

Enduring Industrial Pasts:
Affective geographies of
landscape, heritage and memory
in a South Wales ex-mining
community

Amy Walker

Department of Geography and Planning
Cardiff University

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2021

Thesis Summary

Post-industrial communities have garnered particular attention from the social sciences, focused on engaging with how these areas adapt to the loss of large-scale industries. Many approaches from memory and heritage studies have also considered the ways in which these industrial pasts are remembered and commemorated, whether that be collectively or individually. However, few approaches have sought to engage with the multiple registers of memory and heritage, to consider how much these recollections, in various forms, continue to impact the lives of those who remain in these communities.

This thesis investigates the enduring legacies of industrial pasts in an ex-mining area in the South Wales coalfield, examining how multiplicities of memory and heritage punctuate everyday lives for residents in the area. Conceptualising memory as rooted in the material and immaterial; affective, emotive and discursive; shared and imagined; this thesis discusses how individuals relate not only to a post-industrial town, but how these relationships are bound up in everyday practices, discourses, and relations. Using ethnographic data, interviews and auto-ethnographic reflections, this thesis seeks to provide an engagement with the enduring legacies of industrial heritage beyond only official and formalised narratives.

Through this methodological framework and theoretical multiplicity, I propose an understanding of memory as emergent in the present in moments of intensity, where these many forms of memory and discourses of heritage align and resonate. I argue that by considering the affective resonance of these industrial pasts, it is possible to consider how the history of mining continues to matter to those within these communities, and how these emergences go beyond singular conceptualisations of memory or heritage. I consider these moments of multi-temporality to discuss mobilities, community identities and landscapes. I argue that these multiplicities of the past are deeply embedded in contemporary places and relationships, and that greater understanding of the sense of post-industrial place can be established by considering the multi-temporality of memory.

Acknowledgements

Of course, I am completely indebted to the people who gave their time and energy to take part in this project and trusted me enough to welcome me into some of their daily lives. The communities of Ebbw Fach, and the local people, will always be special to me.

A huge thank you to Rosemary, who took time to help with proofreading a somewhat chaotic series of chapters within a pretty tight time-frame.

Sincerest thanks to Margaret Byron, for being the first person who even suggested I do a PhD, for recognising my obsession with old industrial places, and for encouraging me from the very start. Thanks to Mike Jeffs for also being there in the very beginning and accepting without question that it was a great idea. Thanks also to Jen Dickie and everyone in the University of Leicester Geography department for your support and guidance at the very start of this whole process.

Thanks to the whole team at School of Geography and Planning in Cardiff, including Fiona Williams, Agatha Herman, Ant Ince, Tom Smith and especially, Andy Williams, as well as the stalwarts on the picket lines, the Social and Cultural Geographies Research Group, and the Shut Up and Write Attendees. As well I'd like to thank the Basement Dwellers, particularly Kieran O'Mahony, Nia Rees, Ani Saunders, Jack Pickering and Neil Turnbull. You've all made these past 5 years an intensely crazy, insightful, but most importantly, fun experience. Half pints all around!

This thesis would never be what it is without the wonderful supervision of Mark Jayne, Kate Moles, and Kate Boyer. Thank you so much for your advice, patience, belief in this project, and belief in me. You supported me far beyond just my work, including pub trips, rainy mid-pandemic supervisions in the park with many children, and panicked zoom-calls, and I am so grateful.

Tremendous thanks to Charlotte Eales and Eve Exley, for reminding me that life beyond the PhD is still so important and being brilliant friends even when life threw us all some serious curveballs.

To Tara Hipwood, Diana Beljaars, and Jen Owen, the grown-ups, for endless advice, friendship, and support without question, thank you so so much. I would have been lost without you. I still would be.

A massive thank you to Jonathan Ablitt and Luke Roach, for being the looniest most unpredictably hilarious housemates I could ever wish for, for always providing pints and BBQ food, for serenades of Yellow by Coldplay, and for never letting my ego get out of check.

Also, George. Thanks. You're alright too.

To my family, especially Mum and Dad. Thank you for your constant encouragement and for putting up with my various house-moves, writing deadlines, international-travel-hiccoughs, and many more stressful things along the way. Even with all that, I never doubted you backed me 100%. So, thanks. I probably can't ever really communicate how much.

Declarations

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

Signed..... Date

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD.

Signed..... Date

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated, and the thesis has not been edited by a third party beyond what is permitted by Cardiff University's Policy on the Use of Third-Party Editors by Research Degree Students. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

Signed..... Date

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available online in the University's Open Access repository and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed..... Date

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available online in the University's Open Access repository and for inter-library loans after expiry of a bar on access previously approved by the Academic Standards & Quality Committee.

Signed..... Date

Contents

<i>Thesis Summary</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Declarations</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>xi</i>
1. Introduction: Researching the Post-Industrial	1
1.1. Living (in) the (Post-)Industrial?	1
1.2. Researching Post-Industrial Place	3
1.3. Why geographies of post-industrial memory?	11
1.4. Thesis Structure	13
2. Literature Review	17
2.1. Introduction	17
2.2. Background and Key Debates of Heritage and Memory	18
2.2.1. Authenticity and 'Real' Memory	20
2.2.2. Democratising Heritage	23
2.2.3. Imaginaries of Memory	24
2.3. Registers of Memory	25
2.3.1. Materiality and Memory	27
2.3.2. Embodiment and Memory	32
2.3.3. Memory and Place	35
2.3.4. Multiplicities of Memory	38
2.4. Community, Identity and Belonging	41
2.5. Conclusion: Geographies of Post-Industrial Memory	45
3. Methodology: Researching Industrial Pasts in Post-Industrial Presents	46
3.1. Introduction	47
3.2. Researching Memory and Heritage: Initial Reasonings	48
3.2.1. Onto-Epistemology/ies	49
3.3. Research Design	53
3.3.1. Research Area: Post-Industrial Places and Ebbw Fach	54
3.3.2. Recruitment and Access	57
3.3.3. Positionally and Reflexivity	60
3.4. Researching Heritage and Memory: Everyday Ethnographies	62
3.4.1. Ethnographic Research: 'Hanging Out' and 'Going Along'	62
3.4.2. Ethnographic Interviews	66
3.4.3. Ethnography and/with/of Materials/Affect/Landscape	67

3.5. Data Collection, Analysis and Representation	69
3.5.1. Ethical Considerations	70
3.5.2. Data Collection: Participants and Groups.....	74
3.5.3. Data Collection: Fieldnotes, Recorded interviews, and Research Diaries	77
3.5.4. Data Analysis and Representation.....	82
3.6. Chapter Conclusions.....	84
4. Historical and Geographical Contexts: Industrial Communities, Deindustrialisation and the Ebbw Fach Valley	87
4.1. Introduction.....	87
4.2. The ‘Working Class’ Community, Pit Villages and Deindustrialisation.....	88
4.3. Deindustrialisation in a South Wales Context.....	96
4.4. Introducing the Coal-Mining Communities of Ebbw Fach.....	101
4.5. Post-Industrial Ebbw Fach.....	113
4.6. Chapter Conclusions.....	119
5. Mobility in Ebbw Fach	121
5.1. Introduction.....	121
5.2. “You didn’t need to go anywhere else”- Historical Immobilities, Localism and Security	122
5.3. “You just have to move, you can’t do anything here.” Contemporary mobility as a Response to Industrial Decline	129
5.4. “You used to get all sorts coming through” Mobile Pasts and Immobile Presents.....	134
5.4.1. “Staying Put” or “Being Stuck”: Contemporary Life-Course Mobility.....	140
5.5. Practices of Remembering/Practices of Moving	146
5.6. Conclusion	151
6. The Memorials of Ebbw Fach	155
6.1. Introduction.....	155
6.2. The Guardian of the Valley: Representations, Memorialisation, and Formal Heritage.....	156
6.2.1. Constructions of <i>Guardian</i> and Narratives of the Six Bells Disaster	157
6.2.2. <i>Guardian</i> as ‘The Miner’ and ex-mining bodies.....	167
6.2.3. <i>Guardian</i> , Parc Arael Griffin and Memorial Space.....	174
6.3. The ‘Other’ Memorials	181
6.4. Collective Memory, Practices of Commemoration and Community Identity.....	191
6.5. Chapter Conclusions.....	193

7. Enduring and Diminishing Industrial Pasts.....	196
7.1 Introduction	196
7.2. Traces of Industrial Pasts in the Landscape of Ebbw Fach.....	198
7.2.1. The Llanhilleth Pit-Head Baths	205
7.3. Everyday Practices as Industrial Endurance.....	210
7.4. The Multiplicity of Industrial Pasts and Memory in the Mundane Everyday: Llanhilleth Miners’ Institute.	221
8. Conclusion: A Geography of Multiplicities of Post-Industrial Memory	226
8.1. Introduction	226
8.2. Addressing Research Questions and Key Themes	227
8.2.1. Trajectories of Change	227
8.2.2. Ebbw Fach and the Community-Past	228
8.2.3. Contrasting Heritages, Memorials, and Recollection in the Everyday	230
8.2.4. A Multiplicity of Memory- and the Enduring Relevance	232
8.2.5. The Enduring Relevance of Industrial Pasts	233
8.3. Wider Relevance.....	234
8.4. Methodological Reflections on an Ethnography of Memory.....	235
8.5. Future Research Suggestions	237
8.6. Final Reflections on a Geography of Post-Industrial Memory	240
Reference List	242
Appendices.....	289

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: View over Wordsley canal and red-brick glass cone near Stourbridge 2012	1
Figure 1.2: Household income v. GVA-per-head in UK Local Authorities 2017.....	5
Figure 1.3: Research area within UK context.	9
Figure 1.4: Ebbw Fach Research area, 2018.....	10
Figure 4.4: Tunnel in Six Bells.....	20
Figure 3.1: Snowball Recruitment: Networks of Groups and Individuals.....	59
Figure 4.1 The British Coalfields in 19th century from Redmayne (1904).....	90
Figure 4.2: Rates of Employment in Coal Mining in the UK (1880-2012)	94
Figure 4.3: The eastern South Wales Valleys	96
Figure 4.4: Tunnel in Six Bells.....	101
Figure 4.5: Ebbw Fach Valley Research Area, with Coal Mining and Industry indicated.....	103
Figure 4.6: Excerpt of map from Aberbeeg in 1900, with railways indicated.	105
Figure 4.7: Ty Ebbw Fach Heritage Room, and 'family photos' display	107
Figure 4.8: Ty Ebbw Fach Heritage Room, 'lockers' and stickers	108
Figure 5.1: Excerpt of map from Six Bells 2021	125
Figure 5.2: Map of villages in Ebbw Fach Valley.....	141
Figure 6.1. The Guardian of the Valleys	157
Figure 6.2: Guest book at Ty Ebbw Fach	162
Figure 6.3.: The barely visible Guardian, from a hillside in Six Bells.....	165
Figure 6.4: The ambiguous 'Old' Six Bells memorial.	183
Figures 6.5 and 6.6.: The erosion of faces and inscription on the 'Old' Six Bells memorial.	184
Figures 7.1 and 7.2: The abandoned house and Llanhilleth Pithead Baths.....	206
Figure 7.3: Image of the gardens of the miners' housing, Llanhilleth.	210
Figure 7.4: Streets of Llanhilleth, looking from the Institute	211
Figure 7.5: Excerpt of maps of Llanhilleth.....	214
Figure 7.6: Llanhilleth Miners' Institute	221
Figure 9.1: Cover image.....	290
Figure 9.2: Recruitment Poster	291
Figure 9.3: Participant Information Sheet.....	292
Figure 9.4: Consent Form	294
Figure 9.5: Ty Ebbw Fach.....	295

Figure 9.6: Ty Ebbw Fach heritage room	296
Figure 9.7: Ty Ebbw Fach heritage room, book swap and community leaflets.	297
Figure 9.8: Ty Ebbw Fach heritage room, cabinets of products from local groups.....	297
Figure 9.9: Sample Mindmap analysis	298
Figure 9.10: Map of Six Bells 2021	299
Figure 9.11: Map of Llanhilleth 2021	300

List of Tables

Table 3.1: Research Participant Characteristics and Details.....	75
Table 3.2: The community groups attended by the researcher during fieldwork.....	77
Table 4.1: Closures of Collieries in the South Wales coalfield following the end of the 1984-85 Miners' Strike in March 1985, from Curtis (2013:250-251).....	97
Table 4.2: Coal mines in the Ebbw Fach and neighbouring area, adapted from Bennett (2016) and Welsh Coal Mines (2002).....	112

Abbreviations Used

NCB- National Coal Board

NUM- National Union of Miners

Source cover image by Amy Walker (see appendix 1).

Untitled

A Welshman stood at the golden gate
His head was bent and low
He meekly asked the man of fate
The way that he should go.
'What have you done' St. Peter said
'To gain admission here?'
'I merely mined for coal' he said
'For many and many a year.'
St. Peter opened wide the gate
And softly tolled the bell.
'Come and choose your harp' he said
'You've had your share of hell.'

Unattributed, from the wall of
Llanhilleth Miners' Institute

Gwalia Deserta XXXVI

In the places of my boyhood
The pit-wheels turn no more,
Nor any furnace lightens
The midnight as of yore.

The slopes of slag and cinder
Are sulking on the rain,
And in derelict valleys
The hope of youth is slain.

And yet I love to wander
The early ways I went,
And watch from doors and bridges
The hills and skies of Gwent.

Though blighted be the Valleys
Where man meets man with pain,
The things by boyhood cherished
Stand firm, and shall remain.

Idris Davies, from *Gwalia
Deserta* (1938)

1. Introduction: Researching the Post-Industrial

1.1. Living (in) the (Post-)Industrial?



Figure 1.1: View over Wordsley canal and red-brick glass cone from Stuart Crystal Factory, near Stourbridge 2012 (D. Walker 2012, personal collection, reproduced with permission)

“Dad, you ARE middle class. You have a degree, you have two cars, you have two daughters at university, you moved out of Dudley, you own a house in a nice place- “

“Look, None of that matters. It’s not about any of that. I’m not middle class. I have a boss. As long as I have a boss, I’m working class.”

The above conversation with my dad took place in 2013 at the outset of my undergraduate research as I researched post-industrial masculinity in the Black Country, my home region. My dad had grown up in the area, living in council housing near the industrial town of Dudley, before moving to the town of Stourbridge to marry my mum. I grew up in Stourbridge, a town on the edge of the Black Country, a town that straddled both suburban market-town characteristics and industrial histories. My childhood was spent walking along canals and past the red-brick glass cones of Stourbridge and

Amblecote, with the Black Country to the east and the vast rural expanse of Staffordshire and Shropshire to the west. The combination of my family's history and local biographies established a long-standing preoccupation with this hybrid existence that typified, as much as I could tell, the vast majority of the Black Country.

Even the name of the Black Country was a direct reference to the industrial past: "black by day, red by night". 'It used to be the richest postcode in the world', I was told, overlooking abandoned factories and empty high-streets. Driving through the area, my dad could point out the location of the foundry where he had worked or the various pubs that had been attached to different works, like Thimblemill or The Old Chainworks, many of which were long closed. I could name the industries of many of the small industrial 'villages': Lye was known for bricks, where my great-grandmother had been a 'brick wench'; Cradley was known for chain-making; Netherton made the anchor for the Titanic. My grandfather showed me his scars from working in the Garrington steelworks. These industries were long-gone by the time I grew up in the area, but the stories endured, as did the local identity. My nan, still living in Dudley, always said 'ta-ra' as we left. The Black Country Alphabet song was always played during half-time when I attended West Bromwich Albion Football Club Games. I occasionally heard the famous phrase "strong in the arm, soft in the head, Black Country born, Black Country bred", despite the abject decline of the heavy industry that would have created such 'strong arms'. I also knew that Margaret Thatcher was to blame for the decline of the area, according, again, to my dad. 'She sold it all off. She killed this country'.

However, my dad had moved away from that industry even whilst it was still hanging on, moving into automotive engineering work, based in large offices near Coventry with high-tech computer modelling, a company car, and lots of meetings. The very model of the neoliberal new-middle-class, even as our family collectively decried the loss of the chain-making, steel-working, coal mining, glass-cutting industries in which we would have unlikely worked.

"It's a shame that it's not like it was...Mind, I'd never wanna do any of that work...nor would I want my kids to." A family friend once said. But when my brother started an engineering apprenticeship in a metal casting foundry nearby recently as 2016, it was talked of with pride within the family. 'A real job', a trade and a skill. The better side of

industrial work too. Three generations of my family can now compare their 'industrial injuries' from presses and sanders. At the same time, the apprenticeship is a springboard to a university degree, hopefully. "There's not a lot of future in that work".

1.2. Researching Post-Industrial Place

This thesis is primarily concerned with how industrial heritage continues to *matter* to individuals in their everyday lives in post-industrial places. The above section shows the personal connection that brought me to this research area, my root interest far beyond the academic context. It displays how I have experienced that being 'post'-industrial is still, even decades after the closure of heavy industry, imbued with mundane traces of the industrial lives that were. How can a place be post-industrial if 'life has not moved on'? How do people account for the nostalgia for a past that was commonly associated with exploitation, poverty, and poor working conditions? How do individuals and groups negotiate their own identities whilst rooted in a past that no longer bears any obvious resemblance to the present? How is place embedded with these pasts, and how are these traces made meaningful in many everyday ways? What does it *mean* to be post-industrial, and is it a helpful conceptualisation?

Post-industrial places are not a novel topic of inquiry, either within geography or the wider social sciences. Since the beginning of the industrial revolution, thinkers have grappled with the consequences of such a wide-spread social, economic and cultural shift to our societies. Additionally, they have considered the decline of this transformation. Since the 1980s, Doreen Massey (1984) and David Harvey (1985; 1989) have been concerned with industrial change processes, following the intensification of deindustrialisation under programmes of neoliberalisation in the UK, Western Europe, and the USA. Their work, in particular, engaged with the localised impacts of these changes, considering the multi-scalar nature of the capitalist economy operating on an increasingly 'globalised' and accelerated world. Deindustrialisation and the condition of post-industrialism are situated within the wider trends of globalisation, whether termed as postmodernity (Harvey 1989), risk society (Beck 1992), network society (Castells 1996), or liquid modernity (Bauman 2000), and the associated crises of identity. Yet the

intensity of industrial experience, in often catalysing the development of whole communities, asks how these industries' diminishing presence was felt in these areas.

There is also a question of why it is necessary to engage with post-industrial places. Whilst the process of deindustrialisation was primarily concentrated in the latter half of the twentieth century, the consequences of these changes are still unfolding. Despite the use of the term 'post-', many still suggest that the experiences of industrial life and the processes of deindustrialisation are not removed from these places (Strangleman 2017; Byrne 2010). Linkon's (2018) work suggests that we all live in a form of 'half-life', echoing a term used for nuclear decay, conceptualising a period where deindustrialisation as a process continues to pervade everyday life in a multitude of forms. For example, she argues that the election of Donald Trump in 2016 to the US Presidency:

sparked a national discussion about the many Americans...who had been left behind by economic restructuring. While some commentators charged these voters with gullibility or racism, others emphasised their resentment over being ignored by the nation's leaders and denigrated by the media, the educated elite, and public discourse more generally.

Linkon (2018: xiii)

In a different context, the 2016 'Brexit' vote and the results of the 2019 General Election in the UK garnered a similar response from the so-called 'liberal elite' and academic and social commentators. In particular, the Brexit vote stimulated debates around working-class identity, as areas that received large amounts of funding from the EU voted comprehensively to end Britain's Union membership. In the South Wales coalfield area, in which this study is focused, the average vote for leaving the EU was 57.9%. South Wales was also touted in the media as an area in receipt of high EU funds, including £79million towards the 'Heads of the Valleys' road and £80million towards town-centre regeneration, including for towns in the Valleys (Rhys 2019; Cadwalladr 2016). A narrative of the Welsh Leave voter 'shooting themselves in the foot' became pervasive as these facts became widely known in the aftermath of the referendum (Wyn Jones 2016; Cadwalladr 2016). However, these conversations have frequently failed to engage with the complex histories of these post-industrial areas, which have, as Linkon

suggests, been 'left-behind' in the aftermath of deindustrialisation (ONS 2020). Despite the EU's funding, many individuals in these contexts cannot see a clear benefit to the investments. These new developments have not mitigated the devastating impact of pit-closures and loss of manufacturing works: as one resident of Ebbw Vale was quoted as saying, 'What's the EU ever done for us?' (Cadwalladr, 2016). Whilst this individual was largely framed as being ignorant of the real input of the EU into Wales, the question indicates a broader sense of being abandoned by leadership. In this vitally important context, and amongst growing inequality, this project seeks to better engage with the legacies of industrial life in one of these 'left-behind' areas.

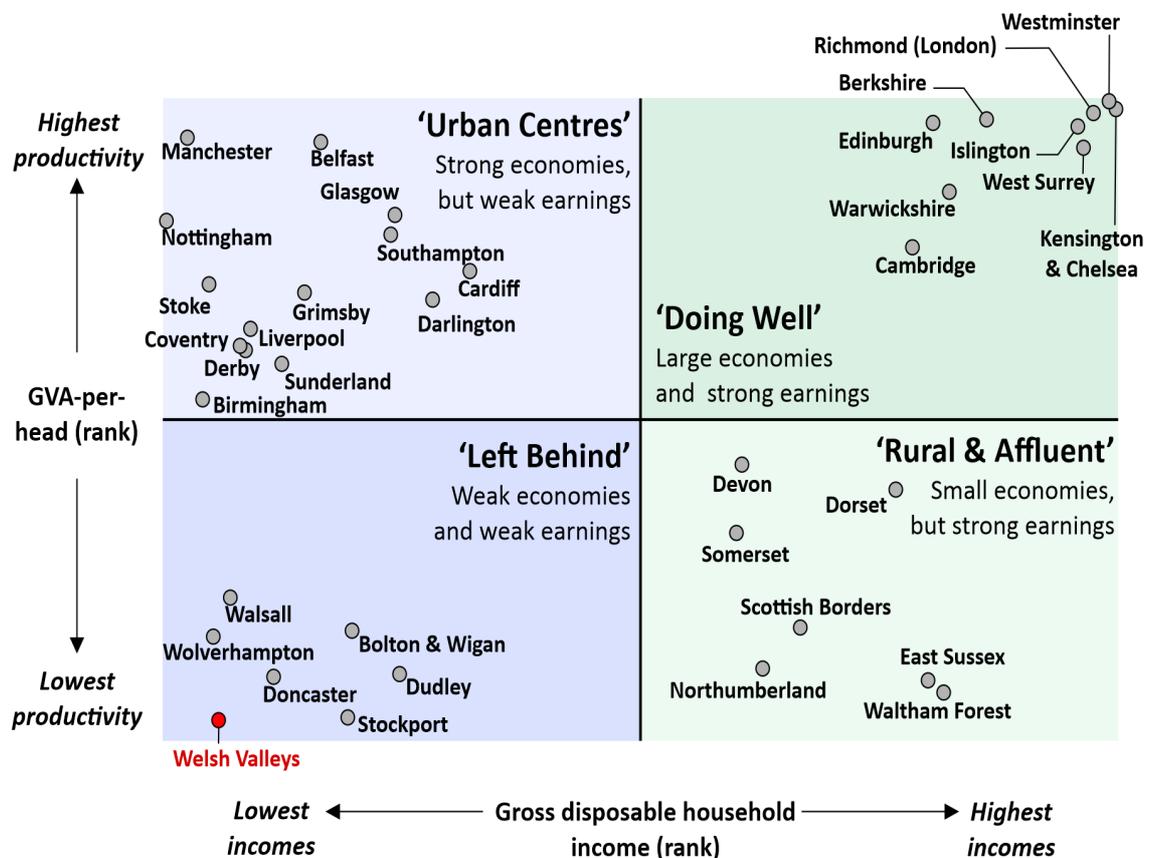


Figure 1.2: Household income v. GVA-per-head (Gross Value Added) in UK Local Authorities 2017, Drawn after Burn-Murdoch (2020).

Inequality in the UK is growing. Since the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979, which marked the beginning of one of the most concentrated periods of deindustrialisation, inequality of household incomes across the UK has increased significantly. According to the Gini coefficient (a measure of inequality on a scale of 0-100), gross household income has increased from 27.7% to 40.2% between 1977 and 2019 (ONS 2020). The

geographical distribution of this inequality has also been exacerbated; between 1998 and 2018, Wales was a region including both the lowest productivity (GVA) and earnings (gross disposable household income). 'The Valleys' area, which occupies much of the South Wales coalfield, is recorded as having some of the areas with the lowest-earning and productivity rates in the whole country (ONS 2018; Giles 2020). Figure 1.2 depicts the relative position of the South Wales Valleys to other local authorities in the UK.

Additionally, other factors are often related to post-industrial places: population decline, low educational attainment, low wages, high rates of unemployment, high rates of long-term sickness, high rates of mental illness, addiction and suicide, and lower than average life expectancies are all reported (Linkon 2018; Stephenson and Wray 2005:86-87). Post-industrialism condition cannot be reduced to these quantifiable factors; however, these characteristics' proliferation suggests that they cannot be discounted. Linkon (2018) also adds less easily quantifiable costs of deindustrialisation, such as the decline of buildings and infrastructure, toxic waste and contamination, distrust of institutions and political resentment. Many social scientists have considered other impacts from the process of deindustrialisation, notably the consequences for the identity of individuals, groups, and communities (Strangleman 2017; Thorliefsson 2016; Emery 2019a; Sampson and Goodrich 2005), expanding the engagement further.

This project is not necessarily seeking to address any of these issues directly; instead, I advocate for greater engagement with how industrial pasts are still relevant to the contemporary post-industrial place. I suggest that these forms of research can contribute to a better understanding of the context of these issues mentioned above and how they are implicated in forms of industrial life that endure despite deindustrialisation. In addressing the legacies of industrial society and the consequences of deindustrialisation, many works contribute to this thesis's approach. For example, in their well-known book, *Beyond the Ruins*, Cowie and Heathcott (2003) described that they hoped to:

widen the scope of the discussion beyond prototypical plant shutdowns, the immediate politics of employment policy, the tales of victimization, or the swell of industrial nostalgia. Rather our goal is to rethink the chronology,

memory, spatial relations, culture and politics of what we have come to call 'deindustrialization'.

(ibid:1-2)

This thesis adds to this discussion and also to contribute to concepts of memory. Since I am concerned with individuals and communities' relationship to the past, memory is an evident theoretical concern for this research. Additionally, memory studies have engaged steadily with these structural changes to communities, whether in the dedicated discipline or other social sciences more broadly. However, many have focused on distinct ways of encountering the industrial past. Instead, this project engages with the multiple ways industrial life endures in everyday life, rather than focusing on a single particular register of the past-in-present. The past is embodied, practised, discursive and narrated, emotive and haunting, rooted in not only formal heritage but in everyday relationships, beliefs and behaviours. For this reason, I have focused on concepts of memory to engage with these pasts as phenomena that can engage with these multiple experiences (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012a).

These considerations have framed the development of three research questions. The first is the primary focus of this research, and the following two questions are primarily supplementary, considering particular dimensions of endurances and reflecting on varied conceptualisations of memory:

Research Question 1: How does industrial heritage endure in the daily lives of individuals in post-industrial communities?

This first research question is the primary focus of this study. Drawing on Bergsonian-Deleuzian ideas of temporality, Grosz (1999b) argues temporal modalities cannot be disentangled from into singularities of past, present and future. Each is enfolded into the other; endurance is perhaps only one way to define the relationships of these temporalities (see Povinelli 2013), yet it can be employed to consider the continuing importance of the industrial past in a post-industrial context. As I explored briefly above, theories of memory are ideally placed to engage with these multiple endurances, and so I also conceptualise these endurances as different forms of 'remembering'.

Research Question 2: How can industrial pasts be understood to shape the contemporary nature of the post-industrial community?

Leading on from the primary research question, I also wish to engage with the collective and social nature of memory. Since much of the industrial past is focused on constructions of the 'working-class community' in academic writing and popular media, drawing on nostalgia, I consider that communities' contemporary identities are fundamental to reflecting on the industrial past-in-present. How do post-industrial places engage with and utilise ideas, memories, and constructions of the industrial past in the (re)construction of their community identity and individual belongings? How is memory in its various forms embedded in these (re)constructions?

Research Question 3: How can landscape be used to consider industrial heritage and its endurance in the post-industrial context?

