stated that he rejected a career in mining. Despite Gary throughout the interview strongly associating the area with its mining heritage and passionately describing the social scene and culture of drinking in the area positively (comparing Rossington during the time the colliery was open to post-colliery closure Rossington) he did not hesitate to address the negative aspects of the industry; particularly how the working conditions impacted on the health of ex-miners. Health was stated as the main reason why Gary chose not to pursue a career in mining; this being emphasised in his explanation why he chose a different career path compared to other members of his family and peers who lived in the area:

> *My uncles went down there but that's one place I didn't want to go down me… no I didn't want to go down there, no. I know loads that went down there but it wasn't my cup of tea down there and breathing in all that crap you know I mean? It is just one place I didn't want to go.*

Gary places emphasis on the point that he knew *loads that went down there*; positioning a career in mining at that time as a normative career path in the area; him confirming the status of Rossington as a 'pit village'. He creates a narrative where he has taken a unique career path relative to those in his kinship and non-kinship networks that reside in the community. Regardless of him not being able to identify as a miner he chooses to embrace what he sees as the local drinking culture.

Mark along with Gary was also one of the participants who states that he never intended to enter the mining industry and states the working conditions and the potential negative effects the jobs would have on his health as factor. Mark addressed the poor working conditions in the pit and the potential health effects of the job; considering how deep Rossington colliery was:

> *Never wanted to work in mining. I had the chance to when I was younger but it didn't appeal to me… One thing I have bad is I had bad years for a start I was poorly with my years as a kid and obviously the depth of which you up to go your ears would top and working on the ground it didn't interest me.*

The extent of the centrality of mining in both the case study areas can be identified to possibly have an influence on how people in these communities perceive other areas outside theirs that had a similar industry. Gary identified other pit villages as having similar drinking cultures:

> *But any village that had a mine all did the same anyway. They weren't different from like Rosso or wherever it was all just a natural thing you finished work and after you called to the pub for a few hours and then and that's what life was like.*

While there is a certain level of understanding Gary expresses with his perception of the similarities of areas that had a mining industry presence, this can be seen as a misperception Turner (2000) argued is a reflection of the parochial culture of the area that he lives in. What isn't highlighted are differences between the mining industry within the different counties that are within close distance of the case study areas. Waddington et al. (1991) in his study of coalfield communities in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire identified differences regarding community cohesion and the nature of social activity in the studied communities. The miners in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire commuted from other localities whereas miners in Yorkshire were defined by their relatively

6.2.4 The impact of mining industry decline of drinking practices

Like Gary, Mark expressed passion in the past regarding the drinking culture that is linked to the mining industry despite having not worked inside the mining industry; in Mark's case this being the Working Men's Club environment during the period Rossington Colliery was active. Mark however unlike Gary expresses a relative lack of interest in the current drinking culture; addressing the strong influence the mining industry had over the drinking culture:

> *Well that's around 85 in the 90s and onwards it's just gone down. It's gone downhill.*

Mark places significant importance on employment in the area determining drinking trends and patterns in the area; the Miners' strike used as a divider between the past and present trends. Kirk *et al*., (2012) argue that the cultural lives of working class communities can be seen as increasingly obsolete; "the object only of heritage spectacles and exercises in nostalgia" (p.9). Using this argument, it can be identified that the drinking routines of working-class communities such as the two case study areas in this research can be seen as increasingly obsolete. The domains of the family home, work and the recreational environment such as the club or miners' welfare were intertwined (Bulmer, 1975). Charlie, another former miner who was interviewed implies that the drinking routine he engaged in during his career in the mining industry was centred around his job, which meant consuming alcohol in the evening with colleagues. As Linda and Paul state, the drinking routines associated with the mining past served the purpose of aiding in recovery for miners. This identity relying on the existence of the colliery has become redefined as a response to the economic context and also as a response to new knowledge of identity (Kirk *et al*., 2012).

Sarah rejects the suggestion that modern day drinking patterns and attitudes to drinking have links to the historical and cultural context of the mining industry. Using the Miners' Strike and the association Sarah associates drinking patterns, attitudes and customs that

are prevalent to her at present as being effects of the loss of the mining industry in the area; the effects of unemployment:

> *It is people who can't get work or are there in the routine of having a drink… it is what it is today. You see drinking everywhere and your old people who take drugs, so it's 'nowt' to do with mining.*

Her statement emphasises a frustration at the lack of social cohesion post-Miner's strike and at what she perceives as changing attitudes to drink; this implying that implying a possible loss of a sense of belonging to the community present day. As a result of the loss of important structure of the mining industry, Sarah has created a construction of her area as a lost community. Blokland (2004) argues that this constructed notion ensures individuals can create a sense of collective self; symbolic defences or boundaries created due to the loss of structural boundaries that have changed or have been threatened due to social change (Blokland, 2004). This allows Sarah to reject those who embrace attitudes and drinking patterns that she perceives as not associated with the mining industry; specifically, the "new generation".

As Dennis *et al*. (1956) argue, employment contributes to an area's defined characteristics; these being the product of developments throughout history that have constituted ways of life. In the case of the mining industry, one of the main historical developments is that leisure provision had to be provided by law by the owners of the colliery (Dennis *et al*., 1956). Kirk, Contrepois and Jefferys (2012) argue that this formed identity that exists in mining communities is bound in this historical development; this male dominated industry as a result creating traditions that in these areas have shaped everyday life. As a result of the historical developments the local drinking culture and a significant number of institutions, particularly in Rossington all have connections to the mining industry. Organisations such as "the local miners' welfare association, the working men's clubs and a range of sporting associations and activities deriving their raison d'être from the 'organic' connections to the pit" (Kirk *et al*., 2012, p.7).

The finding that many participants stated that they were actively engaging with institutions that were associated with the local mining industry emphasises the perceived level of importance individuals placed on the decline of the industry. The loss of mining to many individuals meant the loss of community, the loss of facilities associated with it and the loss of tradition. This again, can be seen in the way that participants use the decline of industry as a divider between the past and the present:

> It's not the same. It was a mining village and it just changed. I don't know really. It's just not the community like it used to be. It used to be a great community. It's not there now - Margaret

The nature of the link between leisure and recreational institutions and industry in mining areas is unique due to the relationship that existed between the mining industry, trade unions, political organisations and clubs. Industry was seen as providing the foundation for life within leisure and recreational facilities in these communities; the routines and financial contributions of working men being particularly important (Cherrington, 2012). The decline of industry in the area meant the decline of traditional workplace routines and also of financial contributions; these all having had an impact on club attendance (Cherrington, 2012). Mark, reflecting on own declining engagement with his local clubs, describes his reason for doing so as a lack of 'atmosphere':

> We used to go around Wheatley and stuff like that because they used to do obviously darts tournaments are used to go with them. Join in you know? Used to travel with them… it started down a hell of a lot since basically they were closing all these pits. It's just not the atmosphere anymore… Well yeah, I have seen a total difference from like obviously the pits closing down obviously that has changed a hell of a lot- Mark

From this statement it can be seen that Mark clearly holds the view that the local drinking culture should have an important social function; the social dynamics inside of the institutions he engaged with having faced significant change post-decline of the mining industry. Participants such as Tim, James, Gary, Paul, Jenny, Mary, Josie, Louise, Margaret

and grace all highlight how they either in the past visited a club or how they currently attended a club; the social function of the club being the most prominent.

Cherrington (2012) describes how there was a shared understanding of the culture of the workplace and the culture that existed in places of recreation and leisure such as clubs and pubs within the community; life centred around the one dominant industry. What Cherrington (2012) portrays are also institutions and leisure facilities that are seen by individuals within the community to have strong relationships to their personal, family and community histories. Louise despite identifying that her local club has changed throughout its existence still traces its roots to the mining industry her family migrated to work in:

> *They class it as a working men's club but it's not. It was for the miners, but it's now open to everybody - Louise*

Throughout the primary data collection process there was recognition of historic patterns and cultures of alcohol consumption linked to the mining industry. Without the foundations of the industry however the drinking culture can be argued to be seen as lacking its purpose to an individual outside of the community, specifically in the context of a world where deep coal mining no longer exists. It can be identified from the research however that participants maintain the distinct 'pit village' identity through construction of the pit village as a lost community; the drinking culture associated with the community also constructed as a culture that has been 'lost'. The drinking for many of the participants however the drinking patterns associated with the mining industry were associated with the past and the older generation; a narrative that portrays these practices as drinking routines of the past.

6.3 Close-knit community ties and their impact on the drinking culture

6.3.1 Initial introduction to drink by the family and drinking norms

As Warwick and Littlejohn (1992) found in their early 90s study, kinship networks have continued to be an important aspect of the lives of people in the area, despite the decline of the mining industry and the fact that the areas cannot be seen as "traditional mining communities" (p.120). What was found in this research also was that family had a significant influence on the formation of the attitudes to alcohol that the participants had. As well as maintaining contact with those who live within their community, the participants maintained close familial ties, therefore familial drinking traditions and occasions had a significant influence on the drinking strategies people employed. The nature of these drinking occasions also had an effect on attitudes to drink; alcohol being described by participants as being facilitated by social events within the family.

The drinking practices of the participants' parents was mostly stated to be low in quantity and frequency, many stating how their parents were not 'big drinkers' and how alcohol was only specifically consumed on special occasions for example Christmas or out in an on-trade environment. These initial experiences of parental drinking practices had a significant influence on the participants' drinking and their attitudes towards alcohol. The family experiences of participants were divided into three categories: (1) Witnessing parental drinking norms, (2) Being enrolled into family drinking traditions, (3) experiencing enforcement of family or parental moderation.

The experiences of the two participants, Tim and David, both from the Mexborough and Denaby Main case study area, can be seen as cases where inappropriate drinking practices were modelled in the family domain and as a result the participants developed problematic drinking behaviours. Both participants described a process of the normalisation of excess drinking and behaviours associated with alcoholism and a modelling of drinking behaviours. Both participants spoke of their experiences negatively and mentioned that

this experience had a significant impact on the direction of their future drinking careers. Whilst David simply describes copying the drinking behaviours of his father, Tim willingly went into further detail regarding his father's actions and the impact they had on his life. He described his father not just creating an intimidating and fearful environment due to his alcoholism, but also exposing him to the drinking of his social circle who were invited to the house on a frequent basis. As a consequence, Tim was exposed frequently to events he described as 'parties' and also the hobby of homebrew making, which interestingly he had fond memories of.

Other experiences of participants who witnessed parental drinking that were of interest, were the participants who mentioned living with two parents with differing approaches to alcohol consumption, in particular with regards to the amount they consume and also their consumption patterns. A factor that provides further complexity is the relationship dynamics between individual parents and the participant. Liz, like David and Tim, mentioned that her father was an alcoholic and died because of it, though mentions that she also lived with her mother who she states never consumed alcohol besides her relatively infrequent consumption of Babycham (a sparking perry drink). Liz shared negative feelings towards her mother, but positive feelings towards her father, which was implied to be due to past experiences.

> He is not alive now he's died… They never knew anything. I don't think they knew when I was born… I got on well like a house on fire with my dad but not with my mum… No. They never did. She had the odd Babycham but on her own.

This statement brings into question the impact of living with two parents with differing approaches to alcohol consumption, differing alcohol consumption patterns and also having a deteriorating relationship with one parent, in particular the deterioration of the affection that family members have for each other. Velleman (2000) states that failure to maintain cohesion within the family structure, particularly in families where a problem-drinker exists, can result in an increased risk of negative outcomes including "a

deteriorating parent-child relationship, diminishing feelings of self-esteem, and social isolation and feelings of exclusion" (Velleman, 2000, p.69). In particular, the children of individuals with issues relating to problematic drinking can experience outcomes such as earlier use of alcohol or other drugs and also involvement with "'semi-deviant' subcultures" (Velleman, 2000, p.66). It is stated however that the parent who isn't experiencing issues related to problem drinking can help avoid negative outcomes by providing the child with a stable environment; a cohesive relationship between parents, a separation from the problematic and disruptive behaviour and a maintenance of family activities.

Being enrolled into family drinking traditions for many of the participants who mentioned experiencing this, outlined how this helped them in developing what they perceive to be positive and sensible attitude towards alcohol. Tim however spoke negatively of his experiences of being allowed to participate in family drinking traditions. He expressed that he had low support from his father in being able to develop a positive attitude towards alcohol; as a consequence being unable to make sensible and positive choices within the context of alcohol consumption. His father during his initial experience of alcohol consumption held a significant amount of influence with regards to drinking practices. He was therefore encouraged to emulate his father's drinking practices through processes of modelling; performing accepted drinking practices associated with the drinking culture of his family and social circle. Due to his father's drinking behaviours, and also the drinking behaviours of his social circle, Tim implied that alcohol was more readily available, meaning it was also easier for him to engage in drinking activities.

My father was an outright drunk. Dusk till dawn (he) woke up, had a beer, went to sleep after a beer; that is my first association with alcohol. That was brought all the way through my childhood till I left the house. There was always beer around everywhere, there was always always people around you know coming round to have a few cans with my dad; home-brew making all that and wine. That is my first association with alcohol… oh everything that was there at the time because as you do because your dad's your dad isn't he? He's your martyr isn't he? So whatever he does you feel it's alright. So I did whatever was in the house and believe me there was a lot in the house all the time. Because he was an alcoholic

Other participants state how alcohol was moderated by their parents. James stated how alcohol was always relatively heavily regulated in his household and how his mum had what he perceives now to be an 'old fashioned' approach. Josie, from what she described had an opposite experience to James as she was introduced to alcohol when she was young. Josie, unlike the other participants like James, whose drinking was restricted to holidays and special occasions discussed being introduced to alcohol by her parents in the form of a glass of wine accompanying her Sunday lunch.

Helen expresses similar experiences during her youth; being able to drink alcohol during special events like Christmas with her family; she stated however that the majority of drinking was hidden by her parents and taken away to on-trade premises such as the clubs and the pubs. Helen's statement expressing that she quickly accepted the drink because she might not get the opportunity to consume alcohol for a long period of time, emphasises the infrequency that alcohol would be exposed to her as a child.

> *It will be the odd glass of wine with Christmas dinner or for somebody's birthday we might have a Chinese and then you'd get a drink to go with that, but yeah not very often*

The approach taken by James's mother compared to that of other participants parents is a relatively more conservative approach. James states that he was not allowed 'official' permission to drink alcohol in his household when he was growing up under his mother until he was eighteen years old, though was allowed to drink alcohol during Christmas in relatively conservative quantities. It can be seen that during his youth 'official' permission to drink alcohol was seen to mark what his mum seen as the end of the transition from childhood to adulthood and therefore his gaining of responsibility and general rights as an adult. The way that James emphasised that post-sixteen alcohol was allowed but only "a small glass of Lambrini near Christmas" (a light perry) emphasises the importance that his mother placed on eighteen being the date where she feels she no longer feels the need to intervene and assist in her son's drinking:

Alcohol is 18 and over you don't touch it at home. I have always been brought up that way… Yeah, when I was sixteen it was regulated. My mum is very old-fashioned; she's old-fashioned but with a modern twist. She's kind and she'll do 'owt' for you, but if it's something which is like… when you're a kid and you're not old enough to have she won't let you have it. The rule on alcohol was eighteen… I wasn't allowed to touch it officially until I was eighteen.

**Present family drinking norms

- A few participants described feeling a sense of pressure from family members to consume alcohol.
- Alcohol was a tradition in some families – drink playing an important role in social gatherings and alcohol playing a symbolic role – Susan gets a litre bottle of vodka for Christmas purchased by her dad every year; this developed into a tradition.

6.3.2 Sense of belonging and parochialism

Besides identifying established geographic boundaries, participants established their 'sense of belonging' to the area they lived in through the early establishment of micro-social settings and identification of close social ties within the area; networks of family, friends and neighbours. In some circumstances, sense of belonging and a communal identity was also established through the identification of a collective trauma, in this case the decline of the mining industry and the perceived effects on the community. Robertson, Smyth and McIntosh (2008) emphasise the importance of the mundane and routine in individual establishment of sense of belonging; interactions that provide "familiarity" (p.53) and therefore increase feelings of stability.

It is important to state that in the case study areas, mining was not just an industry that provided people living in these communities with employment. The colliery, especially in the case of pit villages, provided the people that lived in them with a culture that promoted and encouraged teamwork, mutual support and a caring attitude towards neighbours and colleagues (Coalfields Task Force, 1998). This culture not only was restricted to those working in the mining industry as it was embraced by those in the wider community. What was found in the two case study areas that working-class identity in these areas is associated with mining and that had a significant impact on individual identity and sense of belonging.

Many of the participants including: Tim, Sarah, James, David, Gary, Mark, Helen, Carol, Charlie, Sharon, Josie and Louise all identified as being from the two case study areas. The other participants such as Linda, Leanne, Jenny, Mary, Susan, Margaret, Grace and Brenda identified as being migrants from other areas who had lived in the two case study areas for a long time. All the participants however indicated a strong sense of belonging to the area they currently resided in.

Sense of belonging to the case study areas, their social drinking ties in their locality and experiences of drinking during their 'drinking career' influenced their drinking habits and their perceptions of the local drinking culture.

Sense of belonging, despite overall being particularly high in both case study areas, was relatively stronger than amongst some individuals than others. Gary expressed the strongest sense of belonging to the case study area, expressing that regardless of any future travel he would always identify as a resident of the Rossington area:

> *I wouldn't leave this village for anywhere else me. If I won the lottery I might travel the world but I would always come back to Rosso it is a great place*

When expressing this during the interview he spoke in a positive way and was relatively quick to articulate his sense of pride in the locality (the case study area). This demonstrates a relatively high sense of commitment to maintaining an attachment to the locality. This sense of belonging appears to have influenced his engagement in the drinking culture present in Rossington.

Gary's description of his drinking network reflects Bulmer's (1975) model of the traditional mining community which emphasises the importance of close locally based social ties to populations that live in mining communities; contact with those from outside of the community is seen as less important. Gary's description of how incidents involving others are resolved in his local drinking place indicates a high sense of belonging to his community and also he expresses a perceived sense of safety and assurance which means he feels that the likeliness of conflict remains low:

> *You will know who you're drinking with. If they are like your mate you'll go 'sorry love'; and they'll say 'it's ok Gary'. In town they don't. In town they might be from Stainy or from wherever you know what I mean? So you don't actually know. In Rosso you'll probably know nine out of ten in that pub so if you do that they'll be like 'ah it is all right Gary' - Gary*

James describes a similar feeling of belonging to the Working Men's club he used to visit by emphasising the parochialism present in the club:

> *It was good. It was good I do miss it… So for the first four years of my life I was brought up around that lot, and then I was brought up in Denaby and a lot of people from Denaby used to go to the working men's club as well, so I knew…you know, I knew everybody.*

For Gary, Rossington is where he has clearly established a sense of belonging early in his lifetime. All of his social ties, which include his social drinking network, are located in the area. This reinforces the level of commitment to the locality and commitment to engaging in the local drinking culture in the case study area. He also describes a drinking culture that reflects the parochial nature of the mining community he resides in. A community where 'everyone knows everyone' and those in the community lack the willingness to leave the locality (Turner, 2000). Gary expresses that this culture of parochialism in the community is not a disadvantage, but an advantage as it ensures a level of familiarity and therefore a level of safety and comfort.

Helen, unlike Gary, did not make any statements emphasising a high sense of community pride like Gary, though it can be identified that she also has a perceived sense of belonging to the area. Her sense of belonging is rooted in her family background in the area, her family ties and her position within the community. This is due to her connection to the local and regional mining industry; her Grandad had worked at Rossington Colliery and she had worked in an administration role for British Coal. In the Rossington area, in her present role working in the community she implies that she is a respected and visible person within it who is actively involved with community organisations in the area. Her current employment position, as Weber (1978) would argue, is not defined by financial power but by the prestige that members of the community associate with the position. Helen, due to her social position within the community, holds a high amount of symbolic capital relative to others within it.

Helen places significant relevance on the fact that her domains of work and home are both situated in the area; therefore working in the village where she lives means she feels an increased pressure placed upon her to uphold the respect she has within the community in which she works and lives. She chooses to set boundaries and distance herself from the social life outside of her job role because of fears of her personal life conflicting with her career:

> *You cannot go anywhere without somebody knowing or being related to somebody distantly and things like that. I work here and you got to have a reputation… I prefer not to socialise in the village - Helen*

It appears that she does not want to be seen to be drinking because it clashes with the image that she is presenting of herself to others in her professional role in the community. Unlike Gary, for Helen the high connectivity with people within the community reduces the incentive for her to engage in the local drinking culture due to a perceived clash with her role and status in the community and her perceptions of the way she is expected to conduct herself in public places in the area. She identifies a high possibility of her being seen consuming alcohol by members of the community she serves.

Like Helen, Josie expressed similar concerns that her social drinking activities clash with her professional role in the community. Similarly she chosen not to engage in drinking activities in public drinking places inside the area, though she expressed the concern of specifically coming into contact with the families she works with:

> *I suppose if I think about when I go out with my friends from work if I go out we tend to go out to Leeds or Sheffield or York… we don't drink locally because we might bump into people; the families we work with - Josie*

Though her strategies were to restrict engagement in social drinking spaces in the Rossington area, she chooses to continue engagement with existing social ties in the village in non-drinking spaces; actively engaging with community projects and facilities in the area.

This brings to attention clear disadvantages of residing and working in a post-mining area; areas historically defined by the cohesiveness of the community and the strength of social networks within it. Helen and Josie both express the need to maintain a level of respectability in the area when it comes to their lives outside of their professional roles, but at the same time emphasise the importance of social drinking in their lives. Participants like Gary recall traditional community life where work, family life and leisure time are closely intertwined like several participants in Rind and Jones (2015) study in the North East of England recalled. The culture of parochialism in the area is therefore perceived by Helen and Josie as problematic for them as people in these communities are less likely to leave the village, meaning drinking places in the area would reflect this culture. As Turner (2000) argues, a parochialist society means for those that live in these areas "strength" due to the ease that information regarding the lives of those within it could be made public knowledge. In other words, "you knew who you could trust" (Turner, 2000, p.172).

The benefit of traditional recreational places before the decline of mining was increased social cohesion and informal support mechanisms against the harsh working conditions of the colliery (Rind & Jones, 2015). Post-decline of the mining industry, local drinking places no longer need to serve the purpose of places of recovery, but the drinking landscape and culture in the localities still feature remnants of mining culture; participants expressing value in cohesiveness and relatively high levels of connectivity between individuals within the locality in the form of tight-knit social networks. What Helen and Josie express however is a need to maintain boundaries between their personal and professional lives, this being different to the lives of those that worked in the mining industry. Miners lived and worked in the same community and brought workplace camaraderie and workplace politics to local drinking places (Hadfield, 2011). Paul in his description of a typical routine drinking session after working in the colliery, suggests that a maintaining what Helen and Josie consider a 'professional image' was less of a concern:

Oh, very heavy! Yeah, you still come out the mine and you still going to the legion for a few more and then the top club have a gallon - Paul

In the context of people who had emigrated from the area after living in Rossington for a long time, the strong sense of belonging remained relatively high. Josie, even though she stated that she moved out of the village she continues to identify with the area. She reinforces this with the close social ties she has retained in the village:

"If people ask where I'm from I still say from Rossington because I still feel I am I am from Rossington. It's where I was born it's where I grew up and even though I don't live here anymore I've still got really strong ties to this village" - Josie

The importance Gary, Helen and Josie place on human relationships, with regards to their sense of belonging, reflect the work of Wise (2015) and also McMillan and Chavis (1986) who acknowledge that human relationships are central to individuals building a sense of belonging to a locality; individual and communal relations being important determinants. Geographic location plays an important role also as social interaction often takes place in particular places; social interaction plays an important role in the making of communities (Wise, 2015).

Geographic location also plays a relatively influential role in Sharon's development of a sense of belonging to the Rossington area, as she uses geographic boundaries to signify membership to the community, that she identifies as belonging to. Even though she does not live in the village anymore she expresses and maintains a strong sense of belonging to the area and it is argued this is due to the social ties she has created and retained, and also similar to Gary, she expresses her admiration for the area relative to others, stating that no other area can *"beat it".*

Sharon's strong sense of belonging to the area is also reflected in her negative perceptions of who can be identified as recent 'incomers' to the area, these 'incomers' are defined as coming from areas beyond the identified geographic boundaries of the mining village and also by her perception class. These recent 'incomers' were perceived by Sharon and other participants from the Rossington area, as residing outside of New Rossington in relatively newly built housing in Old Rossington and in the West Rossington area (which is currently under development).

Grace identifies as a resident of Old Rossington and describes that divisions rooted in class conflict and geographic location do exist in the Rossington area. She states that people that live in Old Rossington prefer to call it that to differentiate themselves from the residents of New Rossington; and these residents believe they are of a higher-class status. Grace states:

> *People down at our end like to call it old Rossington because they are posh but there isn't. There is no old Rossington. If you are particular that is Rossington, this is new Rossington but people just call it Rossington – Grace*

In the case of Louise, who was born in the Rossington area, she had moved to other locations in and around the Doncaster borough and returned to Rossington, she still retained a strong sense of belonging to this area. Louise attaches a level of importance to the village where she grew up. She has lived in various places and has also had the experience of university. In the interview she reflected on her past experiences and concluded that Rossington is an important area to her; the motivator for her returning to the area was that she had familial connections that reside in the area:

> *"Well it's not bad. I keep coming back so it must be important to me. It's got all my family here so, yeah. It's not a bad place" – Louise*

In a case where a participant had lived in another area in Doncaster, a sense of belonging was developed due to perceiving the area as being safer. Brenda had moved to Rossington

from the inner-city area of Balby due to fears for her son's safety as a result of bullying and general anti-social behaviour in the area. In other cases where participants lived in other areas prior to living long-term in Rossington, they moved from similar areas; areas of the country that can be identified as pit villages. For Susan, who migrated to Rossington from the pit village of Woodlands, the area of Rossington symbolised 'safety', and also 'acceptance'. Rossington for her symbolised a new beginning from her past living in another pit village in the Doncaster area:

"Actually I feel more at home here" – Susan

It is apparent that she feels a strong commitment to the area as she feels fully accepted in the community as an 'outsider'; describing the community as one that "accepts everybody for who they are".

What was apparent was that the participants of Denaby and Mexborough compared to those from the Rossington area expressed relatively less pride in their community than those from Rossington and emphasised more their feelings of disappointment in the area and described scenes of decline, decay and loss. Statements overtly expressing pride and a choice to reside in the area were not as present. Though there isn't enough data to confirm the participants' commitment to the locality, participants in the Denaby and Mexborough case study area like those in Rossington positioned themselves within the local context of the case study area rather than within the borough-wide context (the Doncaster borough); suggesting a stronger localised identity.