Work on memory and heritage can often be criticised as anthropocentric (see, for example, Harrison 2015; Harrison and Rose 2010), and so this research question addresses the non-human, material, and affective nature of memory. This question asks whether the legacies of pasts evident in non-human actors can be understood as a form of 'memory', and how it can be conceptualised not in isolation of other registers of memory, but as part of a complex ecology of memory that may be made legible in engagement with particular non-human aspects. How are specific personal memories, constructions, and narratives of the past attached to particular materialities, atmospheres, landscapes, and circuitries (to draw on DeSilvey 2012)?

These questions are also focused on a post-industrial area, that of Ebbw Fach. The Ebbw Fach valley, a collection of villages and the town of Abertillery, is defined as one of the old industrial areas of the UK, according to Beatty *et al.* (2007). The area is depicted in Figure 1.3 within the broader UK context, and in figure 1.4. It has a long-standing coal-mining history as part of the South Wales coalfield. I introduce the research area in detail

in chapter 3, exploring the history of the industrial development and decline in the valley.



Figure 1.3: Research area within UK context. By George Guice, included with permission.

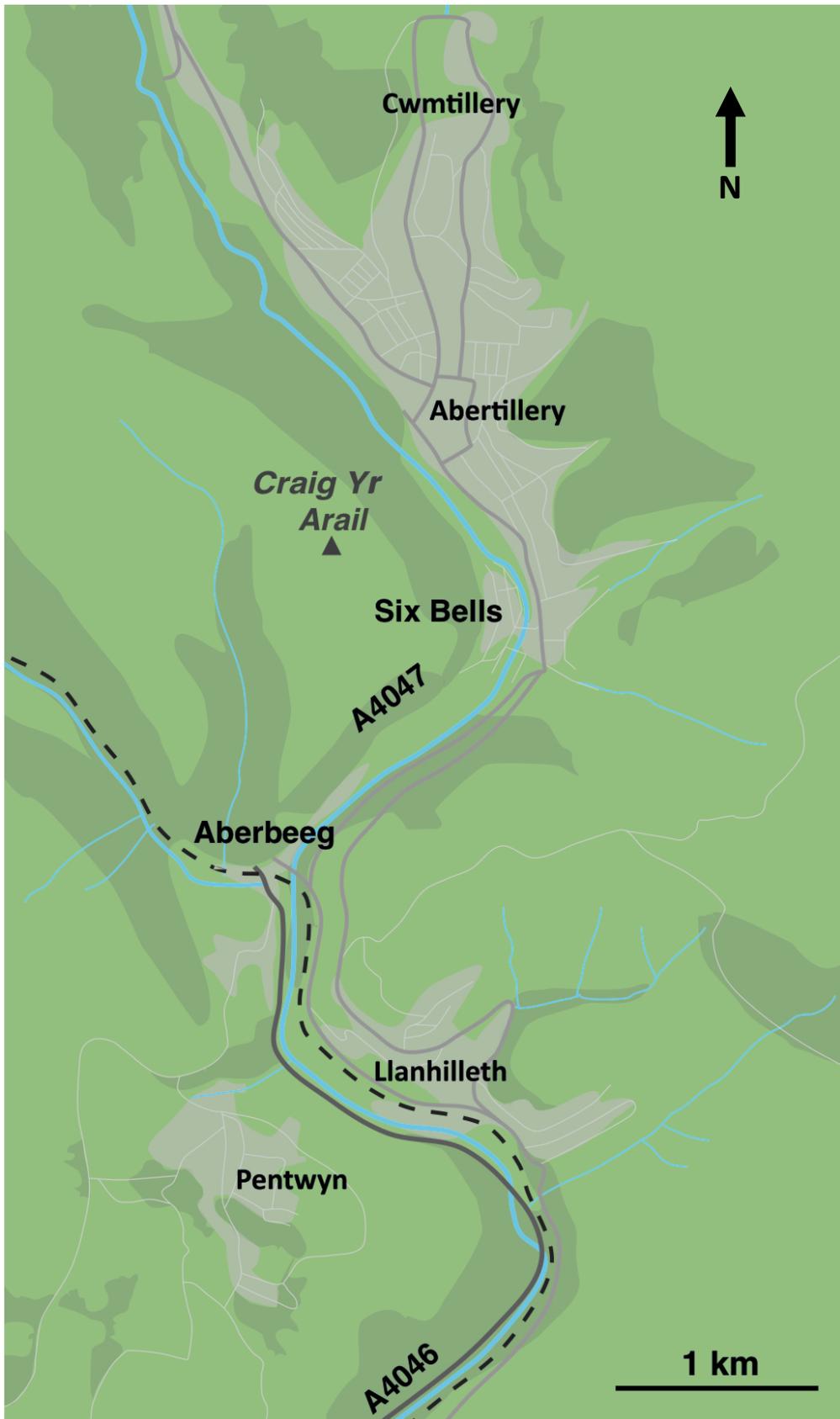


Figure 1.4: Ebbw Fach Research area, 2018 Including roads, rivers and railway lines.

By author.

1.3. Why geographies of post-industrial memory?

Many researchers have engaged with the relationship between industrial pasts and presents across the social sciences. It is, therefore, necessary to ask why geography and memory are both ideally positioned to address questions of the past-in-present in these post-industrial contexts. Geography is often primarily focused on an engagement with place, whilst memory as a disciplinary focus tends towards an interest in temporality and the relationship between the individual experience and social history, and I seek to integrate these perspectives. I argue that memory is central to how communities and individuals negotiate their relationship with the past, present, and place they live in, especially in post-industrial contexts. Nostalgia, in particular, is often a critical term that arises when many disciplines consider the industrial community, yet nostalgia itself can easily 'paper-over' the complexities of these relationships. Therefore, by engaging with memory, we can ask: what creates a sense of loss? For whom? What images are conjured when one thinks of the industrial past? How is *now* so different from *then*? By integrating geographical principles, we can consider how these questions are situated in a particular spatial context: what localities and places create these negotiations? How is that related to the biography of the place itself, and how does place intersect with individuals' biographies? What role does the landscape play in these relationships between individuals, communities and place? Whilst I have primarily focused this project on the critical questions outlined in section 1.2., these questions illustrate the utility of both approaches.

As I outlined in previous sections, research into the relationship between the past and present in industrial contexts is well established across disciplines through memory and geography. Geographers have engaged with memory in these various forms, even where memory is not necessarily interrogated as a key concept, instead of a 'ghostly presence' (to quote Jones 2011:875). In particular, as Jones and Garde-Hansen (2012a) explain, geography has been preoccupied with the sense of collective geographical identities such as nationality and how memory is implicated in the construction of the nation-state and shared pasts (see, for example, Anderson 1991; Edensor 2002). Nevertheless, geographers have more recently considered the relationship with the past in various forms such as through place attachment (Jones 2005; Meier 2013); belonging (Emery 2018a, 2018b); landscape (Jones 2015; DeSilvey 2012); objects and materiality

(Hoskins 2007; Horton and Kraftl 2012; DeSilvey 2012; 2017); trauma (Johnson 2019; Morrissey 2012); bereavement (Hockey *et al.* 2005; Maddrell 2012); commemoration and formal places of memory (Johnson 2005; Foote and Azaryahu 2016; Moreau and Alderman 2012; Muzaini 2012); the construction of community (Redepenning 2012); the role of childhood and childhood experiences (Jones 2003, 2005; Philo 2003); ruins (Edensor 2005; DeSilvey and Edensor 2012; Dawney 2020); and through bodily experiences (Degnen 2016; Lorimer 2012), to name but a few. Jones and Garde-Hansen's (2012a) collection *Geography and Memory* illustrates the importance of this unification of concepts, particularly in the context of more-than-representational geographies¹. I also suggest a reading of memory that engages with similar geography approaches, considering the affective and spectral encounters with the past-in-present as a key register for this research (see Jones 2011).

As is evident in the previous sections of this introduction, the geographical experiences of deindustrialisation and, therefore, post-industrial society are intensely localised. In its broadest view, this thesis is concerned with how sense of place has been altered by wider structural changes: a concern that has preoccupied geographers since the conception of the discipline. Memory is ideally situated for this research at the intersection between collective and individual and accounts for the role of the imaginary. It, therefore, allows for an engagement with the past beyond personal experiences and recollections. For this research, these imaginaries are fundamental. As Linkon (2018:1-2) states: "For those who grew up after the plants closed, the shared memories may be less sweet, but they hold people together nonetheless...they value the past, even the parts they know only from stories".

Fundamentally, memory allows for an engagement with the 'past-in-present'. I am primarily concerned with this relationship, the moments where the past is made meaningful and legible, in contemporary post-industrial place, and memory is positioned to engage with this interaction. As Linkon (2018:3) states: "For these communities, deindustrialisation is not an event of the past. It remains an active and

¹ Many geographers have also engaged with theories of spectrality and hauntings, particularly Edensor in post-industrial contexts (2005a, 2005b, 2007, 2008) as well as Hill (2013), which allow for further engagement with the past in a contemporary context (see also Wylie 2005; 2007; 2009; Shipley-Coddington 2011; McCormack 2010).

significant part of the present." I also suggest that the multiple ways that memory has been conceptualised, explored in detail in chapter 2, allow for an engagement that transcends singular forms of remembering. These approaches allow for a better account of the complexity of these relationships to the past. Memory is fundamental to how we exist in a place, how we understand it and ourselves. Jones and Garde-Hansen (2012a:8) explain, drawing on Damasio (1999), that "memory makes us what we are...it forms the interrelating foundational processes of our ongoing lives."

Simply put, we engage with the world through place and through time, through imaginaries and experiences of the past and the present. This research project aims to ask how we can conceptualise post-industrial place through these lenses. Geography and memory are focused on these themes, and so is the predominant approach for this research.

1.4. Thesis Structure

In Chapter 2, I introduce the key literature that contributes to this thesis. I focus mainly on work at the intersection between geography, heritage, and memory to outline how these approaches could inform this research. I consider the background of heritage and memory studies independently and identify the key characteristics of these thematic approaches before identifying different ways in which memory can be conceptualised. I draw on memory through representation, practices, materiality, place, embodiment, affect and community. The variety of perspectives is fundamental to this research's primary aim, so considering memory in these multiple forms can allow for a nuanced understanding of the everyday traces of the past-in-present.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the theory, decisions, and practices that informs the methodology adopted in this project. I discuss how the theories of memory that are detailed throughout Chapter 2 shaped this research's epistemological approach. The research area of Ebbw Fach is discussed in the context of the research, considering the practicalities of conducting ethnographies and providing an explanation of the processes of recruitment and access in the area. I also detail a brief account of my own positionality and relationship to the research. Additionally, I detail the various components of the

ethnographic research undertaken, including methods of 'hanging out, 'going along', ethnographic interviews and other methods of engaging with landscape, materiality and place ethnographically. The ethical considerations are included and details regarding the data collection, analysis, and representation of data throughout this thesis.

To provide a grounding for the following empirical chapters, Chapter 4 presents the broader context of this research. It is the legacies of these histories central to this project and explores the rest of the thesis, and they require attention. It explores the history of industrial work and deindustrialisation broadly across the UK and how it relates to the construction of working-class industrial communities. I then briefly outline the history of coal-mining in the South Wales coalfield, colloquially known as 'The Valleys', before discussing the research area's specific histories, Ebbw Fach. Within this, I introduce some initial engagements with how residents conceptualise these histories and communities, exploring how the images of the working-class community are invoked in the negotiation of a contemporary post-industrial place. I then consider how these members of these communities still invoke feelings of belonging in their everyday performances and practices of social networks and shared experiences.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 outline the main findings of this thesis according to three themes; mobility, memorials, and the endurance of the industrial past. This structure intends that each chapter illustrates a further engagement with the nature of being in a post-industrial place, introducing greater complexity in considering memory. I draw on vignettes from fieldwork and quotes from participants whilst simultaneously considering the multiple forms of memory and endurance of past-in-present (Grosz 1999).

Chapter 5 is focused on the mobility that can be found in the Ebbw Fach area. The aim of this chapter, like the overall structure of the empirical sections of this thesis, is to lead the reader through increasing layers of temporality and complexity. This chapter considers both physical mobility and social mobility and tracing past and present patterns of movement to connect continuities and disruption across temporal scales. I begin by considering the practices of mobility in the area during the industrial period, focusing on the importance of localism. By outlining mobility trends in mundane everyday flows and more long-term patterns of relocation, I consider the impacts of

deindustrialisation in the Ebbw Fach area for residents. I conceptualise an understanding of contemporary mobility that accounts for the relationship with the industrial past. This engagement also disrupts binaries of a static and stable past and an accelerated and unstable present. Finally, I then outline how historical forms of mobility resonate in the contemporary context.

Chapter 6 considers the representations of the past in the form of memorials. It focuses on some memorials in Ebbw Fach and how these different material representations relate to different aspects of the industrial past. Whilst I am not primarily concerned with memorials as an empirical focus of this thesis, I argue that memorials are the most obvious way industrial pasts can be encountered in the present. Firstly, I explore the *Guardian*, an iconic memorial to a mining disaster in the research area, and how it represents the past and 'coal miners' character. Then, I consider how some places are delineated and constructed as memory sites and how alternative narratives of memory can be attached to these places. I then engage with other memorials in the field area to consider how memorials can be embedded in the landscape in other ways and illustrate the role of decay, absence, and forgetting.

As a final empirical chapter, Chapter 7 presents an engagement with memory in its multiplicity and focuses on the varied registers of industrial legacies and how they emerge, coalesce, and punctuate the present. This chapter incorporates the various considerations from earlier empirical discussions and presents how different registers of memory can be experienced and interconnected through the landscape of Ebbw Fach. I consider the role of material traces that are often overlooked and how practices, narratives, and places can be enrolled in these memory ecologies and circuitries (Hoskins 2016; DeSilvey 2012). I argue that in moments of affective intensity, multiplicities of memory are experienced and that these intensities are inescapable in the post-industrial context of Ebbw Fach.

Finally, I conclude the thesis in Chapter 8, drawing together the conclusions made in the preceding three empirical chapters. I discuss how these findings can be used to address the research questions outlined in section 1.2., highlighting the continued importance of engaging with memory in various forms in a post-industrial context. I suggest that by considering the multiplicities of memory within Ebbw Fach, we can be better attuned to

the complexities of living in post-industrial communities. Additionally, I offer some reflections on how this topic may be developed in future research to expand this attentiveness to memory into discussions of how we might address the very nature of being 'left-behind' in post-industrial contexts.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Scholarship on memory, heritage, and how these terms have been conceptualised in Human geography and the social sciences more broadly forms an extensive body of work and evaluating that alone would be enough to complete a PhD thesis. Rather than attempt any form of holistic review, I aim to highlight the key aspects of this scholarship that contribute to my overall approach. Rather than describing a 'gap' in literature, I instead present a 'biography' of how an integrated model of memory in multiplicity can be applied to a lived everyday setting. I focus on the conceptual work about memory, but I outline how substantive work on heritage contributes to this project in the following chapter. This project is a practice in emergent and inductive research; as I spent time in Ebbw Fach, I felt further compelled to engage with literature that could somehow account for the intensities and resonances of the past I encountered. Through this process, approaches became increasingly interwoven and complex but also rewarding.

Firstly, this chapter will briefly outline some of the backgrounds to heritage and memory studies to illustrate how various approaches to the past have developed across several disciplines. Within this, I discuss some key debates about the nature of heritage and memory that are relevant to this project, considering questions of authenticity and the political nature of how pasts are recalled. I finish this first section with a discussion of imaginaries as a key aspect of memory and heritage approaches.

Secondly, I explore different forms of memory. This section is still informed by heritage approaches but focuses on the variety of registers of memory that I wish to consider. At the outset of this section, I introduce how I engage with ideas of affect as a concept that underpins much of my later sections. Within this second section, I discuss the materiality of memory and how memory can be conceptualised as embodied. I then engage with work that has considered the experiential nature of memory and provided theories to consider registers of memory before discussing the concept of multiplicity and why I have adopted this as a key way of considering memory in Ebbw Fach.

I next engage with how these multiple forms of memory can be used to understand the construction and experience of community, identity and belonging in the context of Ebbw Fach before finally providing a summary of the chapter and how I seek to address these varied approaches within the thesis.

2.2. Background and Key Debates of Heritage and Memory

While both memory studies and heritage studies have become preoccupied with memory's social nature, the disciplines have had varied histories. Memory studies were traditionally rooted in psychological approaches (see, for example, Ebbinghaus 1964[1913]). In many approaches, the belief in the form of 'true' biological memory often endures in varying forms into contemporary approaches to memory, as well as popular perceptions of memory (see Schudson 1992; Lynch 1972). Despite this, there is an established area of research into the shared, social nature of memory. This work was primarily established in the writing of Halbwachs (1992 [1941], 1980 [1951]) and his concept of 'collective memory'. Halbwachs does not dismiss the role of biological organic memory but is instead concerned with the relationship between these organic memories and the broader social context, or as he terms it, autobiographical memory and historical memory (Erll 2011: 15). Whilst Bergsonian ideas informed Halbwach's conceptualisation of memory as partial, aggregate, and embedded in all perception, Durkheimian ideas of time as social and collective is also relevant (see Narvaez 2006:59, Olick *et al.* 2011:10, Coser 1992). Whilst there are significant criticisms of these schools of thought, such as an over-reliance on biological memory, individualism, and presentism, these debates around the relationship between individual memory and shared experiences form the basis of more contemporary work on memory and underpin the key discussions throughout this chapter.

Research on heritage has inherently grappled with the collective nature of the past; heritage itself often acts as a synonym for forms of shared histories (Huigen and Meijering 2005). Harvey (2008) provides a concise overview of the history of the term heritage, and for the sake of this research, his definition of heritage as being "about the process by which people use the past" (2008:19) is beneficial. Since my first research question concerns the enduring legacies of industrial pasts, how the past is utilised in

the present is relevant. The definition indicates heritage as a process, something which is 'done' and active, rather than a past that is 'possessed' by certain groups (see also Harvey 2001:3). By acknowledging heritage as a process, it is possible to understand how heritage is rooted in discursive constructions of the past, employed in various ways in alignment with various motives (Smith 2006: Lowenthal 1985; 1996). As Hobsbawm (1983: 13) wrote of historical records: "The element of invention is particularly clear here, since the history which became part of the fund of knowledge or the ideology of nation, state or movement is not what has actually been preserved in popular memory, but what has been selected, written, pictured, popularised and institutionalised by those whose function it is to do so." Heritage, in this statement, is fundamentally active and constructed in various forms to perpetuate the collective identity of a group.

Key debates around how constructions of the past are formed have become areas of focus within both heritage and memory scholarship. These debates form the basis of the following chapter, but it is vital to highlight both terms as interwoven but not synonymous. It is difficult to disentangle the meanings of heritage and memory from one another, especially as I engage with significant theories of social, collective, collected or shared memory. Therefore, the distinctions that this thesis makes between memory and heritage are not definitive but attempt to account for what DeSilvey (2012:47) states are "the elements of experience not reducible to the narrative structures that heritage requires". Heritage has traditionally been concerned with preservations and articulations of pasts. It is, therefore, reliant on discourses of what the past *was* and how it is relevant in the contemporary². Memory, alternatively and perhaps due to the often-problematic focus on biological memory, allows for the more ephemeral, affective, fleeting, emergent *sense* of the past.

This chapter will outline a variety of approaches from both heritage and memory studies that inform this research. However, I argue that it is the concept of memory that is most ideally positioned to attend to the multiplicity which I have mentioned and will discuss in section 2.3.4; heritage is not removed from these multiplicities but cannot readily

² There are exceptions to this tradition, however. A growing body of work on personal, everyday, embodied heritages complicates even this distinction and further blurs the line between memory and heritage approaches. See, for example, Waterton (2014; Sather-Wagstaff (2015), De Nardi (2016); and the edited collections of Tolia-Kelly *et al.* (2017a) and Waterton and Watson (2015).

account for those aspects of memory that cannot be easily woven into heritage narratives.

2.2.1. Authenticity and 'Real' Memory

Debates around the 'authenticity' of heritage and memory is pervasive throughout work that engages with historical legacies. Much of Nora's work is concerned with authenticity, and within that focus, he attempts to argue that history acts in opposition to memory as an analytical process that fails to engage with the plurality of memory. He describes history as "the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer...history is a representation of the past" (1989:18). Klein (2000) is dubious about this distinction even though the division of history and memory has been widely adopted in the social sciences. Klein (2000:136) is concerned that this distinction means that memory can easily be assigned a sense of accuracy as a neutral "historical agent", which serves to "humanise" the past. Burke (1989:43-44) presents the assumptions which underpin this approach succinctly as "memory reflects what actually happened and... history reflects memory". Whilst Klein and Burke are primarily focused on critiquing the view of memory as being more 'authentic' than heritage or history; these assumptions still pervade into the heritage industry (Smith and Campbell 2017; Bal 2015). These do not necessarily reflect Nora's concepts directly, but further ideas of memory as being somehow 'real' when compared to other forms of historical inquiry or engagement.

Smith and Campbell (2017 drawing on Campbell 2003, 2006; Morton 2002, 2013) argue that:

"legitimacy is given to the meanings generated through the process of remembering, and the recollections that are produced, through perceptions of the emotional truth or authenticity of the emotions invoked and embodied by what is remembered".

(ibid:617)

It follows that emotional connections to heritage sites grant this sense of 'truth'. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the perception of memory as authentic, and even apolitical, allows for certain heritage projects to be demarcated as more 'real' and

effective than others. However, this view obscures the power dynamics of curation, preservation, and representation inherent in heritage endeavours (see Colwell 2015; Graham and Howard 2008). For this research, these debates are relevant to consider how people relate to heritage sites, representations of the industrial past, and how these representations are produced.

Additionally, there are many concepts regarding memory, and distinctions between them present certain forms of memory as more or less 'true' or 'authentic'. Nora (1989:7) attempts to draw distinctions between the top-down forms of memory in *lieux de memoire* and the "real environments of memory" in *milieux de memoire*. Whilst *lieux de memoire* refers to material sites of memory, such as memorials or museums, *milieux de memoire* is focused on more intangible embodied forms of memory, not only in recollection but in shared practices and knowledges. *Lieux de memoire*, Nora argues, are made necessary due to the widespread loss of these more 'real' *milieux de memoire*. Whilst I am not convinced that this is a helpful distinction to make when attending to the 'everydayness' of memory and heritage in Ebbw Fach, these arguments reflect questions of how particular forms of memory may be valued differently within academic work and heritage endeavours more broadly.

Both Nora and Foucault acknowledge the political nature of memory, and yet both are critiqued for their generalising dichotomies of some form of 'true' memory positioned against the 'inauthentic' narratives represented by history (Olick and Robbins 1998). These essentialising ideas of authenticity are problematic. Olick and Robbins (1998:127) summarise the prevailing argument against these works by stating: "dominant memory is not monolithic, nor is popular memory purely authentic." Again, like the distinction between history and memory, the separation between forms of memory as being more or less 'real' or trustworthy is problematic.

Within this project, I conceptualise memory as phenomena that can be reshaped and reformed in the contemporary context, experienced relationally rather than as any form of 'pure recollection', so I am not primarily concerned with the accuracy or authenticity of these representations. However, these debates around (in)authentic histories are critical in evaluating how particular representations of the past are valued in the contemporary context. Engaging with these arguments, I seek to address what it is for

these histories to matter in the everyday settings of post-industrial places. The argument follows that more 'authentic' memorialisation or heritage practices are likely to be more highly regarded in the local community. I am primarily focused on how such memorialisations are viewed and related to other everyday practices by local people in Ebbw Fach, rather than the broader societal trends that may be encompassed in or omitted from these representations.

Nora's work also suggests that society has experienced a 'loss' of a form of true memory, the *milieux de memoire*. Postmodernism has been conceptualised as a process through which stable identity have been disrupted (see Castells 1996; Beck 1992, 1994; Urry 2000, 2007; Bauman 2000). In a related line, Lowenthal (1985:411) states, "to validate tradition, to confirm identity, and to make sense of the present requires a securely stable past". He argues that there is an increased emphasis on the *perception* of pasts as secure, constant, and fixed in the modern period and that heritage has been employed to reinforce this sense of consistency, in light of the 'liquid' state of postmodernity that is associated with uncertainty and unfixed identities (see also Bauman 2000; Strangleman 2007; Lovell 1998). This argument is reflected in the work of other scholars who emphasise the contemporary focus on heritage and memory, in what Harrison (2013:194) refers to as an 'accumulation of memory' or what Winter (2000) describes as the 'memory boom' (see also Bal *et al.* 1999; Winter 2012; Doss 2012).

Nora (1989) argues that memory sites are crucial to 'crystalise' shared identities according to national narratives, but I argue that this memory can be relevant for many other collective identities (see Redepenning 2012; Degnen 2016; Cohen 1982). I return to the quote from Said that was referenced in the introduction: "people now look to this refashioned memory, especially in its collective forms, to give themselves a coherent identity, a national narrative, a place in the world" (2000:179). The focus on heritage as a source of stability, constancy, and identity is widely established. Of course, it is of great significance when engaging with communities that were once defined by their industrial work and have experienced the transformative process of deindustrialisation. In this context, Landsberg (2004) suggests that Halbwach's concept of collective memory is limited, failing to acknowledge the complex network of people, ideas, and cultures that have become 'dislocated' by modernity. Landsberg instead posits a prevalence of

"prosthetic memories", constructed inauthentic memory in light of these dislocations, reflecting some of Nora's ideas (see also Olick 1999:42). I return to this concept in terms of 'imaginaries' later in this chapter. Again, this project is not necessarily concerned with questions of authenticity, except in how local people perceive constructions of the past. As such, these are relevant debates to evaluate how industrial pasts continue to *matter* and how these pasts are communicated.

2.2.2. Democratising Heritage

Large bodies of scholarship have sought to critique conventional heritage approaches for their 'top-down' interventions that homogenise experiences of the past through large-scale projects and representations of history (Lowenthal 1985; Degnen 2005; Legg 2005; Weiss 2007; Buciek and Juul 2008; Graham and Howard 2008; Waterton and Smith 2010; Olick *et al.* 2011; Doss 2012; Muzaini 2012; Drozdowski *et al.* 2016; Tolia-Kelly *et al.* 2017b). The aforementioned attentiveness to 'memory' can be critiqued for overlooking the selective and political nature inherent in recalling, recounting and commemorating the past. However, there is still a valuable discussion to be had around the democratisation of heritage and what is represented, or unrepresented, in these more community-led projects (see, for example, Muzaini 2012; Huyssen 1995; see also Tolia-Kelly *et al.* 2017b). Again, the everydayness of memory that I am interested in does not necessarily exclude more formalised heritage practices in so far as embedded in communities and residents' everyday lives. This focus can also apply to rival interpretations of the past. Foucault's theory of 'counter memory' is fundamentally focused on how forms of collective memory establish a hegemony of the past, to reinforce power relations in the present and into the future. Foucault (2000) conceptualises that counter-memory acts as an attempt to subvert and resist these hegemonies (Legg 2005). These are also not necessarily unified perspectives of the past; in engaging with these debates, I aim to attend to the ambivalence of relations to industrial heritage.

An example of an attempt to create a sense of more democratised heritage is explored in Moreau and Alderman's (2012) example of the 'Graffiti house'. They consider visitors' input in spaces that depict graffiti from Civil War soldiers, altering the materiality of the site to reflect visitors entangled with official heritage. Memories in these spaces are not

only fixed according to the narrative but are continually remade as official efforts uncover older graffiti and as visitors contribute their new graffiti. This example highlights how even formalised heritage can be implicated in negotiating individual and shared histories, experiences and relationships to the past (Tanović 2019; Muziani 2016; Doss 2012). Through this example, heritage is seen as active and continually negotiated in the present as much as in the past. As I consider Ebbw Fach's relationship to the industrial past, engaging with the different narratives of the past that are emergent and negotiated within this community is essential to develop a nuanced perspective of heritage in the everyday landscape.

2.2.3. Imaginaries of Memory

When engaging with work on memory and heritage, the imaginary emerges as a critical concept. It is a well-recognised component in developing shared heritage and tradition (see Anderson 1991; Hobsbawm 1983). Building on this, Edensor (2008) highlights how particular imaginaries are associated with the working-class communities of the UK and how these imaginaries are rooted in broader contemporary depictions of such places, such as in film, TV and other forms of media (see also Linkon 2018; Strangleman 2007; Savage 2005; Phillips 2018). This argument is well-established and is being informed by my discussion of community identity. In this project, I seek to focus not on the depictions of working-class community but how, as Edensor states, "our own memories intersect with these mediated representations" (2008: 329).