James states that he engages in drinking activities with his familial and friendship ties, though points out that the size of his social network outside of his familial ties he would consider friends to be relatively small; these located in a small Lincolnshire town relatively close to Doncaster. A strong sense of belonging is implied, however through frequent the descriptions of decline in the area that that emphasise a relatively high sense of

disappointment; suggesting feelings of collective trauma and grief. The theme of decline and loss throughout the interview also extended to public drinking places as James explains that these establishments have declined to the extent that he feels a sense of disappointment that his community isn't served as well anymore by pubs and clubs. The disappearance of these social facilities and the growing prevalence of supermarkets can be perceived by James to signify social change:

> *The pubs around here I am surprised there's any left. Honestly I'm surprised there's any left because we've got big chains like Asda. We've got Home Bargains round here too… We've got Asda in in Denaby, we've got Poundland in Mexborough and they sell alcohol – James*

David also described the case study area as a place that has experienced significant loss; leaving feel that they are disadvantaged compared to other areas in the borough. David describes Denaby and Mexborough as an area that lacks opportunities; meaning that more people are likely to engage in the local drink and drug culture out of boredom:

> *There's nowt really for us round here or owt to do, so I think that's why a lot of people turn to drink and drugs - David*

The majority of local participants chose to embrace localised identities, though not all participants chose to do this. Charlie and James interestingly were the only two participants who embraced a regional identity rather than a local identity; expressing a sense of belonging to Yorkshire rather than to the case study area. James unlike Sharon and Grace rejected identities associated with class, stating his beliefs that "There's no class everybody's equal", which implies that he dismisses the possibility that class-based divisions exist in his area. Interestingly prior to stating his opinions on class James stated "Yorkshire" as his identity; towards the end of the interview associating Yorkshire with its mining heritage. Despite expressing pride in his Yorkshire identity he portrayed himself as unique in his community; the first thing he stated in the interview was that he identifies as a Conservative party supporter:

> *I'm a Conservative supporter, which is a lot different to a lot of people you speak to round here. Not many people will say that to you that they support Conservatives after what the Conservatives did in the Eighties around here - James*

Charlie, despite having worked in the mining industry and having lived in the Rossington area significantly longer than other participants, feels a sense of belonging to the Rossington area through shared social customs. He proudly demonstrates a sense of belonging to what he perceives as his community by expressing pride in social customs he associates with who he identifies as "Yorkshire People". He describes these social customs in his description of what generally happens during his Sunday drinking session:

> *There's about five or six of them all sat around a table. Son-in-law sits with me for a bit then will go and sit with them. It keeps changing like you know? But I've got friends in there as well, so you're never stood for not saying 'nowt' to anybody. When somebody comes to you you'll have a natter. That's best thing about Yorkshire people. They talk to anybody - Charlie*

Despite embracing a regional identity, like Gary, Josie and Louise who use a localised identity Charlie maintains a sense of belonging to his locality through identifying the close friendship and kinship connections he has in the area; these also making up his drinking circle. He recognises that his social experiences take place within the context of drinking establishments in the Rossington area and also within the home.

What was not present from the interviews with participants was any mention of identifying as a resident of the Doncaster. Doncaster was mostly described by the participants in the context of alcohol-related anti-social behaviour in the town centre at night and though comparison of the area; rowdier, busier and anonymous. It was spoken about negatively by participants.

6.3.3 The maintenance of closely-knit and connected ties

A common theme that was present in participant discourses was the recognition and maintenance of closely-knit ties within their community. A lot of ties the participants had were either familial or those outside of the kinship circle who were in in most cases based locally. Some participants prided themselves on the social connections they had within their area. James who stated that he had no close friendships in the area implied that regardless of this he maintains a sense of community. In his interview he proudly stated that he has gained and maintained closely-knit and connected ties in the area through his time spent in drinking places in the locality:

> *Yeah I've been in pubs yeah. I have been in these pubs. I know most of the people in Mexborough*

This formation of closely-kit ties was identified by James as a result of a significant number of people within the community using the same Working Men's club as a social place:

> *So for the first four years of my life I was brought up around that lot and then I was brought up in Denaby and a lot of people from Denaby used to go to the working men's club as well, so I knew… you know, I knew everybody.*

The most prominent demonstration of his closely-knit and connected ties was his description of his emotional response on hearing about the closure of his local club. This establishes that regardless of him not considering anyone in the area a 'friend', he still 'knows' people and feels a sense of community; expressing genuine disappointment on closure of community facility. Here James places emphasis on the emotional connection he had to the club through the fact he had a connection to one of the barmaids in the club through a member of his family:

> *One of my family friends she used to be barmaid in there for years. In fact her dad used to own it at one point. She text me one morning that nine years ago saying "the working men's club shut". I said "I know its shut it's in the middle of the day. It is never open in the day". She said "no it shut!" As I was saying that they were there boarding it up. I had a walk through as as I didn't believe I thought she was playing a joke on me. I thought that will never go it is a working men's club, surely that's not gonna be took out. I come down and it's all boarded up.*

For some of the participants having these social connections in public drinking spaces provided them with a sense of security, in that they'll be guaranteed a positive social experience and that conflict will be less likely. Though the parochialism of these institutions can be seen as guaranteeing stability and safety, entering a drinking establishment as an 'outsider' can be perceived to be a particularly intimidating experience. Gary's experience of entering drinking establishments in Rossington highlights the importance of having a social connection prior to entering, as someone without prior social connections entering drinking place in the area is perceived to be an act that is outside of social norms:

> *if you're in the village and you walking their pub and you walk through that door they do exactly the same you go to the bar and everyone is just like staring at you like have you got two heads or something? I have only come for a drink. And then you'll talk to someone like ""heyup..." "how do you know him?" "oh heyup! You alright kid?" "oh you know so and so?" And then it all totally changes then.*

This phenomenon can be defined as the "Everybody knows everybody" phenomenon. This feeling that the community was closely knit was frequently expressed. The concept of the extended family also plays an important role as opposed to the concept of the nuclear family. As Helen states:

> *You cannot go anywhere without somebody knowing or being related to somebody distantly and things like that (Helen).*

Like the case study area of Yorksco that Waddington et al. (1991) provided a case study of, Rossington, from what the participants describe can be seen as a community with an "inward-looking nature" with regards to the ties people have in the village. Gary's description of the kinship ties he perceives as the norm in the area reflects this parochial culture, as historically miners social lives centred on colleagues, partners and families within the boundaries of the locality (Turner, 2000):

Actually in a mining village you'll be surprised if you're not even related to someone one way or the other because your cousins had a kid she's got married to 7 so so if you break it down to your distant cousins and all that you'd actually be related to everybody. They're all together kind of thing. So everyone knows everybody.

Linda as well as stating the same "everybody knows everybody" sentiment, states that that the community "is a closed community", implying that the community is inaccessible for those who wish to enter from outside of the community. This can be identified as being a result of the stability and familiarity for that parochialism results in within the context of friendship and familial ties. This Parochialism within mining communities within the context of drinking places can be identified as being similar to the parochialism that Turner (2000) identified in drinking places in Featherstone in West Yorkshire, which he identifies is a result of strangers entering the village and as a result drinking places not being the norm:

"*They wonder who you are when you walk in. They're not used to strangers*"
(Turner, 2000)

This however can be argued to not be a phenomenon that is unique to Featherstone or the case study areas in this research project. Jenny describes this dynamic being prevalent in Hartlepool also, the area where she is from, which also has a history of coal mining:

I am from Hartlepool originally and he said occasionally you can hear it Because… I didn't think so but he picked it up a particular way of speaking and he said what family then because it is a bit… Everybody knows everybody up there as well (Jenny)

Linda perceives this parochialism to be a norm within the community as she described how she is often asked if she knows certain people in the community:

That's what I've always found in the village when you're talking to people. They'll say oh do you know so and so and so and so. They all seem to know one and another. It is just unbelievable (Linda)

Parochialism in mining communities is argued by Turner (2000) to mean strength in the form of information as the close ties mean information can be transmitted across the village faster across the community. In a conversation that went slightly off-subject with Linda, she described the power that the closely-knit and connected ties have in the community when it comes to the distribution of information, particularly regarding the personal lives of others in the community:

> *I know I might be going off subject now but 96, got divorced and went off with another woman and people in the village knew about it and found out but I didn't and my friend found out and and she knew about it before I did and she came over and I only found out a few hours before. She said why didn't you tell me? Everybody's talking about it because everybody knows in the two hours!*

This level of parochialism had clear advantages and disadvantages for the participants. The disadvantages are prominent particularly within the context of the drinking culture. One of the main identified advantages was a sense of familiarity and assurance, which Gary states as an advantage of drinking locally, though he accepts that there will always be a level of risk when it comes to conflict:

> *I go to my local and everyone's alright they have a drink… It happens wherever you are. Not as much because you know them. You will know who you're drinking with. If they are like your mate you'll go sorry love and they'll say it's alright.*

Susan's experiences in Woodlands (another mining community in the Doncaster borough) and Rossington highlights the negative aspects of the impact that parochialism has on drinking practices. Her level of satisfaction with the Rossington was however compared to the level of satisfaction she had living in Woodlands. She detailed her history of misusing alcohol in the Doncaster community she originally lived in, expressing that on leaving she felt a level of freedom, in particular a freedom from the judgement and stigma she received and experienced in the community she used to live in:

In ▮▮▮▮▮▮ like I said I've got a huge background. There is a lot of things, there is a lot of memories that I'd rather forget so you know? And when I moved here I never told anybody anything about me. I wanted people to know me for me rather than what they heard or what they've seen it – Susan

Susan's feelings of being stigmatised in the pit village she was born in and lived in before brings into question how people with alcohol misuse issues are treat in the communities they have lived in and how this has an impact on sense of belonging; Susan only regaining this on leaving Woodlands. She however on attempting to visit the local club in the area was refused entry due to being 'guilty by association. Sarah, from the Mexbrough and Denaby Main case study area, expressed similar feelings of judgement and stigma, though as opposed to stating she had actually experienced judgement and stigma in the community states she expressed a fear of receiving judgement and stigma from the community. Sarah expressed feelings of shame as she would often attempt to hide the amount of alcohol she consumed and the frequency of her alcohol use:

I used to use other shops just to cover myself, but they knew because when I'd put them in my green bin there were bottles and bottles of 'em

What the majority of participants who identified as migrants to the area have in common is that they are mostly from areas that can also be identified at present as post-mining communities. These participants due to their own or their families background in mining can more than likely participate in collective remembering than those who were originally from communities that can be identified as not having a background in mining.   Not all migrants were seen as part of the community. The migrants who Sharon describes in the following statement are associated with lost cultural homogeneity; new migrants in her opinion viewing themselves and the area in Rossington they have chosen to reside in as better:

It's no longer a mining village now and you get people who think they're more upper class than us, but deep down they're not. But that's like they've come here to live thinking they've come to a better area.

These people seen by Sharon as thinking they are "more upper class" are not seen as part of the community and not having any associations with the mining industry that is responsible for the existence of the model village. Like Sarah, Sharon creates a sense of collective self by creating a construction of the mining village as a lost community due to the erosion of structural boundaries associated with the mining industry in the area. However, unlike Blokland (2004) who described the Dutch community she researched as framing their experiences through the juxtaposition of class versus ethnicity, participants in Rossington described their conflict as a juxtaposition of collectivist working class versus individualist middle-class migrants. The historic geographic divisions within the area and also increasing development outside the model village also exacerbate the division between those seen as part of the community and 'outsiders'. Shared experiences and memories as well as being used to create a "collective history of a working-class community" are used as exclusionary mechanisms that ensure some migrants cannot be a part of this "contemporary imagined community" (Blokland, 2004, p.138).

6.3.4 Experiences of community reciprocity, mutual support and cohesion

Green *et al*. (2000) found that reciprocity within 'pit villages' was higher than in areas that were defined as inner urban areas. This study compared pit villages in the borough to inner urban areas in the Doncaster borough such as used Intake, which is close to Doncaster town centre. Residents of pit villages in the borough were more likely than those in inner urban areas to define their community as an area where people help each other, were more likely to state that they have helped a neighbour and felt comfortable asking someone in their community for help. What was found in Rossington and Denaby were narratives that described the case study areas as communities that once prided themselves on their cultural values based on collectivism and have increasingly become much more individualistic. For Gary, the economic support that miners would contribute so that an annual gala could be hosted for them and the community is symbolic of 'traditional' cultural values associated with collectivism:

> *We've only got this because of the Parish Council because at one bit we had nowt. Every year you used to always have a 'right' thing that if you worked out the pits they paid so much out of their money and they used to have a rave. When I was younger there were running races, this and May Day you used to… there was a thing over there in the building and on May Day, you used to go get a ticket and you got an apple and an orange and a bag of sweets free and we used to just go when you were a kid, you get a ticket and then give you the sweets*

"Cohesion and a strong work ethic" (Coalfields Task Force, 1998, p.34) characterises the coalfields in the post-mining era as it did during the times when the mining industry was present. Sharing and solving problems within the community an important aspect of mining culture (Turner, 2000), though as Gary addressed, the modern economic context restricts the ability to continue tradition, therefore relying on Parish Council funding.

The comparison of pre and post-mining contexts was pertinent in participant narratives. Some of the participants referred to the miner's strike, which embodies these cultural values. Sarah gave a detailed account of her experiences of being married to a miner during the 1984-85 Miners' Strike; her husband at the time working at Silverwood Colliery

in Thrybergh, a village a short distance from Mexborough and Denaby Main. She describes herself as being in a support role. A narrative is constructed that portrays the community as coping with the strike by identifying it as a shared struggle; a community that maintained cohesiveness and solidarity despite the "bad times" the area and neighbouring areas faced:

> *It was awful, but everybody got together. Everybody got together and it was not as bad as I was saying because like everybody was in the same boat. We all work together to make sure nobody did without no food there were food banks that they set up for was to get food… it was the church that took the food bank and we went every week and picked some groceries what people donated… so the shops and everything like that donated food and we got two bags of groceries so we had some food in… But then parents relatives and friends that weren't in the strike they helped us like Friday his mum and dad it was fish and chip day so we had fish and chips on Friday - Sarah*

(1)

Close social ties such as kinship networks, networks inside the community and also endogenous institutions such as local churches provided a source of comfort and the conflict had an unintended effect of increasing social cohesion. Sarah's emphasis on shared struggle regarding lack of economic means to purchase food reflects Samuel's (1986) finding that communities formed in the process of struggle and were not pre-given. For Sarah, the 1984-85 Miners' Strike is an important time in the formation of her collective identity, that being a 'pit village' identity. She associates the 'pit village' identity with cohesiveness, class solidarity and mutual relationships with neighbours, friends and family.

The Miners' Strike, similar to the food and mouth disease year in 2001 in Cumbria, which Convery, Mort Baxter & Bailey (2008) describe, was a situation in these communities that was experienced both collectively and individually. Individuals found a way to contextualise their stress and gain strength and a sense of comfort that others in their own community were going through similar. This in turn strengthened community cohesion. Gary also recalled similar experiences of reciprocity within the community. Within this narrative the sense of cohesiveness and solidarity in the community is

heightened by a comparison of Rossington to communities within the Nottinghamshire coalfield who are portrayed as unsupportive of the strike action:

> *Most of the people in the strike lost their houses and everything but they wouldn't go back to work… People stood up and helped everybody out. You know I mean? You used to get two old lasses down there that used to take some soup or stuff like that and they'd be there for days but they wouldn't go back they'd have never gone back. If it wasn't for Nottingham if we all came out together we would have won that… Yeah. Nottingham I don't think they come out did they?*

Historically reciprocity has consistently played an important role in mining communities, particularly during the miners' strike which seen people in the community rely much more on other members of the community such as neighbours, friends and family and also organisations such as the miners welfare and clubs. Relatively high community reciprocity can be identified to still exist in the two case study areas, though residents felt as though through time this had lowered along with community cohesion, which is in line with findings by Green et al. (2000). There is much more evidence of this in the Rossington area, however the findings from Denaby and Mexborough portrayed the area as a location where community reciprocity had declined along with community cohesion post-mining industry decline. Participants were particularly negative in their descriptions of people that live in the area. While James emphasised the Mexborough and Denaby Main area as an area that has deteriorated and declined that has lost communal drinking places, Tim argues that people have identified a shared struggle as he states that this deterioration and decline has resulted in people escaping to the pubs to escape what he perceives as government oppression:

> *I know that the people in these areas as it were they hold the government responsible because there is no work and things like that and that probably drives to the pub, to have a beer because they are sick of the oppression (Tim)*

There is evidence however that both communities Sarah, expressed prominent negativity towards those in the community who she perceives as the younger post-strike generation

who she perceives as not as cohesive as her generation who lived during the strike. She also emphasises problematic alcohol consumption in the community:

> *The community is not like kids today. It wouldn't happen today they wouldn't join together because of the alcohol and the drugs the use with people; you can't trust people (Sarah).*

What was found in Rossington was the possibility that those who live outside of the 'model village' value community reciprocity more than those in other areas of Rossington; those in the model village describing how they feel those in communities they feel to consist mostly of 'newcomers' and more middle class to be much more individualistic in their attitudes towards the community. Within the context of drinking places, the hostility towards people that live in the areas seen to be relatively Middle class reflect participant statements in the research of Hadfield (2011); blaming the decline of Working Men's clubs on individualist attitudes prevalent in the 1980s during Thatcher's time in government. There was a finding that of possible hostility towards those who live on the east side of the Rossington area in Old Rossington and also in the West of Rossington where house building is currently taking place.

Edensor (2005) describes a process that involves individuals situating themselves contingently in relation to the history relative to the particular geographic location they reside in (Edensor, 2005). The narratives of the participants in this research project combined collective identities and individual identities; Area context and family history also having an important influence on their identity development. It can be argued that sense of place is heightened when change threatens existing landscapes (Convery, Mort Baxter & Bailey, 2008). In the context of this research, the dominant narrative of the miner's strike was the threat people in post-mining communities within Doncaster felt improved cohesion in the area; individuals uniting to overcome 'hard times'.

In the context of this research, the ruins of the mining industry symbolised the end of mining in the area; the obsoleting of a way of life they consider to be integral to the identity of the village and the marking of industrial decline. As Edensor (2005) states, "the ruin marks an end" (p.165). Sharon positions the disappearance of mining from the area as a marker that indicates the loss of community identity:

> *What it was is that it was a mining village. It's no longer a mining village now - Sharon*

This statement implies Sharon perceives the "mining village" to be a community that has lost the identity she associated it with. Sarah has a similar view of her area as Sharon, as she uses the loss of the mining industry as an event that divides the past and present:

> *"It's 'nowt' to do with mining and mining has and mining is gone now hasn't it?" - Sarah*

Both Sharon and Sarah can be argued to perceive the mining community as a 'lost community' due to the loss of the industry in their areas that was central to peoples' lives in the village in the past. Burrell (2017) draws attention to the to the effect the decline of the mining industry in pit villages had on "bodies, minds and souls" within the community (p.460). He argues that Individuals within these communities to cope psychologically with the loss of the colliery have manufactured new identities (Burrell, 2017).

From this data it can be identified that a transformation of individual identity has taken place; a transformation from a mining identity associated with the industrial past, to a post-mining identity associated with the decline of industry. Though these participants see the mining community as lost, remnants of the mining industry in the form of distinct social customs were seen to be prominent in what participants perceive to be these new identities. These social customs were identified by Linda to be practiced by former miners. She identifies that there has been a continued tradition of mutual support between co-workers and neighbours and a maintenance of a tight knit community:

All the miners are so close together aren't they? Absolutely. They'll go down and save somebody. They look after their people - Linda

6.3.5 Witnessing effects of alcohol misuse and experiencing consequences of misuse

Amongst participants who had engaged in alcohol misuse for a relatively long period, increasing concerns regarding long-term effects were often characterised by regret due to being confronted with a consequence of past use and will to confront the perceived problem. This was particularly prominent amongst participants that have experienced alcohol dependency in Mexborough and Denaby. These participants described events that were identified to divide the past from the present. David describes an event that gave him an incentive to seek help for his alcohol misuse; an event when his excessive drinking motivated by boredom and frustration resulted in him receiving medical attention and getting sent to hospital:

Not really, no. At the time yeah you do, but it is what you regret it all after you know?... I've seen other people in worse situations than me, but I have had enough… Oh I think it were a couple of weeks back or something. I supped a litre of vodka and I got took to hospital. Stomach pumped and that… Yeah. Just got fed up in the house and I just got a litre of voddy... got nowt else to do.

Sarah expresses similar sentiments regarding her past consumption and the consequences that have occurred because of it, though describes mental consequences of her drinking practices. She emphasised throughout the interview the scale of her problems and that she needed support to confront them:

I have got damage to my brain overdrink… I have got a big problem

Other participants who stated that they experienced issues regarding alcohol misuse instead of focusing on the consequences to their health emphasised the consequences of alcoholism on aspects of their personal lives. Tim briefly mentioned that he had been living on the streets and implies that he had other complex needs prior to his drinking:

> *One thing you don't know about me is that I have been on the streets for five or six years bit more if I am honest because of something that happened to me but before that I was in to drink I was into other things*

Susan meanwhile states that a consequence of her drinking practices prior to her moving to Rossington were unexpected pregnancies; consequences of activities she would engage in whilst under the influence of alcohol:

> *I ended up pregnant as well… My mum gave me a right beating one day. Boom, right at the back of the head *laughs*… I lost it… Along with three others after that.*

A significant number of participants also described witnessing the effects of alcohol misuse in both case study areas amongst people close to them in their family network. This was either expressed or implied to have had an effect on their perceptions of specific drinking practices and their own drinking practices. One pertinent experience of this is Helen's experience of witnessing her cousin's experience of alcoholism that she states happened as a consequence of drinking as a coping mechanism due to being "sacked" as a result of internal conflict during the Miners' Strike. To cope with the emotional impact of losing his job:

> *I told a fib to you there; my cousin he used to work down the pit and he was… He was found to have been sacked wrongly and everything was dropped against him but he decided he had been treated badly and that he'd never go back, but he turned to alcohol… He became an alcoholic and died through alcohol related illnesses… the pit strike went on for quite awhile didn't it? By that time he'd have already turned to drink. That was all he had ever known because he went from school, straight into the pit, been wrongly accused of something and his coping mechanism was to drink, so yeah, it wasn't very nice… My sister's gonna kill me now *laughs*. My sister is married to an alcoholic as well, but he has turned his life around. He is a counsellor now and he cancels alcoholics - Helen*

Jenny describes witnessing her cousin experiencing alcoholism and as a result losing his life because of alcohol addiction. She emphasises witnessing the decline in his condition

from being relatively healthy and engaging in sport to being relatively unhealthy as a consequence of his drinking:

> *I have a cousin who actually died with sclerosis and that was because he drank a lot of whiskey and it was a damn shame because he was a professional footballer and a professional cricketer he was extremely fit as a young man this was the cousins that i lived with when I lived in Hartlepool and the drink made him start to get fatter but then he started to go a funny colour which was the liver starting to not work and he died in his 60s… this was a young man who was extremely fit in his girlfriend was a netball player for the county as well so they were very sporty family but she didn't drink like he did… When she used to come and visit and he'd say oh I can't do anything about it because he was addicted to it and it killed him… I think it's sad that the spectrum has gone from one end to the other extremely fit to extremely unfit but because he was very much into his start when he gave up his spot he actually ran Sunday leagues and things like that and I went to his funeral. The church was packed and there were actually people outside and there was a cup in his name in Hartlepool. Sort of a Sunday league cup – Jenny*

Whilst those in the Mexborough and Denaby Main case study area expressed that they are experiencing addiction to alcohol, in the Rossington case study area one phenomenon that was reoccurred was participants supporting an individual in their kinship network through alcohol addiction. Susan however describes supporting her brother through what the British National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE) (2016) describe as a "coexisting severe mental illness and substance misuse" (p.5). The challenging nature of supporting her brother was emphasised by the complexity of his situation and also the upset that she expressed during the interview. Unlike the other participants Susan characterised her life as being characterised by uncertainty, as he at the time of interview was currently in the process of recovery:

> *My brother actually got the worst of it, so things tend to take their toll on him a bit more. I mean I'm learning how to deal with it. I'm just learning how to handle it, but my brother's not managed to get that far yet, so he's actually got to the stage where he wants to die, so he's going through it at the minute. I actually got a phone call a couple of weeks back on the place… He rang the crisis team up and they actually sent the police out to check on him they were that concerned. He had taken 30 Viagra tablets bought from a street vendor, £100 worth of Coke and he'd had 16 diazepam tablets along with half a bottle of vodka, half a bottle of brandy and half a bottle of Jack Daniel's... Yeah, all at the same time. So yeah, he was going through it a bit. When they sent him to Saint Catherine's for an emergency psychiatrist session, they*

referred him to the drug and alcohol place, they did his tests, his urine tests and they said to him "if you would have had as much as one paracetamol you'd have been dead then". He was that close. He's getting there… there are people in worse situations than what we're in you know? - Susan

What is prominent is that Susan clearly identifies his issues with drugs and alcohol as being rooted in his experiences of depression, recognising the complex nature of his situation. She also despite the emotional toll it she emphasised it was placing on her life, rationalises the situation her and her brother are in and expresses optimism. Brenda similar to Susan, described her husband's past heavy drinking was due to the use of alcohol as a coping mechanism:

My husband used to be a heavy drinker but he's not so bad now… About 4 litres of cider a day… he was grieving for his daughter and he took to the drink before I got with him. – Brenda

The experiences that participants had of alcohol abuse within their kinship network can be identified to have had an impact on how they perceive alcohol. Margaret, one of the participants who stated that she did not drink, stated that her husband is an "ex-alcoholic" and that also her son's wife drinks despite negative consequences to her health. She implies that her experiences further shaped her perception of alcohol:

My husband I have now is an ex alcoholic… From the age of 13… Basically his kidneys were giving up and he had a choice. Give up drinking or you know? Quit drinking… Yeah. So they told him he has to stop… I've got a sister and a brother that have both just had kidney transplants to alcohol abuse so I know the bad deeds of it *laughs… But my sons wife used to drink... she still drinks but she is very poorly. So, there is nothing they can do for her. She is not willing to give up so... He used to drink… He used to be on the sherry so it was a big bottle of sherry every night but he didn't start until 6 o'clock. He could finish that bottle in an hour… He could leave it all day but to come 6 o'clock that was it. He had a bottle. It was sherry or Southern Comfort. He liked that... I used to have to buy it (Margaret)

What was also pointed out was the negative consequences that alcohol can have on other members of the family. Whilst Tim and David identified that their drinking practices were a consequence of their parents modelling their drinking behaviours, James identifies biological consequences. He implied that he associates of alcohol with negative consequences from witnessing the consequences of his auntie's excessive drinking; his cousin's facing problems with their mental health:

I've seen what it does and how it's made my cousins a bit slower because of the drinking while she was pregnant with them, so they're a bit slower on uptake now (James)

Experiences of alcoholism however were not limited to kinship circles. Grace, when asked if any person in her social network drinks, interestingly described her friend's experience of her husband's alcoholism and how it had an affect her life. Due to her friend witnessing the negative effects alcohol had on her husband, and having increased childcare responsibilities due to his absence, it was stated she had decided to not engage in drinking, thus Grace feels less pressure to drink:

my best friend's husband is an alcoholic and he used to be out every single night and because of that she's never drunk because it was always a case of if the kids needed something or if they needed to go somewhere at night then it's not good. So she's never drunk and her husband was out every single night and would bring back a pack of 4 with him as well and drink them as well… He had an heart attack about eight or nine years ago and he stopped drinking just like that… He stopped and never had another drink. He never had another drink. - Grace

6.4 Drinking, sociability and respectability

What a significant number of the participants placed importance on whilst engaging in drinking activities was maintaining 'respectability' whilst engaging in drinking activities. This meant being able to maintain 'control' whilst drinking and not expressing behaviours that are associated with drinking to excess as getting drunk was generally looked down upon by the participants. The focus on drunken behaviour as a consequence of excessive drinking as opposed to a focus on health consequences emphasised the concern

participants have regarding maintaining a level of 'respectability' and sociability as drink remains an important "social lubricant" (Turner, 2000, p.10).

The participants throughout the research emphasised that drinking for them was seen as a social activity. Drinking as a simply instrumental practice was rejected and stigmatised. Very few of the participants stated that they drink alone. Most of the participants drank with somebody else or a group of people from their social circle in either the public or domestic environment. Even when participants stated that they drank within the domestic environment an emphasis was placed on the event being a social occasion. Mark and Leanne, for example express their dislike for drinking alone:

Leanne - *Thing is I don't like drinking on my own as well*

Mark - *Yeah I am not the sort of person who can just sit and drink on my own. I don't mind drinking with maybe with my partner or with friends but on my own it doesn't even interest me. It can stay in there.*

As Philo et al. (2002) identified alcohol is used as a means of release and to strengthen social bonds (Philo et al., 2002). Social occasions were associated with drinking and were often portrayed to be acceptable practices. Whilst Josie stated that she seldom engages in drinking activities, she mentions that her sister drinks a lot more than her, though positions this within the context of social activity; implying she drinks less as she isn't as 'social':

They probably drink a lot more than I do I think. So they are quite a wealthy family because some of them own their own business so they tend to drink a lot more than I do so it's part of them being more social.

The social context played a significant role as participants emphasised that their drinking practices were strongly associated with the social context; the phenomenon of the atmosphere facilitating the use of alcohol rather than the drinking itself being central to the occasion. It was prominent throughout the research that there was a stigma attached

to being drunk; in particular, going to drink in a public drinking place with the intention of getting drunk. The act of drinking excessively was perceived to sacrifice sociability. What was interesting was Louise separates the act of "having a couple" from having a "drink"; the former within the context of social setting implying moderation and thus respectability:

> *If I'm going out I want to be able to sit down and have a conversation with somebody and not have to text it to somebody else and that's stood right next to me… you don't realise you've been sat there for five or six hours when you know, when you are there… I go out to maybe have a couple and that's me so I prefer to socialise than drink.*

This distinction between "having a couple" from "drinking" was found to be similar to the 'big drinker' narrative that was pertinent in participant descriptions of parental drinking norms. It was emphasised frequently that parents and other members of the family consumed low quantities of alcohol on a relatively less frequent basis to themselves and in some cases not at all. A way that participants emphasised this was by positioning them against what they defined as a 'big drinker', therefore being able to distance their parents, in Stephanie's case her family, from the characteristics associated with this label that is associated with socially unacceptable practices:

> *"They work too much. My dad will probably have a bottle of Budweiser when he finishes work but that's about it. Sometimes they might share a bottle of wine. That's about it… they aren't really that big drinkers my family"*

Paul described the drinking of his parents in a similar way, emphasising that they drank what he perceives to be relatively low amount of alcohol and in their later years abstaining:

> *"Well my dad used to sup rum and black and what did my mum drink? Oh stout… But they weren't big drinkers I mean they didn't drink for the last 30 years of their life. I mean they were a good old age they were age 80 and 87"*

Gary described his mother's drinking in a way that reinforces his perception of alcohol as a substance to be drank in social settings. Unlike the other participants he implicitly stated

that he decides to not conform to parental attitudes to alcohol due to disapproving of her views; addressing the existence of conflict between him and his mother:

> *"I mean my mam doesn't really drink. She just sits in the house and says you're wasting your money"* - Gary

Gary, like the 'traditional miners' of Dennis et al's (1969) research implies here that the public domain is the primary location for socialising. These social settings were often public drinking places within the case study area, where a social focus facilitated drink and drink functioned as a "social lubricant" (Turner, 2000, p.10). Turns were frequently mentioned as a social focus and were strongly associated with club entertainment for the participants, though Cherrington (2012) describes turns as having the function of providing an escape for working people within the community. This function in particular was emphasised by Paul as during his career in mining drink was associated with recovery and an escape from the working conditions of the colliery. He described his drinking during this period of his life as "heavy", though positions this within the context of the "hectic" mining lifestyle and the resulting 'need' to medicate with alcohol as a result of the poor working conditions; this activity also providing social benefits:

> *I used to enjoy it. Used to enjoy the company and everything… Just friends. And then when we used to go to the labour club we used to just watch turns and everything what were on… singers, country and westerns. Yeah in the early days there were only used to be one day where we used to stopping we used to be out. I think our rest day was on a Tuesday… We used to go out for a drink because of the dust. Down the pit and that - Paul*

Though, Paul made reference to "heavy drinking" he never made reference to drunkenness or any behaviours associated with drunkenness. This event is contextualised as taking place within the local club, which as Thurnell-Read (2016) would argue is "by implication is respectable and embedded in the social ties of the community" (p.9); within this context are also the social ties of the colliery. The drinking practices that Paul stated reflect the colliery lifestyle Rind and Jones (2015) that sees "everyday life and leisure time" as being

"organised around the colliery" (p.116). Heavy drinking and behaviours that can be associated with it were positioned away from the 'binge Britain' narrative through being contextualised as taking place within the 'respectable' location of the local club, which is also an institution associated with endogenous traditions of the mining community. Jenny described the extent of interaction that clubs enabled their members during the turns, implying that the most important element was the engagement and atmosphere clubs fostered as opposed to the subjective talent of the performer. Alcohol can be identified as being employed as facilitating the atmosphere within this environment that allows for relatively uninhibited display of emotions that she describes as creating a "fun" atmosphere despite Scottish and Geordie miners being "drunk as skunks":

> *The secretary of the club has paid some acts off because they were awful. And he'd come on stage and say "I've have paid him off has anybody want to get up?" People would queue up to get on stage and have a sing and there'd be all of these people jeering at them saying what rubbish. It was fun. They didn't take a blind bit of notice. They just carried on doing their Delilahs*

Not all participants however associated the local drinking culture with positive connotations as Liz implied that people in the area generally drink to excess in the Rossington area by referring to them as "pissheads" and also associated the local on-trade with "riff-raff". A greater part of the negativity was aimed at young people's drinking practices and those visiting the town centre to drink, who were more than often were perceived to be young. As the function of alcohol is social lubrication (Turner, 2000) and to facilitate socialising, drinking behaviours associated with 'speed drinking' were looked down upon. Linda expresses disproval of this style of drinking in her description of her son's drinking; consuming vodka mixed with coke from "a tall glass" and drinking it "like pop". James describes in a gratifying manner, a similar narrative, though specifically taking place within the context of a pub. Older members of the community in the pub were described as subduing the behaviour of a person implied to be relatively younger than them in a local pub:

> *You get your odd one who thinks they can just down it like a pint of water and thinks he's God Almighty, but the older ones soon shut him up. The older generation; the ones who used to work in the pits... they just say "shut up".*

This scenario which James supports Turner's (2000) analysis regarding the importance that was placed on the maintenance of social discipline in mining communities. The transgression of social norms within the community is stated by Turner (2000) as resulting in ostracism from the community, particularly within public drinking places. The emphasis James places on this older generation being miners indicates the role that miners had in the community in maintaining social discipline within the household and in the public sphere. Furthermore, this is also implied by James to be a moral issue by emphasising his mother's angry reaction to being confronted by a child, though within the context of the child requesting her to go in to purchase them cigarettes:

> *My mum had a case once where a young'un came up and asked her for a cigarette and he couldn't have been no older than six… Six-year-old and he were asking her for a cigarette. She nearly clipped him round the ear. You know? "Get a grip".*

Though it is not specifically stated whether "clipped him round the ear" means employing methods of corporal punishment or just verbal discipline, this scenario emphasises the strong role some adults in community perceive that they have to 'discipline' those outside of their family in the community they perceive as 'stepping out of line'.

Within the context of individuals who experience alcohol misuse, it can be suggested that maintaining respectability and not being exposed as transgressing community norms is challenging. Sarah, one of the participants from the Mexborough and Denaby Main case study area expressed that she felt pressure to maintain the perceived level of respectability expected from others in the community whilst she was experiencing addiction to alcohol.

In an attempt to hide her addiction from the community and maintain a level of respectability she used multiple shops to buy alcohol so that she could attempt to conceal the amount of alcohol she consumed from the community:

> *So that it didn't feel you were an alcoholic you use different shops you go to different shops so they won't say "oh, she buys drinks all the time at same shop for a full week"; I used to use other shops just to cover myself, but they knew because when I'd put them in my green bin there were bottles and bottles of 'em.*

(2)
(3)
(4)
What I found interesting was that spirits and alcopop related drinks were associated with either excess drinking or anti-social behaviour. Historically in the area. Spirits in particular seemed to be associated with drunkenness.

(5)

6.5 Communal drinking places

6.5.1 Overview of pubs inside the case study area

Whilst local clubs were implied by participants to be a prominent part of the local area's drinking landscape that still exist but in decline, pubs were described by participants as disappearing entities in their localities. Buildings were in interviews often identified by participants as being locations that were once drinking places. Similar to clubs, pubs were described as 'shutting down' and 'in decline'. James description of a pub environment in the local area emphasises this perceived level of decline:

> When I've been out with my dad in an afternoon and come to the pub I have noticed that the people; there's not many of them now as they used to be… The pubs around here I am surprised there's any left.

The change from being localities that had high numbers of people living in them involved in the mining industry to areas that rely on the towns and cities that surround them has meant a change in the drinking landscape. This change in the drinking landscape being due to changing employment trends. The closure of pubs in the area was linked to the historical context and the current economic context. Sarah also identifies as well as having economic consequences the closure of local pubs has a significant emotional consequence on people in the area:

> I don't know I don't think so now they haven't been non-round here now with the pits shut. Shops are shutting, pubs are shutting. we're in a recession really and that gets people down specially when they can't find a job.

The loss of pubs can be associated with the loss of routine as well as the loss of a communal place to drink. When participants described their drinking routines they would often associate pubs with the past drinking routines they would engage in. The existence of these places, though they were identified as being repurposed as having new functions, were described as being remnants of the past that facilitated the articulation of memories of past routines:

It was a pub weren't it? It's not now. It's a bit of everything now isn't it?... That's not there now it's a home. White Rose is still there... It was on the Wimpy Estate. Used to walk there every Saturday and Sunday didn't we? - Carol

The participants expressed a strong emotional attachment to drinking places in the case study areas, regardless of them still existing. Charlie, who had lived in Rossington all his life and had worked in the mining industry expressed a strong emotional connection and sense of belonging to the Station Hotel, which has now closed and has been repurposed for other commercial uses. He expresses that the pub is not only symbolic of the beginnings of his drinking career, but also of a lost territory that was the main location where his drinking activities taken place:

Interviewer – Where was it? Your first drink?
Charlie – Just down the road here, there's the Welfare… and that pub, the Station Hotel. That was our home in there.

Dissatisfaction with the repurposing of buildings in the area was frequently mentioned during the interview process; participants specifically expressing varying levels of dissatisfaction with the repurposing of buildings that were originally purpose built to house public drinking places in the case study areas. Tim described a pub that he used to visit that once existed in the area but is now used for other purposes:

The star in Conisborough is you coming down into Conisborough on your right hand side you've got the decorating place but that used to be the star and right next door that used to be the nightclub… this is what I am saying it's a long time ago like… It used to be a banging place.

This phenomenon was also identified by residents in Rossington, who in their narratives placed emphasis on the repurposing of the building:

No, it's been knocked down now. Yeah, the Radburn arms it was called… it's closed down. It's now housing

Though there are pubs that still exist in both case study areas and continue to have some level of custom, pubs were suggested to be defined by the eventual transition of patrons from the local drinking environment to the carnivalesque drinking environment of Doncaster town centre; this new role reflecting drinking practices that are "characterised by movement" (Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2017, p.78). Mark identified this phenomenon taking place in Rossington, though amongst younger people in the area. James describes this phenomenon taking place in Mexborough during the weekend with public transport infrastructure playing a significant role in the drinking practice of many people in the area:

> *Saturday night is your businest in Mexborough. About 9 o'clock they all disappear on buses and they go to the main town. Doncaster.*

It is suggested however that amongst some people in the locality there is a lack of incentive to visit local pubs in the area due to the reputation and image they have due to the perception of patrons that visit them and the 'atmosphere' of the pubs themselves. For Susan, the atmosphere of a pub in Rossington intimidates her as it represents a period in her life she sees herself past:

> *There's two. ███████ is always empty all the time and then the other one is where all your druggies and everything tend to hang about, so I tend to stay away from that. I've passed all that stage in life now. I've been there done it and moved on! *laughs**

Two of the participants in Rossington however who perceived that their work life had the potential to conflict with their social drinking life decided to entirely cut their engagement with the local on-trade and instead engage in drinking activities in other locations with the aim of distancing themselves from people in the village. This was a strategy implemented out of fear of coming into contact with clients and others in the community aware of their

job position and social standing in the community. Helen states her reasoning behind her decision being the close-knit networks inside the community:

> *Even going to the Asda is hard work because you are stopped by that many people that you know. So to go and sit and drink in a pub I would go out of the village if I was going for somewhere to eat or drink, so you know? I don't really go in the village. I would rather go out of the village to have a drink or something to eat.*

Josie expressed similar concerns regarding possible interactions, though more specifically states that it is possible contact with families that she works with that concerns her, so like Helen she travels outside of the local area, though states that she travels further afield to engage in drinking in surrounding cities:

> *I suppose if I think about when I go out with my friends from work if I go out we tend to go out to Leeds or Sheffield or York so because we are social workers we don't drink locally. Because we might bump into people; the families we work with.*

These concerns from these two participants, is of contrast to the miners that are described by Dennis et al. (1969) who express little concern for their lives in the workplace conflicting with their lives in public drinking place such as pubs and clubs.

6.5.2 Overview of clubs in the case study areas

Participants in both case study areas discussed clubs more than pubs, indicating clubs having a bigger experience in the case study areas. This was particularly prominent in the Rossington area. In line with literature it was found that post-decline of the mining industry, clubs in the case study areas like in other post-mining communities have faced significant challenges and as a result have either lost custom. The majority of the participants were aware of clubs in their area, but few visited them; the participants either having a loss of interest in attending or had never visited any in their area.

From analysis of primary and secondary research it can be identified that these establishments have faced significant decline with regards to interest, numbers of people deciding to join and visit and also investment as a result of the drop of numbers of members. This decline however cannot solely be seen to be due to the decline of the mining industry. Cherrington (2012) states that it was the 1960s that was the beginning of the long-term decline of these establishments in the communities they were situated in; the sixties bringing many social changes that resulted in reduced club attendance. Social trends that have had an impact on clubs across the UK can also be seen in this research project to have attributed to the decline of clubs. These social factors reflected those raised in the literature and included: changes in activities people decide to engage in and the times and frequencies that people engage in their chosen leisure activities.

What was interesting, particularly in the Rossington area, was that on analysis of the on-trade presence in the area, the majority of on-trade drinking places in the area were identified to be clubs. Clubs in the area outnumbered pubs, restaurants and other on-trade establishments. It was off-trade establishments such as supermarkets and off-license stores that were only able to compete when it came to presence in the area. What this means is that there are potentially significant barriers participants face if they want to participate in drinking activities outside of the domestic place if they are not members of any specific club in the area as all of the clubs require membership to access them.

In the context of the case study area of Rossington, the overall institutional context of sociability is important. A study by Judt (1979) for example shows how in Provence from 1881 to 1914 communal festivals and the church declined in importance among the population and were replaced or augmented by union meetings, political clubs and cafes based on the same sense of community but bent to more consciously political ends. Using this study, it can be identified that Rossington is an area that is dominated by drinking spaces associated with the industrial past or associated to political parties, though the

participants state that they visit or had visited the club for motivations other than political affiliation.

The participants in this research project mostly associated the decline of clubs in the area with the ending of the mining industry inside the areas that they live in. Participants used the events of the 1984-1985 Miner's Strike as a divider between what was seen as the prosperous past and the future associated with decline. This finding emphasises the historical significance of the decimation and eventual ending of the mining industry in the area. Industrial decline is one of the major contributors to the decline of clubs in the Doncaster area as clubs in mining areas in particular were impacted hard after the 1984-85 Miner's Strike (Cherrington, 2012). The prominence of this event in relation to the clubs and the culture associated with it is reflected in statements from the participants when questioned on the extent of their engagement with clubs and the drinking culture in on-trade establishments in their local area:

> *I have seen a total difference from like obviously the pits closing down obviously that has changed a hell of a lot… Well that's around 85 in the 90s and onwards it's just gone down. It's gone downhill.*

It is clear that the participants felt the loss of the mining industry in the Doncaster area has had a significant effect on clubs in the area and the drinking landscape as a whole and was a major contributor to the decline. As Hadfield (2011) argues, the post-war decades during the twentieth century are seen to be to "heyday" of the club movement; individuals who experienced this period of the club movement looking "back on with fond, but fading memories" (p.11). Secondary data adds strength to the views of the participants that the loss of the mining industry had a significant role in the decline in custom and relevance of clubs in both case study areas.

On observation of the Rossington area a lot of the clubs seemed to have links to the area's industrial heritage. Even though participants such as Grace seemed to be unaware of the

history behind the names of some of the clubs in the area and also relative to other participants unfamiliar with the club scene in the area, there was still an awareness of the strong relationship between clubs and the area's mining history:

> *I've never been in them so I don't really know. There's quite a few around the village so I guess they must all survive and they've all got funny names which I don't know what they mean.*

Though it can be argued that Grace is not as familiar as other participants with the club environment within the context of mining communities having spent most of her Youth in Lincoln it can be assumed that her lack of experience is not unique. In the Doncaster area despite them being a common sight, there are considerable numbers of people that have not visited one (Hadfield, 2011).

The names of the majority of the clubs in the area reflect the local mining heritage and the history of political and trade union movements that taken place inside the area. The strong connection public drinking places have in the case study areas to the mining industry is similar to Armthorpe in the north east of Doncaster; literature documenting that the planning of the colliery village stated the importance of providing adequate drinking provision in the area for miners that worked in the colliery (Walters, 1927).

In the case study areas, similar to other post-industrial communities in areas such as nearby Sheffield which was dominated by the steel industry (Cherrington, 2012), the loss of industry has meant the loss and change of social and leisure routines, meaning an inevitable change in the drinking culture; culture associated with the mining industry losing relevancy. As economies became more centralised and people inside these communities had to travel more for employment to work in different sectors, shared routines and identities became lost. Before the decline of the mining industry in the Doncaster area, Hadfield (2011) addresses the existence of an environment in clubs in that reflected how close-knit communities were. The phenomena of camaraderie being carried over from

the colliery to the club in areas like Edlington, Armthorpe and Rossington ensured for members "a feeling of security and togetherness" (Hadfield, 2011, p.71). Paul described this camaraderie when he described his experience of drinking during his mining career:

> *Oh, very heavy! Yeah. You still come out the mine and you still going to the legion for a few more and then the top club have a gallon.*

The relationship between the club movement and the mining industry in the case study areas can be identified to be relatively strong similar to other mining areas. What defined the relationships members, club officials and the councillors in mining communities were shared senses of common identity and knowledge of work life and leisure time (Cherrington, 2012). The participants in the case study areas associated drinking routines before the closure of the mining industry with the industrial past; older residents in particular. Though, some of the participants never worked in the industry there was a knowledge of functions of leisure time within those who worked in the mining industry. As Linda stated, routines associated with "the traditional miner" served the function of getting "out all the dust"; recovery from poor working conditions.

The clubs the majority of the participants referenced can identified to be what Hadfield (2011) refers to as "socially oriented miners' welfares" (p.72). These institutions are common in pit villages in the Doncaster area and unlike entertainment focused clubs provided as well as a drinking place for members and entertainment, offered other services such as support for members (Hadfield, 2011). Participants viewed these institutions however as places of alcohol consumption and entertainment.

6.5.3 Clubs, social change and exclusion

A potential issue regarding the dominance of clubs on the drinking landscapes of the case study areas, is that for members of the community not affiliated to any particular club or know any members of a particular club their options are potentially limited with regards to participation in public drinking places outside of the domestic context. Participants in this study opted to not visit clubs anymore as they perceived them to be unattractive

places to engage in drinking activities, despite these institutions being recognised historically as being close to the community and important in the context of the two case study areas industrial history.

Hadfield (2011) argued "clubs are about sociability, interaction, self-organisation and the enjoyment of other people's company" (p.95). The participants in this research project however did not share Hadfield's perspective. Many of the participants expressed a lack of an incentive to visit clubs for socialisation purposes; perceiving them to be places that are highly regulated, dominated by older men and places that exclude particular groups and individuals.

Participants, rather than focusing on factors such as the increase of home entertainment as causes for declining engagement with clubs, focused on the price of alcohol; comparing the price of alcohol bought in clubs to the price of alcohol in off-trade establishments in the area such as supermarkets. The disillusionment with the club environment along with increase in off-trade purchases has as a result increased home consumption. This change has also potentially reduced people's drinking network as they drank in the domestic environment, though many of the participants still emphasised the act of drinking as a social activity; deciding to drink with people in their close friendship and kinship circles.

The historical background of clubs in the two case study areas and also in mining communities in general is relevant as from analysing participant views, experiences and engagement with clubs. It is clear that mining communities such as Rossington, Mexborough and Denaby Main have transitioned from relying on these clubs to provide leisure to post-decline of the mining industry viewing clubs as 'relics from a bygone age'. In the past in both case study areas these facilities provided a diverse range of leisure activities, though the participants, similar to media and many, associated clubs with activities related to drinking and night-time leisure.

Clubs were generally at the centre of community life in the area with a strong link to the mining industry in the areas. James's emphasis on the club being a "family run" institution at the centre of community life and the impact that the loss of the club had on the family further emphasises how even after the decline of the mining industry how close to the community some of these institutions were. This embeddedness inside the community allowed participants to easily witness the human impact of the closure. This narrative differs from narratives within the media that portray clubs as institutions that have lost relevance to all but the older generations of predominantly men due to social change. Mary, who still visits clubs in the case study area and throughout the borough due to her hobby of playing darts identifies differences between clubs; highlighting differences in gender balances and age ranges amongst them:

> It's about evenly split up there I'd say up in the Labour Club, but down at the Officials it's more men than women… The age range of there is about from 18… I know one lady that goes to bingo she is about 84 so… *laughs* It's the big age range.

The narrative that commonly occurred in the Mexborough and Denaby Main case study area was that clubs have declined and have almost disappeared from the area's landscape; mainly older male residents helping the institutions to retain custom. Tim describes his experience in a club environment in his area; an experience that was mostly negative. Tim describes feelings that people who wish to enter a working men's club get judged prior to entering; their social connections and personal qualities being determinants:

> You've got to know somebody to get in. if your face doesn't fit you don't get in simple as that.

This suggests that exclusion and inclusion in the club environment is not only defined by behaviour but by social networks. Clubs can therefore be identified as being "halfway in between being private and public" as dynamics in the club are maintained by "filtering visitors carefully" (Cattan & Vannolo, 2014, p.1165). Susan expresses a similar "if your face fits" narrative in her account of her experience in a club in the Rossington area that

she was "kicked out" of as she describes how she was perceived as being 'guilty by asociation'. As a result of her experience Susan did not attempt to enter again and instead drinks in the town centre, only entering local pubs and club on 'special events':

> *My friend who I was out with that day, he was supposed to be a member in there actually and one of the other members had signed me and by the time she got to issue us he was way gone. You know? I had only been out for a couple of hours. She forgot her membership card so she gave her her mums and of course they found out so they kicked her out and because I was talking to her they kicked me out as well… See, the thing is I got the impression that if your face fits there... do you know what I mean? Members of the village who come out of the village are more than welcome, but if you're not a member and live in the village you're not welcome which is kind of weird to be honest with you. As long as you are taking money and playing by the rules what difference does it make? But Heyho... rules are rules. Everybody's got their own haven't they?*

What was found however in the Rossington area were that despite clubs being perceived by some participants as being "stuffy", particular clubs in the Rossington area still maintain a relatively higher level of interest in the case study area. Louise, who mentioned that she has experience of working in one of the clubs in the case study area, describes in institution that attracts a diverse range of residents with regards to age, though still implies that the institution is dominated by male members:

> *Massive range of people coming in. You'd notice more on an afternoon rather than on the night. It was more gentleman coming in after their dinner for a couple and then going back home, but then if it was a Friday you'd get a full range of people depending on what live band it was. And they had a country and western night, but I can't remember whether it was on Monday or Tuesday, but they had Country and western on as well which brought your elderly in.*

Louise also addresses the history of the institution, arguing that the institution since it was established has become much more inclusive and progressive; eventually welcoming those from outside of the mining industry and implying that the institution has also become more welcoming of female members and guests:

> *They class it as a working men's club but it's not. It was for the miners, but it's now open to everybody.*

Louise's description of an institution that is perceived to be "a working men's club" that was once "for the miners" strongly reflects Bulmer's (1975) sociological concept of the ideal mining community; one that during the existence of mining identified drinking places such as miners' welfare organisations or clubs to have been public leisure places for men. This statement suggests like in Warwick and Littlejohn's (1992) comparative study of four West Yorkshire mining communities that Bulmer's ideal type of community is "more a memory than a reality" (p.130). This also emphasises the extent that mining communities, such as the two case study areas, have deviated from Bulmer's ideal type concept (Waddington, Critcher, Dicks & Parry, 2001).