Building on these ideas, Roberts (2012) further discusses 'imaginary geographies' drawn from artefacts, such as photographs that construct a particular image of the past. While Roberts (2012) focuses on intimate familial imaginary geographies, Kattago (2009:378) considers Ricoeur's (1991) concept of 'social imaginaries' as a series of "collective stories, histories and ideologies" that operate at a larger scale than the family, drawing communities into shared imaginaries. This concept is similar to Anderson's (1991) model of 'imagined communities', in which histories are mobilised to shape the identity of a specific group. These are all valuable debates to engage with as I consider the various ways that the industrial past may endure and that imaginaries are a form of enduring pasts.

I argue that these various narratives, representations, and personal memories construct 'imaginaries' from composite ideas of the past. This again problematises earlier ideas of 'authentic memory' as imaginaries are always situated within broader media representations of the past, such as the romanticised working-class community. I also consider heritage artefacts as a source of such depictions. To consider them as 'imaginaries' is not to diminish their importance; they are still mobilised in the contemporary to justify heritage actions, shape everyday behaviours, facilitate belonging, and mobilise certain political ideologies (see Ashworth *et al.* 2007; Calhoun 2003). Nor does it delineate these impressions of the past as 'false' or 'inauthentic' compared to personal memories. Rather 'imaginaries' as a term encompasses how expressions of the past can coalesce. I, therefore, do not position such imaginaries in opposition to 'real' pasts, but as a conceptualisation that can be inclusive of these multiple understandings that create an impression of the past and 'how it was'. The imaginaries emerge over time and from a myriad of experiences and representations of the past and usually do not invite questions of 'authenticity'; imaginaries are fundamentally subjective but *believed* to be universal and uncontested. As has been discussed above, the reliance on many shared forms of memory allows for these imaginaries of the past to be, whilst still fundamentally subjective, shared amongst those exposed to similar expressions of the past. In this research, I focus on a particular imaginary of the community, which I refer to as 'community-past' to indicate the aggregate and composed nature of this as an imaginary, not a fixed community that objectively existed, but rather an impression of how that community looked and functioned. For the same reason, I consider industrial pasts as multiple, rather than as a singular objective experience.

2.3. Registers of Memory

Throughout these previous theories regarding different forms of shared memory and heritage, different registers of memory are considered. This concept of 'registers' is taken from non-representational and affective works of literature within geography, particularly Lorimer (2008) as well as McCormack (2003), Edensor and Holloway (2008; Robinson and Sheldon (2019), as well as in Stewart's (2007:3-4) approach to ordinary

affect. Whilst none of these works provide a clear definition of registers, I use 'registers of memory' as an instance where the past can be recognised across various forms, whether narrative, material, sensed, etc. It also reflects work on landscape legibility, which I consider in this section (see 2.3.3). Therefore, in this section, I will explore work that approaches various registers of memory, namely materiality, bodies and place, before considering multiplicity as a way to engage with all of these registers.

In my consideration of different registers of memory, I will draw on theories of affect. Affect considers the intensities between bodies, spaces, atmospheres and objects, encapsulating materiality, landscapes, visceral experiences, instinctive reactions, sensations, and emotions (Lorimer 2008). As Wetherell (2012) notes, affect can also spring from discourses, allowing me to consider narrative understandings of the past as a crucial aspect of this work. I draw on the work of Stewart (2007) on 'ordinary affects', whose model has been applied to studies of memory by other geographers and social scientists, such as Degnen (2005), DeSilvey (2012), Horton and Kraftl (2012). Stewart (2007) is predominantly concerned with the affective qualities of everyday life and suggests that ordinary affects are:

*public feelings that begin and end in broad circulation, but they are also the stuff that seemingly intimate lives are made of.... Rooted not in fixed conditions of possibility but in the actual lines of potential that a **something** coming together calls to mind and sets in motion.*

(Ibid:2) [original emphasis]

I suggest that this idea of '*something* coming together' is ideally situated to consider how different registers of memory intersect, overlap, and interact, so I draw heavily on Stewart's ideas throughout this project. These experiences of coalescing (but not necessary interconnecting or collapsing) memory are revisited later in this chapter when I engage with the multiplicities of memory. However, affect is relevant to the other registers, forms and modes of memory that I discuss in this sub-section.

As Damasio (1999) suggests, affect is what allows the present to become transient and imbued with the resonances of the past. I do not engage with affect as a register of memory on its own. Bal (2015:151) conceptualises affect as a "medium, not a message" by which to 'perform' others' memory through engagement with various registers, such

as an art installation. Whilst I am dubious about the researcher's capacity (myself) to 'perform' the memory of others in the case of this research, adopting affect as a 'medium' to engage with memory is central to this project. I explore this in greater detail in the methodology chapter (see section 3.2.1.).

2.3.1. Materiality and Memory

The theme of materiality within work on memory and heritage is extensive and has been approached in various forms. Many of the theories mentioned above of collective memory and heritage acknowledge the role of material objects in representing the past and reconstructing these ideas in the present. A significant amount of work has considered the representational work done by objects in formal heritage contexts (see Hoskins 2007, Littler 2008, Winter 1992, 1995, 2006; Foote 2003; Till 2003; McLean 2008; Hoelscher and Alderman 2004 for discussions of this preoccupation) and how these reinforce particular identities according to certain narratives (see Kansteiner 2002; Nora 1989; Winter 1992; 1995, 2006; Smith 2006). According to Olick (2010:158), it is possible to conceptualise mnemonic practices and products that "include stories, rituals, books, statues, presentations, speeches, images, pictures, records, historical studies, surveys etc.", which also reflects Connerton's (1989) concept of inscribed memory. I adopt this broader approach to materiality, considering the myriad of ways that memory can be traced in material forms, whilst I will also consider the embodied aspects of the products that Olick considers.

Curation is a process of selection, wherein objects are valued, preserved and presented with particular constructions of the past; it is an inherently political set of decisions of what is worthy of preservation and display, how objects may stabilise particular shared identities (Kansteiner 2002). However, these decisions do not always take place in impersonal large-scale heritage settings like national museums and in smaller local collections that are more immediate to the everyday settings with which I am concerned in this project. For example, Blakely and Moles (2019) consider the gift-giving nature of contributing to local history projects, archives and displays, in the context of Six Bells (one of the research areas of this project). This engagement highlights the complexity of how we may conceptualise artefacts; they not only serve to represent a collective past but also may represent and provide opportunities to express more individualised and

personal biographies within formal heritage spaces (see Clark and Cheshire 2003; Crang and Tolia-Kelly 2010; Muzaini 2012; Tanović 2019). These materials further a sense of authenticity for heritage sites, as Blakely and Moles (2019) discuss, as well as allowing for an engagement between individual memory and collective memory (Halbwachs 1992 [1941]).

Curation and display also occur in settings that are not readily recognised as heritage spaces, such as homes, as Tolia-Kelly (2004; 2006; 2010) discusses. Material objects represent particular aspects of personal and family histories and further provide a sense of authenticity and connections to the histories of the home-owners, in the case of Indian diaspora in the UK in Tolia-Kelly's (2010) work. She discusses material objects such as shrines and mandirs convey Hindu heritage and therefore construct identity. This work provides an example of how identity can be represented through material artefacts that may indicate particular heritages, such as religious and national heritage, in the case of Tolia-Kelly's work. I am interested in how material artefacts may be enrolled in everyday practices, and how they may be present in everyday spaces like homes, how they may endure, decay and how they become bestowed with symbolic meaning.

Regardless of their setting, objects are perceived as providing a sense of authenticity, acting as a material signifier of some continuity from the past (Assmann 2008, 2010; Tanović 2019). This tendency is even stronger when 'personal' memories of an event are diminished (Assmann 2008; Winter 2008). In this context, Assmann's model of 'cultural memory' is focused on the materiality of memory and other registers, allowing for the collection of 'objectified culture' in the absence of personal memory (see also Kansteiner 2002). Material artefacts and signifiers of these pasts address the anxiety of forgetting that Connerton (2008) discusses as a sign that remembrance is guaranteed through the permanence of objects. This argument is particularly evident in the case of memorials intended to ensure remembrance through their materiality alone. Additionally, it is important to reflect on the affective intensity of such materials, in how they might *move* visitors or onlookers, and how 'authentic' an object may appear is also relevant to the capacity of such a memorial or artefact to be affecting (Massumi 2002).

Alternatively, Nora (1989) suggests that the curation of archives allows for societal forgetting, as Kansteiner (2002: 143) quotes from Nora, that the action of curating commemorative materials is an act of "delegating the responsibility for remembering". Likewise, Horton and Kraftl (2013:38) highlight how materials do not necessarily ensure remembrance; that sometimes it is possible to forget the meaning of an object that has been kept. Whilst their discussion is about personal objects that have been stored, this loss of meaning and forgetting can also be ascribed to other materials. Memorials, despite their clear purpose of commemoration, can become removed from their intended meanings, subject to material decay as well as the loss of wider narratives that bestow these materials with meaning, (as Locke 1997:149, quoted in Whitehead 2009) states that even inscriptions on memorials will decay to "dust and confusion".

Considering these relationships between materiality and memory thus far has highlighted the importance of materials' representational role to act as artefacts from the past or to catalyse remembrance. However, as well as often being imbued with personal biographies, objects' materiality also has biographies beyond these heritage narratives, reflecting Appadurai's (1996) work on the *Social Life of Things* and a broader 'material turn' within human geography and the social sciences (Harrison 2013:36). Again, it is possible to consider the role of affect here, as Stewart (2007) argues that objects imbued with memorial importance become 'textured' and have greater affective capacities. Likewise, Hoskins (2007) conceptualises the importance of the materiality within memorial sites, echoing Foote's (2003:5) assertion of the agency of objects, suggesting that they "play an active role in their own interpretation" (quoted in Hoskins 2007:438). Hoskins (2007) does not remove these memorial objects from the narration that is ascribed to them. Instead, he engages with how these narrations are 'attached' to certain forms of matter and how the biographies and physical qualities of these objects are enrolled in memorial work. Terranova-Webb (2012) draws on Nora (1989) to argue that memory is 'rooted' in these various forms in place and conceptualises these forms as 'traces', drawing on the work of Pearson and Shanks (2001:9). As she explores, these forms do not only 'root' the past-in-present, but also allow for the imaginary of how these past traces (both tangible and intangible) may endure into a potential future that will unfold in that place.

This approach also allows for unexpected contributions that might emerge from

engaging with materialities, again highlighting the agency of objects to alter how the past can be recalled. For instance, objects can catalyse particular remembering, often unexpected or affective intensities, that can become entangled with the official narration of such heritages. This can also take place with personal artefacts, altering the recollection of personal memories and how they are rooted in particular objects. As Horton and Kraftl (2012:25) argue "memories may be unearthed, recast or (re)made in/through encounters with material objects, in/through particular life-course events." In the case of this research project, it is helpful to consider object biographies and how they have come to be presented in heritage contexts, to engage with the interconnections between the community, local individuals and their biographies, as well as memorials, and how these memorials may matter and impact experiences of place.

Additionally, when considering the agency of materials, it is helpful to engage with work that considers ruination and decay as a way of engaging with memory and heritage. Here I draw on the work of DeSilvey (2006, 2012, 2017) and Edensor (2005a; 2005b; 2007; 2008), and their joint paper (DeSilvey and Edensor 2012) especially. In this work, they consider the alternative histories, often in post-industrial or deindustrialising contexts, that can be revealed by engaging with the material traces of such histories in sites of ruin. These objects are not enrolled in the heritage curation discussed above, but they still represent often mundane aspects of the past and the processes that have led to their current state. Indeed, DeSilvey (2006:324) suggests that the processes of decay that occur alter materialities in such a way that "the disarticulation of the object may lead to the articulation of other histories and other geographies." Considering discarded objects in a landscape highlights the potential of materiality to represent the past beyond only human agency: Not all representations of the past are curated. These discarded objects have the power to suggest alternative interpretations of the past that would otherwise be obscured. This discussion is especially relevant to my third research question, which considers the aspects of the past that can be traced in the landscape but may also be easily overlooked.

In this dissertation, I attempt to engage with legacies of industrial heritage beyond conventional heritage practices and representations. So, this work on ruination and decay is especially relevant as it is conventionally excluded from these discussions,

despite being fundamental to everyday life and landscape (DeSilvey 2017). For example, DeSilvey (2012) considers how material traces of a copper mining industry in Cornish landscapes can punctuate the everyday with different and moving moments relating to the industrial past. It is this approach that I seek to adopt in the landscapes of Ebbw Fach, and I revisit DeSilvey's ideas in this chapter as well as in the methodology chapter (see chapter 3). I am not only interested in discarded or decaying objects. Instead, I consider how all objects may reflect Proust's (1928:61) statement that "the past is hidden somewhere outside the realm, beyond the reach of intellect, in some material object (in the sensation that the material object will give us) which we do not expect."

Whilst I have considered the practices of curation relevant to the *materiality* of memory, there is also an extensive body of work that considers the practices relevant to memory work, and much of this work draws on the interconnection between material artefacts and practices of memory. This is evident in Olick's (2010:158) list of mnemonic practices and products, as I listed above, featuring speeches, rituals, and stories. Such practices contribute to and reconstruct forms of cultural memory that Assmann (2006) and Bal *et al.* (1999) conceptualise. As Hoskins (2007:441) states, objects "enable, shape and precipitate social relations". To reflect on the practices associated with materiality, it is not only those particular practices are attached to some materials, but that there are series of practices that are "recycled back and forth across forms of materiality", according to Povinelli (2013: 118). These practices reinforce a 'way of life' that is entangled and 'made of' these materials and the associated bodies. Whilst they are not necessarily commemorative practices, they exist as a form of endurance of the past that can be conceptualised as a form of embodied memory even if it is easily overlooked. This conceptualisation of practices as emergent highlights the importance of embodied approaches.

This section has provided an overview of the various ways in which engaging with materiality is central to addressing the research questions outlined in chapter 1. Fundamentally, materiality provides an opportunity to unsettle linear temporalities and clear heritage narratives, to reveal aspects of the past that may be otherwise overlooked whilst still enduring in and shaping everyday life through practices and the affective experience of engaging with such objects. I will go on to discuss these practices in the following section on embodiment. Objects are fundamentally multi-temporal, with their

biographies, meanings, and representations that express the past into the present, and for this project, materiality is a central concept that I consider in all aspects of the research.

2.3.2. Embodiment and Memory

This section will briefly outline a series of approaches that incorporate embodiment and memory and the role of affect within some of these theories. Bodies are a critical focus of this project, mainly due to my interest in memory, a phenomenon that cannot be disentangled from bodies (Connerton 1989; Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012a). However, this endeavour is also tricky; bodies can act as both traces of the past and as a key element of experiencing resonances of the past, even simultaneously. The body is an inextricable component of almost all aspects of memory, and so this section attempts to draw some clear linear arguments from an inherently multiplicitous relationship between memory and bodies. Also, the literature on embodiment from just within human geography is vast. Therefore, I will not provide a comprehensive review of such work; rather, I focus on scholarship that considers the relationship between embodiment and memory. Ideas of performativity, identity, practices, emotions and affect, all contribute to these discussions, as the work of Butler (1991), Bondi (2005), Davidson *et al.* (2005), Anderson and Smith (2001), Wetherell (2012) and Pile (2010) inform this more specific discussion on embodiment and memory.

Memory is often perceived as purely personal and biological, with bodies as the 'holders' of linear individual biographies (Halbwachs 1992 [1941], 1980 [1951]). This perception endures in many approaches that engage with forms of collective memory, including Halbwachs (1992 [1941], 1980 [1951]), and this is a frequent critique of his work. Hoskins (2012:246-247) suggests an enduring tendency within work on memory to reinforce problematic binaries between biological memory and the external world. Addressing this binary is critical for this project, as I seek to engage with the enduring importance of memory, whether individual, collective, imagined and so on. I consider the body as a key component in the nexus wherein memory is recalled, expressed, experienced, imagined, felt in terms of emotion and affect, in multi-sensory form and in ways that are difficult to articulate.

By engaging with embodied memory, these binaries begin to destabilise. We can see this particularly clearly in theories of shared embodied memory³. Firstly, this theory establishes that the body can also experience collective social forms of memory, not only individual memory (Connerton 1989; Degnen 2016). The affective nature of engaging with memory that is held between wider groups has been considered extensively. Landsberg (2004) argues that even the 'prosthetic memories', which are not rooted in personal experience, can be experienced in an embodied way. In terms of embodied memory that is not any form of personal recollection, post-memory is also interesting to consider (Hirsch 2008; To 2016). Hirsch (2008) defines post-memory as the 'transmission' of memory across generations despite a lack of 'personal' experiences of such trauma in the younger generations. Hirsch (2008:109) states that post-memory "approximates memory in its affective force," highlighting its inherently embodied and relational nature. I cannot necessarily use post-memory in this thesis, as it is not something I can experience as an outsider in the research area. However, identifying how participants' bodies are affected by recalling pasts that were not their biographies is critical. I seek to engage with this in my own body throughout the research and consider the embodied experiences of others who recall these shared pasts and experiences of deindustrialisation (see also Walkerdine and Jimenez 2012). I argue that, as industrial traces endure in the landscape, these embodied experiences of emotion and affect are interwoven into everyday life.

Secondly, this theory considers that the body is "shaped...by cultural practices, rituals, roles, and artifacts that the lived body adopts, or assimilates to, from birth on" (Fuchs 2017:336). Life shapes bodies, as Back (2007) considers extensively, regarding how bodies are inscribed or scarred, as a construction of identity, often according to class, race and gender (Butler 1991). This debate is particularly relevant in the context of communities that have been enrolled in physical labour, as in the coal mining industry (Charlesworth 2000; Day 2006:77), as an embodied practice involving significant heavy physical labour with many health risks from accidents, uncomfortable working conditions, and breathing in coal dust. Therefore, I focus on how individuals may

³ Not all of these works use the term 'embodied collective memory'; Fuchs (2017) develops this term. However, I adopt it as an overall practical theory of how shared, collective memories can be related to bodies.

embody their own experiences, practices, and the wider political forces that shape such behaviours and how these inscriptions may be expressed, communicated or experienced by others.

Theories have considered the role of cultural practices in establishing shared or collective memory, such as Halbwachs (1992 [1941]), Assmann (2006, 2010 also see Redepenning 2012), Olick and Robbins (1998), Winter (1992; 2006). Winter (1992; 1995; 2006; 2008), for example, discusses how commemorative events and practices around dead soldiers during the First World War, in particular, are used to reinforce national identities, emphasising the practices of commemoration and collective mourning. These various works inform this project as I consider shared practices. However, Narvaez (2006) has argued that much work that focuses on symbols and practices of collective memory has remained 'disembodied', and I follow this argument in my work. As Narvaez discusses, considering embodied practices allows for a critical and political engagement in how they are established and how and why they endure. This endurance, again, is crucial to this research project, as it allows for an appreciation of another register of how industrial life may endure and be understood as fundamental to collective memory in post-industrial communities. I also consider my own body as a component of the analysis; my body being-in-landscape is a key aspect of my ethnographic research (Emery 2018a). Whilst I conceptualise memory as subject to imaginaries, affects, and (re)construction, it is still negotiated with and through the body, and so as I engaged with these resonances of the past, my body was essential to the analysis I conducted.

Fuchs (2017) combines these various forms of embodied memory to propose a theory of 'collective body memories' which he describes as:

"an ensemble of behavioral and interactive dispositions characterising the members of a social group, which have developed in the course of earlier shared experiences and now prefigure similar interactions of the group."

(ibid:341)

The concept of embodied collective memory allows for a more nuanced understanding of collective memory and enables inscriptions and practices to be further integrated with other registers of memory. These 'ensembles' are not necessarily limited to the formal heritage practices discussed above, such as in Winter's work and the similar

approaches. Instead, they include mundane everyday practices and behaviours, including everyday mobility practices, which is particularly relevant for my first empirical chapter. By incorporating formalised and mundane practices, this approach to embodied practices is beneficial for addressing my interest in the intersection of different forms of memory. Again, it is not necessarily the case that I aim to 'access' the collective body memories of my participants. Instead, I aim to look for ways that considering shared practices, behaviours, inscriptions and so on may illustrate a form of endurance from industrial life into contemporary post-industrial presents.

By considering the embodied practices of memory and how they endure, I also contemplate *absent* bodies. This idea of absence is interwoven throughout this research project, and I consider the idea of "spectral bodies" drawing on Edensor (2005a, 2005b). He suggests that "bodies are also implied in their traces" (2005:158), reflecting the above focus on materiality but acknowledging that the non-human can also invoke the absent human. As Terranova-Webb (2012) discusses, these traces can be intangible, allowing for us to conceptualise the role of the spectral as a trace. Edensor (2005b) suggests that these absent bodies are present in their spectrality, haunting the spaces and continually bringing the past into actualisation within the present through their implied presence. Whether this can be described as a form of embodiment is debatable. However, these absences, again, are understood through the embodied experiences of 'being-there'. I also consider Nesbitt and Tolia-Kelly (2009) 's ideas, who consider how focusing on the embodied experience of a heritage site can make these spaces 'intelligible', allowing subjective access to the 'embodied archaeologies' of heritage sites. I will now consider scholarship on the importance of experiencing memory through the landscape, in the following section dedicated to place, developing an integrated understanding of how best to engage with many registers of memory at once.

2.3.3. Memory and Place

This section briefly outlines the varied approaches to place that are commonly considered in work on memory and heritage, particularly in so far as they have been integrated into geographical work. How these interpretations can contribute to place identities are explored here and in section 2.4, which considers community identity and belonging concerning memory in greater depth. Geographers are ideally located to

reflect on the spatial aspects of memory and heritage due to the focus on these key concepts within the discipline (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012c:85-87), and place is central to this research project. Places are readily defined by their histories and their connections to histories of other places (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012b). Further highlighting the constructive role of heritage and how it may be instrumentalised in the remaking of place, heritage is used to justify and accompany regeneration programmes (see Aitchison and Evans 2010; Dicks 2000; Miles 2006; Lewis 2016; Phillips and Stein 2016; Thompson 2020).

As is made clear in the above approaches, many collective identities are tied to places and constructed through heritage and memory work. This argument has been most widely considered in the case of national identity but can also be applied to other shared identities such as ethnicity and locality, which all invoke particular aspects of place in their reconstruction and expression (see, for example, Redepenning 2012; Dicks 2000). The work of Tolia-Kelly on diaspora reinforces how this process does not even necessarily require memory to be located in such places. Rather, spatially distant places can be reconstructed and form an integral part of one's identity. This reconstruction reinforces the ability of memory to address issues of absence, as the absent place is made present elsewhere (Tolia-Kelly 2006; Jones 2015).

Nevertheless, much of the work on heritage and its connection to place focuses on the actual places where the past is represented, such as memorial sites. Many memorials are placed on the same site as past events commemorated, as McDowell (2008) discusses (see also Doss 2012). McDowell (2008:37) describes an "impulse to inscribe memory at and onto the site". Place, therefore, becomes inherently tied to and defined by past events that are commemorated there. Referring back to inscriptions of memory in material senses, such as through monuments, statues, plaques, and memorialisation practices, such as ceremonies and vigils, these all contribute to this demarcation of certain places as sites of memory.

Since I am concerned with how these places are made relevant in contemporary everyday lives, literature that addresses such heritage sites' experiential qualities is vital. Again, this engages with forms of emotion and affect and representations of heritage in these sites. Roberts' (2019:112) work on the "landscape of uncanny, shifting,

overlapping and contradictory affects and territories" is applicable here, as it not only considers the narratives perpetuated in memorial sites but the more ephemeral experiential quality of accessing these sites. This idea is of even greater significance for memorial sites that feature minimal narrative explanations, such as information boards or memorial plaques, which is also relevant for a number of the memorial sites within the fieldwork area. In the absence of clear narrative explanations for these memorials, practices, personal sensations, experiences of affect and the imaginaries that we hold about commemorated events are foregrounded.

Many have discussed how these various forms of memory are experienced within place, following Benjamin (1985) and de Certeau (1984), as well as other phenomenological approaches to landscape such as Wylie (2005) and Lorimer (2012). These works inform my ideas on the importance of the body-in-landscape. Foote (2003:33) discusses how a 'cultural landscape' works as a "communicational resource, a system of signs and symbols", thus suggesting that landscapes are crucial to how the past is communicated amongst a population. However, Foote (2003) also considers the communicative power of the landscape even in the absence of material memorials to particular events, highlighting that this attentiveness to cultural landscape is an approach that includes, but is not limited to, materiality (see also Legg 2005:484). Landscape is a central component in the (re)construction and contestation of the past (McDowell 2005). Similarly, Cosgrove and Daniels (1988:1) note how landscape can be a "cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings".

These approaches are holistic, and whilst they are easily applicable to heritage sites with explicit memorial purposes, they can also be applied to sites that are less obviously associated with commemoration. Additionally, they attend to material traces, as I discussed above regarding Terranova-Webb's (2012) work, as well as intangible traces. They also encompass more individualised remembering and how they may be combined with other collective memorial processes (Muzaini 2012). These individual remembering also shape experiences of place: Jones and Garde-Hansen (2012c:86) discuss how a particular physical place can have "a unique configuration...a place where something special happened (first kiss or the death of a loved one)". By engaging with landscapes more broadly, we can also decentre orthodox spaces of heritage as the only place where memory is relevant, a strong criticism of both heritage and memory studies

(Atkinson 2007; Hebbert 2005). I draw on work on everyday places in which memory is interwoven, such as streetscapes (Hebbert 2005), the home (Tolia-Kelly 2004; 2006; 2010), and other frequently visited mundane spaces (Atkinson 2007; Degnen 2016). This work is relevant due to this project's focus on everyday experiences of industrial pasts and considering the mundane traces of these pasts in various forms.

These approaches highlight the importance of the embodied experience of 'being-in' landscape when engaging with the past. This comprehension of different aspects of memory is described by DeSilvey (2012) as the landscape being 'legible'. As she states (2012:47), "I have come to think that these memories become legible only through encounter, a momentary alignment of person and place." DeSilvey's approach is beneficial for this project, as it highlights the connective nature of forms of memory and how they are ultimately aligned to allow us to 'make sense' of the past and its relationship to place, whilst not necessarily ascribing a fixed meaning or interpretation of memory. Whilst this is a fundamentally subjective experience of relating to the past, I further argue that the constructions and practices of memory that are also part of this research are also relevant to this idea of legibility and form a multiplicity of memory and landscape. I will now go on to consider these different ways of relating to multiplicity in the landscape.

2.3.4. Multiplicities of Memory

This research explores a synthesised approach of many of these theories of memory and how they exist in these varied and complex forms that I have explored here, such as material, embodied, affective, and political. I argue that these many experiences exist in a form of *multiplicity*, according to Roffe's (2010: 181-182) interpretation of the Deleuzian concept. Namely, multiplicity is a "complex structure that does not reference a prior unity". I believe that this is a valuable way of conceptualising memory as inherently partial and multi-modal: comprised of many forms, experiences, structures, narratives, sensations, affects and so on. It can never be experienced in any form of totality, either through personal recollection or shared cultural experiences. There is no 'prior unity' or singular universal industrial past to be referenced. Individuals do not experience memory in discrete singular terms, nor clear instances of only one register catalysing one clear recollection from the past. Instead, memory is contradictory,

sometimes confusing, and without a clear rationale, emerging as affective, ephemeral or partial. I argue that multiplicity as a concept is crucial to encapsulate these various registers and experiences of memory.

Many other academics have drawn on both Deleuzian and Bergsonian ideas of both temporality and memory to approach their work into collective forms of memory or heritage, such as Bright (2018), May (2017), Lorimer (2010), Wylie (2007), Walkerdine and Jiménez (2012); this is not a novel combination of theory and application. Other theorists drawing on Deleuzian and Bergsonian ideas such as Grosz (1999) and Massumi (2002) contribute helpful perspectives on these multiplicities and how they may relate to memory, considering the interactions of multiple temporalities as unlimited, laden with possibilities of becoming as they account for potential futures, but also embodied and material (see also Povenilli 2013 and Crouch 2015 on theoretical approaches from Deleuze). Considering this work, this project engages with and seeks to contribute to work which conceptualises "multi-dimensional space-time able to cope with multiplicity" (May and Thrift 2001:2). In the case of endurance, which is a helpful way of considering connections to the past, Pavinelli (2013:32) states that: "[e]nduring isn't a singularity... Every scene of endurance... is shot through with multiple and incommensurate configurations of tense, eventfulness, and ethical substance and aggregations of life."