6.6 The decline of endogenous traditions

6.6.1 Dissatisfaction with the local on-trade

Whilst the consumption of alcohol was maintained as a social activity, many participants decided to reduce their engagement with on-trade drinking places, namely pubs and clubs in the case study areas and also drinking places within Doncaster town centre. Participants expressed differing reasons for employing this strategy, though the similarities between all participants was that disengagement from town centre and local on-trade drinking places was linked to a less frequent drinking pattern, home drinking and off-trade purchasing.

The prominent criticism of clubs in the case study areas post-decline of the mining industry from participants that visited them in the past was the loss of atmosphere in clubs post-miner's strike. The concept of the miners' strike as a divider between the past and the present again was prominent again in participant narratives when they described the club scene in their case study areas, particularly in the Rossington area.   It was important to understand what the participants meant when they mentioned the 'atmosphere'. Jenny and her description of the atmosphere of the club can be used as an example of what Cherrington (2012) and Hadfield (2011) would describe as the 'heyday' of the club movement. she used to attend during her youth significantly contrasts with the description that many of the participants gave of a quieter, old-fashioned atmosphere post-decline. One consequence of the perceived loss of atmosphere is people in the area deciding to drink in the town centre instead of in the local area. Mark expresses his reason for making

the decision to drink in the centre is recognising that the atmosphere once present in clubs can be experienced in the town centre:

> *It's just not the atmosphere anymore. People have suddenly go to town now once a week or more once a month. It is more enjoyment actually. There's more atmosphere. If you know what I mean? I know there's more fighting but you've got to dodge that!*

Leanne and Mark both expressed that they preferred the atmosphere of Doncaster town centre and perceived the drinking landscape in Rossington to be obsolete; the dominance of Working Men's Clubs on Rossington's drinking landscape for them represented drinking practices associated with the past:

> *Leanne: There's not many decent pubs in Rosso anyway is there really. It's like Working Men's isn't it?*
>
> *Mark: It is like working men's clubs. More working men's clubs than decent… I think they're just going out of fashion*

What is pertinent is that the clubs were still referred to by participants as "Working Men's". Though the majority of clubs, particularly in Rossington allow access and membership to both men and women, the institutions were still perceived to cater mainly to men. The perception of the club as an environment that is male dominated and old fashioned and also too strict is prominent in some participant narratives; as a result, this provides the participants with less of an incentive to visit them. Hadfield (2011) supports these participant narratives referring to perceptions amongst younger generations that young people have of clubs; "dull and old-fashioned" compared to the "glass-fronted theme bars" that he argues young people prefer. From analysis of primary and secondary data, the older heteronormative drinking performances associated with traditional working-class masculinity (Spracklen *et al*., 2013; Thurnell-Read, 2016) are identified as being enforced in the club environment. Tim however expresses that it was this 'enforcement' and emphasis on "regulations" that caused him to disengage:

> *I'm not the one that adheres to regulations and things like that. If I want a beer I will get a beer I won't wait for somebody to say oh I will get him to come down to let you in. That's the way it is with working men's clubs.*

Tim describes the male dominated club environment and the extent of the rules and regulation enforced on members with distain; emphasising his need to be able to access alcohol whenever he wants. Hadfield, in defence of the club environment however places importance on sociability and approaches new trends in drinking and leisure with disdain; referring to growing trends such as cheaper supermark*et al*cohol, electronic media and modern bars as "the insidious tentacles of consumerism" (Hadfield, 2011, p.95). Hadfield however does not address how other drinking places are able to meet social needs that clubs don't due to the emphasis on traditional masculine working-class drinking practices. Jayne, Valentine and Holloway (2011) address this, stating how younger generations of men place increased importance on the presence of women in drinking places. Tim expresses similar sentiments as he described his disdain for the environment and culture of the working men's clubs and the lack of female presence in them:

> *It just wasn't me if I'm honest women weren't there and that's the truth. I wasn't interested… I knew that all the totty was up the hill and I wasn't bothered and the working men's club. It seems like a different environment if you know what I mean by that?*

Despite from analysing the primary and secondary data it can be concluded that clubs have generally faced a significant decline in relevance and membership, some participants however still continued to visit clubs, particularly in Rossington. Unexpectedly, it were the female participants that stated that they continued to visit clubs. Margaret stated that she still engages with clubs to play darts and Brenda stated that she still visits her local club on a Saturday, but states this as being on a rare occasion. Margaret, unlike participants such as Tim, expressed positive feelings towards the clubs in the area:

> *Yeah, I attend... I go to the three of them *laughs* … I play darts… they are all nice little clubs. Nice place.*

Though it can be identified that clubs have generally faced a decline nationally due to socioeconomic and social factors it can be seen from the findings from the case study area that there are still differences in each locality with regards to the popularity of clubs and also the reasons for some clubs having to close or closing; particularly within Doncaster Borough. James, when questioned if he attended clubs in his local area described feelings of sadness on learning of the closure of his local club, but also expressed feelings of frustration regarding the reasons why his local club closed.   James emphasised that business decisions made by the club's committee are some of the main reasons for the consequential closure of the establishment:

> It shut in March because they defaulted and they reclaimed it. Had they not took that loan out they took out they got for the building, no, probably would have still been in business today, so it was completely avoidable. Really they were just spending money they didn't have. That's all… yeah the bank they owe the money to own the building… A repossession. They repossessed it and shut it down. That was it.

Issues regarding the management of clubs are stated by Cherrington (2012) to be contributing factors to their general decline, specifically decisions made by club committees and the conflict within them; the literature referring these contributing factors as weaknesses in the "CIU ways of working" (p.181). Club committees were described as being dominated by men who were mostly volunteers or unpaid and also not having relevant professional training in business management (Cherrington, 2012). This quote from John Reynolds (quoted in Cherrington, 2012) reflects the issues James mentioned regarding issues with finance; identifying a need for greater responsibility regarding financial management:

> The change in the social living and everything else like that has played a major part. But having said that, it can come down to mismanagement of some of the clubs whereby they've not sort of sat down and gone through and changed all the routines, not taken note of income and expenditure. (p.182)

Clubs are at present seen as businesses and not charities like they were seen to be in the past (Cherrington, 2012). This means that clubs from the late eighties to the present seen

competition from supermarkets and off-license stores; James stating that the inability to compete has been a major contributor to the decline in custom in both pubs and clubs in Mexborough and Denaby Main due to lower prices of alcohol. The ability to compete with new trends in consuming alcohol at what was his local club can be identified as being relatively difficult due to issues rooted in the decision-making processes within the club. The difficulty of achieving a general agreement on ideas that satisfy members and provide an incentive for people to join were argued by James to be a contributing factor to the club's demise:

> *One thing I hated it was run by a committee of like six or seven people. Now too many chefs spoil the kitchen because you never get 'owt' done. One person wants one thing and one person wants another and that's how it goes so it got to the point where they were paying for one person's idea and the other one and the other one and they were spending more money than they were making. They were trying to keep everybody happy on the committee so it just ended up imploding basically and the banks said "right there is no more time we're taking the building off you".*

Despite James' no longer having the setting of a club available to him, he implies that there are still pubs open in his area, but has disengaged and decided to drink in his home due to the smoking ban. James cited this as one of his main reasons for disengagement with the general on-trade in his area:

> *I don't like going out to pubs. Me personally, I wouldn't go out to a pub*

Though it is identified that clubs have faced a general decline in interest amongst the general population and face tougher economic times than they did before the decline of the mining industry, from the research findings it can be identified that not all clubs are in the similar situations with regards to their economic position. In the case study areas there appears to be significant differences between clubs. Margaret in a discussion about her experiences in clubs outside and inside the case study area implies that whilst some clubs are maintained and look aesthetically pleasing, some have fallen into a state of

disrepair and look relatively dilapidated; this implied to be linked to economic factors. In this statement Margaret uses a club she visited outside of the case study area as an example:

> *Some of the clubs are nice, some of them are dives but I mean the Askern Spa is a dive... It's alright. It's just a scruffy pub. But the son has taken over about eight month ago so... It's like all pubs. A lot of them want doing up because they've gone in disrepair and that.*

It can be identified however that some participants had reduced on-trade engagement and general drinking activities due to developing a general decline in interest in alcohol consumption. Charlie and Sharon all emphasised that their past drinking practices before the erasure of the mining industry from the Rossington area taken place in on-trade drinking places in the case study area and when asked why they stopped engaging with these institutions stated a 'lack of interest'. In this discussion Charlie, Carol and Sharon briefly portray their declining interest in alcohol as an 'phase in life'; their declining participation in drinking activities portrayed as an inevitable part of ageing and a phenomenon that sees them resigning themselves from 'public drinking':

> *Charlie: Not interested. No interest in it at all.*
> *Carol: When you get older you don't do you?*
> *Sharon: No interest*
> *Charlie: You've got to save your choppers haven't you?*
> *Carol: You stay in and watch telly. You go to a party or anything like that you know?*

Carol however continued to explain her lack of interest in on-trade engagement and implied that her motivations for loss of interest were due to the fear of anti-social behaviour she perceived as being committed by young people who live in the locality and are perceived to be the most visible patrons in these institutions. The potential costs she associated with 'going out' meant that she had no incentive to visit on-trade drinking premises in the area.

6.6.2 Facing loss, reduction or distancing of drinking circle

When the relationships participants had with friends and family who were active in their drinking circle changed, their drinking reflected the change. The change was generally in the form of reduced interactions with the members of their drinking circle which meant less engagement in alcohol related activities. This phenomenon in this research was found to be in either two categories: a) experiencing reduction in social drinking circle, b) experiencing loss of primary drinking partner.

Sarah, who stated that she was involved in an abusive relationship where both parties were drinking, though was subject to physical abuse from her husband expressed in the interview that the event of her splitting up with her then-husband was an important transitional event in her life that enabled her to eventually address her own issues with alcohol misuse:

> *I thrown him out of the house told him not to come back… me and my husband split up… we got split up and as I said he was still drinking… I won't have him. I wouldn't have him if he were drinking. He couldn't come to me house… Told him to keep away.*

She emphasised her perceived relative assertiveness at this stage of her life compared to her feelings of escapism and fear before with alcohol facilitating this. She focused on how she expressed to her partner that his drinking and his drinking behaviours were the determining factor in the breakup of the relationship; emphasising at this stage the relative increase in control she had over her life at this stage. This distancing from consumption can be seen to be a representative of a new stage in her life. James also states that he has been assertive to others in his stance on alcohol, through standing up to the peer pressure:

> *I have lost a few mates because of it. I've lost quite a few mates because I wouldn't go and have a can with them. It's like "well if you want to base our friendship on a can of that lager then you can have your can of lager*

James describes transitional events that played a major role in determining and also reaffirming his drinking practices as experiences with others where he felt feelings of abandon due to the breakdown of relationships with people in his social circle. The distance his remaining friends are from him means a lack of opportunity to engage in regular social drinking:

> *I'm usually with my mum, family and friends. Not many of my friends are left. They've all gone now… Gone and have turned against me; gone off on their own. You know? I have got a couple of friends, but I don't see them because they live down Louth and that way on… Yeah Louth. Going out towards Skegness. Market Rasen and all them. They live out there. Out in the countryside some of them.*

While the breakdown of James' social circle is implied to have a high emotional cost, Katrina emphasises the low emotional cost of her disengagement from the social drinking circle she facilitates. What is interesting is the dynamic of infantilization in the relationship between her and her clients and the pressure she feels to engage in drinking with them:

> *We used to go for a meeting on the other Thursday and if not that go on a Friday… But I have stopped being involved with that… I would go out to the club but that's in Doncaster on a Saturday night but because we organise live entertainment for the little oldies and any anybody else who wants to come. So they can waltz about and jig out and... But I'd be working on that night and depending on how harassed I might feel bearing in mind I have cut that since February I would drink more depending on how much they nag me and basically depending on throughout the night… since then I have written it off and just let them get on with it and keep an eye on it sort of thing and I actually not been in. I think I've only been in twice since February.*

For other participants the loss of a partner signified a change in their drinking practices as their drinking prior to the loss of their partner primarily taken place in the form of social activities with them that facilitated the use of alcohol. Sharon's states that she used to go dancing but stopped due to her partner's problems with his health restricting his ability to dance, this potentially being the loss of a facilitator of alcohol:

> *It would be about 10 years after our first one was, and 5 years later he had a second and that stopped it completely, so since 1986 I've not been dancing – Sharon*

Grace's weekend drinking pattern that functioned as social occasions were infuenced by the death of her partner. The event of Grace being widowed signifies greater isolation and as a result a decline in social drinking as they emphasised before that drinking with her partner was an important aspect of social drinking.

> *Used to when my husband was alive probably have a drink at weekends, somebody come we'd always offer them a drink, but now since he's gone and died.*

Few of the participants, in particular the female participants stated that they drink alone. Endogenous traditions, in particular cultural norms, potentially play a significant role as it can be seen that drinking places within the area and general leisure in the area is male centred. Mark however states that a decline in "atmosphere" has impacted on his likeliness to engage in his routine associated with the pub and club and links this to a decline in people visiting these places in the area. He states that as the people he would drink with in these drinking places age their likeliness to disengage and engage in home drinking increases, therefore going against the 'endogenous traditions':

> *I mean like you say things slow down I mean it were... It's still probably busy but not as busy as it used to be. Because obviously people get older slow down at drinking and prefer to drink at home some people.*

Louise was one of the few participants that stated that she went to university. The completion of university is signified the loss of frequent access to her friendship circle as they moved away. Louise's association of "getting wasted" with unsociable behaviour and loss of memory that can be linked to her own experiences of 'excessive' drinking and also to the endogenous traditions of respectable drinking from her embracement of values associated with the local drinking culture:

I mean one lives around the corner from me and then… I mean I've got friends pretty much all over the country now because a lot of my friends have moved out and whatnot so when I do finally get to see them I prefer to remember the day rather than getting absolutely wasted with them…. Not so much uni but it's my friends who have gone into the army and that sort of thing. So they've been moved bases and all that.

Whilst other participants implied that their social networks were situated mostly in the case study area and in the borough, University symbolised a transition from having social networks restricted to the local area and the Doncaster Borough to having an extended social network with friends situated across the country. This therefore means Louise's importance of creating memories of her social events with friends intensifies her fear of the consequences of 'getting wasted' and "getting wasted" is seen as having reduced benefits.

Having a drinking circle that is spread across the borough in surrounding areas is also stated to reduce opportunities for social drinking. Linda implies that her social circle is spread out outside of the case study area in surrounding villages and her and her social circle's reliance on car for travel and adherence to drink driving laws means that opportunities to engage in social drinking are limited to 'special occasions':

People are driving so we don't go and have too much we just have one drink… I normally drive everywhere so when you think about it you can't drink.

Stephanie similarly states that though her drinking circle are concentrated in the borough, it still restricts the possibility of frequent social drinking occasions:

In all different places. Cantley, Bessacarr, Auckley but they are not heavy drinkers they all haven't got time for it… They've all got kids though. All of them have got kids. So they don't drink that much… So people get babysitters and go out.

Frequent drinking activities for her drinking circle conflict with the responsibilities of parenthood. She emphasises that her friends having increased responsibility has intensified her perception of her friends as "not heavy drinkers" and with the added

dynamic of her also taking on added responsibilities in the form of children, her opportunities for frequent social drinking has reduced and as a result, she has embraced this.

Though from participant statements it can be identified that a level of parochialism in the community has been maintained, in the post-mining era, exogenous changes such as migration can be identified to have possibly threatened participants sense that they 'know everybody'. Charlie, one of the older participants who had lived in Rossington all his life, recognises how the more transient lifestyle of migrants coming to live in the village is having an effect on the traditional culture in the area:

> *There were one time when you were in the village you knew everybody, but now you don't. It's impossible because people are moving all around the country aren't they like?*

This conflicts with the endogenous culture of closely-knit and connected ties, an element of mining communities that provided stability along with guaranteed access to employment (Turner, 2000), which has disappeared as mining no longer exists in the area. Margaret however argues that this change is not just restricted to migrants coming in to live in the community:

> *They are still friendly but a lot of them keep themselves to themselves since the pit closed. They aren't as outgoing.*

What this suggests is that people within the community post-decline of the mining industry in the area have embraced a relatively more individualistic outlook, as opposed to the collectivism that defined the ideal mining community that Bulmer (1975) described; club and welfare activities symbolising this (Turner, 2000). Rather than being a lifestyle that people have actively chosen, it can be suggested that people instead have had to adapt to the economic and political context. Turner (2000) suggests that this is "enforced individualism", which is summed up using the statement "look after yourself first".

6.6.3 The prioritising of care and support of kin

One of the most common type of events that participants emphasised as being a transitory event was facing a life situation that they perceive as having significant emotional priority. These participants like in Jayne, Valentine and Holloway's (2011) research stated that their emotional priorities had changed due to either childcare, work responsibilities or other care responsibilities such as facing having to provide care to an adult. Christmas and Seymour (2014) also similarly, however within the context of "participation in drunken nights out" (p.240) state that changing personal circumstances and changes in priorities associated with early adulthood such as career transitions, new relationships and childcare responsibilities effectively recalibrate associated costs and benefits.

What was consistent amongst all of these challenges the participants stated was that all of these barriers to engagement in drinking activities all led to reduced engagement; viewing what was the cost their current drinking lifestyle too high in what they perceived were changing personal circumstances.

One of the prominent barriers to engaging in drinking activities was an identification of care responsibilities; these participants expressing that they had responsibilities to care for either children or another adult. Alcohol in this scenario was seen to conflict with these responsibilities; drinking associated with increased risk and a reduced ability to deliver care. What is important to state however is that research on the effects of parental alcohol consumption on their children amongst the general population is limited; the wealth of research on the subject having used participants that are either using treatment services or involved in child protection cases (Hedges & Kenny, 2018).

The fact that it was women that emphasised greater emotional importance on childcare responsibilities impacted on their drinking practices emphasises that childcare

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responsibilities are still heavily placed on women, despite gender roles changing (Valentine et al., 2007). The reasons for limiting engagement in alcohol consumption was driven by mainly practical reasons and their perception of the extent of their responsibilities (Valentine et al., 2007). As Stephanie states, from the stage of pregnancy and giving birth and gaining the responsibility of child care, engagement in drinking activities, particularly within an on-trade context, was greatly reduced due to greater emotional priority placed on the children:

> *Didn't get drunk last Christmas. Obviously he was just a baby so didn't have a drink then. I think the last time I was drunk was probably my hen party. Which was nearly 4 years ago.. I don't drink used to. Before I had kids I used to be out all the time.*

Stephanie implies that prior to having children the main surroundings which alcohol was consumed was in on-trade surroundings; her transition to parenthood restricting the locations she consumes alcohol in and restricting events where she can get "drunk" to special events. Stephanie also suggests that the local context has an important influence on where she decides to engage in activities with her children; implying that she perceives pubs in the Rossington area to be unsuitable places to bring them:

> *people get babysitters and go out but I'd rather go somewhere where they can go. Like here for instance rather than going down to a pub.*

It was suggested that that parents adapt their drinking to their new parenting lifestyle that restricts them and their children to the domestic place, which implies that parents are more likely to purchase alcohol from the off-trade than the on-trade. Sarah's emphasis on having childcare responsibilities restricting the drinking context to particular settings reflects Stephanie's descriptions of parenthood restricting the context alcohol can be consumed in to the domestic domain:

> *Well it's easy to get you got your kids and everyone at home. You've got to do stuff haven't you? It is cheaper to drink from shop than it is to go to the pub plus*

> *you're always in your house and say you got a two year old that doesn't go to school I mean I didn't have a problem but I watch it.*

Susan with the responsibility of caring for her children, expressed however that as a result of having children she had stopped her drinking activities in the domestic place due to practical reasons that Valentine et al. (2007) highlighted. Susan expressed the necessity of being 'sober', mainly due to fear that by drinking alcohol in the domestic place she increases the risk of having her abilities to care for her children reduced:

> *I've got my kids at home you see? I like to be straight-balled to be able to deal with it.*

Susan also stated emphasised towards the end of her interview that she also feels a sense of emotional responsibility towards the wellbeing of her brother who has moved in with her due to being made homeless because of having to take part in a program due to his drug and alcohol misuse. Taking into account the context of the pressure she faces in the domestic place, the carnivalesque drinking environment of Doncaster town centre can be seen as an escape from the responsibilities of motherhood; an environment where Susan feels the need to be "straight-balled" to deliver adequate care:

> *I go round town so I can let my hair down properly without having to worry about kids.*

This concept of being "straight-balled" in order to deliver care to a dependent was not exclusive to participants who have taken on the care of children. James stated that due to having to care for his mother he feels less incentivised to consume alcohol due to the fear of alcohol causing him to have a reduced ability to perform his care duties for his mother. Another significant factor is the implied unpredictable nature of this responsibility, as James' mother is able to request care when she needs it:

> *Especially now I have to make sure I am always able to get up answer my phone and go and help my mum if she needs it so I've got to be compos mentis all the time.*

Sarah also expressed that the moment that also marked a transition in her drinking career was being faced with caring for her ex-partner; a choice that she expresses was out of her control due to her family making the decision, though unlike James she emphasised feelings of fear that taking him in would revert her back to her past drinking behaviours associated with alcoholism:

> *he got a 2 1/2 stone tumour took out of his stomach and ... cancer, so they took his kidney, spleen his half of his bowel… Family decided that for me to take him in… but I haven't been living with him for five year 'cause he was hitting me, but that was a big challenge… He doesn't know what to do with himself because has always worked and he's depressed because he can't do anything.*

Similarly, Margaret stated that she looks after her disabled husband and as a consequence is not employed. Her care responsibilities have greater emotional priority and can be suggested to further reduce any incentive to consume alcohol and move from her abstinent lifestyle. As well as having economic consequences Margaret places an emphasis on the challenges that she has helped her husband get through:

> *I have a disabled husband so I look after him… he went to get dried out. Did it three or four times and then the last time it seemed to have worked… he had mental health problems as well. He's got a lot of problems.*

Helen, as opposed to the other participants who emphasise the emotional prioritisation and geographical restrictiveness of care responsibilities, emphasised the time investment that it involves; travelling across the country to enable her children to engage in sporting activities as well as maintaining her career:

> *We have two children and they go to play table tennis at national level so we are on the road quite a bit taking them to lots of tournaments and we have to stay over.*

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What is worth noting however that relative to other participants, Helen was one of the participants who works in a relatively more professional capacity in a managerial position; it can be hypothesised that she has more economic capital to be able to partake in these activities with her partner and her children. Her children are also of an older age than those of other participants and are implied to be relatively less dependent, therefore this means Helen and her children are not restricted to the domestic environment.

6.6.4 Concerns regarding short-term effects

Health was identified as a significant transitional event for some participants. Increasing concerns regarding health represent the perceived negative costs of consuming alcohol becoming more salient or the emergence of changing priorities for some participants. As a result, increasing concerns to health provided an incentive to put into place new drinking strategies that address their concerns. These concerns can be put into two categories: (1) concerns regarding long-term effects of alcohol consumption and (2) concerns over short term effects.

Other participants emphasised negative short-term effects of alcohol consumption that incentivised them to change their drinking practices. What were stated by these participants was reaching a perceived level of 'drunkenness' that they have not experienced prior. What was emphasised by Leanne and Louise were reduced benefits of the drinking practices that they engaged in that were identified following a negative experience of drunkenness. These were events were perceived as being prominent by Leanne in that they experienced particularly negative effects of drunkenness:

> *I think what did it for me though is when I'm out with the girls I haven't been able to get drunk… my body metabolism is changed… I could not get drunk. Until I found out that wine is it! Wine of all things and I hated it is just nasty… I drink everything. I drink whiskey, brandy, port, vodka… everything you could name and I would not get drunk, no matter what. Even shots when we used to go to town and she used to Sambuca me and no couldn't get drunk and I found wine.*

The experience negative short-term side effects Leanne implied she never experienced before can be seen to have resulted in her questioning her tolerance to alcohol as she perceives this to be due to a change in her body's metabolism. Whilst Leanne's narrative implies that her experience is a result of a journey of discovery, Louise emphasises that her drinking experience was facilitated by upset; She places emphasis in particular on the mental effects and effects associated with hangovers such as nausea and vomiting:

> *The last time I got really drunk was when I went to a family barbecue. I had been to a family barbecue and something really upset me. I can't remember what it was but something has upset me and I just sat and I've polished off two bottles of wine*

before I had realised I had actually done it. Then I went onto shots afterwards and I had to physically crawl home and crawl into my bed. I woke up fully dressed, didn't realise where the hell I was, what I was doing, I was still slightly drunk from the day before but I was a mess. I was a big mess… I honestly cannot remember a thing. I just remember the next day. It was absolute agony. I had a pounding head and I felt sick as 'owt'… I felt sick constantly. Even the smell of food or anything made me feel sick. It wasn't nice.

One theme that is pertinent in Louise's narratives of drunkenness is emphasis on memory loss, in particular the inability to remember certain events that happened as a result of excessive consumption of alcohol. As well as being implied to be an unpleasant effect of excessive drinking, it is also associated by Louise with unsociability and loss of opportunity to remember and reflect on social experiences:

I like vodka but when I go on the vodka I have too much… I will drink it and before you know it you've had umpteenth vodkas and you're like that… It does. And you still drink it and you are thinking it is only like that and you're drinking around and having around and before you know it and then automatically… alright for a few hours and then 20 minutes later when it does kick in your thinking "whoah! Hold on a minute!"... and then you're like "I think it's time to go home".

There is also evidence that increased commitment to certain hobbies such as sports can elicit concerns of the long-term and short-term effects of alcohol. Josie stated increasing concerns to her health and safety due to her increasing commitment in horse riding as eliciting change to her drinking practices:

Usually I do Pilates and I run so I do horse riding and Pilates and the horse means I've got less money to go out and drink. You know what? I'm not bothered as much now so I'd rather feel well in the morning and go and do my horse thing so I think the bad thing with drinking is that you don't always feel good the next day do you? I'd rather not have that. Looking after your health… No it's not a good idea anyway. It gets too risky!

Paul however expressed aesthetic concerns associated with short term and long term alcohol use as dividing his past drinking practices from his present drinking practices. He states unhappiness with his weight that he associated with beer consumption:

I used to 17 and a half stone me… Oh I yes. Because I've packed it in. It is only the beer that makes you put weight on.

6.7 Summary

The narratives of the participants in this chapter emphasised how important certain endogenous traditions were in the formation of their drinking practices and how certain traditions such as the maintenance of closely-knit ties, maintaining sociability and respectability have maintained a sense of importance in the drinking practices that participants engage in the post-mining context. The drinking strategies that evolved during the time that mining existed in the area reflect the male centred world of the mining industry and how the men that worked within this industry coped with the experience of work.

The centrality that the mining industry had in the case study areas is relevant to post-mining drinking practices as participants associated traditional 'drinking practices' with those associated with miners; leisure practices that are characterised by the interlinking of work, family and community life (Rind & Jones, 2015). Sense of belonging was identified to be a significant determinant of how participants interact with the drinking culture in the area. The participants emphasised their sense of belonging to the locality and used the decline of the mining industry in the area as a divider between past and present, which was used to separate mining from post-mining drinking practices.

The post-mining context was defined by change and loss. The loss of the mining industry in an area where identities relied on the existence of coal has meant that for the participants the role of alcohol in these communities has had to be redefined. For participants such as Margaret and Sarah the loss of mining meant the loss of community and therefore the loss of endogenous drinking traditions.

What this chapter identified however is a more complex set of factors as to why people in post-mining communities do not engage with on-trade drinking institutions in the case study areas. Despite participants stating that the effects that that the erasure of mining had on these institutions was a significant contributor to their disengagement, the perception of clubs as highly regulated drinking places defined by their enforcement of drinking practices associated with older forms of hegemonic masculinity.

What can be identified in participant narratives of 'decline' is a sense of collective self. Blokland's (2004) argument that individuals create a construction of an area as a lost community is relevant as this can be perceived to be a response to social change that their communities face, or as Waddington et al. (1991) would state, exogenous threats. Drinking that goes against the endogenous traditions of the community, particularly that of young people is therefore able to be condemned.

Chapter 7: Exogenous changes

7.1 Introduction

Chapter six explored endogenous traditions and the possible reasons they have faced decline amongst the participants. What was prominent in particular was that participants maintained a division between mining and post-mining drinking practices with the decline of the mining industry used to divide them. What Waddington et al. (1991) in his tradition and change model argued however is that in post-mining communities traditional, endogenous leisure has maintained a balance with privatised, home based leisure that is associated with Lockwood's (1975) privatized worker. What this chapter will explore are the exogenous changes that were identified to have had an impact on participant drinking practices and the endogenous drinking traditions. What will be argued is that whilst endogenous traditions such as parochialism, the maintenance of closely-knit ties, respectability and sociability have been maintained participants have embraced drinking practices associated with the privatized worker, as home-drinking was the most prominent strategy put into place to adapt to the post-mining context

What the chapter will begin to address is the economic changes that these communities have faced, as the decimation and eventual disappearance of mining from the area is the most significant exogenous factor that the participants described, along with the ecological change that was prominent to the participants in the communities. What will then be discussed is: the role that participant experiences and perceptions of Doncaster town centre and the drinking culture associated with it have on their post-industrial drinking practices, the perceived exogenous threat of 'youth drinking culture' and the role off-trade drinking has had on drinking practices. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the role that technological advancements and the smoking ban have had in the formation of post-mining drinking practices.

7.2 Economic

The decimation of the deep coal mining industry and its eventual end was identified during the literature review and also the primary data collection as the most prominent exogenous

force that impacted on drinking practices in the case study areas. In the two case study areas, it was identified that the mining industry in the area had disappeared due to political and economic factors; the decline of the mining industry in the late eighties and early 90s specifically played a major role in causing social change in both areas. Both areas can be identified as having what Bennett, Benyon & Hudson (2000) identify as "a mono-industrial structure" (p.4) meaning that the mining industry had an effect on community life, the local political landscape, the household, social life and also on leisure activities. It was clear that participants in both case study areas adapted their drinking strategies to the changing local economic context that had caused the general economic decline of the area.

The participants' statements in the research of decline in the area reflected the processes of decline following colliery closure that Waddington *et al*. (2001) and Jones (1988) described. Waddington *et al*. (2001) identifies the immediate effects of the closure of a colliery; immediate fragmentation of social cohesion due to the redundancy or transfer of employees. Jones (1988) however describes relatively more gradual effects that effect the wider community such as the loss of community facilities and also a loss of informal services that miners in these areas provided such as maintenance of housing and snow clearance.

Waddington *et al*. (2001) define the effect on the local economy as a "process of gradual de-industrialisation and depopulation of the whole region" (p.80). What was found during this research however was evidence of people (implied in the research to be domestic migration) migrating to the area who possibly do not have connections to the local mining industry and sites in the process of building new housing. Particularly in Rossington what was also found was the potential emergence of new industries as part of the local authority's aim to improve infrastructure and as a result regenerate the area. There is evidence however of internal divisions in the locality that have developed through time; the geographic boundaries between the various estates in the area reinforcing class-based divisions. It. What can be identified as happening in both case study areas post-decline

of the mining industry is a threatening of the "old order" established during the industry's existence (Bennett, Benyon & Hudson, 2000, p.4). Whilst the pace and intensity of the industry's decline can be described as significant (Bennett, Benyon & Hudson, 2000), the same can also be identified for the level of change that these areas have faced.

The participants expressed dissatisfaction with the changes to the physical environment. It felt like a similar description to processes described by Bennett, Benyon and Hudson (2000), people "dealing with an ongoing process of declining local services and facilities" (p.19). These changes to the physical environment which were due to changes in the socio-economic and socio-cultural landscape, caused primarily by the decline of the mining industry, were perceived by the participants to have socio-cultural consequences. Due to local drinking culture being so entrenched in the local mining industry, the loss of the industry in the case study area inevitably had an effect on the drinking culture in the case study areas. Waddington *et al*. (2001) described similar consequences in their analysis of the Askern area; retail businesses and pubs being amongst the businesses first to feel the impact and show signs of economic decline.

Throughout the research participants would reference pubs they had seen had been closed and eventually used for another purpose. The closure of the pubs was often linked to economic decline and changing attitudes to alcohol. This again reflecting a 'changing economy' in the area and also changing trends in drinking as Doncaster town centre becomes the drinking place for many of the population in the case study areas.

What is of particular interest was how much detail participants included when they gave a description of the current physical environment and how this can be linked to the changing economy in the area. Emphasis was placed on a 'changing community' by the participants, as they portrayed the village as an area that throughout time has constantly changed character. This was pertinent especially in the discourse from older participants. As well as describing changes in the context of drinking spaces in the community, other aspects

of change were mentioned that placed emphasis on the level of social change that individuals had experienced through their lifetime in the case study areas.

It was the decline of the mining industry that played a significant role in changing the economic landscape. From the primary and secondary data it has been identified that in the past Rossington and the Denaby Main and Mexborough areas have had a self-sufficient economy due to the presence of the mining industry in the area; therefore, the case study areas on first observation can be recognised as areas that face a socioeconomic situation similar to other pit villages in the Doncaster borough.

The economic situation of the two case study areas reflects what is mentioned in literature that provides an historic overview of the post-mining village of Bentley in the north of Doncaster (Fordham, 2009). Bentley, following the colliery closure, was identified to have an economy that relies relatively more on Doncaster town centre than before the miners' strike and the closure of the colliery (Fordham, 2009). What happened to Bentley was that the area had effectively been transformed into a suburb of Doncaster town centre (Fordham, 2009). Bothamley (2009) states similar findings in the village of Moorends, located in the North-East of the Doncaster borough as descendants of the original Moorends pit village moved from the area after the 1984-85 miner's strike to find employment elsewhere. The decline of the mining industry in the area like in the two case study areas meant that employment for a majority of the population had to be sourced from outside of the area. However, on observation it appears that these areas have fared better than Moorends due to their geographical advantages as the village of Moorends remains relatively more isolated.

It was apparent that the participants generally used the decline of the mining industry as a divider between the past and the present. In both of the case study areas, the participants identified changes in the landscape that can be argued to symbolise the end of mining industry in the case study areas. The dissatisfaction participants had with

changes in the physical landscape in their localities has clearly exacerbated their feelings of dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the area. For example, James identified preserved remains from Cadeby Colliery in Denaby Main as there is a memorial to the area's industrial past, it is symbolic and reminds people of the changing landscape, as new industries are now present on the former colliery site:

> *If you've seen the Dearne Valley Leisure Centre… that pit wheel? That's where the pit used to be.*

In Rossington however the building of a new estate on the site where the colliery was situated it is argued appears to symbolise the changing economy of the area. What the change in both areas arguably symbolises however is the changing economy of the Doncaster borough as a whole. A borough that once relied on heavy industries, such as coal and the manufacturing of trains but now instead relies on the service and leisure sectors with regards to the borough wide economy; post-mining areas also have become suburbs of the town centre. This phenomenon also reflects processes described in the literature as Fordham (2009) states that in Bentley, where the local colliery was situated, is now a nature reserve. The relics from the colliery site are now used as part of the nature reserve and are memorials to the area's industrial past.

Similar to research by Bennett, Benyon and Hudson (2000) it has been identified that coalfield areas share common issues. Despite the two case study areas however having similarities, for example both have historic connections to heavy industry, specifically the mining industry, there are significant differences between the two case study areas. This is mainly due to the different socioeconomic situations that the two case study areas have faced and the geographic location which they are situated. The main difference between the two areas is that Rossington, since the decline of the mining industry, can be seen to have experienced relatively more regeneration and investment whilst Denaby Main and Mexborough can be identified as having relatively less. Whilst the participants from the

Denaby Main and Mexborough case study area focussed on the decline and lack of development, in Rossington there was an emphasis on 'change', be this both positive or negative.

The participants' attachment to place was important to understand the drinking strategies that they adopted in order to cope with the transitional events that had impacted on their initial drinking patterns and drinking styles. The participants and their embracing of a localised identity rather than an identity associated with the borough wide context (meaning identifying as a citizen of Doncaster) further emphasises the importance of the local context to the participants. What this also further solidifies is the importance of researchers having knowledge of local contexts and how this impacts on drinking strategies.

7.3 Ecological change

In both case study areas there was an overwhelmingly negative perception of the level and pace of change; the participants perceived the change in character of their areas as regression rather than a positive change for the areas, particularly in the context of the new developments taking place inside and outside of the community in the form of mostly new infrastructure. Most participants, particularly in Rossington, described the changing character of the village in the context of the present, Rossington can be identified as an area that has in the past gradually changed character over time. Though the literature implies the change to be gradual over time, Louise, one of the youngest participants, pointed out that the character of the village, whilst conserved in some areas, can be seen as changing at a relatively rapid rate, what is pertinent from her statement is unfamiliarity with the environment:

> *Everything is new. It's strange.*

From analysing the interviews with participants, it can be identified that the main change and regeneration that participants highlighted were to infrastructure, the environment and

drinking places within the case study areas. In the interviews, participants as well as describing changes in the landscape directly related to the drinking culture would describe signifiers of change outside of drinking cultures and drinking establishments. In this example Carol describes the extent of how much the location where she was interviewed in Rossington had changed during its existence; offering an interesting insight into the level of change that had taken place throughout the time she had lived in the area:

> It's been altered quite a lot actually because I mean this weren't here. This was the classroom. and toilets down there… The toilets were out in the yard.

What Carol recognises is how the building, which was used previously as a school, has now been adapted for reuse; it is now used for leisure, education and civic purposes by members of the public. Within the context of public drinking places however change was overwhelmingly seen to be a negative phenomenon.

In the Rossington case study area, the main concerns were regarding new housing developments and the number of people coming to the village to live from outside of the case study area; all of which is argued to have changed social dynamics within the area. Carol, who was one of the older participants who had taken part in the research, described the level of change in Rossington she had witnessed mentioning the building of new housing developments:

> Oh everything's changed because there weren't all these houses about were they? When the Wimpy Estate wasn't there… The estate where, you know where that lane is. All them weren't there. That was all open fields, all over the bridge and all that, near the police station and the opposite side. All that's been built since… Oh, that new roads been built. You can't imagine what it was like before.

Grace describes in her own words the history of development in the area; a locality that has throughout its existence continuously expanded, initially each area detached from each other, then eventually brought together under the entity of Rossington, though divisions have however been preserved:

That end was there in smaller format for a long long time. That was Rossington then when the pit came they build new Rossington down this end but then over the years it's joint together and what was Rossington has been extended. Even where I live and behind the church there is a massive big estate behind the church and all that… West Rossington or something? I think it says West Rossington on the signpost as you go along that little bypass bit. That's where the new ones are.

Though the group of older participants generally referred to areas outside of the mining village as 'new', most participants when mentioning 'new' housing developments were referring to the new housing developments situated outside of the model village and in the west of Rossington; the land where Rossington Colliery was situated in the past.

The washing of what was the spoil heap when Rossington Colliery occupied the land and the procedure of the remodelling and restoration of it is stated afterwards to be able to "provide further areas of open space which will be accessible to the community and provide a much-improved backdrop to the new housing development" (Harworth Group, n.d.). This reflects the 'changing economy'; in terms of the leisure and service sector industries taking the place of the heavy industries in these post-industrial areas.

Harworth Group's (n.d.) statement about the project highlights what can be argued to be positive impacts of the regeneration project on the community of Rossington, however statements from the participants lacked emphasis on the positive aspects of the regeneration of the area. The participants were however mostly negative of regeneration efforts in the village; describing mostly an image of decay and reduced opportunities proceeding the decline of the mining industry in the mid-eighties and early-nineties.

Efforts however to improve transport infrastructure in the Rossington area were received more positively by the participants. The transport infrastructure project in the area meant linking Rossington village to the motorway network and reducing commuting time to Doncaster town centre. This meant increased mobility for the participants; improving access in and out of the village for the community. Paul expresses this, stating how the

link road has improved his ability to travel to surrounding villages for the purpose of his work:

> *No as far as we go with Lakeside Auckley and Finningley and Balby. It is all right now that new link road being built… they're building houses on there now.*

Despite the improved links to the rest of Doncaster there was a feeling amongst some participants of Rossington that the village still remains isolated and neglected. The area can be argued to still be economically disadvantaged regardless of infrastructure investments due to the location of the village relative to others within the Doncaster Borough. Grace implies that some pit villages are at more of an advantage than Rossington due to their location. In her statement she compares the village to Armthorpe, another pit village in the Doncaster Borough. She argues that Armthorpe is at more of an advantage due to the increased likeliness that people from outside the village will drive through to reach another location and therefore see the range of businesses that exist in the area. Rossington is seen by Grace as an area that people 'visit for a reason':

> *In Armthorpe I know you can drive through Armthorpe and that's where people stop; 'oo yeah, i'll stop there'. Whereas to get to Rossington you physically come into the village don't you?*

The geographic location of Rossington means that it is at a disadvantage when compared to other pit villages in the Doncaster borough that have major routes going through them, making it a tougher environment for businesses in the locality to survive and attract customers from outside the area. This therefore could be suggested that this enables the area to retain its culture of parochialism. The lack of incentive for 'outsiders' to come into the community is however argued to have a negative effect on the local economy. The finding of declining confidence in the local economy reflects findings by Waddington *et al*. (2001). Grace described the tough economic environment that businesses in the area face as she finds it frustrating that her support of local businesses isn't enough to support them long term:

> *I just find it a little bit disappointing. I mean I have tried to support the local right from being here. I've always used the market. I mean it was open on a Tuesday and a Friday and the Tuesday one shut a long time ago and the Friday one is barely there.*

Access to private transport and improved transport infrastructure suggests that in the area there is less of an incentive to purchase alcohol in the locality. Carol emphasises the size of the Asda she visits a few miles away in Lakeside (a few miles away from Rossington) compared to the smaller Asda supermarket in Rossington, which is now easier to access due to Rossington's new connection to the motorway network and town centre:

> *No, you have to go to Doncaster, you know? Well, we do go to this Asda now and again, but we go to the Doncaster one mainly. Mostly. Because it's bigger.*

Overtly positive sentiments did not exist either amongst the participants regarding the house building phase of the regeneration project. There was a hostility and suspicion towards other aspects of the regeneration identified to be taking place outside of the model village; emphasised through the feelings of detachment participants had regarding the benefits of the development. The participants expressed concern that these developments are having a negative impact on their quality of life, the sociocultural environment and the overall character of the model village. Linda also expresses disappointment regarding the level of ecological change in the area:

> *It used to be a beautiful walk… That field then they own that land so they'll be building on there soon.*

The participants associated new infrastructure developments with loss and decline, more specifically the loss of identity and the decline of environmental aesthetics. There were also feelings that the regeneration of the site of the former colliery comes at the cost of the decline of the physical environment, therefore reducing leisure opportunities for participants and causing a decline in the established aesthetics of the village as a whole. Gary, in the early stages of the interview expressed his frustration regarding what he sees

as a lack of concern for residents that live in the mining village area of the village; regeneration of the former colliery site and the building of the link road being at the expense of the physical environment of the model village; impacting the wellbeing of the people who live in the area:

> *The thing that got me is they moved all the muck from the pit at the back of wimpy. If you go to wimpy now where that farmers field is now there's a big tip there now because all they've done is move it over there to there. So if you go back to Wimpy now where you used to look over the farmers field and it was all flat it is now just a big mountain and what they've done is pulled it from that way because where they've built that new road through is where they're building all the new houses and that… Thing is you used to be able to walk by graveyard up to Waddy, that way. Now it's a complete mess… They built them houses there, them that bought all them houses used to look over the field and that's what you looked at. Now you look at a big mountain of hill where they take all rubbish from that side of the pit and took it over the other side because where that bridge is done.*

What is emphasised by Grace in her description of the changing ecological landscape is the perceived lack of control she feels she has as a resident over Rossington's rapidly changing landscape, instead this power being in the hands of the Local Authority. What is perceived by Grace are exogenous forces entering the community and significantly impacting on what are perceived by her as endogenous institutions within the community that are firmly established and passionately perceived by residents as part of Rossington's landscape:

> *Yeah. You know do we really need another cheap shop and another bakery in the village? But you know, it's just full of takeaway food places. I mean there is one chip shop in the village that I've always used and they've opened another chip shop next door to them. What's all that about? It's crazy isn't it really… Joneses fish and chip shops been there for years and years and years and then next to it it's called the urban or something. That's another one that has opened. I said to them when I first went down a while ago because I don't go down very often but I said 'what's open next door?' She said... 'I can't believe they are giving them planning permission to put one next door to yours but just as well they have.*

What is prominent in Grace's narrative is the sense of insecurity that she has regarding the area's future.

I wish it hadn't. I wish we'd have got more shops... where I live, but we've got the newsagents and the little coffee shop which at the moment fingers crossed is holding its own.

7.4 Centralised drinking - disillusionment with town centre drinking environment

Miles (2010) in an analysis on post-industrial spaces for consumption argues that the vision of city spaces that are promoted with the aim of reasserting the legitimacy of the city in its post-industrial phase is "fundamentally incompatible with that city's lived reality" (p.164). He then elaborates further that the consumer, that these cities aim to attract, is different to consumers who make up a large proportion of the "'indigenous' population" (Miles, 2010, p.165).

Within the context of this research which the focus is specifically on post-industrial spaces for alcohol consumption, it is identified that the night time economy of Doncaster town centre is the promoted post-industrial space for consumption that aims to reassert the Doncaster Borough's legitimacy during its post-industrial phase; a time when the town can no longer rely on heavy industries such as coal and rail for economic prosperity. Miles' argument is relevant and is reflected in how the participants feel about Doncaster Town Centre and its night time economy. The statements made by participants suggest an increasing disillusionment with the town centre drinking environment. Even when the participants expressed particular affection for the town centre, they still expressed feelings of disconnection with the environment and the drinking culture of the town centre.

The culture of drinking within the local areas (the case study areas) that the participants reside in, can be seen as being different to the culture of drinking in the town centre. Rossington and Denaby and Mexborough are post-mining communities along with a large number of other communities surrounding Doncaster town centre such as Bentley, Armthorpe, Stainforth, Edlington, Moorends and Woodlands. It can be perceived from the data that the participants of these mining communities feel a sense of disconnection from

the drinking culture of Doncaster town centre, which has been historically associated with excessive drinking and the carnivalesque atmosphere due to its horse racing heritage. Gary compares the town centre drinking culture with the culture of drinking of the post-mining area where he lives, arguing that there is an increased likeliness of conflict in town centre drinking places:

> *The other thing is town you can be in town having a drink and you can just be stood there right and you could tap someone and you'll say sorry mate and then you got someone going you just see what you've done I went I went for my glass mate... he says our lass said you just bumped me, went apologising, they turned and you said your sorry and then he wants to like beat your head in or take you outside.*

It appears that town centre drinkers are stigmatised as being volatile. Gary associates the context of 'town' with the unfamiliar, therefore associates this particular drinking place with the 'unpredictable', despite him recognising that these people possibly come from other pit villages; places he argued earlier in the interview "all did the same" with regards to the drinking culture:

> *You will know who you're drinking with. If they are like your mate you'll go sorry love and they'll say it's alright Craig. In town they don't. They might be from Stainy or from wherever you know I mean? So you don't actually know. In Rosso you'll probably know 9/10 in that pub so if you do that they'll be like "ah it is all right.*

This statement expresses a perception that the town centre drinking place is visited by a wider and more diverse group of people, therefore people who may hold different attitudes to alcohol. The case study area drinking places, on the other hand, appear to provide Gary with a sense of security, there is a sense of belonging and familiarity with the drinking culture in the case study area, due to the close social networks that many in the population of Rossington are perceived to have, he would most likely have a level of good relations with the local people, and if in the case of any conflict the perpetrator would be known by the community.

Hubbard (2007) suggests that decisions made by the individual to visit out-of-town environments or visit city and town centres was determined by the understandings of the types of emotional management required to negotiate the particular setting. Hubbard's (2007) concept of "emotion in places of nightlife" (p.123) can be applied to participant feelings of insecurity regarding the environment and the drinking culture of Doncaster Town Centre when compared to the local context, which was more commonly associated with decline. Stephanie, expressed the most emotion regarding the drinking culture in the town centre. The words Stephanie chose to use emphasises her disgust towards who she perceives are the clientele of town centre drinking places:

> *I can't stand it. It is just full of... Dickheads. It is full of dickheads. That is the word I am going to use! You know when you go drinking at night time? It is full of "yeah mate...". It's just full of idiots. You get glass bottles thrown at your head.*

The phrase "yeah mate" is one that is often associated locally in the borough with the groups and individuals that are stigmatised as 'chavs'. Stephanie implies that she associates town centre drinking with this particular stereotyped group and therefore associates the town centre drinking culture with behaviours associated with them. The drinking environment of the town centre therefore presents a significant perceived risk to herself; in this particular context, being a victim of anti-social drinking behaviour and assault. By her using this phrase, which is implied to be associated with 'chavs', her statement can be seen as revealing the symbolic violence associated with this stereotyped group within the context of their drinking environment; framing not only the social group as undesirable, but also the context which is associated with alcohol-related crime, violence and disorder. Stephanie's perception of Doncaster town centre as a dangerous place to drink, mirrors the narratives of violence and disorder of Doncaster's night time economy that have dominated the local media, a narrative that portrays the town centre's night-time economy as "the Wild West"; a place where violence and disorder are endemic (Doncaster Free Press, 2006a).

Margaret portrays town centre nightlife in a similar way in her description of her experiences working at a town centre bar and nightclub thirty years ago. She describes scenes of drunken behaviour and also violence from groups of people she describes as "gypsies", an ethnic slur that is mostly used in the area to refer to Irish travellers and also in some cases Romani people. She characterises their drinking practices as destructive and violent:

> *I used to work there. It's changed three times now I think. I don't know what it is now. As I say I'm going back 30 years… It was good. I used to work in the cloakroom and my husband used to be a bouncer there. It was a nice atmosphere, but I just did cloakrooms. I wasn't out on the dancefloor anyway… I just used to watch other people drink, fall over and everything else… Then we used to get all the gypsies in. We used to have big gypsy parties and that in there… Once they've had a drink. They'd smash the place up, but they paid well so they didn't stop them.*

In two cases participants had actually witnessed or being a victim of alcohol-related violence in a public place. Louise describes a situation when she was a victim of violence in the town centre at night by someone who she perceives was drunk:

> *It's one of those things where like they say when you ride a bike you will never forget it is. Well it's the same with self-defence… it was because I was in town and somebody very drunk attacked me and my sister. So I used it once. And that was through alcohol. Somebody got really drunk… we were walking home then. So it was up near town fields so I don't know whether it has been the races or what but they were really aggressive. I've only ever had to use it once, so yeah… they were very very drunk. They probably woke up with an even worse hangover than what they expected *laughs**

When describing this situation however Louise never stated this to be amongst the main reasons why she had reduced engagement in drinking in the town centre; implying in the interview that she has the confidence to physically and emotionally cope in this particular scenario involving violence and disorder by describing what happened confidently. It was found however that behaviours that are perceived by individuals to be social disorder amongst the general population, particularly within the context of town centre drinking places elicit different emotions amongst different groups of people. In this research it was the older participants, in comparison to Stephanie and Louise, two of the younger

participants, that emphasised relatively more explicit feelings of fear of the drinking environment of the town centre. Sharon, because of a negative experience in the town centre, expressed fear of drinking in the town centre due to witnessing violence after a visit to a club:

> *No. We used to go to* ████████ *as well… and we saw two incidents in a lift scrapping. It put me off completely. I was terrified and we had to get the Rossington bus home and get off at Church Lane. They were even fighting on the bus.*

It was made prominent that what participants meant when they mentioned Doncaster town centre was not Doncaster town centre as in the centre in general (such as its shopping district and other features), but its night-time economy in particular. What was interesting that the participants emphasised that the drinking place played an important role in shaping their drinking practices and experience. As Helen suggests, the concept of the town transforming at night into a different place, was suggested to be a result of the clientele that frequent the area and also the kind of establishments that dominate the night time economy of the town.

> *I cannot stand the noise and hustle and bustle… Doncaster becomes a different place at night time doesn't it? And I think I would need a drink to feel safe going around town*

Similar to participants in Hubbard's (2007) research, Helen essentialises the town centre drinking environment as "exuberant, lively and crowded" (p.127). This can also connect to the idea that the urban space at night is often represented as a place that invokes extreme emotion; experiences and interactions that may not invoke significant emotion in the daytime being heightened at night (Schlör, 1998). She suggests that she would to need to employ specific coping mechanisms in order to be able to cope with the environment of the town centre.