Despite this heavily theoretical approach, I argue that these reflections on multiplicity are ideally situated perspectives to understand the experiential qualities of memory and how we can consider the complexity of these experiences. Instead, memories are often partial, surprising, involuntary, fleeting, interwoven and invoked in circuitries (to borrow from DeSilvey 2012) with the world around us and the world imagined, into phantom realms as Edensor (2005b) explores. This argument relates well to ideas of 'temporal collages', a metaphor frequently used by Edensor (2005b; 2008), drawing on Lynch's (1972) definition of the concept. Importantly, Lynch's (1972) conceptualisation acknowledges a degree of curation about what is preserved and what is added to the 'collage', a practical aspect when considered in light of the practices of heritage that I discussed previously in this chapter, and which will feature throughout this thesis.

Therefore, ideas of multiplicity are central to the approach of this project. Here, I will outline some social scientists who have provided potential frameworks for engaging with these multiplicities of memory during research and whose approaches have informed how I conceptualise these multiplicities in my work. Focusing on the spatiality of memory, I attempt to construct maps of 'memory ecologies' as conceptualised by Hoskins (2016). Hoskins suggests that 'memory ecologies' help consider how individuals transact and transverse atmospheres, affects, places and spaces, to understand how spatialised experiences catalyse particular memories. DeSilvey (2012) also conceptualises 'affective circuitries', an approach that focuses mainly on moments of 'recognition', either experienced in the landscape, during later contemplation or in surprising moments of connection DeSilvey (2012) terms 'connective autoethnography'. This consideration of how comprehension happens, and that does not always occur in-place, is helpful, as it is particularly suitable when reflecting on fieldwork (see section 3.4.3). DeSilvey considers moments that are notable by their affective resonance, drawing on Stewart's (2007) aforementioned concept of 'ordinary affects'. The work of Stewart and how DeSilvey (2012), Emery (2018;2019b;2020), and Horton and Kraftl (2012) apply it to memory research is instrumental and underpins my approach. By engaging with ordinary affects and similar approaches, it is possible to not only engage with the histories of the place but how my biographies that shape my capacity to be affected, as an individual who grew up in a post-industrial place and with a particular preoccupation with the topic (see Massumi 2002 on these ideas of capacity). Since these theories account for such subjectivity, which I believe to be central to this research approach, they provide ideal concepts that I draw on throughout this project.

DeSilvey's approach is also attuned particularly well to material traces of the past, which incidentally is also an industrial past, further highlighting this approach's utility for my research. It is a combination of both memory ecologies and affective circuitries, which I feel the best approach to this research to address the many registers of memory in its multiplicity. These approaches are attentive to the changeability and evanescent character of memory, the surprising and emergent quality of engaging with memory as a topic of study, and the acknowledgement of subjective negotiation of temporalities whilst still providing clear frameworks on how to address these aspects of such research.

I apply such approaches to the context of a post-industrial landscape to conjure my ecologies of memory and affective resonances and address the key research questions. Considering how multiple temporalities 'fold' the industrial past into the present and how they are made apparent to me is an attempt to conceptualise how others in the area and the community may experience these temporalities. Fundamentally, it is a subjective emotional engagement, as all engagements with memory must be. Nevertheless, it is orientated towards addressing the potential for considering these complexities and multiplicities for those who reside in these post-industrial contexts and Ebbw Fach. This chapter has outlined the various areas of scholarship that have attended to various registers of memory that I seek to integrate into these 'ecologies' and address some of the key debates that relate to the broader discussions of heritage and memory.

2.4. Community, Identity and Belonging

As outlined in chapter 1.3, distinctive representations of 'typical', 'working-class' or 'industrial' communities were commonplace within the social sciences throughout the 20th century, even as they experienced deindustrialisation (for example, Young and Wilmott 1957; Dennis *et al.* 1969; Bulmer 1975; Bell and Newby 1971; Townsend 1983; Warwick and Littlejohn 1992; see also Day 2006; Critcher 1979). Therefore, imaginaries of a 'working-class community' have become central to how social scientists now conceptualise the state of post-industrialised places. However, these works were rarely critical of the term 'community' itself, and instead, it was often employed to describe geographical localities of people operating in shared space. This section will engage with some of the debates surrounding the term community, in so far as it relates to notions of shared pasts or collective memory, before addressing the relationship between community and belonging.

Amit's (2002) overview of approaches to community has highlighted two analytical foci of research into communities, namely, the role of interaction and the role of imagination. The first approach privileges the role of interaction in the construction of community, such as "kinship ties, religious participation, informal systems of support" (Amit 2002:4). These approaches are frequently apparent in the working-class

community work noted above, highlighting the additional role of shared work lives and the shared experience of deindustrialisation and job loss (see Strangleman et al., 2013; Smith and Campbell, 2017). This role that practising community plays is well established in how people may create a 'sense of place' through the performance of community (Fortier 1999). This highlights, as well, the role of locality. Whilst not all communities are geographically rooted (see Olwig 2002; Tetty and Puplampu 2005; Tolia-Kelly 2004, 2006, 2010), in the case of this research, the conceptualisations of community that overlap with locality are most valuable; it is in these localised spaces and shared geographies in which community is constituted, practised and performed (c.f. Sampson and Goodrich 2005; Appadurai 1996).

Alternatively, others focus on the role of imagined identities, which Olwig (2002) suggests, are rooted in 'sentiment', such as Anderson's work on 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991). Previously I have discussed how imaginaries can be constructed through different forms of memory and representations of the past, and this is necessary to consider how the working-class community is conceptualised (see also chapter 4). Olwig (2002:127) suggests that these imagined communities are more commonly mobilised on broad scales, such as for diaspora or around national politics. However, these imaginaries are frequently mobilised on more localised scales, through particular practices and narratives of the past and the present, frequently presenting as forms of nostalgia (May 2017; Nayak 2003; Dicks 1997; 2000). In the case of mining communities, Bulmer (1975;1978) focused on the importance of 'community spirit' or 'community solidarity' as part of the imaginary of the mining community, often articulated by those who were members of such localities.

Both of the approaches outlined by Amit consider how community is constructed through interactions, senses of belonging and perceptions of shared identities (cf Cohen 1982). As Calhoun states, "the sense of belonging to a community is directly founded on the social relationships through which one does belong to a community" (1983: 89). Distinct delineations between forms of community are often difficult to map onto the everyday experiences of such communities.

Additionally, memory and heritage play a crucial role in the establishment of both these practices and imaginaries. As discussed throughout the preceding chapter, many aspects

of identity are rooted in various forms of formalised cultural heritage practices and associated narratives of the past and forms of collective and individual memory. When perceptibly shared amongst a collective, these identities form the basis for both the identity of the community itself and the associated practices of that community (Muzaini 2012; Legg 2005; Tolia-Kelly 2010; Dicks 2000). Models of place identity, embedded mythology, and local culture can all be applied to how community as a concept is rooted in a sense of a shared past. As I have discussed above, negotiating large-scale structural changes creates reliance on these imaginaries of community, and May (2017:404) relates this to belonging, stating "memory can be used to ameliorate a present lack of belonging". Of course, these imaginaries of community are based on pluralistic rememberings, but they are coherently mobilised around past events to construct these particular community events (see also Dessingué 2015).

Additionally, the importance of (or the perception of having) shared experiences is recognised in the construction of communities (see Olick *et al.*, 2011; Assmann, 2008; Margalit, 2002). Whether imagined, directly recollected or constructed, these shared pasts are intrinsic to the establishment of an imaginary of the community identity, but as well as for practices, such as commemorative events. More mundane practices, such as those discussed previously, are also relevant, as particular activities become associated with a community and are continued into the present as 'something we do'.

In the context of post-industrial communities, Warwick and Littlejohn (1992:12-14) identify the importance of social networks and shared traditions, sentiments and values, as being the basis of 'community', drawing on other traditional sociological investigations of industrial communities (see Lee and Newby 1983). Similarly, Linkon and Russo (2002:66) outline how these geographically bounded rememberings form a 'community of memory' in their particular research context, a post-industrial ex-steel working community in Ohio, USA. The many forms of memory that have been outlined throughout this chapter are intrinsic to the establishment of everyday practices and the shared identity of the community. Community identity is constructed in these sites around notable events. For example, Rees (1985) explores how the notion of community was mobilised for political reasons throughout the 1970s and 1980s in Wales, protesting pit closures (see also Gilbert 1995; Herbert 2005; Dicks 2000:89). These events become

part of collective rememberings, embedded in imaginaries and recollections of more everyday life.

Whilst this section thus far has focused on conceptualisations of community, it is also critically important to consider the role of belonging. In this thesis, the community is employed to consider how collective identities rooted in the specified localities are conceptualised by individuals within the area and by the researcher. A 'sense of community' may be accounted for by participants and residents, or experienced by the researcher, whether affectively or through observations of particular practices. Belonging, by extension, can be understood as to how an individual positions themselves into this broader collective. Again this may be accounted for by individuals or perceived by the researcher in interactions in the area. This argument can also be applied to more localised collective identities, reinforcing the relevance of the subjective sense of community and associated sense of belonging (Garbutt 2009; Cresswell 2004).

Engaging with the complexities of these constructions of community and forms of belonging can also highlight the relevance of post-humanistic approaches. As many such as Hawke (2011), Degnen (2005) and Huigen and Meijering (2005) have outlined, engaging with the landscape as multi-temporal can also provide significant engagements with the complexities of community and belonging. For both (Degnen 2005) and Hawke (2011), this is applied to post-industrial, contested contexts. Hawke explains, drawing on Korpela (1989), that place can provide a sense of continuing identity. Considering the material and affective endurance, we can conceptualise a broader understanding of belonging and community as individuals engage with multiplicities of memory within their everyday lives.

Fundamentally, this section has outlined belonging and community in similar ways. Both are constructed, rooted in imaginaries and narratives of the past, present and future. Both are practised and performed in everyday lives. Belonging relies on these constructions of community, as an individual orientates themselves within the collective, but it is also an amalgamation of aspects that create emotive and affective senses about the community and place. Antonisch (2010) describes approaches from Dipose (2005), hooks (2009) and Game (2001) of community as "affective bodies inclined towards the other in a pre-reflective, felt and lived (rather than negotiated)

dimension of belonging together and to places" (Antonisch 2010:19). This quote serves to illustrate how these multiple forms of 'being in place' can be understood, cumulating in these 'inclinations' or experiences of alienation or marginalisation (see also Emery 2018a, 2018b).

2.5. Conclusion: Geographies of Post-Industrial Memory

This chapter has provided framings of the extensive literature that engages with memory, heritage and its relationship to place, community and identity. This study aims to consider the many ways that industrial pasts may endure and matter in the post-industrial contemporary setting. Therefore, an attentiveness to the vast array of ways that memory could potentially have emerged throughout the fieldwork process necessitated the engagement with the breadth of literature presented here. Rather than provide any speculative answers to the aforementioned research questions, this literature instead establishes an arsenal of approaches that informed the fieldwork and the analysis of such ephemeral and elusive empirical content whilst still building on some clear arguments within existing scholarship.

I have introduced the key debates within memory and heritage so far as they are relevant to everyday lived experiences in the research context. Engaging with Nora's (1989) concepts of *milieux* or *lieux de memoire*, I have outlined some concerns from within social sciences regarding how authentic representations with the past are understood. Since I am primarily concerned with what these representations *do*, following the presented array of scholarship considering the constructive nature of such representations, I do not want to contribute to this debate regarding authenticity. Instead, I consider how perceptions of authenticity are interwoven in how heritage is related to the everyday. By extension, how expressions of heritage may be democratised, contested, and interpreted in different ways is relevant. This discussion has highlighted the importance of engaging with individual perspectives of heritage and individuals' agency to relate their ideas of the past onto such expression. Finally, in this section, I have considered how various representations of heritage may contribute to 'imaginaries' of the past. I argue that these imaginaries are potent impressions of the past that often subsume these authenticity debates. Within this section, I introduce the

idea of 'community-past' for how I conceptualise the imaginary of the industrial past in Ebbw Fach. Additionally, I also provided an argument for why I have relied more heavily on the concept of memory than heritage for the majority of this project, as memory affords a more inclusive approach to different emergences of the past (DeSilvey 2012: 47).

In the second major section of this chapter (2.3), I introduced the various ways that memory can be experienced in particular 'registers'. The discussion has focused on materiality, embodiment and place in particular, but throughout has also considered the role of affect as a 'medium' to engage with memory (see Bal 2015:151). This section has aimed to illustrate not how these registers can be understood independent of each other but rather how they may all be experienced *at once* and still have characteristics that are unique to particular modes. Therefore, the final sub-section in this section presents an engagement with ideas of multiplicity. I have argued that multiplicity encapsulates the multi-modal, emergent and ephemeral nature of engaging with memory in this research. I highlighted DeSilvey's (2012) work on 'affective circuitries' and Hoskins (2016) on 'memory ecologies' as crucial examples of how I aimed to engage with memory throughout this fieldwork. Hebbert (2005:592) refers to the "accumulation of memories from below, through the physical and associative traces left by interweaving patterns of everyday life", and this is fundamental to how I have come to think of memory within this project.

In the final section of this chapter, I illustrated how imaginaries of the community-past and experiences of multiplicities of memory in the contemporary context have constructive outcomes. Focusing in the final section on how community, place identity and belonging are constructed and experienced in and with forms of memory allows for this research to provide an essential empirical grounding, rather than remaining focused only on the expressions of the past. These expressions continue to *do things* in the post-industrial context of Ebbw Fach. This is primarily the gap in the existing literature which this project seeks to address; how can we consider both the multiplicities of memory that emerge throughout a landscape and a community that has been transformed by structural changes *whilst also* considering the ways that resonances of the past continue to *matter* and shape everyday life.

3. Methodology: Researching Industrial Pasts in Post-Industrial Presents

3.1. Introduction

The complexity of researching memory has been widely discussed in the literature in the previous chapter. Whilst contributing to these debates, this chapter seeks to demonstrate the intricacies of conducting complex research in practice, especially when engaging with the multiple forms of memory. This chapter, therefore, seeks to outline some of the methodological considerations that were crucial when designing this project, engaging with discussions surrounding the nature of qualitative and ethnographic more broadly, then relating this to the process of conducting heritage and memory research.

This chapter outlines how approaches to memory inform the research design of the project and reflects on the onto-epistemological theories implicated in these approaches. Since I am addressing memory in various forms, multiple epistemologies are discussed. Section 3.2. focuses on the research design. I outline the reasoning for the choice of Ebbw Fach as the research area. In the following subsection, I then discuss how I negotiated questions of access and recruitment within the research before then outlining my positionality. Section 3.3. then discusses the research methodologies in detail, outlining the reasoning for the choice of that method. I discuss the ethnography of groups using the 'go-along' or 'hanging around' models, then the process of doing ethnographic interviews, and next consider how I drew on ideas of autoethnography to engage with the non-human aspects of the research. The final section, section 3.4. outlines the practices of data collection. I consider the ethical issues surrounding this research in the first section since many of these issues were emergent, resulting from the actual practice of researching some small communities. I then discuss the practical details of data collection by introducing my participants and the groups I attended. I then reflect on the actual process of recording data in section 3.4.3. before considering how this data was developed, analysed and then represented in this thesis. Section 3.5. provides some brief concluding thoughts from the chapter.

3.2. Researching Memory and Heritage: Initial Reasonings

The first section of this chapter provides a brief overview of the methodological concerns of researching memory and heritage, reflecting the previous chapter's discussions. This chapter is not an exhaustive discussion of methodological approaches to memory and heritage research; this provides context for the onto-epistemological approach and research design outlined in the following sub-sections (3.2.2 and 3.2.3). As Radstone (2000:13) stated of research into memory, "work that occupies liminal spaces demands liminal practices". This liminality underpins much of the chapter to follow, as I outline the research design and process in light of the ambiguity or disorientation that often accompanies work on memory. Rather than attempting to overcome these senses of perplexity or 'messiness', I have acknowledged them as not only unavoidable but fundamental to this project. Memory is often difficult to narrate, fleeting, and, at times, disarranging, emergent at unexpected times and (dis)attached to various forms and practices as the past is enfolded into the present. Memory is also fundamentally subjective, even in its collective form, as Tierney (2000::545) suggests that "no two individuals engage time in the same manner". As such, my role as the researcher is considered throughout, not only as a recipient of these forms of memory but a constituent part of remembering.

As the previous chapter outlined, memory is multi-modal, situated, and affective. It exists not only in personal reflections but through a variety of expressions of the past-in-present, such as through materiality (Horton and Kraftl 2012; Redepenning 2012, Tolia-Kelly 2010; Assmann 2008; Hoskins 2007), affects (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012a, 2012b, 2012d; Hill 2013; Jones 2011), emotions (Lorimer 2008; Jones 2011), practices (Bal *et al.* 1999; Assmann 2010; Olick and Robbins 1998), imaginaries (Lowenthal 1961; Jones 2015; Matless 2017; Wylie 2009; Rose 2006)., communication and relationships (Halbwachs 1992 [1941]; Connerton 1989, 2008; Assmann 2010; Olick 1999), and narratives (Nora 1989; Halbwachs 1992 [1941]; Erll 2010). These are not singular engagements either; they co-exist and co-constitute memory. Therefore, the ethnographic methods employed here sought to engage with this multiplicity rather than disentangle these engagements. Much of the literature that has addressed these various forms of memory has used various methods, such as interviews into oral histories, ethnographies, walking interviews, autoethnographic vignettes, and others

(Hill 2013; DeSilvey 2012; Tolia-Kelly 2010; Horton and Kraftl 2012). These many examples will be considered and evaluated to establish both the limitations of researching memory and attempt to focus not only on the prevailing constructions of heritage but also on the resonances of industrial heritage and individuals' memory in the present (Graham and Howard 2008).

These approaches have significant consequences for the way this research was conducted. This project contributes to work from social, cultural, and historical geography, memory studies, and sociology. These disciplines traditionally focus on how the social world is constructed, negotiated, understood and lived by individuals and groups, attending to their lived experience of the world. This and an awareness of the subjectivity and constructed nature of memory and heritage highlight the project as fundamentally interpretivist and constructionist in its initial research approach. Therefore, qualitative research approaches are inherently suited to this approach to research. Barad (2007) suggests that the research apparatus is implicated within and co-constituted by the research subject in a similar discussion. By engaging in research that seeks to consider how heritage and memory matter in the present, this research reconstructs both the past and the present through the research process. Participants reconsider and reinforce their relationships with heritage, familial biographies and their pasts, as well as with the broader power dynamics of heritage, and as such, this is a fundamentally constructive process.

In light of such discussions and the emphasis on identifying alternative and subjective understandings of heritage, the importance of conducting inductive research is reinforced. These principles of inductive research, emphasising the subjective accounts of participants and the in-situ observations and experiences of the researcher, therefore, inform this methodological discussion and design throughout.

3.2.1. Onto-Epistemology/ies

The aforementioned emphasis on the constructed nature of heritage and memory as a fundamentally subjective phenomenon influences this project's philosophical underpinnings and the research undertaken (Lowenthal 1985). However, the multitude of approaches to memory discussed in the previous chapter situates this research epistemologically at the intersection between many approaches. This intersection

ensured that I was open to considering the myriad of ways in which memory of industrial heritage may matter. This section accounts for the different epistemological approaches considered throughout the research design and touches on the relevant philosophical debates before exploring how they were adopted throughout this project.

Traditionally, drawing on phenomenological principles, geographers and other social scientists have used interpretive approaches to investigate how individuals relate to their communities and areas. Historical disciplines have highlighted the importance of using oral histories to consider how individuals relate to the past. These approaches predominantly adopt a constructionist approach to research (Harvey 2008), which relates to this project when drawing on heritage as constructed (Graham and Howard 2008). This is especially relevant due to the project's focus on the contemporary emphasis on the impacts of heritage, as "the contents, interpretations and representations of the heritage resource are selected according to the demands of the present and in turn, bequeathed to an imagined future" (Graham and Howard 2008:2; Ashworth *et al.* 2007). Fundamentally, therefore, constructionist principles underpin this research in an ontological sense; memory and heritage are understood as subjectively experienced, but their prevalence in society and how they are performed, interpreted, represented and embodied by individuals and groups constructs them in the contemporary context (Harvey 2008; Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012a, 2012b).

Much of the epistemological approaches so far focus on how narratives of heritage and memory are constructed. Although of fundamental importance to this project, in understanding how individuals relate to these constructions, this project seeks to move beyond only this aspect of heritage and history. Fuchs (2017) called for a move beyond the 'over-narrativisation' of heritage, which this project addresses. There are ways in which material objects and practices act in more than simply a discursive sense, highlighting a material epistemology that I employ (see Hoskins 2007). This is not to dismiss the importance of post-structuralism as an approach for this research, merely to highlight the potential for other epistemological canons to contribute further understanding of how memory and heritage might operate in the contemporary context.

Due to the discursive nature of many aspects of memory work, there is often an attentiveness to language and discourses. This focus is not only observable regarding the construction of heritage but can also be seen in the identities, familial roles, place identity, and other 'social facts' encountered in this project. An awareness of language, discourse, and the narrative aspects of heritage is a crucial tenet of post-structural epistemologies (Smith and Deemer 2000). Drawing on Foucault's ideas particularly, the previous chapter considers how narratives of the past are employed through heritage to reinforce and establish particular understandings of the past, thereby reinforcing existing power structures (Foucault 1977). Post-structural thought can be usefully applied to this project as it allows for differing and multiple narrative understandings of heritage, but also for the attentiveness to narratives that are attached and perpetuated in varying representative sources, including spoken word, official sources, and ordered materials. However, whilst the construction of heritage and memory narratives are of fundamental importance to this project, it also seeks to avoid and move beyond an 'over-narrativisation' of heritage and history (Fuchs 2017). This is not to dismiss the importance of post-structuralism as an approach for this research, merely to highlight the potential for other epistemological canons to contribute further understanding of how memory and heritage might operate in the contemporary context.

In addition to the emphasis on concepts of post-structuralism, much of the literature from the previous chapter considers principles of post-humanism and a material epistemology. I drew on approaches attentive to the materialities of heritage sites and how they might be removed from official heritage practices (Hoskins 2007; DeSilvey 2017). These approaches draw on the principles of post-humanist theories. Post-humanism is understood as being especially well-suited to archaeology and heritage studies, as it seeks to consider the "complex entanglement of people and things" (Sørensen 2013: 2). This attentiveness to the relationships between individuals, narratives, and material objects highlights the suitability of post-human approaches to this research; I employed this focus in my fieldwork.

Post-humanism is further identifiable in this project's concern with emotion and affect. Understanding everyday life as imbued with cultural politics of memory requires an approach that highlights the importance of the more-than-representational aspects of memory that can elude narrative understanding. Waterton and Watson (2015) draw on

Kathleen Stewart's concept of 'ordinary affects' in their extensive overview of how heritage can be understood through affect, drawing on the relationship between materiality and bodies. Stewart (2007) explains:

Ordinary affects are the varied, surging capacities to affect and to be affected that give everyday life the quality of a continual motion of relations, scenes, contingencies, and emergencies. They are things that happen. They happen in impulses, sensations, expectations, daydreams, encounters, and habits of relating, in strategies and their failures, in forms of persuasion, contagion, and compulsion, in modes of attention, attachment, and agency, and in public and social worlds of all kinds that catch people up in something that feels like something.

(*ibid*:1-2)

The complexity and embeddedness of affect in different aspects of everyday life are inherent in post-humanist epistemologies. Therefore, such approaches suit research concerned with the relationships between the different aspects of memory and heritage, such as materialities, biographies, spaces, emotions, and sensations. Using such an epistemology allows for ephemeral, emotive and fleeting aspects of memory and meaning in situ. It was necessary to attend to the bodily practices and knowledges associated with memory, which have been captured in various work as sensations, instincts, atmospheres, and thoughts (Wetherell 2012; Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012a, 2012b, 2012d; Hill 2013). In particular, consideration of 'transversal flashes' (Renold and Ivinson's 2014), and 'ethically-charged moments' (Rossman and Rallis 2010), provided an epistemological attentiveness which informed much of the research process in practice.

What is perhaps worth considering when assessing the multitude of possible epistemologies discussed in this chapter is how these may intersect when researching memory. Memory comprises discourses, narratives, representations, emotions, affects, sensations, and materials throughout everyday life, so these different epistemologies, attending to similar themes, interact. Researchers are not objective tools of analysis, adopting one 'lens' in isolation of others. Instead, these epistemologies each inform the research, and each has its own, resulting in topics of analytical relevance. This is a

difficult position to negotiate, but as Law and Urry (2004) suggest, there is a fundamental logic to research common across all the above epistemologies, in this case, the constructive and subjective nature of memory and research. As they state:

If methods are not innocent then they are also political. They help make realities. But the question is: which realities? Which do we want to help make more real, and which is less real?

(*ibid*:404)

Therefore, it is apparent that the principles of ethnographic research, drawing on postmodernist ideas regarding the nature of reality and knowledge, are central to this project. Attending to discourse, materiality, constructionism, emotion, and affect, is complex yet unavoidable, as these phenomena co-exist in an entangled 'ecology of memory' (Hoskins 2016). Ethnography is, therefore, ideal for addressing these interactions in-situ. The project does not aim to produce an objective, definitive record of a generalisable experience of post-industrial communities negotiating their heritage through everyday practices but instead seeks to consider the research in this case as a series of subjective accounts that can illustrate these intricate and interwoven relationships.

3.3. Research Design

Having considered the philosophical underpinnings and research approach adopted throughout this project, in this section, I now aim to outline how these informed the fieldwork process's design. As I am interested in the everyday interactions that engage with and reconstruct heritage in various forms, the project's research design is contextually situated in everyday spaces. The fieldwork itself is fundamentally ethnographic and employs multiple methods ('hanging out' and 'go alongs', ethnographic interviews, ethnographic observations) in order to allow for the variety of forms in which memory and heritage can be observed and understood (Hoskins 2016, Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012a).

To what extent each of these methods was adopted, with each participant, was emergent from the research process itself, by design, and also determined by the

relationship with each participant or each participating family (Mannay 2010; Pain 2004; DeLyser and Sui 2014; Gallagher 2008). As Law (2004, 2007) acknowledges, research is 'messy', and by employing a variety of possible methods to study an equally 'messy' subject of memory, this project aimed to ensure that the research was adaptive, adjusting to attend to the most interesting findings, as well as being able to consider which methods are most ethically appropriate at any given time throughout the research process (Hall 2009, 2011). By being underpinned by principles of ethnography, even during interviews and recruitment, the project could adopt an emergent approach to research design throughout, using the findings to adapt and alter the methods themselves in the process of conducting fieldwork.

The research design adopted in this project is a case study approach, focusing on one post-industrial area and investigating the individuals and areas that relate to this industrial heritage. A case study approach affords a focus on localised processes, especially processes of formalised heritage or collective memory in this research. Therefore, this approach enabled me to consider these commemoration processes, communication and reconstruction in a localised setting (Stake 2000). Bryman (2004:49-50) suggests that research often employs the research area as a 'backdrop' to the area. However, in this research, the area is pivotal for understanding how individuals relate to the area's heritage. As discussed in the following sub-section, the area selected had significant industrial heritage, and the relationship between the residents who participated in the research and the localised heritage (or lack of relationship) was critical in addressing my research questions.

The following subsection will explore the rationale for the choice of the research area (subsection 3.2.1) before I then outline the recruitment process and then consider the role of my own positionally within the research (3.2.2. and 3.2.3).

3.3.1. Research Area: Post-Industrial Places and Ebbw Fach

As discussed in chapter 1, certain sites and communities can be considered part of the 'post-industrial landscape' of the UK (Bell 1976), and it is these that were considered for this research project. Nayak (2006) concisely explains why these spaces were seen as the most suitable for investigating the relationship between industrial heritage and contemporary everyday lives of residents:

... the post-industrial city is configured as a palimpsest – a cultural text upon which the previous inscriptions of past cultures continue to be etched into the present, to be embodied by a new generation.

(ibid:828)

It is this perspective on how industrial communities may relate to their industrial heritage that underpinned the choice of research areas and, therefore, would ensure the research findings would be relevant to the research questions. Furthermore, as the research design featured ethnographic observations of sites relevant to local industrial heritage, it was important that the research area contained such sites, whether as formal heritage sites or as brownfield sites. These post-industrial communities' characteristics were worth significant investigation in this project, as the community serves as the scale of the case-study.