Hubbard (2007) also similarly states that fears of bodily defilement or of disturbance are for some consumers significant factors in the places they decide to participate in leisure

activities. Louise similarly to Helen essentialises the town centre drinking environment as "exuberant, lively and crowded" (Hubbard, 2007, p.127), though describes an experience that she had. Louise expresses feelings of not being able to cope in this specific environment; describing feelings of being annoyed at what is perceived to be relatively loud music and disgust at the feeling of being defiled:

> *Twice. June. I've only been once this year and I hated it… Too many people. It's packed all the time. I don't like this loud music, everyone's bouncing around and you know, drinks getting thrown around everywhere. It's just not nice… I just don't enjoy it really*

Both statements can arguably be seen as overlooking any of the advantages of drinking in this environment the participants perceive as "loud" and relatively crowded. Within the context of out-of-town leisure parks, Hubbard (2007) states that out-of-town environments are associated with the norm of civil inattention and therefore make it easier to "maintain a strong sense of self" and to avoid the possibility of any of their personal boundaries being defiled (p.126). Participants in this research however expressed or implied the importance of sociability in relation to drinking. Socialising and maintaining sociability when drinking was deemed by the participants to be an important part of the drinking experience when in local public drinking places. The consumers that Hubbard (2007) interviewed in Leicester expressed that part of the appeal of out of town retail park spaces was the ability to facilitate modes of civil inattention, which the participants of Rossington however never expressed.

This attitude has similarities with the attitudes that Chatterton and Hollands (2003) and Winlow and Hall (2006) associate with traditional drinking; the expression of behaviours that can be perceived as consuming above personal limits being stigmatised in traditional working-class communities (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003; Winlow & Hall, 2006).

The reoccurring theme of change appeared in some of the participants' narratives regarding their disillusionment with the town centre drinking environment. Leanne and

Mark, in a discussion, explained that they used to engage in town centre drinking but have since become disillusioned with drinking in the town centre. They place emphasis on the activity of dancing and how the modern drinking culture has impacted on their engagement in it. They argue that there is a growing prominence of a drinking culture that is incompatible with theirs and this is impacting on this enjoyment. Alcohol was prior to this transitional period facilitated around a social focus. They now argue that their social focus has disappeared; instead alcohol consumption becoming the central focus of a vast majority that visit the town centre:

> *Leanne: That is why I don't go out because it is just you know compared to like 10 years ago when we used to go out we used to have a right old dance and now it's just…*
>
> *Mark: That's it because when we used to go out we used to go dancing didn't we? Pubs nightclubs and stuff like that and very rarely you would buy a drink. Buy you drink going in and that's it. Because you are off dancing and enjoying yourself more. The night is all changed hasn't it and it's like you've got to be bladdered. You've got to get drunk.*

Leanne and Mark imply drunkenness and the centring of alcohol consumption within this 'new' town centre drinking culture to be a negative phenomenon, not mentioning the positive aspects this can offer individuals such as allowing senses to be heightened or dulled; allowing the discovery of new experiences different from those common in everyday life (Jayne, Valentine and Holloway, 2010). The emergence of new trends amongst town centre drinkers is also identified to be particularly problematic due what Mark perceives are different styles which they are meant to be drunk; his choice of drink argued to be incompatible in this particular context:

> *You're having to speed drink and like I say if you're whether you're a lager drinker it's hard because obviously it blows you up and it makes you pee but when you have have shots obviously it's downing shots you don't realise by the end of the night you've done like 20 shots without realising it and you're like 'whoah!' But it's just that speed thingy instead of just like enjoying your drink.*

The emphasis Mark places on practicing caution in the town centre drinking environment contrasts with his experiences of drinking within the case study area where the participants emphasise feelings of comradeship and trust:

> *You've got to be careful and like you say. Yeah. You have to you take it everywhere don't you? You have to take it to the toilet. Yeah.*

It is also implied that modern trends amongst younger generations such as theme bars and advancements in home entertainment are inferior forms of entertainment that "turn everybody into passive consumers" and as a result restrict people to "the solitude of the home" (Hadfield, 2011, p.95).

7.5 The 'Boozing youths'

One of the most prominent presences of exogenous change during the post-mining period that the participants identified was what they perceived to be a growing presence of a youth and adolescent drinking culture that challenge the established 'way of life' in the area. Youth culture was identified by many of the participants to be one of the main drivers of social change in the area, many of them associating them with either Doncaster Town Centre's relatively carnivalesque nightlife or young people in the case study areas who engage in underage drinking in public places. Despite there been continuities and discontinuities across generations as Jayne, Valentine and Holloway (2011) argue, the general consensus amongst participants was that the younger generations drink more alcohol and have embraced a culture of drinking that is compared to the established culture of drinking in the case study area more destructive and negative and is a threat to others in the community who wish to maintain tradition.

Generational conflict is prominent in discourses regarding drinking cultures of both case study areas. Many of the participants had a negative perception of the drinking culture and also drinking trends seen to be embraced by the younger generation. Town centre drinking was seen to embody the perceived negative cultural change and change in values

that the younger generation were seen to have had influence in. Many of the participants, including interestingly the younger participants, used the binge drinking and 'boozing youths' narrative prevalent in the local media such as the Doncaster Free Press that portrays young people that engage in alcohol use as tracksuit wearing groups of young people (young men) that drink on benches. Young people were portrayed as disregarding the traditional working-class values of respectability, instead choosing to be irresponsible, drink over-excessively, engage in anti-social behaviour and as a result create an environment of fear and intimidation.

The participants' recollections of the drinking culture and atmosphere that existed at local drinking institutions associated with mining can be can be perceived as "more of a memory than a reality" (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992, p.130) when taking into consideration the present-day context. From what the participants described (most of whom were older and had lived in the area before the decline of mining) it was identified that the drinking places of young and older people were perceived to be segregated, whether that be outside in public places not designated for drinking or within the context of Doncaster town centre. Although evidence exists that young and older generations drink together within the context of family networks, throughout the research there were reoccurring themes of distrust, loss of sense of belonging and a loss of understanding between generations. Rind and Jones (2015) in their study of physical activity in post-mining areas consistently found similar results; the social functioning of the studied North East post-mining neighbourhoods was found to be limited due to the "gulf in understanding between the young versus the long-term inhabitants" (p.116).

The places young peoples' drinking places were associated with as well as Doncaster town centre were public places not designated for drinking located in the case study areas. Adolescents too young to legally purchase alcohol and drink in the town centre and the case study areas were identified by the participants as engaging in latter instead. The drinking of these groups was problematised and emphasised to be a significant problem

in the area amongst the participants. The participants from the Mexborough and Denaby Main case study area emphasised that this was an issue the most. David's description of youth drinking that describes the resulting behaviour as "chaos" is an example of the anti-social behaviour narrative that was pertinent amongst participants in the area. Like David did, these young people were often described as consuming cider, which is associated with the 'unrespectable' behaviours associated with the 'underclass' and alcoholics:

> It's pretty concerning. It's mostly young'uns innit? Just drinking litres of cider and that… young'uns causing chaos that's all it is innit?

A frequent scenario that was described was young people congregating in public places in the case study area asking members of the public to purchase alcohol for them. David states that he has been in this situation before and rather than being motivated by the moral and legal implications he fears the response from others in the community. This recognition of the possibility of action taken by the community suggests that close-knit social networks in the area still maintain a level of power as he and the adolescents asking him for alcohol express a fear of getting into trouble with parents and guardians:

> It is just in general that it really is. All the young'uns will stand outside "oh get me ten fags or a litre of cider. Don't tell me mam though or me nan" (laughs) so i'll be like "no"… If they ask me to go into the shop for them or "will you get me a bottle of cider" or owt and they look underage I won't bother me because obviously I could get getting crap of their parents or whatever so I don't bother.

Tim presented this phenomenon as problematic by emphasising how the action goes against social norms and the disruption it causes to him during his everyday routine:

> there is a shop in the area and there's usually youths outside like "hey Mr can you going to the shop for me to get me some tins?"… To me you are you coming up to me as I am going into the shop for my milk and my bread… asking me to get you for tins of whatever you wanted is a problem.

James describes a similar phenomenon though implies conflict taking place between generations similar to Waddington et al. (1991) who describe the activities of young people

conflicting with the adult centred culture of the mining community. As opposed to portraying the child as vulnerable whilst expressing concern and emphasising parental responsibility, the child is portrayed by James as so to fit the 'anti-social behaviour' narrative; one that places blame on the young person for 'messing it up' for others in the community:

> *It's the younger ones what mess it up for the ones who just want to just enjoy themselves… you see a kid down street and think "where the hell did you get the alcohol from?" He's not old enough. I have our kids of nine years old asking me to go in and buy them a bottle of cider… This is in Denaby. A nine-year-old asked me to go in and buy a bottle of cider and ten fags for him. You can imagine my answer, can't you? "No" (laughs).*

Coffield, Borrill and Marshall (1986) argued that the local adult drinking culture has significant influence on the drinking of young people in mining communities. Sarah from the Denaby Main and Mexborough area however dismissed the possibility of young people being influenced by drinking practices associated with the mining past assertively stating that the consumption practices of the post-mining generation are "nowt" to do with mining, expressing resentment at what she perceives as a generation that has completely rejected cultural values of the past associated with collectivism and cohesiveness. The Miners' Strike also plays a role in the division of these past values and the present which is associated with values that threaten "the social fabric" of the community (Waddington et al., 1991, p.107). James, provides a counterpoint to Sarah's narrative that portrays young people as a generation that have rejected influences from past generations as he focuses on generational similarities, concluding that he does not perceive drinking to be a significant issue in the area, though implicitly still problematises drinking practices of younger generations in particular:

> *I don't think it's really bad round here for alcohol. I know the younger generation seems to like a lot of it… People used to do that in the early Nineties, people used to do that in the Eighties, but not as much.*

In Mexborough and Denaby there is a prominent narrative linking young people's attitudes to alcohol and drinking practices to anti-social behaviour and the decline of cultural values associated with the endogenous. The dominant belief is that attitudes to alcohol have changed and therefore anti-social behaviour has gotten and continues to get worse. This narrative was also present amongst Paul and Brenda in Rossington, though imply this to be a significant problem in the area unlike it was in Mexborough and Denaby; Brenda stating that she just doesn't "pay attention" to them. The 'young people' that the participants referred to were implied to be of legal drinking age or in their older teenage years (sixteen to seventeen years of age).

The generational conflict is suggested to be rooted in the loss of mining in the case study areas as the younger generation grow up in a post-mining environment; an environment that causes them to define themselves as different compared to the older generation who grew up surrounded by mining culture (Bennett, Benyon & Hudson, 2000). As Smith (2013) argued, the socioeconomic context is important in understanding the differences between drinking practices before and after the decline of heavy industry in Britain. The processes of social construction that taken place during the existence of the mining industry relied on the permanent existence of the colliery; assuming coal mining would be continuous (Bennett, Benyon & Hudson, 2000). This suggests that young and older groups in a post-mining environment are divided when it comes to attitudes to alcohol and also leisure as a whole; this reflecting the significant influence the mining industry had on the local drinking culture of the older generation.

It is argued that "much of the pain experienced in these ex-mining communities is pattered around generational conflict". In an analysis of generational conflict in the mining areas of Mansfield and the Welsh valleys of the Rhona, the Cynon and the Taff, Bennett, Benyon and Hudson (2000) argues that a generation of 'older people' despite how different they are from one another are grouped together by young people in these post-mining areas to form an 'other' that they seek to differentiate themselves from by using whatever

resources are available to them. In this research the older people also engaged in similar processes by grouping young people together and disengaging from places associated with a younger demographic due to perceiving that they are outside of the norm within the social context. Margaret despite her still going into Doncaster town centre to drink, she expresses a sensitivity to difference in age so doesn't enter any nightclubs:

> *I go into town but I don't go in any clubs now. Too old for it now. It's all youngsters nowadays*

Similarly, participants were seen to be concerned and also threatened by the presence of young people and their behaviours which they seen as anti-social and "threatening to their notions of community" (Bennett, Benyon & Hudson, 2000, p.20). Carol, one of the older participants, emphasises a lack of incentive to go out to drink in public drinking places in the post-mining era due to her perception of violent behaviour being prominent in the area:

> *Yeah. There all young ones aren't they and fighting in Rossington now you know? You always see them now. So it's not worth going out full is it?*

Louise's experiences of drinking in Rossington however provides a counterargument to the suggestion of generational divisions as she expresses a significantly strong sense of belonging to the area where she lives and it's drinking culture. She expresses a rejection of the supposedly individualist drinking context of Doncaster town centre, instead choosing to engage in drinking experiences in her local area, like the outlying participants from Wilkinson and Wilkinson's (2017) research who preferred the more relaxed "alcohol consumption experience" (p.84), though Louise's motivation is the social interaction that the drinking environment encourages:

> *I'd usually leave at closing time because it's a club where you can actually sit down and have a conversation and then you do not realise you've actually had… You know you've been there from probably eight or 9 o'clock till closing at 12:30.*

Despite evidence that the traditional cultures of post-mining communities are incompatible with modern youth culture like Waddington et al. (1991) argues, Louise's experiences and preference to engage in local drinking and embrace the local drinking culture reinforces the importance of not making generalisations regarding the drinking practices of young people, particularly in post-mining communities. However, rather than youth drinking being defined by its presence in the village in public places not designated for drinking, youth drinking was mainly associated with the town centre as Paul describes:

> *The young ones will go to town. They'll have a quick drink around the village and then they'll go to town.*

The role that Paul describes public communal drinking places in the village as playing to the younger generation is that of a transitory place; an environment that sets up the transition into the carnivalesque drinking environment of Doncaster town centre. James describes a similar phenomenon taking place in pubs in Mexborough:

> *Now they're quiet, apart from on a Saturday night when people use Mexborough as the starter and then go to Doncaster.*

These can be identified to reflect discourses of 'pre-drinking'. Discourses from older participants reflected the generalised caricatures prevalent in binge drinking narratives of the 00s, as participants focussed particularly on the phenomenon of 'pre-drinking' and a focus on 'getting drunk', though Linda highlights the economic benefits of this practice to those that engage in it:

> *Yeah but the people today, they have wine they drink before they go out because they want to get drunk and so they have the wine and a couple of bottles so it doesn't cost them so much.*

Pre-drinking as Linda describes it can be identified as reflecting young people's drinking practices described by Wilkinson and Wilkinson (2017) which identifies their drinking as

being "characterised by movement in, through, and beyond, drinking spaces" (p.78). Though the participants identified the economic benefits of this practice, the emotional benefits and the ability to create new experiences from mundane transitions to the realm of the pub or nightclub were neglected. Gary and Linda in a discussion also gender this practice by associating it with female drinking practices rather than male drinking practices:

> Gary: I will go out and drink, but I won't be going like lasses now. They'll go out at like nine or 10 o'clock, but before that they've had some wine and some vodka or all this and that and I'm thinking you know what I just go out. But they're thinking it is cheaper if you get like... what happens if you go out for two hours?. What they are saying is they'll go to town at like 10 o'clock and because it is open until three in the morning they'll not go to town until 10, but they might start drinking in the house at 7 o'clock and they'll all be having a bottle of wine or split it up...
>
> Linda: They go round to others houses to get ready.

The act of going "round to others houses to get ready" can be identified to be a feminised practice. Whereas Gary focuses on the practice of drinking itself and implies 'getting drunk' as the sole motivation, Linda, though mentioning 'getting drunk' as a motivation, attaches a social context to this practice. Atkinson and Sumnall (2017) emphasise that pre-loading as well as being a common practice amongst young people, is also a gendered practice. It was found that young men in particular focused solely on drinking as an act and maintained distance from the concept of "getting ready" as a social activity which had feminine connotations attached to it (Atkinson & Sumnall, 2017, p.8). What is prominent in this discussion is the description of drinking practices as a process that is characterised by the transitory nature of young people's drinking practices:

> Linda: You do see taxis picking them up. Yeah.
>
> Gary: And then about… You hear taxis about three or 4 o'clock in the morning coming down the street and you're thinking, yeah they've been to town, but I have never been one for town.

The drinking practices of the participants, who were mostly over the age of 40, were characterised by their localness unlike the young people they described. Besides for

'special events' the majority of participants stated that their frequent drinking taken place at home. Gary as opposed to the groups of women he described has a relatively more localised drinking routine characterised by the limitation of the relatively earlier closing times of pubs and clubs in Rossington and a clear separation of the drinking place and the domestic place:

> I wanna go out for a drink go home go to sleep that's it.

Some of the participants mentioned that they had children who engage in drinking and they briefly described the activities that they engage in. All of children who were described as going out to 'get drunk' were male, whilst all of the females were portrayed as 'responsible' drinkers. Grace implies that her daughter who is now 27 engages in responsible drinking using the 'big drinker' narrative. Mary when discussing the drinking practices of her children expresses similar, but contrasts her daughters' "social drinking" with her son's drinking practices that result in intoxication:

> My daughter is 27… My daughters both social drink you know? They are 26 and 22 so they social drink. The 20-year-old he tends to go out and get drunk *laughs*.

Whilst alcohol for her two daughters is implied to play a secondary role in the drinking activities they engage in for her son it is implied to be at the centre of the event. Linda, though she did not state that her son gets drunk, expressed disapproval of this behaviour both with her tone of voice and the infantilization of his drinking practices:

> I have a son who is a vodka drinker but a weekend one. He can't through the week because he's working and my youngest. He likes the lager… he has a tall glass and puts his vodka in it and filled it up with Coke and he just thinks it's like pop.

Helen however expresses concern at her son now being old enough to drink in the town centre due to her perception of the centre of town being a dangerous place to drink, though expresses less concern regarding his drinking, as she portrays it as a 'phase in life'; a way to facilitate the formation of new friendships and facilitate socialising:

My son does and it frightens me to death. Doncaster becomes a different place at night time doesn't it? And I think I would need a drink to feel safe going around town… he is also diabetic so he didn't touch a drop until his 18th birthday and then he went out with his friends and got absolutely drunk. On his 18th birthday that's the first time he ever tried alcohol because he was determined he would never drink it. He wanted to be a sportsman and "drink ruins your life" *laughs*, but now I'm afraid he's found drink and he goes out at student nights and things like that so yeah, he hates spending his money on drink. He is a bit tight and he thinks drink is a waste of money so I don't think he will ever be a drinker. I think he's got in to the student life at uni and he's going out with friends and using that as a way of breaking the ice and that. So yeah, he's found drink at the minute but he's not bothered about it. I think he does it more as a social thing.

From analysis of participant discourses, it can be argued that the young people, post-decline of the mining industry have embraced identities that can be argued to be a result of contemporary capitalism prolonging the transition from youth to adulthood. Traditional identities and indicators of adulthood prevalent before the decline of industry that were connected to class, industry and geographic location have declined in prevalence amongst a generation in favour of relatively easily constructible, adjustable and discarded identities that are associated with the rejection of localised drinking cultures and an embracement of drinking cultures associated with town centre "consumer circuits" (Smith, 2013, p.1080).

Whilst the trend of more individualistic drinking is not unique to post-mining communities the dynamic between the endogenous traditions of the post-mining community and the exogenous traditions the participants perceive as 'invading' their locality and threatening their way of life is a dynamic unique to mining communities.

7.6 Home-based drinking and off-trade purchasing

7.6.1 The increase in off-trade purchasing

One exogenous trend that was pertinent throughout the research in both case study areas was the prominence of home drinking in the case study area, as participants stated that they purchase the majority of their alcohol from the off-trade, specifically supermarkets. Valentine et al. (2007) argued, "the ability to use alcohol to wind down in domestic

contexts appears to be fuelled by easier access to, and the greater affordability of, alcohol" (p.57), though what was found in this research project was the decision to drink domestically as well as being supported by convenience and cheaper prices of off-trade alcohol was supported by a dissatisfaction with the local on-trade and town centre contexts. Changes to the lives of individuals as mentioned in prior chapters were also important in determining engagement in domestic drinking.

In both case study areas Asda was identified as the main supermarket where people purchase their alcohol. The participants in Mexborough and Denaby however placed emphasis the presence of smaller off-license stores more than the participants in the Rossington case study area. David portrayed the locality as an area that lacks larger stores present in other areas:

> *Well there's the local shop what just put like signs on these pieces of wood… local Asda do deals on crates on that. That's about it really… There's only a few shops around here… it's not rate big it's just a small little village.*

In Rossington it appeared that there was a larger choice of off-trade outlets, though the participants stated that they specifically purchase their alcohol from the supermarket and also other off-trade establishments such as off-licences. In the area, the fact that the Asda supermarket is situated at the centre of the village can be seen to represent the central role the establishment plays in the consumption that The fact that alcohol was purchased from the off-trade was also evident when participants stated that they have alcohol available to them in the home whenever they want to consume alcohol, as Katrina mentions:

> *I was gonna say, I have got a couple of cans of cider in the fridge on the off chance I will have one… I was saying we have spirits on things. We have all sorts in the cupboard.*

One argument from the data as to why participants purchase alcohol from the off-trade as opposed to the on-trade is convenience, especially as easier access to alcohol due to the

prominence of supermarkets in communities has effectively facilitated domestic consumption (Valentine et al., 2007). Helen's description of how she purchases alcohol demonstrates how supermarkets in the case study areas facilitate domestic consumption. Helen purchases wine during her general weekend grocery shopping for when she wants to engage in weekend drinking:

> It's usually Asda. It's usually from Asda when we are doing the weekend shop. We usually stick a bottle of wine in for the weekend.

What Helen emphasised is the use of alcohol inside the domestic environment at the end of the week as a way to "unwind" with her partner:

> I do like a drink to unwind at the end of the week knowing I am not coming to work. I do it in my own home and we buy one bottle of wine for the Friday and that's it. Yes I will buy another bottle for Saturday *laughs*

This significantly differs to what miners perceived 'winding down' to be from the literature and also according to Gary, who associates drinking associated with the 'pit' with the surroundings of the pub and the club rather than the private place:

> I don't know a miner that went to work all weekend and then on the weekend sat in the house and had a cup of tea

What the decision to drink domestically can be argued to reflect from participant statements is an adaption of their drinking practices to their circumstances. Helen works in the community and expressed concerns about the possibility of the community perceiving her in a different way on witnessing her drinking, so decides to drink in the home. Sarah, from the Mexborough and Denaby Main area, expresses explicitly that she perceives that the main draw to the off-trade for some people in the area is convenience, specifically with regards if childcare responsibilities exist. In her statement Sarah implicitly argues that the on-trade for this demographic is less convenient:

> *No, it's not the pubs it is the shops. That's where people get it from… say you got a two-year-old that doesn't go to school I mean I didn't have a problem, but I watch it and yeah, it is more convenient.*

As well as convenience, price was also an advantage of purchasing from the on-trade as the participants often referred to alcohol deals and the relatively cheap prices of alcohol. In this discussion Mark and Leanne describe where they purchase alcohol and suggest that they prefer to take a journey out of the village and into the town centre to purchase alcohol; relatively cheaper prices and the prospect of finding 'offers' having an affect on their decision making:

> *Mark: We'll we go down to our locals and it's like a convenience store and he's got stacks of the stuff, so like you say it's either there or… Obviously you get deals you will get like...*
>
> *Leanne: Three for 20 quid isn't it? B&M.*
>
> *Mark: They do cheap booze. Like I said It is not very often. It is not a regular thing.*

It can be suggested however that regardless of whether participants decide to stay local or shop out of the village, offers have significant importance. Louise also expressed that 'offers' have a significant influence on her decision making regarding what drink she will purchase:

> *If I am having A drink I will just go to the local shop so Asda, ███████, there's a shop down the village called ███████; I go in there sometimes… It depends what's on offer as to whether I am going to get it.*

James however as well as emphasising price as a factor as to why he stays as home expressed that the opportunity to drink with a smoke complimenting the experience pushes him towards home consumption. For James, the domestic environment is associated with freedom relative to on-trade environments that have to enforce a ban on smoking inside the premises:

I do drink at home. I don't like going out to pubs. Me personally, I wouldn't go out to a pub… I find it cheaper. I can have a fag when I want which I think that's what's killing the pub trade; the smoking ban is doing it.

In an effort to identify retail outlets and also the pubs and clubs that participants referred to it was decided that taking an employing a more ethnographic approach would be appropriate. The action that was taken was walking around the case study area of Rossington with the aim of mapping the on and off trade institutions in the area. What was found was that off-trade establishments outnumbered on-trade establishments in the area and that the majority of the on-trade were 'members-only' clubs. The majority of this on-trade was concentrated in the north of the village, however, three out of five of these establishments were members only clubs, therefore this means it can be predicted that a high number of Rossington's population are potentially excluded from these venues, due to not being members or not having a social or kinship connection to any members. The other two on-trade establishments were located outside of the model village across the railway line, though these venues were identified as not just focussing on being 'pubs'. One being a bar and cafe and the other being a restaurant and pub. It is likely the two establishments cater towards the more 'middle class' population of Old Rossington and people who wish to go out for a meal.

What was pertinent in the experience of walking around Rossington was the short distance between off-trade premises compared to the longer distance between on-trade premises. Old Rossington is served by one off-license, and New Rossington (the model village) is served by 6 off-trade premises. In each area of the village there was an off-trade premises within close distance. When compared to the distance that a large majority of Rossington's population have to travel to an on-trade establishment that is not members only, it is much easier to purchase alcohol from an off-trade premises. Figure 11 illustrates this dominance that the off-trade have in the Rossington area.

One trend that was noticed through the field analysis of the off-trade in Rosssington was that the majority of the smaller retail outlets (off-licenses) were advertising themselves primarily as outlets to purchase alcohol; making it clear to the public passing by the establishment that alcohol can be bought inside. One 'off license' store front featured images of popular brands of wine, cider, lager and spirits; the statement "ice cold beer here" making it clear that it is important to this retailer to be seen as an alcohol retailer. Also, in one case the advertisement of alcohol was visible outside to the public. On another 'off-licence' half of the advertisements on the front of the shop were alcohol offers including, save £1 on a four-pack of Carling, two Fosters or Strongbow four-packs for £9, and two Stella Artois or Budweiser four-packs for £9; the majority being two-for-one offers.

A price such as £1 for a pint of beer is clearly a cheaper price than the participants would pay for alcohol in an on-trade establishment such as a pub or club. Mary also similarly describes buying a pack of Fosters for around "£4 a can" when she decides to buy alcohol. James who regardless of his decision to engage in home drinking, favours drinking alcohol in pubs and also has an interest in entering the pub business argues that the presence of these offers has a negative effect on pubs and also drinking practices in the area as on-trade businesses cannot compete on a price level:

> *Ever since shops have started this stupid eight for £8; a pound a can, that's not doing the pub trade any favours… It's not helping to curb people's binge drinking because it's actually encouraging it… They're not saying "go out and drink loads" but it's like "well a quid for a pint can? I can't get a pint work with anywhere else". So they're gonna go and get 8 pint cans for eight quid aren't they? At a pound a pint if you want to drink you ain't gonna grumble at that… Up here they were doing 'em 5 for £5. A pound a pint. Where can you go and get alcohol in a pub at a pound a pint? You can't. So people are going to obviously which in turn again hits the pub industry and it's sort of encouraging in a way binge drinking.*

There was no evidence in the research however to suggest that 'pound a pint' alcohol sold in off-trade premises increases 'binge drinking'.