The research area chosen was the area of Ebbw Fach in the South Wales Valleys. There were many reasons for this choice, including the accessibility of the site through public transport and the proximity of the South Wales coalfield to my resident town of Cardiff. A key reason for choosing Ebbw Fach was access and 'an in'. In November 2017, a colleague introduced me to a local heritage volunteer, Meg Gurney, who had been involved with some of their work in the past (see Blakely and Moles 2019). This 'in' was essential for establishing immediate connections in the area and, as my colleague could vouch for me, for establishing a sense of trust with the ethical implications of my research. Due to the close-knit nature of the communities in the South Wales coalfield, a local connection was invaluable. Access was still a complex process, as I discuss in a dedicated section to follow; however, the initial connection I was able to make in the area meant that the choice of Ebbw Fach was relatively straight-forward.

Chapter 4 outlines the characteristics of 'traditional working-class communities', many of which are heavily associated with coal-mining communities due to their isolated nature, mono-industrial economies and close-knit communities (Bulmer 1975:61; Gilbert 1995). Ebbw Fach, particularly the area of Abertillery and the surrounding communities, is home to many of these characteristic histories, as I explore in section 4.5, so it provided the opportunity to engage with these forms of industrial pasts as well as post-industrial presents. It was also of significant interest due to significant existing

heritage scholarship around the commemoration of a mining disaster in the village of Six Bells in 1960, where 45 men were killed. This allowed for a clear opportunity to engage with interacting narratives of heritage and memory, including a focus on the *Guardian* memorial statue, which formed a large part of my analysis and became a keystone of the research focus.

In terms of the negative impacts of deindustrialisation, the research area also provided an opportunity to engage with these narratives of decline. Ebbw Fach is situated within the Blaenau Gwent County, which has experienced the significant decline associated with post-industrial places, as I introduced in the first chapter of this thesis. This was a form of decline I could recognise to some extent from my background, growing up on the peripheries of the Black Country in the West Midlands, another industrial heartland decimated by the gradual decline of British industry, punctuated by Thatcherism and the growth of neoliberalism. Nevertheless, the decline is evident in both cultural perceptions of these 'Valleys' communities (Thomas 2016) and statistics that illustrate high unemployment, low aspiration, low educational attainment, high crime rates, high drug uses, and the general decline of community services and provision (see section 1.2). Decline is, of course, not inevitable in post-industrial contexts; however, it is commonly associated with the legacies of deindustrialisation (Beatty and Fothergill 1996, 2017; Rifkin 1996).

Defining the research area is also worth a brief discussion here. While I was initially introduced to Six Bells' community, a small ex-coal-mining village within the Ebbw Fach valley, it was difficult to focus my research on this single village. Places are not surrounded by impermeable boundaries. For example, Six Bells sits directly adjacent to the larger town of Abertillery, and the boundary between the two is unclear in everyday life. Therefore, many other communities and areas of the valley became relevant to my research. This was also due to the practice of conducting ethnographic research; I was frequently introduced to people from neighbouring villages, taken to visit sites outside of Six Bells, or invited to groups that met in other parts of the valley. Additionally, my journey became part of the research process, as I attended to the landscape in which I was conducting research. As part of the travel to Six Bells, I travelled from Cardiff to the village of Llanhilleth, south of Six Bells and then either walked or took buses from Llanhilleth up the valley to Six Bells or Abertillery. I, therefore, spent time in Llanhilleth

and the adjacent village of Aberbeeg, as it was unavoidable to do so in my mobile practices. I did not visit the entirety of the Ebbw Fach valley, nor was the area ever described that way to me. However, I feel that 'Ebbw Fach' is the most useful term to describe the area in which I conducted research and spent time.

Ebbw Fach is not only a 'backdrop' of this research, to reflect Bryman's (2004:49-50) suggestion but is a key component of the research. While I was concerned with how industrial heritage emerged in local residents' everyday lives, I was also interested in what it was *like* to live in the area. Fundamentally, place and belonging are interwoven into this research, imbued in the relationships that residents have with the area and the relationship that I came to have with it too. As Massey (1984) stated, geography cannot be separated from history; what it is to be in and with the Ebbw Fach of past, present, and, to some extent, future is the overarching concern of this thesis.

3.3.2. Recruitment and Access

In seeking to de-centre, the authoritative understanding of 'heritage', I focused my attention on recruitment strategies which might reduce the emphasis on this aspect of the research. Fundamentally, I avoided any explicit reference to heritage in the recruitment materials to allow for more everyday understandings of heritage and relationships with the past to be foregrounded. Therefore, my recruitment materials – a poster and information sheet – focused on asking residents how they felt about the local area and how it had changed, highlighting the temporal focus of the project to participants, without alluding to heritage and the associated assumptions (see appendices 2 and 3).

On reflection, due to the research's ethnographic nature, the question of recruitment methods became more of a question of how I was able to gain access to data (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:55-56). I used the snowballing recruitment method for enrolling participants in the research, as, from the outset, I was expecting to rely on personal networks in the local area. In Ebbw Fach's case, this took the form of a particular 'in' which a colleague had. As discussed previously (3.2.1), this connection served to meet local people through the volunteers and directors at the community centre. Notably, I chose not to consider these volunteers and directors as participants due to ethical concerns regarding my role with the centre (as discussed in section 3.4.1)

and their close relationships with a formal heritage site and a small museum. This is not to say that they did not contribute to my understandings of the community. Meg, in particular, features heavily throughout this thesis as a key source of background knowledge about the history of the local area. However, Meg is not a resident of the research area and left her volunteer position at a community centre at an early stage of the research.

During my attendance at several events held at the community centre, I was introduced to various individuals, and many of those invited me to join community groups which they ran or attended, where I would meet more individuals (see 3.4.2.). In terms of ethics, I never visited a group that I had not been invited to by an individual member, allowing for a form of access to be granted. As a result, many individuals acted as gatekeepers at various stages of the project. By working with gatekeepers and snowballing, it was more likely that potential participants would be happy to take part, thus saving time in recruitment and also ensuring that participants felt less pressure to partake in unwanted research (Clark 2008). This is, of course, worth reflection since the power dynamics present in gatekeepers' perceptions of other participants lead them to make judgements on their suitability for the research or 'interesting'. Having the community centre as my initial connection to the area meant I was often introduced to residents who had particularly interesting memories of the Six Bells disaster or other local events or had been involved in heritage projects in the area. However, as the project progressed, I became more familiar with individuals who were less involved with these projects, and therefore had differing levels of engagement with the industrial past.

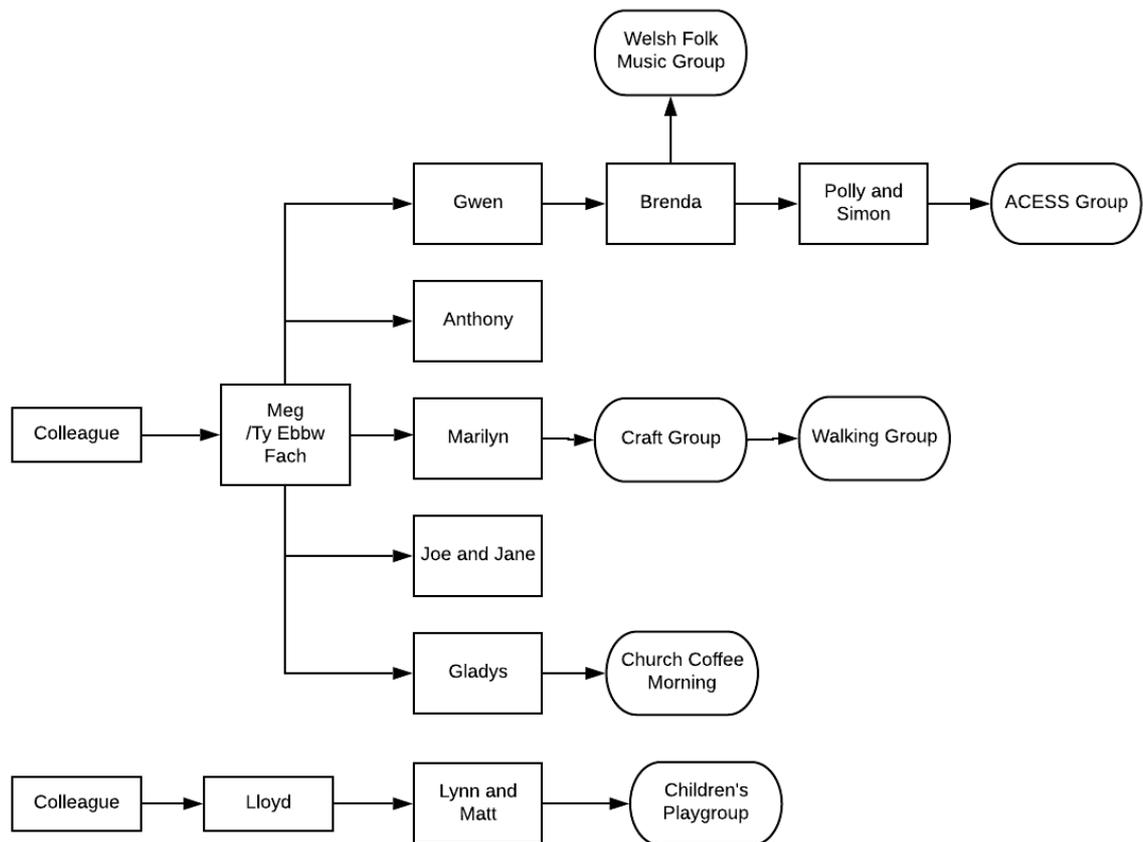


Figure 3.1: Snowball Recruitment: Networks of Groups and Individuals

Some connections to participants were also the result of chance: a friend's colleague, who was originally from Abertillery, introduced me to family members that still lived there, whilst another colleague knew someone from Six Bells, and so on. Fundamentally, the networks which facilitated the research relied on trust. Gatekeepers trusted me enough to introduce me to their friends or to invite me to local group meetings. I have depicted these connections for clarity in Figure 3.1. It transpired that some group members were not necessarily fully aware of why I was present, but I was permitted access and varying degrees of inclusion based on the group member who had invited me. I consider the ethnographic practice of 'hanging-out' and 'going-along' in a later section (3.3.1), but this also served the purpose of recruitment as much as research. By 'going-along' to events to which I was invited, I was able to use the deep-rooted social networks in the local area, which occasionally extended all the way to Cardiff, to facilitate my own 'immersion' into Ebbw Fach. However, this was not necessarily a strategy, as much as being slowly (and only partially) integrated into the area's existing social norms and practices. For example, when I explained to a resident that I had

attempted to initially elicit engagement with the project through posters in the local area, and it had been relatively unsuccessful, she commented:

Well it would be around here, no one knows who put that [poster] up, but once one person knows you and trusts you, then they'll introduce you to people and then soon enough you'll know everyone around here.

3.3.3. Positionally and Reflexivity

As I hinted at in section 3.3.1., my positionality within the research was crucial for reflexive forms of ethnographic engagement. However, my position as a researcher was implicated throughout the research process, from inception and design to the research in practice. Here I provide a brief consideration of my positionality within the project and outline some of how this narrative was implicated within the fieldwork.

Pearson (1993: ix) explains that “being an ethnographer is to be in two places at once”: both in the field and in the academic setting of writing up findings (see also Geertz 1973). However, this idea of split researcher personality was present throughout the research process in various ways due to different aspects of my identity and a researcher's. In the context of Ebbw Fach and the South Wales valleys more generally, I am often positioned as a 'knowing-outsider'. I was an 'outsider' because I was not a resident of the area nor intimately familiar with much of it. However, when combined with my identity as a middle-class, female, white, English, and relatively young researcher based in Cardiff, my outsider status led to opportunities to find 'common ground'. Residents told me about their grandchildren attending Cardiff University, and likenesses were drawn between where I grew up in England with the South Wales Valleys. Growing up in a post-industrial area of the West Midlands, I had experienced the impacts of similar deprivation to that seen in the South Wales Valleys first-hand. I was able to articulate an understanding of the changes that had occurred in the area.

This 'common ground' was something I employed extensively to diminish the unequal power relations that are inevitable within research. Whilst I was a researcher, I sought to emphasise the aspects of my identity that was less conventionally associated with the 'middle-class researcher'. I frequently invoked my family background, including my brother's apprenticeship at a foundry in the West Midlands and my great-grandfather's

walk from the Black Country to the South Wales coalfield in the search for work. Additionally, by explaining my connections to the post-industrial Black Country, I aimed to make my reasons for doing this research clear. This explanation was not to suggest that I had any claim to feel the same as the participants about their local area, but rather to make it evident how I empathised with these post-industrial communities' characteristics (Day 2006). With some participants, my identity as being 'from the Black Country' also allowed for me to be positioned as the 'better kind of English 'English', as I was not from the more affluent Southeast, nor was I from a traditionally middle-class family, and was not fond of London. In other instances, especially with younger participants, I was able to draw on even more meaningful aspects of a shared experiential base (Asselin 2003), namely, feeling 'trapped' in a post-industrial community and a desperate need to leave. Where I drew on facets of my identity in discussions, it was not to deceive participants; indeed, I felt that my honesty was crucial even as we disagreed on some topics (such as the Labour leadership at the time or the importance of football v. rugby), but rather to highlight how and why I had come to be in their community beyond only academic research goals. Overall, I hoped my honesty about my positionality positioned me as understanding, or at least empathic to, the complex and even paradoxical relationships that participants had in their post-industrial communities, as we are both attached and repelled simultaneously.

It's like, you were never going to stay, but you... it's like you can't separate from your roots.

Lloyd

These same aspects of identity, which I narrated to participants to establish a sense of some shared understanding, were also those which were frequently invoked in the more auto-ethnographic aspects of the research. Having grown-up around industrial architecture and infrastructure, it was not surprising that certain sites in the area provoked my recollections of the Black Country and other post-industrial places I visited, even as the two regions varied significantly. Similar comparisons were possible with other aspects of industrial heritage; when residents described milk, bread or coal deliveries, I recounted that my grandad had had a job as a bakery-delivery boy at the age of 12.

Acknowledging and being reflexive about the place of my positionality throughout this project, I have sought to bring personal resonances and connections to the fore, rather than attempt to present the “cooled-out, stripped down rhetoric” that was once associated with some traditional ethnographic practices (Firestone 1987). As Wylie (2007) suggests, spectral geographies focus on the haunting of the self, so accounting for that self is unavoidable (cf Hill 2013). Additionally, since this project's primary concern is memory, I consider that the recollections, moments of emergence, and affective resonances are generated by and with my experiences as not an *addition* to the data but inherently *part of* it. As such, my memories become interwoven with the narratives and images of the coal mining that took place, creating rich geographical imaginaries (Lowenthal 1961; cf Jones 2015; Matless 2017).

3.4. Researching Heritage and Memory: Everyday Ethnographies

Memory is understood, throughout the literature review, as an active process performed and interacting with the present (Lowenthal 1985), and therefore can be associated with contemporary (inter)actions, atmospheres, affects, materials, identities, and narratives (Hoskins 2016, Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012a, 2012b, 2012d). Simply put, memory is something that is 'done' (Bal, 2015). Correspondingly ethnography is fundamentally focused on the everyday, how individuals behave in their daily lives and create meaning through their practices, behaviours, and interactions (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). However, due to the complex ways this project engages with memory, it was necessary to be informed by ethnographic principles but utilise several methodological approaches that interact and overlap to provide a broader picture. The following subsections address how I conducted different forms of ethnographic research to address the varied registers of memory and heritage, which intersect across multiple aspects of everyday life.

3.4.1. Ethnographic Research: ‘Hanging Out’ and ‘Going Along’

This project aimed to observe interactions related to heritage and establish dialogues with participants around these topics. Therefore, ethnography was selected as the most suitable methodology since it allowed the researcher to be present in the moments where memory ecologies interacted with everyday practices and subsequently discuss

them with participants. Therefore, the best suited ethnographic approach was participant observation, which enables the researcher to observe the participants going about their everyday lives. Specifically, by putting the researcher in the presence of the practices, routines, interactions, and behaviours that constitute everyday life, the aim was capturing in-depth observations about how memory is 'done' and 'lived' in such everyday spaces.

For geographers, in particular, ethnography is valuable for researching "the values, practices and knowledges of particular people in particular places" (Laurier *et al.* 2017: no page). These aims are fundamental to this project, as I sought to engage with the values, practices and knowledges that endured and were influenced by industrial pasts and deindustrialised presents; I consider that it is through these engagements that the industrial past may continue to 'matter' in contemporary Ebbw Fach. Geographers have also noted the fundamentally mundane aspect of ethnographic research, as it is conducted in everyday settings (see Silverman 2007; Miller and Woodward 2007). Due to the ethnography's everyday nature and my desire to be relatively integrated into everyday gatherings and practices, I adopted two clear ethnographic approaches; 'going-along' (Kusenbach 2003) and 'hanging out' (Bernard 2013; Trivelli 2015; Brown and McBride 2015).

Bernard (2013) describes 'hanging out' as a particular form of ethnography, classed within the approach of 'participant observation'. 'Hanging out' differs from the processes of covert observation, as it can involve a degree of participation, even if that is simply in the process of 'hanging around' in the same spaces, and participants are aware of the researcher's presence. Indeed, this is treated as a benefit of this method since, as Trivelli (2015: 124) identifies, this form of ethnography can be instrumental in building rapport with participants (also Bernard 2013: 327). However, 'hanging out' also can develop relationships that extend beyond good rapport. For Browne and McBride (2015), it was fundamental to establishing acceptance and familiarity with participants.

Similarly, Woodward (2008) notes how interactions between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' whilst 'hanging out and hanging about' requires researcher identity can be negotiated in situ. This negotiation is something I recognised, as over time, as I hung around more frequently in some spaces, my presence became normalised, and I appeared to adopt

more of an 'insider status'. For this reason, O'Reilly (2012: 87) suggests that hanging out is also considered less intrusive than other methods, such as participatory ethnographies or formalised interviews. Whilst I am dubious about calls for researchers to minimise their presence to access a form of 'authentic' data that is unaltered by the researchers' gaze, I acknowledge that the setting of some of these ethnographic engagements could diminish my 'observational' impact. Since many of these groups were often relatively open, it was not unusual for a less-familiar face to be there with different attendees each week. Therefore, I was permitted unobtrusive access to mundane and everyday conversations between group members and being able to participate in informal conversations. Of course, the context of small groups has its consequence as an ethnographic setting, as has been explored in-depth throughout the work of Fine (2003), and many of the ethical concerns and ethnographic practices he refers to as 'peopled ethnography', informed the approach taken here. As Fine (2003: 53) explains, researching small groups allows for an engagement with their interactions: that are framed as part of an ongoing relationship rather than fleeting or unimportant. By attending these groups, I engaged with social networks, everyday concerns, accounts of broader structural change, and other aspects of everyday life and interaction in considerable depth.

Some aspects of the observational research with residents and participants did adopt a participatory ethnographic approach in the 'go-along' model as defined by Kusenbach (2003). This phenomenological approach allows individuals to recall memories associated with certain spaces whilst moving through them together. A similar approach has been taken in geography, using 'walking interviews'. However, there is an important limitation of this approach and some particular advantages of Kusenbach's model, which warranted its use in this project. Considering the project's focus on less authoritative understandings of heritage, I argue that walking interviews could have been problematic if they direct individuals to encounter sites that are conventionally associated with industrial heritage, such as old industrial sites or canals, by reinforcing these associations (see Wheeler 2014; Edensor 2002). Alternatively, Kusenbach's model of the go-along uses the principles of literally 'going along' as "fieldworkers accompany individual informants on their 'natural' outings, and – through asking questions, listening and observing – actively explore their subjects' stream of experiences and practices as they

move through, and interact with, their physical and social environment” (2003:463). This principle of ‘going along’ with a participants’ normal routine or outings makes it more suitable for this project than the more widely recognised walking-interviews. The process of conducting a ‘go-along’ foregrounds “the environment we dwell in on a daily basis”, which is a “sort of personal biography as it preserves parts of our life history” (Kusenbach 2003:472). Kusenbach (2003:462) also acknowledges how ethnographies, either as go-alongs or hanging out, can highlight aspects of a topic beyond narrative accounting. This characteristic is widely accepted as a benefit of ethnographic research and is significant in memory research.

My adoption of the ‘go-along’ was not necessarily as focused on walking, following Kusenbach’s model and other walking methods, but took different forms such as car journeys where I was given an impromptu lift to my next meeting or the train station or running into people in public places and ‘tagging along’. Likewise, the boundary between ‘hanging out’ and ‘going along’ was not clear cut. On one visit to the area, I attended a local fete, where I stopped by a stall run by a group that I had attended. I later met with Gwen at a local cafe, where we chatted over tea and then walked to visit some stalls while coming across other residents we both knew. In this scenario, I was both ‘going along’ and ‘hanging out’ with participants while also being attentive to the fete's wider context.

The amorphous nature of the interactions on this occasion also highlights the non-specificity of ethnography work. Throughout the fieldwork, I encountered the phenomena I was concerned about: everyday life in Ebbw Fach. Whether or not I was attending a group or meeting a participant, I encountered everyday practices, interactions, places, and representations. Whilst I did provide some cursory ‘boundaries’ to the research area, as detailed in section 3.2.1, I acknowledge that it is problematic to consider that research is done in a discretely bounded ‘field’ (Stebbins 1991, Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). ‘Being there’ in public space can itself provide opportunities to consider, ethnographically, the ways that mundane and everyday life is done. I overheard conversations at train stations, watched people gather at bus stops, saw the limited number of visitors to a local museum, and many other aspects of everyday life recorded as part of the ethnographic research process.

3.4.2. Ethnographic Interviews

Ethnographic interviews were undertaken with several participants. Although the interviews were conducted informally, it is worth engaging with the principles of interview methods and considering how they can be useful in eliciting discursive accounts of relationships with heritage. For some participants, who were not members of the community groups I attended, these 'ethnographic interviews' were the most significant way to contribute to the research. I often met with Joe and Jane unintentionally at the local cafe but also visited their home. With others, like Gwen, we frequently arranged to 'meet for coffee' to chat in informal settings. These conversations were helpful ways to engage with the narrative forms of memory and heritage, which were invoked through other aspects of the ethnographic research. They also provided useful contextual information about the biographies of the residents of the area and the area's history more broadly. In another sense, these conversations also allowed me to develop personal research relationship with participants, growing more familiar with each other over repeated interactions. Relationships with interview participants also led to invitations to groups and events, facilitating the other ethnographic aspects of my research. Conducting interviews also meant I could engage additional participants in the research who were unable, uncomfortable in 'going-along' with me. The interview scenario allowed them to provide their accounts of living in Ebbw Fach, but I was also able to observe a small aspect of their everyday life in the context surrounding the 'interview' (Mannay and Morgan 2014).

The interviews were not conducted in the traditional sense of a 'sit-down' interview, as outlined by Bryman (2004), but took the form of more informal chats, focused around vaguely defined areas of interest. Hammersley and Atkinson's (1995) conceptualisation of ethnographic research is relevant here. They explain that they "enter the interviews with a list of issues to be covered... [and] adopt a more flexible approach, allowing the discussion to flow in a way that seems natural" (1995:152). I followed conventional plans for designing interview questions, largely to act as a series of prompts to use in informal conversations to address those 'issues to be covered' (see appendix 4, Bryman 2004). I did not readily use these questions, but they often provided some ideas for the conversation if it ever stalled; it never did. This was a helpful approach considering how the topics and foci of conversations with participants emerged from the research

environment. Following a 'non-directive' approach to interviewing (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995), participants were able to provide their own, and often unexpected, narratives associated with the topics of industrial pasts, heritage, and memory. The wider interview settings also led to productive engagements, which highlighted how narratives are embedded in the phenomenological experiences of participants' everyday lives (Horton and Kraftl 2012). For instance, chats were frequently interrupted to greet other people in the cafés or public spaces, or as a participant spotted a picture of a relative in the room that they thought would interest me. It is this broader context, as well as the 'non-directive' style that I argue, mark these interviews as 'ethnographic'.

3.4.3. Ethnography and/with/of Materials/Affect/Landscape

The third application of ethnographic research in this project was in contexts focused on the material, affective and remembered landscapes of Ebbw Fach. As I was concerned with how the contemporary landscape was 'haunted' by the past in spectral and material forms, I considered this process of 'being-in' landscape as a fundamental part of the research. As a researcher, my role and positionality were particularly pertinent to this approach, as I considered embodied and affective responses to heritage sites and other places throughout Ebbw Fach. My approach was based on the work of Benjamin (1985) and de Certeau (1984), as well as many other geographers conducting similar research through connective autoethnographies (DeSilvey 2012), embodied and reflexive auto-ethnography (Emery 2018a:76), narrated walks (Hill 2013; Wylie 2005, 2009; Lorimer 2012), multi-sensory ethnographies (DeSilvey and Edensor 2012), and narrated hauntings or even 'ghost stories' (Edensor 2008, 2005a, 2005b; cf Legg 2005). These approaches are similar in their attunement to the multiple temporalities and the multiplicities of accounts, hauntings, materials, memories, emotions, affective resonances and so on in contemporary place.

Although I was most interested in the memories and relationships participants had with the past, I felt that the notion of affective 'circuitries' that DeSilvey (2012) discusses could be a useful addition in order to consider the relationship between the accounts and practices of participants, the official narratives, and my own embodied experience of being 'in-place'. As such, an affective embodied account of these spaces became a supplementary method, serving as a chance for both the beginnings of analysis and a

'layer' of research that began to consider the connections between these different manifestations of memory, building on Hoskins' (2016) notion of 'memory ecology'.

The process of conducting sensory ethnographies in the sites related to the heritage, memory, and the area was complex. I sometimes moved through spaces, either alone or with participants, or sat in one place to consider some of the ideas that emerged. I often chose to return to sites that I had visited with participants to gain further insights into the myriad of memory-work that was being done in these sites. Doing so also ensured that the narratives established between myself and the participant were situated within the broader atmospheres, narratives, and affects associated with these sites. At times I was reminded of other moments from my research, of passing comments, as I passed through or spent time in places around Ebbw Fach, drawing my own cognitive engagement into the research; my memory of the research itself was made relevant. Bridging connections between narratives, places, atmospheres, and imagined histories is a central tenet of the project, and so these moments of auto-ethnographic reflection and ethnographic engagement with material landscapes facilitated a deeper awareness of this constructive work.

Blackman's (2015:25) method of 'embodied hauntologies', which considers "traces, gaps, absences, submerged narratives, and displaced actors", informed much of this work and ethnography, along with other approaches from non-representational and affective methodologies. Considering not only the temporal but also the non-human can be situated within wider discussions of how different expressions of heritage interact with established narratives, disrupting these established discourses through "cyclical erasures, gaps, uncertainties, contradictions and cleavages", and through focusing on their affective resonances (Trivelli 2015:135). By attending to these elusive ideas within these spaces, I sought to engage with the expressions of industrial heritage that may be overlooked within narrative understandings, that may defy easy, logical comprehension, as well as considering how certain narratives might be embedded within these intensities of experience in these sites, for both myself and the participants. When possible, I returned to participants to discuss some of my thoughts and get their opinion on them, taking the dialogical opportunity to discuss these relationships and gain their affective responses to my engagement with these spaces. These affective responses,

traces, senses were recorded in fieldnotes and, later, in audio notes, to capture the intensities.

Additionally, this ethnographic approach was a fundamentally reflexive process, as I reflected on my position within the research, intersected with the data I was collecting and the atmospheres, materialities, and intensities of these spaces. In their work on affective collective trauma, To (2016) highlights that undertaking reflexive methods simultaneously with other methods can produce greater awareness of positionality throughout the research process. Across methodologies focus on affect, a recurring theme is an awareness of the researchers' response to the research experience and how this can be understood through affect, as well as emotions and feelings (Jones 2011). Indeed the emotions of the researcher are themselves a productive 'primary instrument of enquiry' (Walkerdine *et al.* 2001: 86). In particular, building an awareness of affect can address some of the complexities of researching a community that is both 'familiar and strange' (Mannay 2010, Hammersley and Atkinson 1995), as is considered in the section regarding researcher positionality. This ethnographic work was captured through a field diary, which is discussed in a later section.

3.5. Data Collection, Analysis and Representation

Much of the difficulty in working in memory is the variety of ways memory can be understood to manifest in individuals' everyday lives. As discussed previously, this was addressed in this project using variously situated and emergent methods, and recruitment, therefore, relied heavily on the community's pre-existing networks. The choice of methods and the practicalities of conducting ethnographic research that attempt to deal with the multiplicities of memory in everyday life have significant consequences for how data was collected, analysed, and represented. In this section, I consider the ethical concerns that were anticipated but also how they were negotiated in-situ (3.5.1). I will then provide an overview of the research participants and groups and discuss the specific practicalities of the data collection process (3.5.2 and 3.5.3) before considering how data was analysed and represented throughout the thesis (3.5.3).

3.5.1. Ethical Considerations

Although not overtly sensitive in its focus, it is important to acknowledge this research's potential to address sensitive topics. This project's emphasis on relating to past experiences may lead to some participants recounting difficult topics, such as bereavement in a family, for example. Additionally, this project's reliance on pre-existing social networks came with additional ethical implications. These issues were addressed in the design of the research itself and at the point of undertaking the research. Engaging with scholarship on sensitive research, particularly Guillemin and Gillam's (2004) models of procedural ethics and ethics in practice, this project sought to ensure the research design was as ethical as possible.

Initially, this research project's ethics were addressed in the procedural form to obtain approval from the Cardiff University School of Geography and Planning's Ethics committee. The project was designed in light of the guidelines established by the researchers' department and drew on the ESRC Research Ethics Framework. Therefore, the research's common ethical implications – including representation, anonymity, privacy, and potential risks to the participants (Bryman 2004) – were considered from the earliest stage of research design. In the recruitment of participants, they were made aware that their participation was completely voluntary, that they could withdraw at any time, and how they could go about this. They were also informed by the project's aims, how they would be represented, what their data would be used for, and how I would go about anonymisation. Additionally, participants were made aware that all data would be stored securely and anonymised at the earliest stage of reporting, such as transcription or typed up field notes. I produced an information sheet and consent form in accordance with the university guidelines that were given to participants during the research process (see appendices 3 and 5).

Despite undertaking procedural ethics forms, which run through various scenarios in the field, there are still many unexpected things that can occur during research that intersect with the ethical obligations of the researcher (Guillemin and Gillam 2004). Therefore, I went into the field knowing that ethics are emergent and frequently negotiated in-situ. This negotiation was first evident when many participants were disinterested or uncertain about the information sheet and consent form, preferring

instead for me to explain the project to them verbally. Some insisted that the paperwork was altogether unnecessary. This reaction was explained by residents as originating from the focus paid to Six Bells and Abertillery by many other research projects and journalistic reports in the past and meant 'being researched' was familiar but not concerning. For example, Joe had regularly been positioned as an authoritative voice on the 1960 Six Bells Mining Disaster and was familiar with being interviewed or questioned. As a result, I chose to employ 'ethics in practice', making my judgments about whether I felt participants were uncomfortable or unsure with my line of questioning, rather than relying purely on the paperwork for genuine consent.

The choice to use snowball recruitment was largely pragmatic due to conducting research in a close-knit community but did present several ethical issues. First meetings with all participants took place in a public space. As I explored in section 3.3.2., I made connections with participants through someone they already knew, which helped establish trust from the outset. Then, it was only once I'd spoken to participants that they invited me to groups which they attended. Therefore, other group attendees were enrolled in the research through the assumed consent of the gatekeeper, permitting my access to these groups. However, this did not mean I was undertaking 'covert observation' since the group members were aware of my presence and the reason for my attendance. Whilst some enquired about my research project or interest in the local area, they were not enrolled in the research in the same way as the participants. I did not have recorded one-to-one conversations with them, and I remained largely unaware of their biographies, other than small brief details such as 'I've always been in Six Bells'. Since the community groups were quasi-public settings, relatively open to anyone who wanted to attend, informed consent was deemed unnecessary. Additionally, I was aware that engaging group members in a discussion about my project would foreground my presence as 'unusual' or an 'outsider', which I ideally wanted to make less obvious. As I had discovered with participants, many of the groups' members viewed official paperwork with scepticism, and I wanted to avoid these feelings of uncertainty and suspicion. As such, I thought that insisting on the completion of paperwork in group settings would seem intrusive, where my presence was otherwise unremarkable since another group member had invited me. In lieu of anything more formal, participant-gatekeepers, such as Marilyn or Brenda, briefly introduced me to the group:

*-“This is Amy. She's from Cardiff doing a research project on Six Bells.
Interested in what it's like around here!”*

-“Why on earth would you be interested in ‘round here?’”

Fieldnotes, Arrival at Six Bells Craft Group,

I felt that these introductory statements provided sufficient explanation and enabled group members to approach me individually if they were concerned. Being an active member of groups whilst also conducting ethnography was challenging ethically, not least as an outsider to the area. I was conscious that no one should feel uncomfortable by my presence, which in practice meant remaining quiet and only engaging enough in conversation to make my presence seem ‘normal’, rather than sitting and surveilling these groups. For example, when individuals or groups made jokes about other group members, I laughed along but did not contribute. As with the ethnographic interviews, I was attentive to indications that people were upset or uncomfortable with the topics (Watts 2008). Since the interviews were directed mostly by the participant, it was possible for them to avoid any sensitive topics if they wished, and they were aware that the interview could be stopped at any moment. In the groups, this was negotiated by everyone present, which was observable when individuals quickly changed the topic or chose to stay quiet when certain topics were under discussion. It could be seen that the group gatherings, unlike organised interactions such as focus groups, were naturalistic, and as they often occurred, even weekly, in the lives of the group members, they had developed their internal logic for dealing with sensitive topics (Watts 2008; Parkes 2010). In some instances, I was told of sensitive information about other group members, usually the participant-gatekeeper. However, I omitted these details or stories from the data since the group member had not consented to participate in sharing their personal information.

Expanding out from the ethics of conducting ethnographies in groups, I also conducted ethnographies in public places around Ebbw Fach (see section 3.4.3). This was completely covert research, ethnography conducted as I moved through public spaces. As is widely accepted, ethnographies of practices done in public space are generally, although not universally, perceived to be part of acceptable ethical research practices due to the accessibility of this data (see Hopper 1996; Nelson 1996). Whether

ethnographers or not, we encounter these behaviours, practices, and snippets of conversation within everyday life. However, in endeavouring to minimise any negative impacts of the ethnographic process, I kept a record of only what was immediately evident to me and only revisited them when other aspects of the research 'sparked' a recollection of similar practices. Again, I sought to address ethics as situated, relative, and emergent. Representation of participants and residents is considered later (3.5.4), but I made sure their identities were protected by anonymising all named references to individuals, removing them from extensive descriptions of the research context, including group affiliation or the exact location I observed them, such as a particular bus, where I felt they could potentially be identified.

Another significant ethical concern was how I engaged with local organisations and groups in the area and how that would position me within everyday politics and debates. The Ebbw Fach area is not a neutral space; it has pre-existing networks, loyalties, feuds and local politics between individuals, groups and organisations. One example of how these politics were negotiated during the research was when I spent time with a volunteer organisation involved in a dispute with a renter. As part of my recruitment process, the volunteer organisation wanted me to dispel rumours about their treatment of the renter to residents. Since I was uncomfortable with 'taking a side' in the debate in the local area, I chose to minimise my work with that volunteer organisation in order to not deceive them into thinking I would be working to further their reputation, but also to avoid my research practices becoming embedded in these small-scale local politics.

Another volunteer organisation hoped that I could focus my research project on *Guardian* and the impact that it had on the local community, which I also wanted to avoid, partly for research reasons as well as ethical reasons. This was also in the context of an ongoing dispute regarding a school being built on the Parc Arael Griffin site that was widely condemned by the local community. However, from the research's outset, I became aware of dissenting voices in favour of the new school who were more marginalised. Later in the research, I was able to engage with people who were more sceptical of the choice to build *Guardian*, which I felt would have presented a difficult ethical discussion if I had become involved with the aims of that volunteer organisation.

Neither of these decisions was taken in pursuit of an 'objective' approach, as I acknowledge that this is impossible in the context of this research. Rather I sought to minimise any sense or perception of obligation that I may have to certain groups with localised political agendas, which could have positioned me uncomfortably at odds against some community members. In practice, with the volunteers and gatekeepers, I emphasised the inductive nature of the research in order to not directly dismiss the topics which they felt were worthy of discussion; "yes, I'd definitely look into that if it's something that comes up, but I really want to focus on what people around here want to talk about." I do not claim that this is ethically unambiguous handling of these negotiated research relationships or any of those discussed in this section, but they illustrate how ethics were navigated in-situ.

3.5.2. Data Collection: Participants and Groups

This sub-section provides a brief overview of the practical details relevant to the data collection, namely the key participants and groups which I attended in the local area. I conducted research in the area of Ty Ebbw Fach from November 2017 to November 2018, with the most intense period of fieldwork taking place from April 2018 to July 2018. Throughout this time, I made 32 trips to Ebbw Fach. During the first few months of visiting the area, I struggled to make progress in recruiting participants. However, in April 2018, I attended an event at Ty Ebbw Fach, where I met several local people, five of whom agreed to participate in the project. Through the system networks I have previously described, I went on to enrol 13 participants in the research project. Participation varied between participants; some I was only able to sit down and talk to once due to their busy schedules, whilst others, I met with on several occasions. In other cases, following a brief introductory conversation, participants invited me to community groups which they attended. Full details about these participants are presented below in Table 3.1. I have included brief details about their relevant biographies, as I felt this information is often needed to understand the context of their accounts and was also implicated in some of the groups they attended. Those participants who did attend groups often provided greater participation in the research.

Table 3.1: Research Participant Characteristics and Details

Name or Pseudonym	Approx. Age Range	Place of Residence	Previous Hometown(s)	Introductory Notes	Links to Local Clubs/Organisations
Meg†	55-64 years	Pontypridd*	-	Volunteer at local community centre and local heritage enthusiast.	Volunteer at Ty Ebbw Fach
Emma	18-24 years	Six Bells	Six Bells	Works several part-time jobs. Applying to university to study in Swansea or Northern Ireland.	Worked at Llanhilleth Institute café
Gwen	65-74 years	Blaina§	Brynmawr*	Spent time living in Germany, returned to the area where she had grown up, A Welsh speaker and piano player at Church.	Attended a church in Blaina.
Gladys	85-94 years	Six Bells	Six Bells	Lived in Six Bells her whole life. Involved with the local Bethany Chapel and other organisations.	Attends the Bethany Chapel. Member of MOOSE.
Marilyn	64-75 years	Six Bells	Six Bells	Familiar with many local organisations, leadership role in craft group.	Key organiser in craft group
Joe‡ (& Jane)	75-84 years	Six Bells	Six Bells	Joe is an ex-miner who previously worked in the Arael-Griffin Pit. Married to Jane, he has lived his whole life in Six Bells.	-
Anthony	35-44 years	Abertillery	Abertillery	Works for Blaenau Gwent Council, worked at Abertillery library before it closed.	-
Lloyd	25-34 years	Cardiff	Bristol, USA, Abertillery	Born in Abertillery, left the area for university and now a PhD student at Cardiff University.	-

Name or Pseudonym	Approx. Age Range	Place of Residence	Previous Hometown(s)	Introductory Notes	Links to Local Clubs/ Organisations
Rebecca	25-34 years	Six Bells	Six Bells, Peterborough	Left the area for university, returned in order to buy a house and be near family.	-
Lynn	55-64 years	Abertillery	Risca*	Ran a local playgroup. Lloyd's mother and Matt's wife.	Organiser of 'Six Bell's Scamps' Playgroup
Matt	55-64 years	Abertillery	Newbridge*	A local carpenter, Lynn's husband and Lloyd's father. Interested in local history.	-
Polly	65-74 years	Aberbeeg	Aberbeeg	Lived and worked elsewhere in the UK before returning to the area.	Organised the ACCESS Group
Brenda	75-84 years	Aberbeeg	Senghenydd*	Born in the Valleys, moved to Liverpool to pursue nursing. Recently returned to the Valleys with her family. An avid fan of music, Gwen teaches her piano.	Attended the ACCESS Group and a Welsh Folk Music Group
Simon	55-64 years	Aberbeeg	Brynmawr*	Moved around extensively in the area, mostly within the Ebbw valleys.	Attended the ACCESS Group

* Towns and villages in the nearby region, also ex-coal mining communities in the South Wales Valleys.

† Meg is not anonymised, as a well-known figure in the community and frequently referenced in heritage work. I also do not conceptualise Meg as a participant, as she is not a resident of the area, instead she is an authoritative source of information about the history of Ebbw Fach.

‡ Joe is not anonymised, as a well-known figure in the community and frequently referenced in heritage work.

§ Blaina is a small village directly to the North of the fieldwork area.

Table 3.2 below provides key details about the groups I attended. The amount of time I spent at each group varied, largely according to my availability and mobility. Some were visited only twice or as many as twelve times. For example, the Six Bells Tunes group frequently met in the evening, making it difficult for me to get to and from the group at

late hours using the limited local public transport. Many groups met on the same day or even at the same time. Between the groups, I would attempt to meet other participants or spend time walking around local sites of interest to make the trips to the area as beneficial for data collection as possible. This was especially pertinent due to the journey to the area taking two or three hours depending on the timing of bus and train connections. Once I found that I was hearing largely the same discussions or phenomena taking place week after week, I would cease to attend a group as often, but in other cases, the practicalities of timings or transport brought the ethnography to a close (Fine 2003; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995).

Table 3.2: The community groups attended by the researcher during fieldwork

Community Group	Location	Notes
Six Bells Craft Group	Six Bells	Based at the Six Bells Community Centre. Funded originally by Communities First. Sells products in Ty Ebbw Fach.
Local Walking Group	Six Bells/nearby area	Funded originally by Communities First. A group that does local walks around Ebbw Fach and Ebbw Vale.
Bethany Chapel Coffee Morning	Six Bells	Social organisation for Parishioners at local chapel.
Six Bells Scamps Playgroup	Six Bells	Run by a local child-minder for other child-minders and people involved in child-care. Based at the Six Bells Community Centre. Ended in 2018.
ACCESS Group	Abertillery	Organised for carers and ex-carers after the closure of a mental health drop-in facility. Funded originally by Communities First.
Six Bells Tunes Club	Six Bells Abertillery	Group that plays traditional folk music with members from a wider area. Usually meets at Ty Ebbw Fach.
Six Bells Regeneration	Six Bells	A Community Business which runs Ty Ebbw Fach. Heavily involved with <i>Guardian</i> and has a heritage room.

3.5.3. Data Collection: Fieldnotes, Recorded interviews, and Research Diaries

In the context of the ethnographic fieldwork, much of the data consisted of field notes taken in situ or immediately after the ethnographic observations. Adopting Geertz's (1973) model of 'thick description', these field notes recorded the ethnographic

observations made in the area or at local groups, attending to multi-sensory perceptions of the spaces and interactions. However, it is important to acknowledge that these notes cannot record all aspects of interaction and events in the ethnography (Emerson *et al.*, 2011). Therefore, these fieldnotes are inherently selective and influenced by the interests of the project and the researcher.

Due to the varying settings of the research, ethnographic field notes tended to comprise of 'scratch notes' made on my smartphone. Gorman (2016) acknowledges that in some contexts, using a notebook and pen to make 'scratch notes' or 'jottings' can reinforce the researchers' presence as an observer (Emerson *et al.* 2011), something I was trying to avoid. However, in practice, my note-taking received varied receptions. Whilst I was at the Six Bells Craft Group, it was unremarkable for me to take notes as everyone was busy with their craft projects. Even then, I tried not to make the action too often to reduce the sense of surveillance on the group, especially after one group member joked, "*Look at you over there, scribbling down everything we're saying!*". Note-taking was evidently much less acceptable from the off-set at other groups, particularly in social groups where sitting silently writing or typing on a phone could be perceived not only as unusual but also rude.

Making recordings of ethnographic interviews was almost expected by participants, but I found that in public settings, the recordings I had taken were difficult to hear. Therefore, I also decided to take notes of these conversations. However, again, it was not always appropriate or possible to do so, particularly during 'go-alongs'. For instance, I spent a significant amount of time in participants' cars as they gave me lifts to the local train station or my next meeting, and in these cases, it was not possible to be writing in the moving car as we spoke and also negotiated travel arrangements. Scratch notes made in-situ were therefore often exceptionally brief, made as I noted down dates in my diary, for example, or in small notes on my phone:

Walk tomorrow at Cwmtillery. Meet at bus stop.

Jo- from Risca, Shelia- SB all life. 'I'm one of the only real locals!'

Example of fieldnotes

Needing to find other times to make notes, I took advantage of the times between group meetings or on the journeys I made to and from the area to type longer-form notes onto a laptop. This proved to be a quicker and more efficient process, as I am a much faster typer on a keyboard than on a phone or on writing pen on paper. The speed at which I could find time to make notes also became pertinent since, as Emerson *et al.* (2011: 49) state, "Writing field notes *immediately* after leaving the setting produces fresher, more detailed recollections". What denoted something as being worthy of inclusion in the field notes varied from attempts to record 'everything' (in the knowledge that this is inevitably impossible) to simply capturing what seemed most interesting in line with the projects' focus. The varying interconnected multiplicities of memory present in the field meant that moments that stood out as being worthy of noting down were often those which reminded me of other moments in the fieldwork. For example, when a group member mentioned underage drinking at the old pit buildings, reminding me of the cans of cider and beer, I had passed beneath an old railway bridge. This temporal gap between observations of interactions or materiality and my recording scratch-notes further emphasises the subjectivity of my gaze; it became a case of not only what I noticed but what I could recall afterwards.

In addition to written notes, I also took audio notes on my smartphone as I moved between meetings and groups, usually as I walked along the footpaths between the villages (Emerson *et al.* 2011: 35). Again, this took the form of almost 'dumping' information, rapidly recalling what had just happened at a meeting in as much detail. I did not transcribe these rambling notes but used them to inform the writing of the full narrative fieldnotes. These audio notes also allowed for me to speculate on emerging entanglements as they occurred to me:

"...Rina mentioned that she was doing a programme about art in the valleys, she said something about a local painter- actually, I wonder if it's the guy that Mike mentioned? Who lived over the road and was like a well-known painter. Unsure. Ester was telling me about how her husband painted... Let me just double check whether I need to take this road... painted the old steelworks..."

Audio note from fieldwork.

Within these audio-notes, I also considered the landscape through which I was walking, since that formed a key component of my third research question. Whilst I did not necessarily intend for these audio notes to be how I engaged with the landscape, I did not intend to narrate the walks; this often happened during part of the recollection of previous meetings, as I encountered material traces or sites that sparked moments of engagement whilst I walked:

“Then she said about how long it took for the ambulance to arrive....so that road is called Brewery Court, so it must be something to do with the brewery that was here. Webbs I think? It must have been tucked against the railway line...”

Audio note from fieldwork.

At other times I have just audio recordings of a bird singing or the stream running alongside the railway line.

Much of the literature on ethnographic research is largely anthropocentric; for instance, Emerson *et al.* (2011: 1) suggest that “ethnographic field research involves the study of groups and people as they go about their everyday lives”. However, through these audio notes and the other notes, I attempted to address encounters with the non-human. For example, DeSilvey (2012, 2017) considers the various understandings of heritage present in ruins and abandoned materials that are removed from heritage practices in a traditional sense. A good portion of this study is considering the study of "groups and people as they go about their everyday lives". However, attention to the non-human is adopted within the fieldwork, for considering materiality, but also atmospheres and the spectrality of the spaces that may be encountered, beyond only the accounts provided of them by humans. Therefore, some of the data at this stage was collected in audio notes, photos, or sketches, not trying to represent the spaces and experiences, but to elicit a response from the researcher when 'writing-up' at a later stage (Emerson *et al.* 2011). For this purpose, I additionally took some images as part of the data collection. This was not a key source for the research; I was not aiming to analyse them. Rather, like the audio notes, I was using them to elicit my own remembering about being-in-place.

The final data collection tool utilised, was a research diary. Based on Browne's (2013) and Hayne's (2012) accounts and strategies for reflexivity, I decided to maintain a 'personal research diary' throughout the process of designing, coordinating, and conducting fieldwork. Building on ethnographic principles of accounting for how the research process develops in the field, such diaries can provide accounts for the circumstances of the research and the decisions made by the researcher (Burgess 1981). However, Browne (2013), as well as Altrichter and Holly (2005), have argued that a research diary can be used beyond recording the practical aspects of research, to providing the space for a researcher to consider their personal role and experience of conducting the research. As a key constitutive aspect of the research, the personal sensations and emotions felt by the researcher were themselves used as data and noting their presence was necessary to understand how the researcher was implicated in the creation of knowledge (Bryman 2004). I used this diary to reflect on many of the aspects of the research but also to consider how certain sites 'drew me in over others. As my methods relied heavily on affective engagements with memory, this fieldwork diary provided a space for reflexivity but, just as importantly, an opportunity to reflect on how these engagements emerged:

The faces of the people literally fading from the rock. It's such a clear image, where I can't even picture Guardian's face. I can still see the faces on that stone so clearly. It's like they're 'real' and he isn't.

Fieldnotes, on The Six Bells Memorial

Throughout this brief discussion of fieldnotes, I have aimed to convey how many aspects of the data collection were, by necessity, fragmented. They were recorded in short scribbles, phone jottings, audio notes-to-self, as fragments of remembering and then quick eruptions of intensity. Whilst this could be perceived as a disadvantage of the ethnographic method, I argue that the fragmented nature of the data reflects the fragmented nature of memory and memory-research by extension. These are not necessarily easily narrated; they are fleeting and sometimes half-formed. Sentences in notes end halfway through, the event or recollection forgotten or subsumed by something more immediate. Underlined words or pauses in a recording indicate moments of intensity, of engagement beyond the narrative form. Due to the nature of

academic work, many of these fragments have been collected into more coherent networks of past and present and made 'storable' (Sacks 1986), yet it is important not to forget and gloss over the complexity and messiness of the ethnographic practise of working with memory.

3.5.4. Data Analysis and Representation

To suggest that analysis is a bounded stage of the process is problematic, as the beginnings of analysis occur in the field, as the researcher begins to observe trends, notable moments, and intensities within the fieldwork itself. In the taking of field notes immediately after leaving the fieldwork site, some initial analysis occurred, which was then further developed during their writing up into more coherent and in-depth descriptions (Geertz 1973). Therefore, the analytical process for this project was an evolutionary and emergent one, as trends and themes became apparent in an iterative process. Field notes, in their various forms, as well as interviews, transcriptions, and other resources from the field, such as photographs, were stored on a secure drive and deleted from their source in order to ensure data security.

Recorded ethnographic interviews were transcribed soon after they were conducted to allow for the recollection of aspects that could not be captured by the recording, such as what historical image we were discussing, relevant information about the settings, and what happened during moments of interruption. As I mentioned previously, many of the audio recordings were difficult to transcribe due to the busy-ness of the setting where some were conducted, such as in cafés or the Ty Ebbw Fach heritage room. As such, I endeavoured to transcribe as much as possible whilst also being attentive to the wider context and noise due to the ethnographic nature of this research. Some ethnographic interviews were not recorded, as it was not appropriate in the setting, so they could not be transcribed. I treated the data from these interviews more like traditional ethnographic scratch-notes, writing these into narrative field notes rather than attempting to reproduce them as a transcribed conversation. Similarly, to the field notes, my memory of the discussions and affective moments which took place during the ethnography was fundamental but also fallible.

Whilst I aimed to use NVivo in the analysis of data, it was difficult to clearly 'code' some of the less discrete and definable components of the research. For example, I had a code

entitled 'Something' for the moments that I felt resonated, but I could not clearly ascribe meaning to. These sections of the data were often drawn into dialogue with other moments or events in the research that provided a greater understanding of why they stood out, yet this was not easily accomplished in NVivo. As such, I spent a considerable amount of time making more creative 'mappings' of the research, working with sketches, mind-maps, and digital artworks, in an attempt to see how the 'fragments' of history could be brought into discourse with each other (see appendix 7). Some of these maps and images are included in the following empirical chapters to illustrate how I came to understand the interconnected aspects of the past in the present in certain instances. For example, this thesis's cover image was produced for a paper entitled 'Frustration', which I presented in the session 'Collective Feelings' at the RGS Annual Conference. The image was intentionally produced for the presentation. It also provided me with a creative way to consider the processes of degradation, decay, endurance present in my field site and how these were interwoven with everyday practices, especially of (im)mobility.

The predominant representation of the data in the following chapters is in vignettes and quotes. This approach follows on from Emery (2018a: 92), who addressed calls for a different kind of writing that could consider, explore, and represent multiplicities of memory, spectrality and everyday practices by extolling the benefits of "storytelling, vignettes and thick description to distil, diffuse, complex and chaotic findings into a coherent analysis which captures some of the thrown-togetherness". Where available, I include quotes taken from conversations with participants and residents.⁴. Sometimes these are presented without attribution or with less context, a choice I've made in text depending on how relevant I think that information is to the quote. It was sometimes necessary to present several quotes together, to highlight how, in my recollections, these various statements accumulated around certain pasts or presents. Different forms

⁴ Throughout the thesis, I refer to both 'participants' and 'residents'. Whilst this may appear to be an arbitrary distinction, I have made it to deliberately indicate the difference in participation between different people who contributed to the research in various forms. Participants, in this case, are denoted as individuals with whom I had direct discussions, privately, to explain my research project. On the other hand, 'residents' were simply present during my ethnographic research at community groups (although knowingly so) or during the ethnographic observations, I made in public spaces around Ebbw Fach. Participants are frequently discussed in detail, with biographies attached to their quotes or accounts. Residents, since they did not provide the same degree of consent, are not described in detail.

of representations are also presented one after the other, moving swiftly between descriptions of my experiences in the landscape, overheard conversations, quotes from interviews, and materials I encountered. A sense of place was also something I was preoccupied with establishing throughout this thesis, so images are occasionally included for this purpose. However, instead of more traditional photographic representation that may be included to accompany discussions of place, these images provide limited representations. Overall, the representational work of this thesis is only partial. Many of the connections and affective resonances that I associate with remembering were not easily captured or presented in any format. This is not a tension I have resolved, but instead, it is interwoven throughout the work, as I attempt to engage with multiple forms of memory contextualised within multiple everyday practices.

3.6. Chapter Conclusions

This chapter has outlined the various research choices made from the inception of this research project to the completion of this thesis. As I explored in section 3.2, the concepts which have informed this project have had significant consequences for the entirety of the data collection and representation, engaging with different epistemological concerns. In order to work with the multiple forms of memory which were embedded in everyday life in Ebbw Fach, I argue that it is necessary to employ these emergent and overlapping methods that adapted and responded to different resonances of memory as well as considering the more discrete and identifiable narratives and representations of the past in the community. Fundamentally, I was concerned with everyday mundane happenings, and so the ethnographic approaches provided the most effective method for witnessing these happenings whilst also being able to engage with accounts and consider my own positionally as a researcher and within the landscape.

The recruitment technique employed in this study meant that I did not engage with a 'representative' sample of people from the Ebbw Fach area. However, whilst it is worth acknowledging the partiality of this research, the generalisability, validity, or ability to make judgements of the Ebbw Fach community as a whole was not the concern of this

project. Inherently, I was unable to 'capture' the depths of experiences that I had during the fieldwork, and so could also never hope to record the relationships that participants and residents of the area had with the place, each other, the past, or mining histories more broadly. Instead, this thesis brings to light stories that can reveal the ongoing legacies of industrial pasts in the post-industrial presents of Ebbw Fach. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 address these pasts, presents, discontinuities, and endurances in three main themes: Mobility, Memorials, and Endurances in the Landscape. The following chapter introduces the wider history of deindustrialisation in the UK and how the community of Ebbw Fach is situated within and constructed by these histories.