In the Mexborough and Denaby area, concerns were expressed regarding the sale of alcohol to children and young people under the age of 18, which suggests a presence of a of distrust between the people that live in the area and these small retail businesses. James perceives that there are smaller retailers in his area that sell alcohol to people under the legal age, though does address the lack of proof he has to back up his claim:

> There's a few independents who I am sure sneakily pass alcohol to young'uns, but I can't prove that.

Tim however expressed much more confidence expressing that in his area, due to the practices of retailers, alcohol is relatively easy for young people to get hold of, emphasising the presence of young people outside of the shop:

> Well the law says that children 16 to 18 are not allowed to drink it but there's this shop; I'm not gonna be too specific about this, but there is a shop in the area and there's usually youths outside like "hey Mr can you going to the shop for me to get me some tins?" Fact is that how easy is it to get hold of? Very easy.

Figure 11: Map of establishments that serve alcohol in the Rossington area
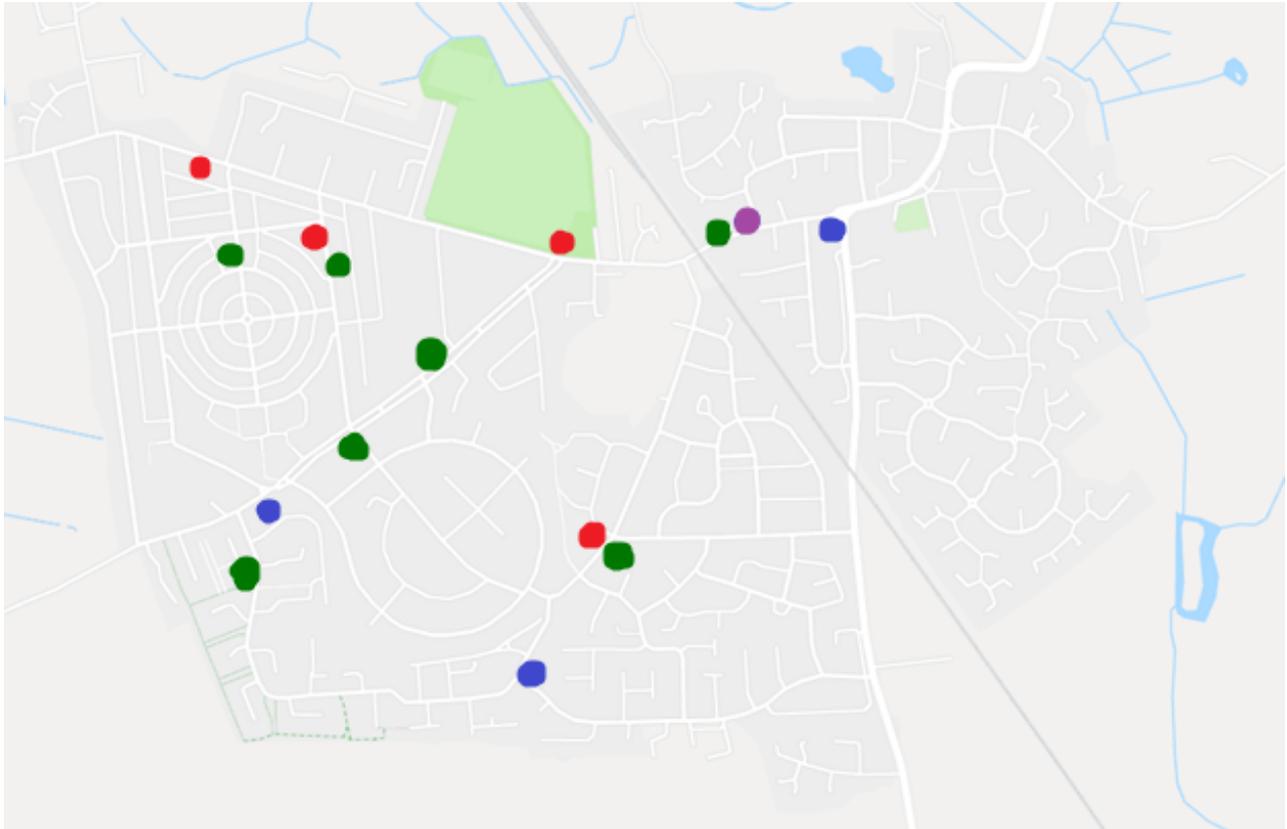
⬤ On-trade (Clubs)

⬤ Off-trade (Supermarkets, off-licenses, etc)

⬤ On-trade (Pubs)

⬤ On-trade (Café-bars)

7.6.2 Dynamics with partner

What was interesting was that some of the male participants stated that they drank in the home with their partners rather than in the pubs and clubs. Liz and Paul, the couple who had a joint interview together, stated that they synchronise their drinking with each other, so she drinks when he is home from work or when they go on a holiday together. In the relationship, Liz emphasises that the responsibility of purchasing of alcohol is delegated to the 'husband':

> *Probably when he comes home from work… Yeah. That about after 10 o'clock… We don't go out… I don't buy he buys it. Well I will have a vodka when he has one.*

Despite the drinking of Katrina's partner described as taking place within the domestic environment a division is implied as still existing between the drinking activities of men and women. Katrina describes her husband as drinking in the domestic environment with his brother during sporting events, but distances himself from his wife watching sport and consuming alcohol in a 'cabinet' in the garden:

> *My husband is a twin and his brother will phone up and say that as a special offer in Sainsbury's or his wife's noted that there is there is a special offer somewhere just get yourself there and then get a few boxes so and ▓▓▓ brother has got one of these beer fridges… In the in the kitchen in addition to the house fridge all it is always filled with Stella. Completely never left empty… Whereas ▓▓▓ will keep in touch with his brother for the best deals. The brother will buy for ▓▓▓ and sort of square up later. There are right pair of devils. Especially when the Rugby is on they've got the cabinet at the bottom of the garden that is there for the boys.*

Jenny also implies that her husband drinks in the home. She describes her experiences of buying her husband alcohol and also describes his drinking practices, which create a level of conflict in the relationship:

> *I mean like what you said about people getting packs… Paul will normally say 'have you noticed that such and such supermarket is doing a deal will you get me some if you go there', but because he drinks four cans a week if it is a 12 pack that that's going to last him for three weeks and it's usually three for the price of two so that would be once a month. I buy them… I used to belong to a wine club that sent 12 bottles every… I think it was every two months but it was good wine and Paul would drink that like it was plonk and when I go looking for the bottle of this wine to open because I've got friends coming there to be none left! And I think you know that's*

another month before I get some more and where is it? Half a bottle of this for 1/3 of a bottle of that? I used to just pour it down the sink because it was costing me about £50 every couple of months for that but he was drinking it like it was lemonade.

What is important in the findings with regards to the dynamics the participants had with their partners was that the drinking practices of the 'husbands' did not fit the descriptions of male drinking practices from Coal is our life. The role that Susan's husband plays in their relationship however deviates from the traditional roles than men were described as embracing by Coal is our life. She describes her husband's role in the relationship as that of a 'homemaker':

He doesn't drink at all… He's a homemaker. He stays at home. He does the cooking, the cleaning, the washing, the ironing and everything else! I go to work… No, he doesn't like the taste of it. Even as a kid. He never drank as a kid either.

Stephanie's description of her husband's drinking is similar to that of Susan's husband, she refers to him as drinking less than her:

No it doesn't he drinks less than what I drink if that's possible!

7.7 Technological advancements

One important exogenous factor that was identified from participant narratives is the role that technological advancements that have taken place throughout the existence of these communities have played in the decline of endogenous drinking traditions associated with the mining industry. Whilst none of the participants expressed that it was directly due to relatively new technological advancements such as the internet, gaming and online streaming broadcasters such as Netflix and Amazon that they have significantly changed their drinking practices, there were indicators that suggest technological advancements may have a role in facilitating privatised drinking and as a result cause further decline of traditional drinking practices in the community associated with collectivism.

For some participants access to news on television and the internet had had a role in maintaining perceptions they had regarding their local areas, resulting in them developing a pessimistic view of their localities being sites of decline. These are implied by the participants as having an influence on the perceptions they have regarding communal drinking places in the area and the general post-mining context. For Paul, it shaped his view that "everything is shutting down":

> *Oh it has it has had a big effect on it. Yeah I mean I haven't been but I know it has had a big effect. Well you see it on the news all the time. Everything is shutting down*.

Margaret, similar to Paul, emphasised the frequency of negative news regarding the locality; this facilitating her concerns of what she perceives as rising crime in the area:

> *Every time you hear on the net there's something about either Balby, a couple in Bentley, there's been a couple in Donny. You think my God, what's the world coming to?*

One of the most memorable indicators came in the form of Liz passionately explaining towards the end of the interview one of her favourite TV shows when asked if she engages in any other activities when she drinks at home:

> *I like watching Columbo, Doctor Martin... He's good him. Do you know he can solve a murder in an hour and you watch the soaps and you have to wait 6 months till end of it! I think you ought to take crime up because half of programs I think it's a lot to do with the soaps that are on because they get ideas in their head*

Whilst this statement at first was perceived to be unrelated to the topic of drinking practices in post-mining communities, and media's influence on individuals who commit criminal offenses is a topic beyond the scope of this research. On further reflection however it was perceived to be an expression of the adaption of activities that are associated with more privatised home-based leisure. It can be perceived as an example of the slow increase in individualised leisure amongst the participants that represents the fragmentation of community life associated with the traditional mining community.

What is also important to consider is the innovation of the car, which was an innovation that Waddington et al. (1991) states had been grafted onto the traditional leisure patterns centred around pubs and clubs. It was also argued that adult leisure in mining communities is defined by its "localness" (Waddington et al., 1991, p.103). When pit villages were first established they were defined by their relative isolation, meaning "little or no public transport, and no private transport except for bikes", meaning that people in these areas had to rely on their localities to provide everything (Turner, 2000), including the means to be able to engage in leisure pursuits such as drinking. In Carol's case this means access to out-of-town supermarkets that offer greater choice of alcoholic drinks. Even within the context of participants who lack access to a car due to lack of economic means, participants such as Sharon have access to town centre shopping outlets that sell alcohol:

I have to get mine in town. I belong to the poor people... I don't have a car!

During the modern age, people who live in mining communities are relatively less isolated. The connection of Rossington to the motorway network and a faster route to Doncaster town centre symbolises this new age of improved connectivity to other localities in the area and other cities in the region. Helen and Josie, as well as benefiting economically from their jobs have benefited from innovations and improvements in transport infrastructure as they both state that they travel outside of the area if they want to drink in an on-trade establishment. Helen particularly states that she travels further afield to drink in regional cities such as Leeds, York and Sheffield; locations associated with a relatively more 'cosmopolitan' drinking culture.

Waddington et al. (1991) described a balancing of traditional collectivist leisure with innovations associated with privatised lifestyle. In the case of Liz and Paul however, they have disengaged from public drinking in communal drinking places such as pubs and clubs,

instead stating that they buy the 'cheapest' own brand alcohol from their local supermarket, which participants such as James blame for the decline of pubs and clubs in the Mexborough and Denaby Main area due to lower prices. Helen and Josie also decide not to balance their engagement in drinking activities associated with privatised lifestyles with engagement with local establishments associated with traditional collectivist lifestyles, though this being due to the perceived risks to their careers due to the parochial culture of the localities that they live and work in.

As well as the local and boroughwide retail industry having a significant impact on the on-trade and also the prominence of privatised lifestyles amongst the participants, it can be identified that there is the possibility that people, such as Susan, who live in the case study areas due to increased access to the internet have gained more outlets to purchase alcohol:

> *My husband bought me alcohol online before. He actually bought me a Vodquila for mother's day… it's a mixture of vodka and tequila *laughs*… I've bought it online. I didn't even know it had come out. It was something I seen on Facebook and I thought ooo... you know I was just messing about like. I said "That sounds alright". Next thing I know there is a knock on the door and a bottle had been delivered!*

This suggests that social networking has a certain degree of influence on individual and how they determine what drinks to purchase in the case study areas, within the context of this research this being specifically amongst the younger participants. Amongst two participants they suggest that the popularity of social networking sites such as Facebook had had a negative impact on their drinking practices. Though the mining community is described by participants such as Gary as being places where "everyone knows everybody", the identification of Facebook as being a determinant of drinking practices by participants such as Louise suggests social media has increased the possibility of exposure of drunken behaviours to others inside and outside of the case study area. She states that the possibility of embarrassment on social media has forced her to consider the costs of getting 'drunk':

> *…the next day finding photos or stuff on Facebook. I'd think "what were I doing?" I prefer to be able to remember the night so I'll only have only one or maybe two and that's it.*

Whilst Louise's concerns can be perceived as just 'looking like an embarrassment', Helen expresses a much more serious cost to exposure of 'drunken behaviours' on social media sites by herself and others as her job involves working with vulnerable people in the area in a professional capacity, but she also lives in the area. This has had a significant impact on determining the drinking practices she engages in within the locality, but also on how she suggests her staff conduct themselves in public:

> *Yeah, it's difficult. It's like if the staff go out they have to do be aware that if there is a photograph of them completely sloshed and it ends up on Facebook. That Impacts on our business because they are coming in the next day and going to work… you can't do it.*

Helen expresses a necessity of upholding her reputation as a professional and of maintaining the privacy of her personal life, which includes the drinking activities her and her staff members engage in. Social media is portrayed as a technological advancement that exacerbates the risk of drinking practices and activities associated with them having an impact on careers. This raises the question of how individuals working in professions where the ability to maintain clear boundaries is important engage in drinking activities, especially within the confines of post-mining communities, which are defined historically by community ties and cohesion.

7.8 Smoking ban

One exogenous impact on the participants that was underestimated was the Smoking Ban and the effect that it had on the drinking practices of participants. As the majority of the participants did not smoke it can be argued that the introduction of this policy did not have a significant impact on their drinking practices. Jenny suggested that as opposed to having

a negative impact the smoking ban gave an incentive for her to visit on-trade venues in the area:

> *if we go out to a pub at all will sit in the garden because I stopped going in pubs because I couldn't stand my clothes smelling of smoke… And of course when they had the smoking ban my husband said we could go to the pub is now because no smoke. We did it about twice and I ended up washing every everything that I worn because it if it wasn't smoke it was alcohol that I could smell on my clothes but because he does smoke we have our wardrobe separate because we open his wardrobe and his clothes smell of smoke and it takes my breath.*

David from the Mexborough and Denaby Main case study area also expresses similar feelings regarding the smoking ban, reflecting on what he perceives to be the benefits for non-smokers:

> *Had to go outside and have a fag underneath the shelter… and it is just like well, obviously no one smokes in the pub anymore and that it is just smoking outside. It's better… I don't know it's a better environment really for the people who don't smoke in that it is obviously better for them.*

For some participants the smoking ban was a major factor in their loss of interest in traditional public drinking places in their communities and a determinant of whether they decided to still engage with pubs and clubs. The smoking ban represented the fragmentation of social circles and the banning of an activity that they feel they should be able to engage in. Tim from the Denaby and Mexborough case study area expressed particularly strong emotions regarding the smoking ban and the impact it had on social drinking:

> *You should be able to sit down and have a smoke if you in the pub… the smoking ban stinks as far as I'm concerned*

James expressed similar feelings, implying that now that smoking is prohibited in pubs there is less of an incentive to visit:

> *I would have gone out before and had a drink in a club you know? Sat there and had a fag but as soon as the smoking ban came in…*

The smoking ban was argued by these participants to have had an impact on the atmosphere of traditional drinking places in the case study area, particularly in Denaby Main and Mexborough. It was blamed for declines in custom in public drinking places and the segregation of groups; an increased separation within social groups in social gatherings in public drinking places between smokers and non-smokers. For Tim the smoking ban changed dynamics within his social circle as it meant that the non-smokers in his drinking circle were left out of discussion that taken place outside in designated smoking spaces:

> *I have got a picture of a group of people that are trying to control certain things and I can see people certain people struggling because they're not part of the group. So what is the smoking ban in pubs done? It has segregated different people*

Jayne, Valentine and Holloway (2011) found clear evidence from their research in Eden and Stoke-on-Trent that "feelings of belonging and social interaction were to a large degree facilitated by alcohol" (p.116). Alcohol was found to lower inhibitions and offer opportunities for social interaction as social boundaries become easier to overcome. Participants in Mexborough however emphasised an importance on the role of smoking in drinking activities in public drinking places. Smoking facilitated the formation of emotional ties in terms of friendship and sociability like Jayne, Valentine and Holloway (2011) stated alcohol offers. The potential emotional ties that smoking offers, like alcohol can be described as "key to feelings of freedom" (Jayne, Valentine & Holloway, 2011, p.114). As Tim describes, smoking was perceived to be a substance that breaks down social barriers; allowing those who inhale it greater freedom to express emotions, feelings and thoughts:

It loosens lips doesn't it? It makes you more relaxed then you say things that you probably wouldn't if you wouldn't have had a beer so the things that I have noticed is the people that don't smoke seem to be a bit more reserved and a little more anxious because they don't feel included in the whole social aspect of… To some degree secluded if that's the right word is that the right word? If you know what I mean?

Though from the findings it can be perceived that the smoking ban was an exogenous force that had a significant impact among some participants in these communities, the smoking ban having an impact on on-trade engagement is a phenomenon that isn't unique to mining communities as James suggests:

I used to go on holiday in Butlins they used to be smoking in pubs in clubs, so I do remember that because when I started smoking I was 16 it was still allowed… Between 16 and 18 when I was legally old enough to drink between that time the smoking ban came in, so I did see as I was obviously going on holiday and stuff. The clubs were getting emptier

7.9 Summary

The balance between traditional working-class communal leisure and home-based leisure associated with the privatized worker was not present amongst the participants. Whilst endogenous traditions, mainly that of respectability and sociability were identified to maintain relevance, the participants were identified to have adapted to the post-mining context through engagement in home drinking. Exogenous changes such as access to supermarkets facilitated this adaption of the strategy of home drinking. The perceived exogenous threat of youth drinking also facilitated the transition from drinking in public places such as the pub to the home.

Whilst home drinking can be identified to not be a phenomenon unique to mining communities, the context of a post-mining community makes this phenomenon unique because of the maintenance of endogenous traditions associated with mining culture that can be adapted into the private place. Drinking practices therefore instead of being

centred around colleagues are centred around Kinship connections such as partners and family.

Chapter 8: Discussion and conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the aims of the research are revisited. The research aimed to gain an understanding of drinking practices in the studied post-mining communities in Doncaster and how the decline of the mining industry that has taken place within them, has influenced drinking practices and attitudes to alcohol in the area. What also was examined was how the participants' individual experiences and characteristics of alcohol consumption, amongst long-term residents in the case study areas, has affected their drinking practices. This was aimed to be achieved through performing qualitative, semi-structured interviews with participants in the case study areas, to gain an insight into the experiences that individuals in the area have had with alcohol through their lifetime. What was also conducted was an analysis of the characteristics of each case study area reviewing literature and information from individual participants to gain an understanding of the context of the drinking practices that individuals engaged in. What was also proposed was to gain a further understanding of drinking practices in the case study areas by adopting of a constructivist grounded theory approach, that was advocated by Charmaz (2014).

The remainder of this chapter focuses on summarising the research process and the findings as mentioned in the earlier chapters whilst reflecting on the reflexive analyses that were made. Following the summarising of the research and the findings, the key contributions that the research offers are stated and there is a reflection on the methodological processes that have been applied in the research, outlining both the strengths and limitations of the methodological approach that was initially chosen and as well as explaining the reasoning behind changes to the approach. The final section of this chapter considers are the strengths and limitations of the overall research and the possible directions that future research could take, that builds on the findings of this research.

8.2 Summary of the research

The research findings show how drinking practices in the two post-mining communities studied have undergone change since the loss of the mining industry. What was found was that exogenous change has had a significant impact on the endogenous traditions in the two communities that are intrinsically linked to the mining culture. In the case of New Rossington and Denaby Main, the two areas exist due to the establishment of the mining industry in the areas. As it was stated in chapter two, these settlements were rapidly developed so that a large workforce could be situated in the area to work in the colliery (Warwick & littlejohn, 1992). The workforce of mining communities came from areas across Britain, but in Rossington in particular, a large number of miners and their families came from the North East and Scotland.

The drinking culture that exists within these areas reflects the control that mine owners maintained over their workforce and also the precarious nature of the job of working at a colliery. Mine owners ensured that provision where alcohol could be consumed was accessible to miners and their families to reduce the likeliness of disorder and to maintain a productive workforce. A job working down a pit, despite being relatively stable was inherently dangerous and precarious; from both financial and health perspectives. The drinking culture that miners and others in the community engaged in reflected the dependence that social networks in the communities placed on close-ties within the community as family, leisure and the workplace were all interlinked (Waddington et al., 1991; Rind & Jones, 2015). Alcohol was identified as having three functions in the two communities: (1) self-medication in relation to the conditions that miners were frequently exposed to underground, (2) as a way for colleagues to bond and socialise away from the work environment, and (3) as Gary stated, a way that miners could "wind down" after "grafting all week". Due to the risk of injury or death that miners identified came with job, drinking practices reflected a will to live "giving no thought for the morrow" (Dennis et al., 1969, p.130).

In chapter seven, from information given by participants, the endogenous traditions and institutions that influence drinking were considered. Like Ebke (2018) identified in the films *The Full Monty* and *Brassed Off*, in the two case study areas, there was a renegotiation of "cultural traditions, social norms and roles" (p.134) with regards to the local drinking practices that were so embedded in mining culture. Change symbolised loss and decline of drinking traditions and institutions associated with them. Changing drinking practices reflected adaption to the disappearance of mining from these areas; the transition from 'mining community' to 'post-mining community'. The concepts of pit drinking culture losing its purpose in a post-mining world and the mining community as an 'imagined community' were discussed.

Though mining in the two areas has disappeared, the endogenous traditions of strong community and kinship networks and the maintenance of 'respectability', despite being portrayed as being 'under threat' by participants, have continued to be important elements in the social structure of the two communities. These endogenous traditions have a significant influence over drinking practices in the case study areas, as they determined the strategies that participants put into place to adapt to the changing context. Drinking was viewed as a social occasion by all of the participants, which is not unique to mining communities, though the context of 'social drinking' is arguably different as in mining communities were traditionally "public and communal" (Waddington et al., 1991, p.178). Though participants expressed that their drinking practices reflect values associated with the endogenous culture, the widespread practice of home-based drinking and the limitation of social drinking to those within the 'nuclear family' reflects consumption practices as reflective of what Lockwood (1975) defines as privatised communities.

Exogenous changes that were identified to have had an effect on the endogenous drinking culture were discussed in chapter seven. The decimation of the mining industry during the 1980s was identified as the exogenous force that had the most impact on the community. This is due to, as explained in chapter six, drinking institutions in the area,

such as clubs relying on the existence of the mining industry; the work routines associated with it and the workplace camaraderie and politics that miners brought with them into the places they drank (Hadfield, 2011). What was pertinent in participant narratives was the use of the Miners' Strike during the 1980s as a divider between the past and the present. Some exogenous changes that impacted on the drinking culture came as a result of the decline of the mining industry in the area, such as regeneration in the community that has affected the ecological landscape. Participants noted the fragmentation of social cohesion and the decline and eventual loss of community facilities that the disappearance of mining caused. The growing presence of youth drinking culture however was a challenge to the established 'way of life' in the area that was not necessarily rooted in the decline of the mining industry, as youth drinking culture was identified to have been a growing phenomenon before the decline of the mining industry in the 1980s. Alongside discussing exogenous forces, such as the decimation of the mining industry, the emergence of home drinking and the facilitation of it due to the prominence of a supermarket and smaller off-licenses in both communities was discussed. The phenomenon was also argued to be a result of disillusionment with the local on-trade and the carnivalesque drinking culture of the town centre.

8.3 Key contributions to knowledge

8.3.1 The ongoing presence of parochialism: the perceived importance of the local context

In chapter two the literature describing the presence of parochialism were highlighted and in chapter eight parochialism in the case study areas was identified and described using participant data. Turner (2000) described parochial communities as being "inwards-looking" with regards to socialisation, support, relationships and the "lack of willingness to leave" (pp.170-171). Parochialism, though it was not as "endemic" as Turner (2000) described that it was in the past, it was found to be still present in both communities. The phenomenon was present with regards to the kinship network and other social networks, where the participants decided to drink on a frequent basis and the emphasis participants

placed on the local context. Adult drinking practices in the case study areas, though taking place mainly in the domestic context can still be defined by their 'localness' as Waddington et al. (1991) identified in the pit village of Yorksco.

It was clear from the participant data that in both case study areas the local culture historically associated with mining encouraged the formation of closely-knit and connected ties inside the community. What was particularly surprising was how the resulting parochialism was perceived by participants, as Jenny stated "everybody knows everybody" in the area. This level of parochialism was perceived to be the norm by a significant number of participants and was identified to be what makes the mining community distinct from other areas, such as the town centre. Those who had moved into the community from another area, particularly Linda, emphasised how "unbelievable" it is regarding how people "know one and another". This culture of parochialism meant participants throughout their drinking careers had engaged in drinking activities either with their kinship network or those inside the community they had close social ties to.

The participants openly rejected the town centre and associated the drinking culture they perceive as dominant there with 'anti-social' drinking. People that engaged in drinking in 'town' were 'othered' by the participants and it was implied that these people were from the younger generation of residents by the participants. The drinking culture within their case study area was therefore associated with acceptable behaviour, often comparing the drinking culture to the drinking culture in the town centre. Despite the area being stated to have experienced decline, the area was associated with safety and cohesion, Stephanie, Linda and Gary all associated the area with safety and assurance of lowered chances of experiencing alcohol related anti-social behaviour.

What was interesting was comparing the drinking culture of mining communities to that of the town centre. When considering the boroughwide context, a conflict between two drinking cultures associated with the two industries that existed in the Doncaster area can

be seen to be present; mining (the case study areas) and horse racing (Doncaster town centre). Doncaster, unlike nearby areas associated with coal like Barnsley, is historically associated with multiple industries. Doncaster has been throughout history associated with both firstly the leisure industry, and later after the establishment of the railways in the town, heavy industry. Mining can be perceived to be associated with traditional working-class drinking culture which places emphasis on communal and collectivist drinking practices that encourage respectability, meaning the 'holding of one's drink'. Doncaster town centre on the other hand is associated with hedonistic excess and what Haydock (2015) would identify as the carnivalesque.