4. Historical and Geographical Contexts: Industrial Communities, Deindustrialisation and the Ebbw Fach Valley

4.1. Introduction

Before commencing with a detailed analysis of the research findings, this chapter provides some historical context for this research project by outlining various historical contextual engagements. Linkon (2018) suggests that the construction of the industrial community, even for those who cannot remember it, is fundamental to how those who still live in post-industrial places continue to negotiate their relationship to place and their own identities. Whilst Linkon (2018) is preoccupied with the representations of industrial community and the processes of deindustrialisation as they are represented in 'working-class writing', these many works clearly illustrate the enduring presence of these constructions of the industrial past. As well as in fiction, the image of the archetypal industrial community is well-established in both historical and sociological literature, although much of this interest is rooted in the later stages of the industrial era. In sociology, these interests were often focused on 'working-class communities', as Day (2006:57-58) outlines, which can be most simply defined by the presence of industrial workers, and the associated cultural characteristics such as "distinctive attitudes, ambitions, and world-outlook". Of course, the nature of being 'working-class' is intensely debated, historically and contemporaneously (see for just a few examples across many aspects of class research: Lockwood 1966; Rose 1968; Goldthorpe *et al.* 1969; Pahl 1984; Crompton 1998; Skeggs 2004; Smith and Campbell 2017; Dicks 2008). However, this concept of the 'working-class' was frequently applied, often uncritically, in these aforementioned 'community' studies of localities dominated by industrial work. To understand the relationships between the industrial past and the post-industrial present, it is necessary to introduce what the former entailed. Therefore, the contextual engagements within this chapter are multiple; firstly, I will outline how 'working-class community' is understood through various bodies of sociological work. These works are important not only to situate this thesis within a wider academic conversation around the nature of industrial places but also to establish an outline of the imaginary of such communities. Following Linkon (2018), I argue that these imaginaries of such 'working-

class places' are critical for understanding the contemporary relationship with the post-industrial, for both residents of these areas and outsiders, including myself as a researcher. Therefore, the first section of this chapter will outline conceptualisations of these 'working-class communities' in theoretical approaches to touch on the debates of characteristics of these places; not with the intent of presenting a coherent image of the 'working class' place but rather to provide an overview of these ideas and constructions.

Secondly, I consider the specificities of these processes of deindustrialisation in the context of South Wales to provide greater detail of how these structural changes impacted the area that is the subject of this research project. This section outlines specific historical events and legacies that mark the experiences of deindustrialisation in the South Wales valleys as unique and worthy of investigation, moving beyond sociological constructions of these communities more generally. By engaging with these histories, I provide context that is fundamental to the later sections of this thesis and highlight the limitations of more generalised approaches to working-class communities.

I then introduce the specific research area of Ebbw Fach in greater depth, providing further background that informs this research. At this stage of the chapter, I draw on participant and resident narratives around both history and place, as well as historical literature and news media reports, in order to situate this research engagement within multiple accounts of the community and the past. The following section continues this interwoven engagement, outlining the contemporary context of Ebbw Fach. These sections work to establish the later chapters within the context in which the research was conducted, building on these narrative engagements and other discourses attached to the area. Fundamentally, I aim to present a (re)construction of Ebbw Fach and the relevant historical context to the reader to better ground later discussions within the various discourses of Ebbw Fach that intersect and cumulate and ultimately inform this research.

4.2. The 'Working Class' Community, Pit Villages and Deindustrialisation

This section will outline some of the various discourses perpetuated with these engagements with industrial places, engaging with the importance of social networks and local geography, before focusing particularly on coal-mining contexts. Mining communities or 'pit villages' have held particular attention in such areas of study, and

so I discuss research on common characteristics of such communities, considering the everyday geographies, places and social attitudes that are commonly linked to pit villages. I also consider how miners and their families' work lives were seen to impact ideologies of collectivism, gender roles, and diversity before briefly discussing how deindustrialisation impacted such places.

The nature of the industrial community is not universally accepted, but throughout numerous studies, clear characteristics are well-established (Day 2006). At the outset, Day suggests that the industrial community is most often understood as an area with industrial workers and associated cultural characteristics of “distinctive attitudes, ambitions and world-outlook” (2006:57-58). Although Day is critical of this lens as the only way of conceptualising such places, these characteristics re-emerge throughout studies into working-class communities. The work of Young and Willmott (1957) into working-class culture in parts of London, as part of the Institute of Community Studies, was crucial in establishing these particular 'characteristics', along with other similar research projects (c.f. Mogeley 1956; Hoggart 1957; Dennis *et al.* 1969; Jackson 1968). These projects highlighted the importance of large populations of manual workers that had shared work-lives. Such lives supported deep-rooted friendships and social ties that were interwoven with long-standing family connections throughout the area. These social networks were particularly prevalent in Young and Willmott's work, and similar social connections were described in other works, such as Birch (1959) on political life in the cotton-mill town of Glossop, Mogeley (1956) on the role of family and friendship in an area of Oxford, and Brown and Bannen (1970) on ship-builders (see also Ramsden 2016).

Others also highlighted the importance of shared values and practices, which were inherently related to the development of collectivism, solidarity and the associated belief in traditionalism, often through these shared experiences of industrial labour as well as economic marginalisation and experiences of poverty (Calhoun 1982; Lockwood 1966; Humphries 1981). The intensity of social ties and solidarity was even more evident in work into mono-industrial areas, where most of the population was employed by one industry, often termed 'occupational communities' (Salaman 1971; Dennis *et al.* 1969; Warwick and Littlejohn 1992). For this research, the role of geography is also crucial; many of these studies emphasised the importance of shared local geographies. This is

clearly summarised by Roberts (1978:73): “Neighbourliness becomes natural and is continuously cemented in pubs, streets, cornershops, workplaces and home.”

This research, in particular, is focused on the context of an ex-coal mining area. The UK has a long history of coal-mining, but it is most commonly associated with the period from the 19th Century Industrial Revolution until its relative decline throughout the 20th century (Robinson 2002). The scale of the coalfields of the UK is depicted in Figure 4.1. Mining communities are often studied as a clear example of such working-class



Figure 4.1 The British Coalfields in 19th century from Redmayne (1904) *The Coal-Mining Industry of the United Kingdom*. Reproduced under a Creative Commons License.

communities..

When considering mining communities, the geography of everyday life is even more prevalent. Bulmer's (1975; 1978) work on models of mining communities emphasised both the importance of the above-shared geographies and the geographical isolation of the traditional 'pit village', reinforcing the importance of local shared geographies. Described by Strangleman (2001:265) as the 'ideal repositories of working-class life', how the coal mining community is constructed is central to this research project. In particular, these constructions focus on the 'pit village, established as a concept in many studies such as Bulmer (1975), Beynon and

Austrin (1994), Samuel *et al.* (1986), and Harrison (1978; cf. Eckley and Bearcroft 1996; ADMS and Eckley 1995). The images of pit villages were also established in popular culture, depicted in *How Green Was my Valley*, a book by Richard Llewellyn and film adaptation, set in a fictional pit village in the South Wales coalfield, or films such as *Billy Elliot* or *Brassed Off*⁵. Relative to other work on working-class community, these pit villages are perceived as the most archetypal examples of these social characteristics, based largely on the images established in these studies and depictions. Pit villages tended to have workers' housing built in the immediate area to the pit by the colliery owners, and many local services were dependent on the contributions of miners themselves (Bulmer 1975; Bennett 2015; Eckley and Bearcroft 1996; ADMS and Eckley 1995). Of particular note was the miners' Welfare, Club or Institute⁶. Bulmer (1978:32) explained that "the Club...lies at the centre of the community's inter-locking social networks". Most clubs were built in areas near to the mines and the homes of miners and included smoking rooms, games rooms and billiard rooms, as well as bars and offices. As Dennis *et al.* (1969) explain, these services, often funded by miners' contributions, and the associated practices of care, volunteering, and non-profit clubs were necessitated by the general neglect of these mining communities (see Bulmer 1975).

Mining communities and pit villages are most commonly associated with a particularly intense form of collectivism and solidarity. Whilst these areas were often subject to risk in economic terms, the everyday safety was also notable (Charlesworth 2000; Mackenzie *et al.* 2006). The experiences of risk and poor working conditions in the coal mines across the UK meant that miners were often "at the forefront of proletariat class consciousness and action" (Day 2006:77). For coal miners, working conditions were dangerous and unpredictable, as Dennis *et al.* (1969) explain:

⁵ Notably, these depictions often focused on the communities as they experienced industrial hardship and decline, intersecting with Linkon's (2018) later argument that the preoccupation with the industrial landscape has stemmed from the processes of deindustrialisation and the dislocation of these everyday realities.

⁶ The terminology used for these community and social hubs varied according to the coalfield. In South Wales, they were frequently referred to as 'Institutes' or colloquially as 'stutes', the term 'Welfare' was more common in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, and 'Club' as a more widespread term.

Sometimes the colliers' work may vary but little from day to day over some months...On some days the roof or floor will move inwards with tremendous force...The statistics for accidents show that no collier avoids accidents altogether, and a high percentage have serious accidents at one time or another. In 1953 out of every 100,000 employed 57.1 met with fatal accidents.

Dennis *et al.* (1969:41-42)

Miners were frequently involved in strike activity in response to these working conditions, as well as hours and wages. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, there were hundreds of strikes and stoppages in the South Wales coalfield reflecting the dissatisfaction with long hours and poor pay (Johnes 2012:24), and this strike activity endured throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, despite the nationalisation of the industry in 1947, forming the National Coal Board. This nationalisation brought better working conditions, pensions, five-day working weeks, paid holidays and gradual wage increases but was also associated with some colliery closures. From the 1950s onwards, due to technological changes and declining demand, further job losses occurred, numbering as many as 500,000 in the 1960s (Burns *et al.* 1985). Industrial action was commonplace and is probably most commonly remembered in relation to the miners' strikes of 1969, 1971 and 1984-1985. These strikes are often inextricably combined with the image of the mining community, and so solidarity and collectivism are embedded in these constructions.

Furthermore, in mining communities, gender roles were traditionally delineated, perhaps even more so than in the archetypal working-class community, where gender roles were often relatively traditional. This was especially following the 1843 Mine Regulation Act, where women and children were banned from working in deep pit mines (Humphries 1981). Activities became intensely coded as feminine or masculine, reflecting rigid employment trends that established "the traditional image of the mining community...that women stay by the kitchen sink and men are the breadwinners" (Warwick and Littlejohn 1992:116). Whilst Warwick and Littlejohn (1992) acknowledge that these employment trends had altered significantly by the 1980s, the perception of these traditional roles as being the norm and the associated gendered behaviour still

has significance in the contemporary context (Walkerdine and Jimenez 2012). Many of the constructions of the working-class community, as outlined above, failed to attend to the experiences of women in these areas (Bennett 2015; Crow and Allen 1994; McDowell 1991) or their role in mining communities, especially during periods of decline and industrial action (Seddon 1986; Kelliher 2017). As well as women's experiences being excluded, other forms of difference are often poorly acknowledged in some of these traditional approaches to working-class community. Roberts (2001:86) notes that many of the values associated with the archetypal working-class community are often attached to white men, overlooking diversity within these communities. For example, many areas of the UK experienced high levels of immigration to participate in the growing industries, such as Cardiff's 'Tiger Bay' where immigrants developed a community based around dock work as far back as the 1840s in direct response to the coal exports from the South Wales coalfield (Cameron 1997; Mulhern 1998). These histories are frequently overlooked in historical and sociological engagements with the working-class community at the time and are thus often absent from the images of the archetypal working-class community. These images also often omit an engagement with the pervasive attitudes of racism and sexism that were commonplace amongst the white working-class (Amin 2002; Jones 2010).

Additionally, the working-class community is often represented not only as internally homogenous but also as a homogenous category. This tendency is also the case of coal-mining communities or 'pit villages' as they are considered as the 'most' working-class rather than as a series of unique cases of industrial life. However, working-class experiences varied significantly, according to local geographies, traditions and the nature of the industrial work. For coalfields, this was also the case, despite differences in social trends, industrial action and the processes of decline. As Emery (2018a:26) states, "generalising coalfields across a wide chronology nullifies understandings of gradual change and the importance of specific events to the emergence of new realities." However, in the pervading images of the coal-mining community, these differences are often overlooked.

As well as engaging with the images of working-class communities and the traditional 'pit village', it is necessary to consider the experience of deindustrialisation in order to engage with the contemporary condition of an ex-coal mining community. However,

deindustrialisation was not an immediate event. The experience of deindustrialisation within coal mining communities was protracted throughout much of the twentieth century following the peak of employment in the industry in 1913 (Hollywood 2002:298). As mentioned above, experiences of accidents, poor working conditions, periods of depression and industrial action were common throughout the following seven or so decades, with many periods of associated job losses. However, following periods of intense strike action, "it was the neoliberal policies of the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s that struck a death knell to the coal mining industry" to quote Bennett (2015:1291, drawing on Robinson 2002; see also Figure 1.4. on jobs in the coal industry). Over 200,000 jobs were lost across the UK through the decline of the British coal industry from 1981 to 2014 (Phillips 2018). The gradual decline that was experienced by so many mining areas is not captured in these figures, but many areas of the coal industry had been experiencing long-standing decline. Whilst the solidarity that was so commonly associated with coal mining endured, these strikes were frequently criticised by the British media and government, diminishing the respectable reputation that was so often linked to these coal-mining communities in popular imaginations (Winterton and Winterton 1989; Hart 2017).

Rates of Employment in Coal Mining in the UK (1880-2012)

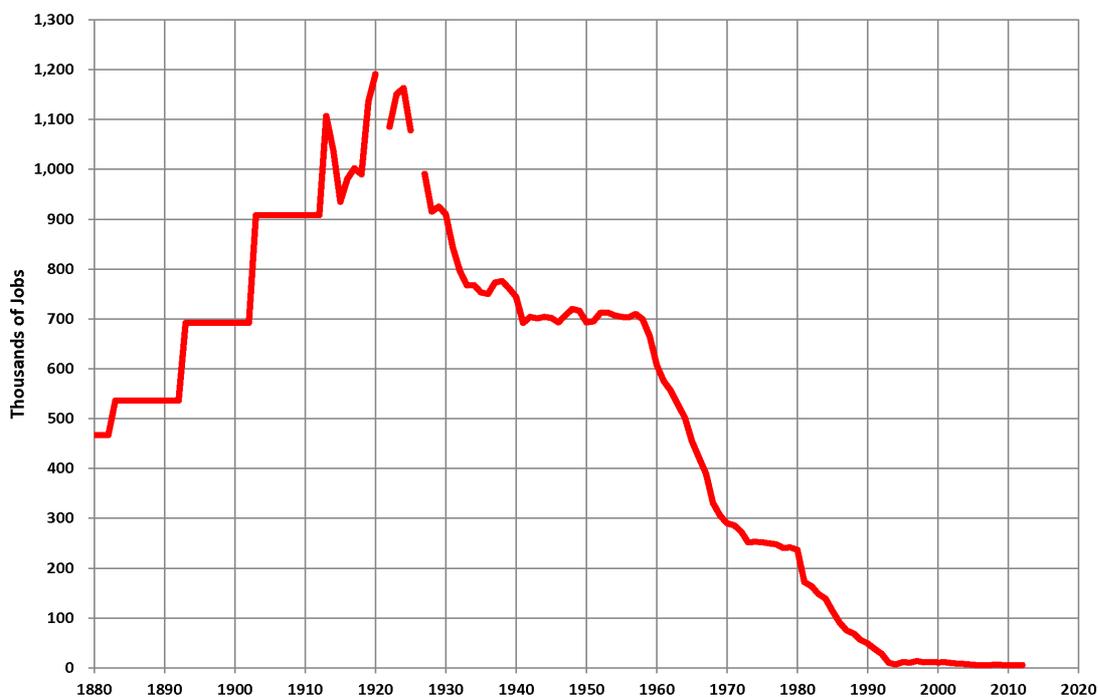


Figure 4.2: Rates of Employment in Coal Mining in the UK (1880-2012) From DECC Data. Plazak (2013) Reproduced under Creative Commons License.

The term deindustrialisation is also problematic since it implies a universality of this process; however, much of the UK still has thriving manufacturing industries (Roberts 2011:66-67). Many acknowledge that it is not necessarily the availability of manufacturing jobs, although they have decreased across the UK, that epitomised the experience of deindustrialisation. Instead, the importance of the loss of long-term stable employment that had previously been undertaken by generations of families is reinforced (Johnes 2012). This is especially true for mono-industrial communities such as isolated 'pit-villages'. Additionally, this form of deindustrialisation has significant consequences for associated identities both for individuals and for communities. In the context of the coalfield areas of the UK, a 1998 Taskforce Report stated:

As we have toured the country, we have been left in no doubt about the scale of deprivation and decline. However, what makes the coalfields special is the context in which this decline has taken place. They have a unique combination of concentrated joblessness, physical isolation, poor infrastructure and severe health problems. The contraction of the coal industry has been so rapid that mainstream government programmes have failed to readjust to offer an adequate level of support.

Coalfields Task Force (1998:7)

This thesis does not attempt to provide an overview of the vast array of impacts that deindustrialisation has had on the chosen ex-coal mining community. Geographers and other social scientists have considered these impacts of deindustrialisation in the UK in terms of: economic change (Beatty and Fothergill 1996; Beatty *et al.* 2007); mobility (Hollywood 2002; Sivaramakrishnan and Vaccaro 2006); educational aspiration and attainment (Forster *et al.* 2018; Bright 2011; Bright 2013; Ward 2014); unemployment and employment patterns (Evans and Smith 2006; Murray *et al.* 2005; Evans 2016; Parry 2003; Beer 2016; Strangleman 2007, 2017; Murray *et al.* 2005); austerity (Beatty and Fothergill 2013; 2016; 2017); class identity (Mackenzie *et al.* 2006; Strangleman *et al.* 2013; Dicks 2008; Loveday 2014; Nayak 2003, 2006); racial identity (Bhambra 2017; Nayak 2003; Webster 2003, 2008); gender identity (Nayak 2003; Walkerdine and Jimenez 2012; McDowell 2003a, 2003b, 2005, 2008; Nixon 2009; Bennett 2015); regeneration (Stephenson and Wray 2005; Aitchison and Evans 2010; Waddington and

Parry 2013); community identity, place-attachment and belonging (Phillips 2018; Emery 2018a, 2018b; 2019; Sampson and Goodrich 2005; Strangleman 2001, 2007, 2017; Strangleman and Rhodes 2014); landscape and ruination (Hill 2013; Edensor 2004, 2008; Wheeler 2014; DeSilvey 2012); sustainability, pollution and contamination (Lorimer 2008; Thompson 2020); commemoration and heritage (Power 2008; Rhodes 2020; Price 2020; Dicks 2000; Morrell 2017); crime (Wattis *et al.* 2011; Nayak 2006; Webster 2003, 2008); mental and physical health (Kampanellou 2014; Thomas 2016); and political trends (Thorleifsson 2016; McKenzie 2017; Bright 2012). That this list does not even approach, the full extent of this area of research serves to illustrate the vast array of approaches that have been adopted to consider this structural change. As Linkon (2018:3) states: "For these communities, deindustrialization is not an event of the past. It remains an active and significant part of the present."

4.3. Deindustrialisation in a South Wales Context

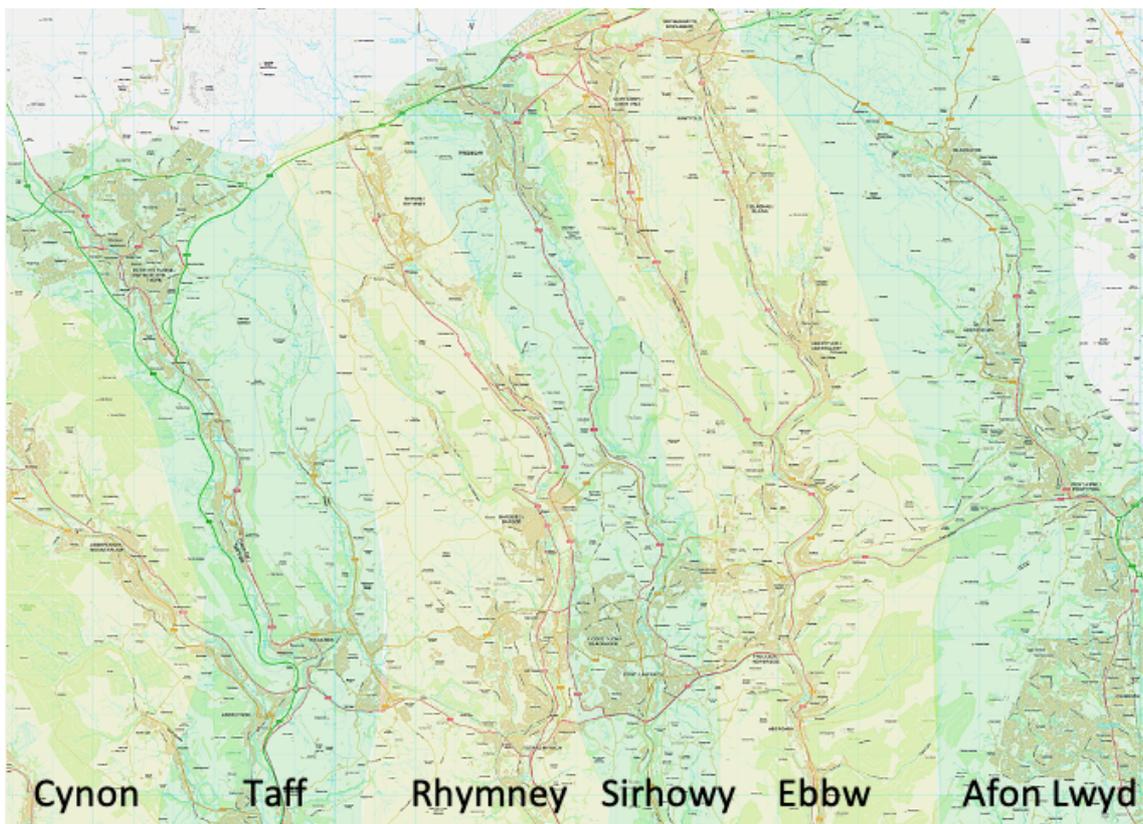


Figure 4.3: The eastern South Wales Valleys, including fieldwork area Ebbw Fach, with valley areas indicated. Made by author using OpenStreetMap (Walker and OpenStreetMap 2020) under an Open Database License. ©OpenStreetMap contributors

Table 4.1: Closures of Collieries in the South Wales coalfield following the end of the 1984-85 Miners' Strike in March 1985, from Curtis (2013:250-251)

Year	Month	Colliery Closed
1985	June	Celynen South
	August	Bedwas
	September	Markham
		Treforgan
	October	Aberpergwm
		Penrhiwceiber
		Abertillery*
November	St John's	
December	Garw	
1986	Blaenserchan	
	Coedely	
	Cwm	
	Nantgarw	
1987	Six Bells*	
1988	Abernant	
	Lady Windsor	
1989	Marine	
	Cynheidre	
	Oakdale	
	Trelewis Drift	
	Merthyr Vale	
1990	Blaenant	
	Maerdy	
1991	Penallta	
	Deep Navigation	
1992	Taff Merthyr	

*Collieries in the Ebbw Fach Valley Research area

Ebbw Fach Valley that forms the key research area is one of these valleys (see section 1.4). Many of these communities echo the ideas of Bulmer (1975), developing as small-scale, relatively isolated pit-villages along with the valley floors, along with other larger

One area of coal-mining heritage in the UK is this study's focus: that of the South Wales coalfield. Part of this region is known as 'The Valleys', after the numerous steep-sided valleys running North to South. This section will outline the development of these areas and the processes of deindustrialisation that took place before detailing some of the characteristics associated with the area. It is these characteristics that cause the Valleys to be labelled as typical post-industrial places and as the 'left-behind' parts of Britain.

The Valleys area extends from Carmarthenshire in the East to Monmouthshire in the West, just to the North of Swansea, Cardiff and Newport. These key coastal towns developed as substantial port towns in response to coal exports and the associated industries. Larger towns — located at the 'head' of the Valleys — were also known as large ironworking sites, developing before the coal industry that began in the area in earnest from the 1850s. The

towns that experienced rapid population growth from mostly singular farms, small parishes and hamlets from the 1880s onwards (Day 2006).

In the context of wider deindustrialisation, South Wales was particularly badly impacted. The established NCB focused on other low-cost and more profitable coalfields, and so decline in the area was prominent as early as 1957, largely reflecting the long-term lack of investment in the area (John 1980⁷). Despite the closures that resulted from these programmes, even by the end of the 1960s, South Wales pit villages were still recognisably like the archetypal working-class occupational communities discussed above (Phillips 2018, drawing on Curtis 2013). The endurance of these communities as occupational, close-knit and focused on egalitarianism has been attributed to the prevalence of their form of Methodist Christianity (Berger 2001). The election of the Conservative party in 1979 had "the most immediate impact upon the colliers of South Wales", meaning that "two-thirds of South Wales pits were at risk [of closure]" (Winterton and Winterton 1989:53). Phillips (2018:46) also notes a stronger presence of Communist politics in the South Wales coalfield than in other coalfields, with a stronger trend towards radicalism, primarily due to the social characteristics of these communities. The Conservative plan to close coal mines to reduce Britain's reliance on the coal industry resulted in the 1984-85 Miners' strike across the UK, where the NUM faced the NCB backed by the Thatcher government. Throughout the strike, the South Wales Area was arguably the most committed coalfield to the strike:

As late as mid-December 1984, 21 of the 26 British pits completely free of strike-breakers were in South Wales, and over 99 per cent of the area's members were still on strike in January 1985.... No-one was more committed and loyal to the strike in 1984-85 than the South Wales Miners.

Curtis (2013:198)

The consequence of the miners' defeat is difficult to overstate for the South Wales coalfield. Following the end of the strike in March 1985, Curtis explains (2013:250-251)

⁷ This is not to diminish other long-term causes of decline, such as the switch to oil-fired ships from the First World War onwards and oil-fired railways (Davies *et al.* 2008). The 1926 general strike and the 1930s depression also significantly impacted the coalfield, minimising profits and increasing running costs. Closures were not new in the 1950s, yet it began a period of concentrated decline.

that in the months following the end of the strike, a series of closures were implemented in the area (see table 4.1). Curtis also explores how the strike impacted the community more broadly, creating widespread 'bitterness' and a lack of belief in future industrial action. Most obviously, job losses were extensive, not only in South Wales but across the UK (see figure 1.3). The impacts were widespread and long-reaching. In the years since the closure of the mines, the South Wales Valleys have experienced many of the factors that are frequently associated with deindustrialisation (Linkon 2018; Stephenson and Wray 2005). By 2004, it was recorded that the population of the area, in general, was declining, alongside increasing rates of employment instability, deprivation and dependence on state-welfare benefits, as well as higher rates of sickness, disability and mortality (David *et al.* 2004:11). They explained that the area suffered from a “weak local economy”, low qualification rates, low rates of training amongst the population, low chances of investment, an underdeveloped service sector, increasing rates of commuting, low levels of local consumerism, high levels of crime and vandalism, and a population that had low confidence and aspirations for themselves and the area as a whole (David *et al.* 2004:11). Many studies suggested that the jobs lost from the end of coal-mining across the UK had not been replaced, particularly in the South Wales coalfield, and that the South Wales Valleys were one of the most detrimentally affected areas by the collapse of the British coal industry (Beatty *et al.* 2007; Hollywood 2002; Coates and Barratt-Brown 1997).

This is not to suggest that there have not been attempts to regenerate and reinvigorate the areas. For example, Dicks (2000) highlights how the coal-industry was mobilised in terms of heritage in a neighbouring area of the Welsh valleys. Many regeneration programmes in post-industrial areas have sought to develop new tourist sites to reflect interest in these industrial pasts (c.f. Wanhill 2000; Power 2008). Additionally, government funding has been focused on South Wales, as part of Objective One and Convergence EU funding and Tier 1 UK government funding (Beatty *et al.* 2007; Curtis 2013:256; see also section 1.2). Prior to this research, the Communities First initiative had been operational in South Wales: established in 2001, it was a Welsh Government programme that was focused on reducing poverty in Wales through providing public services, organisations, training opportunities and support to find employment and

other interventions (Hincks and Robson 2010; National Assembly for Wales 2017). It was officially ended in 2018 as part of broader austerity measures.

This context of austerity is also crucial. Despite progress made by the Communities First Programme, the cost of austerity has been notable; a report by Beatty and Fothergill (2014) noted that by 2014 the Local Authorities that comprised the Valleys were the hardest hit by recent welfare reforms for Wales as a whole. They state that “The Valleys as a whole can expect to lose around £430m a year as a result of welfare reform – an average of £650 per adult of working age” (2014:3). The context of these valleys as post-industrial communities also has significant consequences for how they negotiate these inequalities and forms of austerity. Cloke *et al.* (2007) and May *et al.* (2020) relate this to forms of mutualistic support and solidarity that operated in these communities, that could easily be related to the working-class solidarity and shared social responsibility that had been so crucial to these areas during the coal-mining period and have endured as local traditions and ways of life in the wake of deindustrialisation.