Some participants did state that they did engage in drinking practices outside of the case study areas. Some participants such as Mark, Leanne and Susan looked outside of the area in Doncaster town centre for activities that facilitate drinking, though for different reasons. For Susan, the town centre represented an escape from the responsibilities of care and being a parent. For Mark and Leanne, the atmosphere was the attraction, as they perceived that the atmosphere that they once seen as existing in clubs in Rossington had moved to Doncaster town centre. in recent times however, Mark and Leanne stated that they had become disillusioned with the drinking culture that see as prevailing there, which led them to express their disapproval of people that go out with the intention of 'getting drunk', which arguably represents conflicts between 'traditional working-class' drinking practices associated with mining culture and hedonistic drinking practices associated with Doncaster town centre.

Some elements of the drinking culture in the case study area that were associated with mining were however identified clearly by participants to no longer serve a purpose, such as drinking as a form of recovery from the conditions of the pit. As James highlighted, some people, particularly the 'older generation', still decide to embrace the routine associated with mining, despite the mining industry no longer existing in the areas. There is evidence however that the disappearance of mining and also the area's history of conflict

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has had a significant impact on community cohesion, with new migrants perceived as exacerbating the decline of close-ties within the community.

The participants, when describing the town centre, described scenes of drunkenness and alcohol-related violence and described the area as a precarious environment to drink in where 'nobody knows nobody'. The portrayal of the town centre mirrored local media discourses, as the area was portrayed as the "wild west" (Doncaster Free Press, 2006a) whilst the endogenous drinking practices of the case study areas were portrayed to be relatively structured and safe, though under decline. The descriptions of Doncaster town centre by the participants from the two pit villages reflect comments made in the nineteenth century by Charles Dickens (as cited in Breed, 1957), who initially, on entering the area, looked down on the 'hustle and bustle' of Doncaster town centre.

What the participants did not address were any alcohol related concerns related to the national context besides the smoking ban and the prominence of national supermarket chains in their locality. What can be suggested is that it is possible that the national context was of less importance to the participants than the local context of drinking.

8.3.2 Feelings of loss: the loss of mining as a divider between the past and present

Feelings of loss were prevalent in participant discourses. These can be argued to reflect the disillusionment and insecurity that participants felt regarding the area in the post-mining context. Participants described feeling a sense of loss both material and existential as a result of deindustrialisation of the community (Phillips, 2018).

Participants due to the long period they had lived in the case study areas had witnessed important elements of the traditional culture such as cohesion and reciprocal support systems decline, which participants such as Sarah identified were consequences of the Miners' Strike of 1984-85. Charlie also compared social life in the village before and after

the decline of the mining industry and explained that now he does not know everyone in the village in the post-mining context due to the increased mobility of people in the village. This feeling of loss of community was expanded upon by Bennett, Benyon & Hudson, (2000):

> *In contrast, for people living in places they have known for most of their lives, 'community' denotes a past time when everyone knew each other, when doors were never locked, and people helped each other and stuck together. These ideas are most often grounded in a secure sense of place and a sense of belonging. In many ways, their insecurities about what is happening to them now and the changes that they are experiencing in their places is conveyed through a perceived loss of community (p.22).*

The decline of drinking practices associated with traditional collectivist ideals, was described by participants using the "it's all gone downhill" narrative. Participants generally felt that their community had gradually gotten worse post-decline of the mining industry, with little improvement, though it was accepted that mining was a precarious job that had significant consequences to health.

One social consequence of decline of the mining industry is increasing individualism; a change from the comradeship and relative collectivism associated with pit culture. Amongst some participants individualist lifestyles associated with the relatively more middle class 'newcomers' in newer built estates in Old Rossington and West Rossington was associated with a loss of community spirit that participants associated with 'knowing your neighbour' and 'frequent informal public conversation'. What was also noted was that individuals in the pit village also had become less outgoing. Participants such as Margaret and Charlie described feeling as though there was less social interaction and feeling like the community was less cohesive. Increasing individualist practices were however reflected in the post-mining drinking practices that participants engaged in as drinking was described by the majority of participants as taking place within the private place (the domestic environment).

The narrative of the 'lost community' was present in participant accounts of the drinking culture. This was prevalent in accounts by Sarah and Sharon as they both implied that the area they live in is no longer a mining community. Philips (2018) argues that the "experience, consequences and memory" of deindustrialisation in mining communities in general across the UK has allowed a new identity to be created in these areas; one that addresses the adverse economic and social situation, but enables the community to politically remain defiant and resilient (p.53). What the older participants in particular, remained sure about was that the drinking culture would never be the same, as they mentioned that they had witnessed a new generation embracing drinking practices not associated with traditional collectivist mining culture. Tim perceived drinking in the Mexborough and Denaby Main area as a facilitator of escapism from what he sees as "oppression". The argument that the disappearance of mining in the area had caused significant damage to established drinking practices that the participants perceived as having significant importance in their communities is reflected in Warwick and Littlejohn's (1992) prediction of the fate of cultural capital inside mining communities:

> The local cultural capital which has been created in the four communities is likely to be eroded within a generation as the reality of coal mining as employment as that basis for social and political organisation disappears (p.206).

What was described was a loss in atmosphere in clubs and a loss of pubs in the area. The 'lost' pubs and clubs in the two case study areas that participants in the area represented not only a loss of a place to drink but a loss of tradition, a loss of community and a changing economic context. The expression that the community had "gone downhill" however related not only to the feeling that participants had regarding drinking places in their area, but also the area in general. The most extreme examples were participants describing that there generally is 'nothing' in the village. This was most prevalent in Denaby Main as David, Sarah, Tim and James portrayed the Mexborough and Denaby Main area as an area where unemployment was rife and amenities, community facilities and

also social order had either deteriorated or been lost. The post-mining context marked for the participants the loss of tradition and the progression of decline.

8.3.3 The domestic place as the main location for drinking

Dennis et al. (1969) describe leisure in mining communities as being public and communal and identify drinking as taking place primarily in pubs and clubs as opposed to the domestic environment. Waddington et al. (1991) identified a balance between the traditional culture identified with mining and practices associated with individualist lifestyles. In this research it was identified that within the post-mining context this is not the case. Participants were found to embrace consumption practices associated with Lockwood's (1975) privatised worker.

The home was the main place where alcohol was consumed for the majority of the participants which suggests that drinking practices have transitioned from being public and communal to taking place in private locations with people within the kinship network. This suggests that despite participants drinking in private locations, the social function of alcohol has been able to be conserved. These social drinking occasions were often less frequent than past drinking practices and were often in more intimate settings with partners and others in the kinship network, which brings into question whether the reduction in drinking circle is beneficial to community cohesion and the maintenance of relations within the community. The Miners' Strike was again used as a divider between the past and present when describing drinking institutions in the case study areas. Participants decided to drink at home for various reasons, though it can be identified that participants adapted their drinking to the situations they face as individuals and also the post-mining context.

As it was discussed in chapter six, dissatisfaction with the local on-trade was prominent when endogenous drinking institutions were discussed, which led participants to reduce their engagement with the local clubs and pubs in the case study areas. Participants

expressed various reasons for reducing their engagement with off-trade establishments, though the most prominent reason for disengagement was a decline in the atmosphere, particularly inside clubs, which were found to have a significant presence in the Rossington area compared to on-trade locations that never required membership. Jenny portrayed the club atmosphere before the post-mining period as a lively and fun, though after the disappearance of the mining industry some participants portrayed the club atmosphere as having declined. For some of the participants the club was a highly regulated drinking place that symbolised older heteronormative drinking practices of the past that placed an emphasis on the respectability, but other participants linked the decline of the clubs and also pubs to the decline of the mining industry. As Josie stated:

> *Everyone always said it's since the demise of the pit. The pubs have just all closed down, the shops... so I think people travel into Doncaster to drink more rather than in their own village.*

Participants however expressed their disillusionment with the drinking culture associated with the town centre. Doncaster town centre's drinking culture was argued to be defined by less civilised encounters than encounters experienced encounters in drinking places in the case study areas that participants characterised by the close social networks within them and notions of respectability and community reciprocity. For the participants, the drinking culture of Doncaster town centre conflicted with the endogenous traditions of respectability, the maintenance of closely-knit communities and notions of respectability. As Hubbard (2007) suggested, the decision to not drink in the town centre is a decision based on emotion. The participants in this study chose to stop drinking in the town centre environment due to it being too stressful, intimidating and difficult to cope with.

For the two participants who worked in the community on a professional level, the endogenous traditions were the reason they decided to drink inside the home as they recognised the potential for their personal life to clash with their careers; fearing losing respectability as a 'professional'. Disillusionment with the town centre drinking culture

and endogenous drinking institutions however contributed to the decision participants made to engage in home drinking amongst those in close friendship and family networks. The decision to engage in home drinking was also influenced by convenience and price as participants expressed that they have greater access to supermarket alcohol sold at cheaper prices than the on-trade sell alcohol for. Both case study areas had relatively large supermarkets in them as well as off-licence stores that participants emphasised sell 'deals' that were found to contribute to purchasing decisions.

8.3.4 Rejection of constructed drinker identity

Some of the participants as a consequence of their experiences with alcohol and their perceptions of their own drinking rejected themselves from the drinker identity they had constructed. Some of the participants including Stephanie, Leanne, Sharon, Margaret, Grace and Brenda never identified themselves as drinkers. These participants either rejected the drinker identity or expressed hesitance to call identify themselves as drinkers. Towards the end of the first interview in Rossington Linda questioned how relevant her experiences were due to her not perceiving herself as a drinker, despite stating that she does consume alcohol:

I'm not a big drinker, so really you're asking the wrong person.

This response suggests that there is a possible stigma towards discussing alcohol in these communities or that the word "drinker" carries negative connotations. Despite explaining to the participants the purpose of the research and explaining to them that the research did not intend to focus on addiction or individuals who consume large quantities of alcohol or consume alcohol regularly, the word "drinking" was often associated with excess and often conjured up images associated with social drinking practices they perceived as negative. "I'm not a big drinker" would suggest not engaging in alcohol consumption, but in this case it was implied to mean not engaging in frequent alcohol consumption.

Drinking excessively was perceived to sacrifice sociability, though context can be suggested to be important in determining 'respectable' drinking. When Charlie and Paul, who stated they had worked in the Rossington Colliery, mentioned that they engaged in frequent "heavy" drinking it was positioned as respectable through the contextualisation of drinking between miners taking place in 'respectable' institutions such as the club and pub, which Thurnell-Read (2016) identified are embedded in the social ties of the community" (p.9). Similarly the Geordie and Scottish miners who Jenny described were "drunk as skunks" in the club she visited when she was young were positioned as respectable and "fun" through the use of the context that they were miners engaging in drinking in a respectable institution embedded in community life. Heavy drinking amongst the younger generation in the village and also in the town centre was portrayed as a threat to social order and an unsociable instrumental practice.

Amongst the participants there was evidence of underlying conflicts and tensions related to the emotional effects of drinking; what participants in Jayne, Valentine and Holloway's research (2011) described as "beer fear" (p.118). There was a fear of free, uninhibited expression associated with alcohol, though it can by hypothesised that more often participants fear was rooted in the stigma attached to behaviours seen as anti-social; behaviours often incompatible with what can be seen as traditional drinking associated with the mining industry. This can arguably again be associated with traditional working-class drinking associated with the mining industry that emphasised respectability. The participants can be perceived as rejecting the idea of the post-industrial individualist drinker, though can be seen to be embracing ideas of self-control associated with neoliberalism. As Haydock (2009a) argued:

> *"the most striking expressions of consumerism and individualism in fact come from those who distance themselves from the figure of the 'binge' drinker, incorporating neo-liberal ideas of the responsible, sensible, sociable, moderate drinker familiar from government discussions of drinking" (p.18).*

The consequences for some of the participants, particularly those who had had experience of alcohol misuse either personally or through a family member was had experienced issues with alcohol. These participants emphasised the importance of practicing moderation after witnessing the negative effects of excessive alcohol consumption.

8.3.5 The demonization of adolescent and youth drinking

The drinking culture in the case study areas was perceived by participants as having experienced significant change along with the socioeconomic context. It was adolescents, young people and town centre drinkers who were implied to be the main drivers of that change and as a result threatening the endogenous traditions of the case study areas. Despite there being continuities as well as discontinuities across generations as Jayne, Valentine and Holloway (2011) identified, and also James, the participant from Mexborough and Denaby Main, the general consensus amongst participants was that the younger generations drink more alcohol and embrace destructive, problematic and individualist drinking practices.

In this research the older participants were seen to be concerned and also threatened by the presence of young people and their behaviours which they seen as anti-social behaviour and "threatening to their notions of community" (Bennett, Benyon & Hudson, 2000, p.20). Younger and older generations were described by participants as drinking together in certain scenarios, such as within the context of family occasions, though there was still evidence of division between young and old and a loss of understanding between the generations. It is also evident there was a fear amongst some of the participants of being a victim of alcohol related crime. It can be suggested that within the communities there is a lack of understanding between generations with regards to their drinking practices as Rind and Jones (2015) identified in the North East with regards to physical health.

Generational conflict was prominent in discourses regarding the drinking practices of younger generations in both case study areas. Many of the participants had a negative perception of drinking practices seen to be embraced by the younger generation. Town centre drinking was seen to embody the perceived negative cultural change and change in values that the younger generation were perceived to have had influence in facilitating. Many of the participants, including the two younger participants, used the binge drinking and 'boozing youths' narrative prevalent in the local media such as the Doncaster Free Press and also 'binge Britain' narratives prevalent in academic discourses to describe this post-industrial drinking culture (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003; Winlow & Hall, 2006; Plant & Plant, 2006; Hobbs, Hadfield, Lister & Winlow, 2005). Youth were portrayed as disregarding endogenous traditions, in particular the traditional working-class value of respectability. Young people were portrayed as irresponsible, excessive drinkers, and perpetrators of alcohol-related anti-social behaviour, though whilst young peoples' drinking was associated with Doncaster town centre, adolescents were associated with public places in the case study areas. In Mexborough and Denaby Main the participants focused on adolescent drinking and emphasised the age of the adolescents, who were described by David, Tim and James as asking them to buy them alcohol whilst outside of shops in the area. The adolescents' behaviour was described by the three participants using the 'anti-social behaviour' narrative.

This generational conflict can be argued to be rooted in the loss of mining in the case study areas as the younger generation grow up in a post-mining environment; an environment that causes young people and adolescents to define themselves as different compared to the older generation who grew up surrounded by mining culture (Bennett, Benyon & Hudson, 2000). As Smith (2013) argued, the socioeconomic context is important in understanding the differences between drinking practices before and after the decline of heavy industry in Britain.

What was identified however was that as Coffield et al (1986) argued, the adult drinking culture of mining communities has a significant influence on the attitudes to alcohol that young people eventually develop. Traditional identities and indicators of adulthood prevalent before the decline of industry that were connected to class, industry and geographic location have however declined in prevalence amongst a generation in favour of relatively easily constructible, adjustable and discarded identities that are associated with the rejection of localised drinking cultures and an embracement of drinking cultures associated with town centre "consumer circuits" (Smith, 2013, p.1080). From analysis of the research data however this trend can be identified to be not just prevalent amongst the young generation, as two of the participants (Mark and Leanne) stated that they rejected engagement in localised drinking settings in favour of town centre drinking. The phenomenon of people choosing to drink in the town centre instead was also present in the Mexborough and Denaby Main case study area.

The processes of social construction that taken place during the existence of the mining industry relied on the permanent existence of the colliery; assuming coal mining would be continuous (Bennett, Benyon & Hudson, 2000). This suggests that young and older groups in a post-mining environment are divided when it comes to attitudes to alcohol and also leisure as a whole; this reflecting the significant influence the mining industry had on the local drinking culture of the older generation. Participant recollections of the drinking culture and atmosphere that existed at local drinking institutions associated with mining can be perceived as "more of a memory than a reality" (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992, p.130) when taking into consideration the present day context.

8.4 Critical reflection of the theoretical framework of the research

In chapter five it was explained that a grounded theory approach would be used. The reason that the grounded theory approach was chosen over other approaches initially was the concern of entering the case study areas and approaching participants with

preconceived ideas as a result of cohesive reading of literature read prior to beginning the primary research process. With using the Grounded Theory approach it was made aware that researchers enter the case study areas with pre-conceived ideas, which allowed for the increased gathering of participant perspectives and views; reducing the likeliness I would subconsciously search for data that fits this pre-conceived narrative. Entering the field with the pre-conceived idea that alcohol is a problem in these communities would not have been helpful as it would have potentially meant the continued perpetuation of simplistic characterisations that suggest individuals that live in mining communities possess "undifferentiated qualities and attributes" (Strangleman, Hollywood, Benyon, Bennett & Hudson, 1999) and the narrative of 'drunken miners' present in Dennis et al's (1969) study. Within the context of under researched and often misrepresented areas such as post-mining communities ensuring the participant is involved in the construction of the research was important as participants were able to feel more empowered and comfortable in discussing their experiences with alcohol and their drinking practices.

The different approaches to grounded theory were discussed in chapter five, specifically the traditional Glaserian approach by Glaser and Strauss (1967), the Straussian approach by Corbin and Strauss (2015) and the constructivist approach by Charmaz (2014). The constructivist grounded theory approach was chosen however as the approach was found to be less rigid and structured than the grounded theory approaches of Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Corbin and Strauss (2015) and the emphasis the constructivist approach placed on improving theoretical sensitivity through memo writing and engaging in reflexive practice. The constructivist approach advocated for researchers to address subjectivity rather than erase it.

What was found to be extremely valuable was the space the constructivist grounded theory approach allowed for openness to the unexpected throughout the research process and also time to reflect on understanding how the researcher interacted with participants and how it impacted on the findings. This was important to address as studies such as Dennis

et al's (1969) *Coal is our life* study, reflected the agenda and bias of the researcher (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992). Though there was identified to be a gap in knowledge regarding alcohol studies in post-mining communities, Warwick & Littlejohn (1992) identified that sociological studies of mining communities were often stated by people who lived within them to get their communities 'wrong'. This focus the research had on gaining understandings of post-mining drinking practices from people that live in post-mining communities also reflects how Blumer's (1969) symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective was applied to the study.

The constructivist grounded theory approach encouraged the researcher to engage in reflexivity and also memo writing, which was found throughout the primary data collection process to facilitate engagement in what Pillow (2003) defined as uncomfortable reflexivity. This was particularly valuable when collecting the primary research from participants in the case study areas.

One of the main disadvantages that was found however using the grounded theory approach was that the model did not allow for flexibility when it came to data collection. Charmaz's (2014) approach encouraged theoretical sampling which meant that in order to determine what data needed collecting next interviews would need to be transcribed and coded prior. This was not possible in a lot of cases due to the impromptu nature of the recruitment and interview process, which ensured that the participants felt comfortable enough to engage in discussion regarding their drinking practices. Also was perceived as not possible to guarantee that participants would be able to commit to attend for the sole purpose of being interviewed

This also relates to the difficulty of recruiting participants, as a significant amount of time throughout the research process was dedicated to seeking them and building trust within the community. Other research (Rind and Jones, 2015) reported to had faced challenges in recruiting an appropriate sample in their study of physical health inside pit villages.

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Their research was reliant on the cooperation of Working Men's clubs and their members. In this research this unfortunately was not possible to gain.

The application of constructivist grounded theory approach to coding also produced a large amount of data which on progressing further in the data collection process eventually became overwhelming and taken a significantly long time to code. On reflection, the level of dedication and skill that Grounded Theory requires may have been underestimated during the process of deciding on a relevant theoretical framework.

8.5 Concluding comments: Strengths and limitations of the study and future research

What this research intended to do was move beyond what was identified in chapter two as the 'problem-oriented' approach to studying drinking practices and cultures. This research project did not intend to enter the case study areas and imply that the drinking cultures in the areas are 'problematic drinking cultures'; entering with the aim of recommending interventions to change it (Savic, Room, Mugavin, Pennay & Livingston, 2016). A focus on drink as a public health concern would not have addressed the different unique dimensions of this specific drinking culture (Savic et al., 2016). What was also intended from the research planning process was moving beyond the 'binge drinking' narrative that is dominant in both academic and policy discourses as the term is ambiguous (Valentine et al., 2007; Savic et al., 2016) and ignores people outside of the 'binge drinker' category who are perceived to be 'normal' (Bacon, 1943, 1973; Heath, 1987).

One of the major contributions of this research is that it offers a relatively in-depth analysis of drinking practices in post-mining communities, that in qualitative alcohol research have not been specifically focused on in detail. Qualitative research of drinking practice has mostly focused on town and city centre drinking practices amongst young people from a 'binge drinking' perspective. Drinking culture in mining communities has often been analysed briefly in literature that has a general focus on the culture in a specific mining

community, the research of Dennis et al. (1969) and Warwick & Littlejohn (1992) being two examples of this.

The departure from "the dominant city-centre geographical imagery of problem drinking" also allowed for a focus on home drinking. This research supports Jayne *et al*'s (2011) analysis of academic research regarding home drinking. Home drinking, despite the practice having economic importance and significant popularity within society, has had relatively less attention given to it in both public debate and academia within social science and geographical literature. The research does not intend to ignore that 'alcohol misuse is not a problem' within society when criticising the problem-oriented approaches that have been argued to dominate qualitative alcohol research. The fact that some participants addressed witnessing or experiencing alcohol misuse, highlights that these issues exist within these communities. The focus the research has had on participants who mostly can be considered as having 'normal' drinking practices however allowed for a greater understanding of the wider drinking culture in mining communities that a focus on the problem-oriented approach would not have achieved.

The application of a constructivist grounded theory methodological aimed to address criticism of research within mining communities that researchers have frequently got the communities 'wrong' by resorting to stereotypes and caricatures (Warwick & Littlejohn, 1992); these either problematizing drinking practices in these communities or romanticising them. What was intriguing was how drinking practices in these communities within the post-mining context do not resemble drinking practices that are implied by Bulmer's (1975) ideal mining community model and drinking practices that are described by Dennis et al. (1969) as reflecting the public and communal nature of leisure in areas associated with mining. The emphasis that was placed on 'grounding' findings in the data enabled transcendence above stereotypes of areas where exogenous factors beyond the erasure of the mining industry have had limited impact on drinking practices. The participants described drinking practices that deviate from those described by Dennis et

al. (1969) and instead describe practices that can be associated more with Lockwood's (1975) privatised worker.

One element of the research that can be perceived to be a limitation is that there was a high representation of female participants when compared to the representation of male participants. This occurred due to limitations with regards to recruitment opportunities, the general difficulty in gaining the interest of males who fit the criteria for involvement in the research. Due to time constraints it was not possible to attempt to recruit more male participants. The level of female representation within this research however is also a strength as research in mining communities has often focused on men (Allen & Measham, 1994). Future research could focus on achieving more of a balance with regards to participant gender in the two case study areas.

With regards to age, participants over the age of 40 were highly represented in the research largely due to the lack of ability to increase numbers of younger participants. Due to the theme of generational conflict that regularly occurred in the results, future research should focus on gaining more knowledge regarding the attitudes that young people who live in post-mining communities; paying greater detail to the formation of attitudes to alcohol amongst groups of the population who grew up post-decline of the mining community.

What is of particular significance however is that the primary data collection process in the case study areas taken place during the Brexit referendum campaign and after the vote to leave the EU. What was discovered from the experience of engaging with people that declined to participate, the participants themselves and also people within the community that were interacted with during the research process was that in a pre and post-Brexit Doncaster engaging in reflexive practices was absolutely necessary, especially within the context of engaging in 'insider-outsider' research. What Sayer (2017) identified to be

embraced in overwhelmingly "white British" areas such as the two case study areas are post-factual politics and also "politics of resentment".

The common narratives prevalent in media and political discourses were the 'left behind' and "failure of elites" narratives (Sayer, 2017, p.93). As Sayer (2017) suggested, both the left and right of the political spectrum in the current national and international political context are "mired in post-factual politics" (p.102). Post-factual politics is identified as "a phenomenon where beliefs, formed through exposure to media or campaigns' use of cherry-picked data, seem more important than informed expert testimony" (Bournemouth University, 2017). This was employed throughout the referendum by both the media and political institutions. An example of this is Michael Gove's (quoted by Mance, 2016) argument made during the Brexit campaign that "people in this country have had enough of experts".

Within this political context what people perceive to be the truth and what emotions these 'truths' cause them to feel is argued to be of greater importance than facts by Sayer (2017). This postgraduate research project can be identified to have been conducted within a context where the knowledge and position of the researcher had been undermined through political campaigns, which as Motta (2018) stated have expressed particular contempt towards "scientists, academics, and experts" (p.466). During the reflexivity process this context was identified to have possibly had an impact on how the participants perceive me as a postgraduate researcher.

What I suggest from experiencing conducting research in a post-Brexit referendum and 'post-truth politics' context, engagement in uncomfortable reflexivity is indispensable. I accepted that as a researcher I am actively involved in the construction and interpretation of the data. As Charmaz (2014) argued, subjectivity should not be erased, but instead addressed as "it is impossible for the researcher to forge an unobtrusive relationship with social research" (Charmaz, cited by Kenny and Fourie, 2015). Reflexivity was used to not

only highlight the subjective opinions of the researcher but also to challenge the researcher; engaging in attempting to understand how the background of the researcher has a whole on the whole research process so that the findings can be put into context and assessed appropriately.

Engaging in reflexivity attempted to understand how wider contexts (such as the Brexit process) impacted how communities that were interacted with engaged with the research, how it had an effect me as a researcher and also how this impacted on the research findings. Despite the process being discomforting, it allowed the uncomfortable realities of engaging in qualitative research in these communities to be highlighted. As a black postgraduate researcher having experienced living in a predominantly white working-class post-mining community, I was relatively more aware of the possible implications of entering these areas to conduct qualitative research.

8.6 Summary

Drinking practices in the two post-mining communities that have been analysed reflect the level of change that has taken place within the area, particularly the transition the two areas have experienced from being an area dominated by the mining industry to areas that are seen as a suburbs of Doncaster. The economic and cultural identity of the two case study areas was tied to mining and the drinking practices reflect this to an extent. Endogenous traditions associated with the mining past such as maintenance of closely-knit ties, parochialism and the maintenance of respectability and sociability maintained a level of importance in the drinking practices of the participants whilst drink as a way of self-medicate against poor working conditions was seen as outmoded. Drinking institutions associated with mining and traditional working-class drinking culture such as the club and pub have mostly survived the decline of mining, but have declined in relevance in the participants lives due to their disillusionment with and declining interest in these institutions.

The participants adapted their practices to the changing economic and cultural context and as a result have embraced exogenous phenomena such as the purchasing of alcohol from supermarkets, which as a result seen participants engage relatively privatised drinking practices that significantly contrast from the public and communal drinking associated with traditional working-class drinking practices of the past. Young people and adolescents and the drinking practices they associate with them however were portrayed by participants as threats to the endogenous drinking culture that threatened established traditions such as respectability and sociability.

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