It is in this complex and relatively pessimistic context that this research is conducted. However, this is also of significant consequence beyond the immediate issues that are detailed here. The impact of deindustrialisation and the closure of the coal-mining industry has wide-reaching consequences that cannot be readily captured in these quantitative measures. As David *et al.* (2014:11) explained, the social impacts of these structural changes are drastic, impacting confidence, aspiration, and mental wellbeing. When considered in light of the images of the ‘working-class community’ as discussed previously, it is understandable that the changes are not easily categorised and addressed. As industrial life and coal-mining affected every aspect of everyday life, so too the absences continue to act on individuals and communities’ lives, behaviours, discourses, values, and beliefs. Identities are still intensely interwoven with these histories. As Linkon (2018) states, in the context of post-industrial communities more broadly:

For those who grew up after the plants closed, the shared memories may be less sweet, but they hold people together nonetheless...they value the past, even the parts they know only from stories.

(ibid:1-2)

4.4. Introducing the Coal-Mining Communities of Ebbw Fach



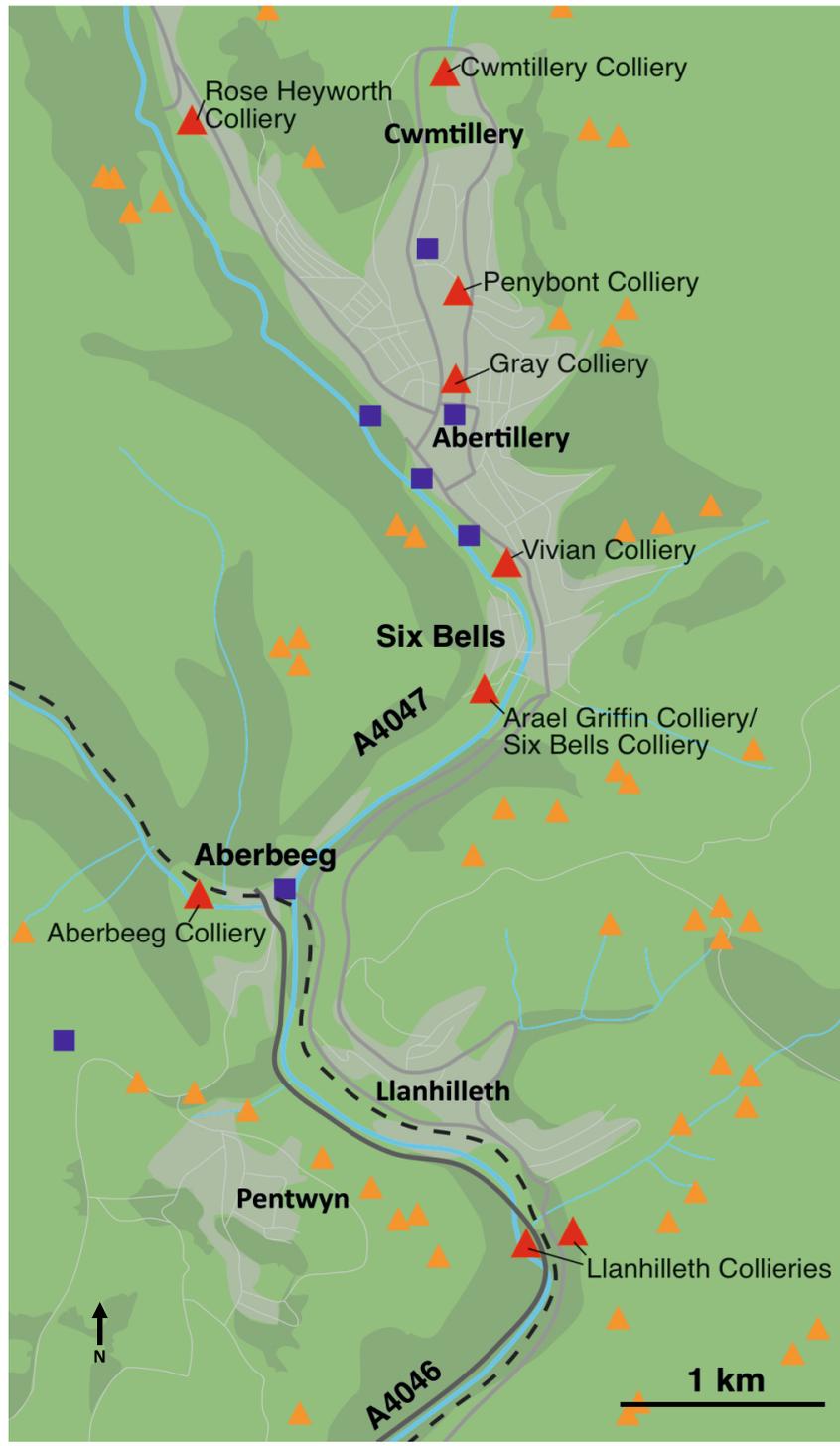
Figure 4.4: Tunnel in Six Bells, taken by author, February 2018.

The tunnel runs beneath what would have been the railway line I guess, and it's about 15 feet long. It leads out to where the pit would have been, and where the Coach and Horses pub sat opposite. It's dark, apart from the spotlights on the ground but the walls are brightly coloured, with paintings that are unmistakably based on children's drawings. The 'Six Belles' to represent the six beautiful daughters that a local man had, that gave the village its name, a community worker told me. Of course, almost no one I had met in the area so far believed that this was the true origin of the village's name. One person at the heritage centre thought it was for the six bells

carved on the doorway of the miners' institute in the village, that is now a block of flats, but they also thought it was more likely that the bells were carved in reference to the name rather than acting to inspire it. According to the 1880s map, it was called Sixbells even then. Another member of the church coffee morning suggested that it was from the six rings of the bell that was done at the colliery before the coal drams were pulled up tramways, rings that would echo around the mountains once you reached this area of the valley.

Fieldnotes, Six Bells Tunnel, December 2017

The intriguingly named Six Bells is a village within in the Ebbw Fach Valley, or Ebbw Fach as it is referred to throughout this thesis. Six Bells, an ex-coal mining village or 'pit village' to the South of the town of Abertillery, was the initial focus of this research project, as a small community with a clear opportunity to engage with formal and informal heritage. However, other areas informed much of this research, and so I became engaged with the area of Ebbw Fach more broadly. Ebbw Fach is a valley in area of the South Wales coalfield. It is one of the more easterly valleys that are part of the coalfield area, dominated by steep-sided valleys that created ideal conditions for coal mining (see figure 4.3.). The research area discussed in this project encompasses a number of small villages and towns in the region of the Ebbw Fach and Ebbw Vale valleys. The Ebbw Fach valley spans from the town of Brynmawr in the North, to where the Ebbw Fach and Ebbw Fawr tributaries meet at the village of Aberbeeg, becoming simply the Ebbw River (see figure 4.5).



- Legend**
- ▲ Major Colliery
 - ▲ Minor Colliery or Level
 - Industry
 - Urban Area
 - Woodland/Forest Area

Figure 4.5: Ebbw Fach Valley Research Area, with Coal Mining and Industry indicated. Drawn by author.

This and the following section aim to introduce the nuances of Ebbw Fach, beyond the generalised constructions that are outlined in the previous sections of this chapter. As there is limited historical material on the area this section is mostly lead by the data collected from fieldwork. Much of the history of the specific area of Ebbw Fach that is presented was drawn from the stories of participants and from local museums displays. Additionally, I am concerned with the way in which Ebbw Fach is constructed as a place, both historically and contemporaneously, from *within*. It is therefore focused on aspects of the community that are frequently invoked by residents, but also reflects constructions of ‘working-class community’ and experiences from deindustrialisation that are outlined in the previous sections. As such, this subsection interweaves these various sources to present contextual information for the ensuing empirical chapters. I discuss the development of the coal-mining industry in the area, and the associated growth of the towns and villages in Ebbw Fach, before considering the experiences of Ebbw Fach as an industrial area. This relates back to the constructions of working-class communities and pit villages that I have explored in previous sections, highlighting the importance of industry and work, social life, overlapping local geographies, the ‘liveliness’ of the towns and villages, and collectivism. Additionally, I introduce accounts of dangerous work, gender identity, and experiences of poverty and hardship.

Before the development of coal mining, the area of Ebbw Fach had developed an iron industry at the Northern end of the valley, which endures in the landscape to today. As one member of the ACCESS group told me: “they had a big ironworks up there... my husband went up ...did some drawings of the iron works, or what’s left of them” (see also Bennett 2016). The towns and villages grew rapidly during the period of coal-mining which grew throughout the latter half of the 19th century, as miners moved into the area. As a member of the Walking Group, explained:

lots of people came into the area to sink the mines like, before the most of the colliers came, sinkers came from Somerset...my aunt, she traced it back and we’ve got family that came from that way, from Somerset, who were colliers themselves...

The first major pit was sunk in Cwmtillery in 1843 and following this, pits were opened in Abertillery, Aberbeeg, Six Bells and Llanhilleth, from large pits employing thousands to smaller coal levels operated by 30 or so men (Bennett 2016; see figure 4.5). In 1941 the population of Blaenau Gwent, the larger administrative area that included Ebbw Fach and the neighbouring valley of Ebbw Vale, was counted at 13,467 (GB Historical GIS 2017). The community grew rapidly as people moved to the area to work in the coal industry, by 1921 the population of Blaenau Gwent was 121,289 (GB GIS 2017). The connection between the growth of these communities and the industry which brought migrants to the area is still evident in the valley. Six Bells, a small village to the south of Abertillery, was largely built around two pits, the Vivian pit and the Arael Griffin pit, later known as the Six Bells pit. As was explained to me by Joe, an ex-miner of Arael Griffin: “it was opened by John Lancaster, an Englishman, an’ they built all the houses nearby, for the miners to live in.”

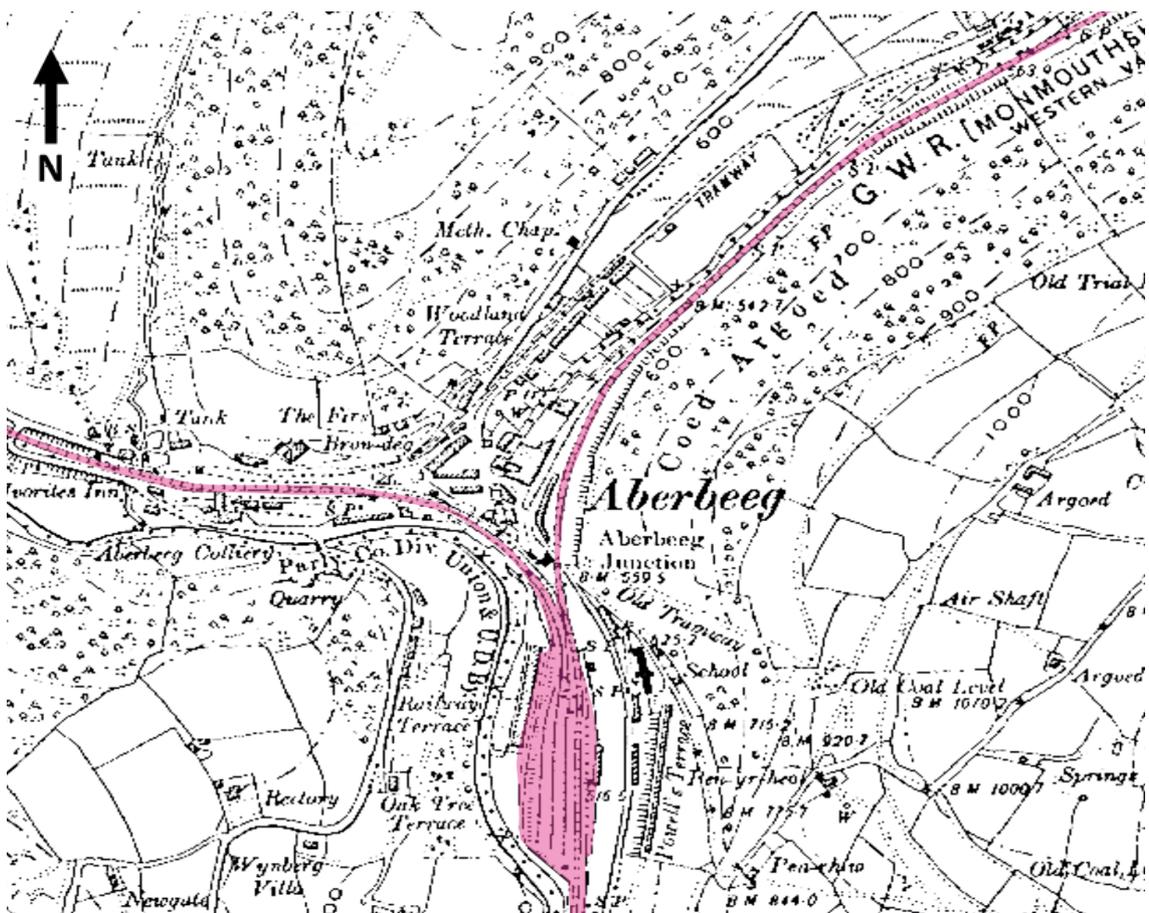


Figure 4.6: Excerpt of map from Aberbeeg in 1900, with railways indicated. Adapted from Walker/OS (2020a).

As is evident on historical maps of the area and pictures of the community other industries moved to the area, also lending their names to streets. These included Webbs Brewery in Aberbeeg which opened in 1838, coke ovens in Cwmtillery and later Penybont that treated by-products from the nearby pits, and a tin works, gas works, brick works, iron foundry and engineering works in Abertillery (see Bennett 2016; Eckley and Bearcroft 1996; ADMS and Eckley 1995). Large railways operated between these key industrial sites and are clearly marked on historical maps (see figure 4.6).

The life of those who were engaged in mining was often recounted in stories to me of 'how it was' or 'when the pits were open', and much of these reflected images similar to those of the coal-mining pit villages that were documented in sociological studies of such communities, as outlined in section 4.2. Joe explained the way that work lives and social lives tended to be interwoven in the community, reflecting ideas presented by Bulmer (1975, 1978), Harrison (1978); Samuel *et al.* (1986) and Dennis *et al.* (1969):

You went to school with people, and then you'd get a job workin' with a lot of em and you'd live near em and then you'd go to the pub or the club with 'em after work...I used to drink in the coach and horses, we had a darts team.

As Joe alludes to, the social landscape of the Ebbw Fach area was also significantly tied to the industrial work in the area. Miners' Institutes were built in each village, and other social clubs too. Residents recounted dances at the 'stutes' and other local clubs, as well as busy church congregations, male voice choirs, sports teams, the Six Bells lido in the Summer, and rugby games that would be well attended so that, as one man explained to me, the ground would be "jumping". Pictures in the local Ty Ebbw Fach heritage room centre (see appendix 6) and local history books include images of these social occasions; a wedding photograph, a gathering of miners' families at the beach, sports teams and so on (Eckley and Bearcroft 1996; ADMS and Eckley 1995 see figure 4.7). These kinds of stories were frequently invoked in nostalgic rememberings of the 'olden days', often linked to experiences from childhoods spent running around the local woodland, playing in the streets, picking winberries and even riding the coal drams up and down the tramways. Residents also recalled a "vibrant" and "thriving" town centre of Abertillery, as well as busy high-streets in other villages, remembering iconic local businesses and

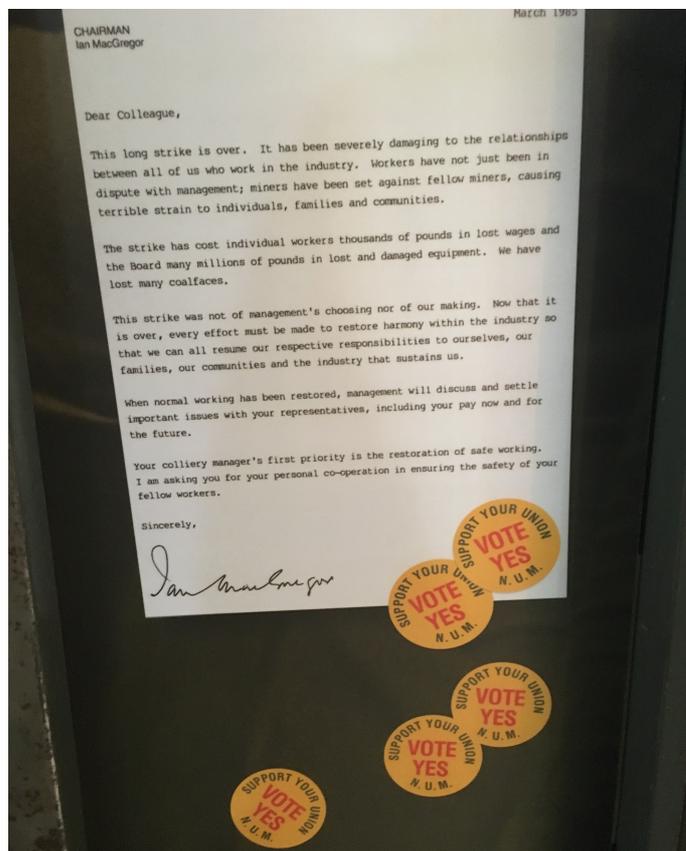
shops, as one Craft Group member recalled “people used to come up here to do all their shopping, Abertillery was a real hub!”



Figure 4.7: Ty Ebbw Fach Heritage Room, and 'family photos' display, December 2017, taken by author.

In addition to overlapping social lives, local services are also relevant to constructions of the mining community, and the forms of collectivism that tend to be associated with these places. Local services were often funded by voluntary contributions from the miners, such as local hospitals and schools. For example, Joe told me that he studied at the miners' college to the South of Llanhilleth in Crumlin, and also that his “daughter was born at the Miners' Hospital down in Aberbeeg.” One member of the music group

described the ethos of the communities in that period, that “everyone looked out for each other, you had to”. Joe explained how briefly after the death of his father the local Communist Party supported him and his mother financially, as his father was a member, that some friends gathered donations from the other miners, and later Joe and his wife Jane also recalled their experiences of the 1985-86 strike, “I got food from the institute that the public gave for the miners, like donations”. Evidently, Joe in particular had strong connections to these narratives of mutualism and collectivism. As I explored above, the mining unions were particularly strong in South Wales during the strike, and these stories were also documented in the Ty Ebbw Fach heritage room and other local heritage displays; ‘Coal Not Dole’ stickers adorned the makeshift ‘lockers’ that acted as display cases for various mining artefacts (see also appendix 6, and figure 4.8).



*Figure 4.8: Ty Ebbw Fach Heritage Room, ‘lockers’ and stickers
December 2017, taken by author.*

However, it is important not to lean towards nostalgia in these discussions; These accounts of the strike also highlight the experiences of decline and risk that were part of the local history. Whilst the mines were operational, risk was part of everyday life; many miners were injured or killed in accidents in the pits. Joe could recall the dangers

of working in the pits, experiencing several serious accidents first-hand. He described multiple ways in which he had seen men injured and killed by cave-ins, explosions or accidents with various items of machinery as well as explaining his own injuries (see also section 6.2.2). Surviving the risks of working in the mines established strong bonds between the miners themselves. Gilbert (1995) explains the 'butty' system involved subcontracting and piecework in many coalfields, however it is recalled by ex-miners in South Wales as a system of solidarity, referring to the meaning of the term as "a kind of companion or friend" (Church and Outram 1998:27, drawing on Goffee 1981). As Joe explained "you'd watch out for him, he'd watch out for you... if someone's your butty, they're always your butty."

Yet these experiences of risk and the associated coping strategies were not only part of the lives of colliers themselves but also the wider community. As Brenda, a participant who had grown up in a neighbouring area of the South Wales Valleys, explained "you was always scared, if you heard someone was hurt, you were always worried that it was your dad or your brother or something." In 1960, 45 men were killed in the Six Bells pit due to an explosion caused by a gas build-up. Images surrounding the disaster include women waiting together to hear whether their husbands, sons and brothers were injured, and are depicted in books of local history, as well as on information boards around Parc Arael Griffin, the redeveloped site of the explosion. Joe, who was in the area on the day and found the men's bodies, explained his family's concern when he was absent following the accident: "Everyone was worried as I had still not arrived home...She [his wife] ran to meet me with mam carrying the baby; they would not let me out of their sight for the rest of the day."

For women, in the community, their relationship to the industry was different. Gender roles, as noted above, were often rigidly followed in communities such as Ebbw Fach. For the area of Blaenau Gwent, in 1951 28,134 women were economically inactive, compared to 7170 economically active (GB Historical GISb2017). Some residents did recall their female family members working whilst the pits were operational: "my nan worked at the miners' canteen" or "mam was a seamstress". However, many recollections focused on women as keepers of the home and caregivers. A local history enthusiast told me that "They were so houseproud; the houses were immaculate." Brenda, again, recalled that when children played outside, their mothers and family

would stand “on the corner with the baby in a shawl, chatting with the other women” and watching the children, a scene often depicted in images in books on the local area. Lloyd, a man in his twenties, described similar behaviour from his grandmother who had always lived in Abertillery: “she used to stand out the front and talk to everyone, and she always swept the front step and the street in front of her house.”

In these areas, the housing was largely uniform, since it was often built by the mine owners. Gladys, Joe, and Brenda all described how their childhood homes had looked, having all grown up in similar time-periods in the area or neighbouring areas: “You had a big range like the fire, that would be on that [chimney breast] wall, and a stone floor in here”, “you’d have a bath in a tin bath in front of the fire” and “the toilet was out the back of the yard”. As two residents of a street in the South of Abertillery explained, when they bought their miners terraced house in the 1980s, there were still tiny one-room cottages in the gardens of these properties, with terrible living conditions that were soon demolished. Poverty was widely reported, especially during the aforementioned economic depressions such as the during the 1920s. As Merrill and Kitson (2017:5) state of this period: “extreme poverty gripped the South Wales valleys and daily survival relied on self-reliance and local welfare support organized by the Fed [the miners’ unions]” largely due to unemployment as pits, such as Arael Griffin, were temporarily closed due to a loss of demand for coal (Bennett 2016). Experiences of poverty were not constrained to this period but were commonly described by those who remembered growing up in the industrial period. This also highlights the shared experiences of the members of these communities; As Joe explained “you didn’t know you was poor, because everyone was poor”, and Brenda said, “no one used to lock their doors, because it was safe, but also because no one had nothing worth stealing!”.

However, these images of the community are firmly situated as ‘in the past’, as part of the community-past, as the ‘ways things were’, and this change is almost always articulated as being ‘before the pits closed’. The decline of the coal mines occurred throughout the 20th century. The Gray Colliery of Abertillery was closed in the 1930s and used for training (Welsh Coal Mines 2002). Vivian Colliery, just to the North of Six Bells, was closed and accessed via the Arael Griffin Pit from 1958 onwards. Joe recalled his retirement and how it was connected to these many changes:

This lad, he was working at Rose Heyworth Pit, and he phoned me up and asked me if I would think about retiring early, so that he could take on my job when his pit closed. And I asked [my wife], and she thought it was a good idea as my chest was getting worse...I told my manager...and a week later, he told me I could finish on ill health.

In a similar time-frame, many of the associated industries closed or were relocated from the area (see Table 1.2.). Many of these closures had significant impacts on the landscape of the area; industrial buildings were demolished or left to ruin. The iconic viaduct at Crumlin, to the South of Llanhilleth, was demolished in 1964 following the closure of the railway lines. The loss of these railway lines was frequently mentioned by local residents, along with the decline of bus services. In 1984 the Six Bells Colliery (formerly Arael Griffin) and the Abertillery pits were the only operational pits in the Ebbw Fach valley (Curtis 2013). Six Bells Colliery was amalgamated into the 'super-pit' of Marine colliery in 1985 but specifically the Six Bells colliery was closed in 1987 (Curtis 2013:251). These closures directly followed the defeat of the miners in the 1984-85 strike. The Abertillery colliery was closed in October 1985 amongst many other collieries in South Wales throughout that year. The Marine colliery, based mostly in the neighbouring valley in the village of Cwm, closed only a few years later, in 1989. It was the last coal mine to work in the Ebbw valleys (Welsh Coal 2002). As one resident said: "it was just...just devastating to everyone, when they were all shut."

Name of Colliery	Village/Town Area	Year of Peak Employment	Peak Employment Numbers	Amalgamation/Links with Other Pits	Date Opened	Date Closed
Aberbeeg North	Aberbeeg	1908	334		1860	1926
Aberbeeg South	Aberbeeg	1945	202		1925	1965
Aral Level	Six Bells	1902	105		1870	1912
Cwmtillery Red Ash	Cwmtillery	1896	60*	Merged with Llanerch Padarn Levels	1888	1949
Cwmtillery North/South	Cwmtillery	1923	882/772	Merged with Rose Heyworth	1843	1982
Cwm North/South	Cwm	1917	76		1890/1920	1940
Erskine	Llanhilleth	-	50+			1947/1974
Gray	Abertillery	1923	698	Linked with Vivian and Penybont	1893	1938
Griffin	Blaina	1903	3401	Merged with Rose Heyworth	1882	1921/1951
Hafod Van	Six Bells	1910	122		1865	1928
Henwaun Pit	Blaina	1896*	436*	Merged with?	1850	1922
Llanhilleth (Steam)	Llanhilleth	1918	1305	Linked with Llanhilleth Red Ash	1889	1969
Llanhilleth Red Ash	Llanhilleth	1923	92	Linked with Llanhilleth Steam	1850s	1946
Llandafal	Cwm	1908	101		1865	1935-1938
Llanerch Padarn Levels	Cwmtillery	1938	108	Merged with Cwmtillery Red Ash	1934	1949
Marine Colliery	Cwm	1913	2407	Merged with Six Bells	1889	1989
Pentybont	Abertillery	1908	2766*	Linked with Gray and Vivian Collieries	1840s	1940
Pen-y-Fan	Aberbeeg	1908	28	Linked to the Verdun level	1803	1920
Rhiw Colbren	Abertillery/Blaina	1929	73		1886	1947
Rose Heyworth	Abertillery/Cwmtillery	1918	2760*	Linked to Cwmtillery	1872	1985
Six Bells/Arael Griffin	Six Bells	1914	2471	Linked with Vivian, later Merged with Marine	1892	1988
Vivian	Six Bells/Abertillery	1908	2766*	Linked with Gray and Penybont Collieries, Merged with Six Bells	1891	1958
*Peak employment before integration into larger pits.						

Table 4.2: Coal mines in the Ebbw Fach and neighbouring area, adapted from Bennett (2016) and Welsh Coal Mines (2002).

4.5. Post-Industrial Ebbw Fach

Aberfest is a summer festival that takes place every year in the centre of Abertillery. No one could really remember when they started it, but it hasn't been that long. When I searched for it online, it looked like it was maybe 2013 or so. At the Craft Group, as we packed up the things they had made to sell at the fete, attaching sticky labels with hand-written prices, the lady from Six Bells whose name I still don't know comments that she didn't even know it was Aberfest this weekend, she says 'normally there's leaflets'. We all chip in with comments, some people agreeing and other people saying it's all over Facebook. The lady from Six Bells is insistent that they normally make much more of a fuss; it used to be much busier and more obvious...

Adam mentioned it in our chat too when we were talking about how sad he found Abertillery town centre now. "They still have some things going on, like Aberfest and Winterfest, people still come to that, but that it's sad compared to what it was, that used to be much busier than it is now."

After spending some time at the Six Bells Craft Group's stall, I walk along the fayre to see if I can find Gwen. She's text me that she's sat out of the front of one of the cafes along the road with all the stalls. There's a gazebo with a small choir of children singing pop songs, Abertillery Has Talent or something. I spot Adam working on a sweet stall, but I don't interrupt since he's in conversation. There's a hook-a-duck for the Salvation Army shop, and I spot a stand with signs for the Abertillery Men's Choir 'We Need You' they say.

I find Gwen sat out the front of the café, on some tables and chairs arranged at the side of the road. She's talking to a man who I learn is Turkish and is opening a kebab shop on a neighbouring street "the business rents here are very good". He's one of the few people I've seen around the area that visibly isn't white. As we sit there, it's clear that she knows most of the staff that are coming in and out of the shop to attend to the ice-cream counter and the customers out there. "I love it here." She tells me.

Her and the other people sat out of the front of the café keep mentioning the parade that should be happening at about 2. "It's gone two now though, I wonder if we've missed them." Gwen comments. Not long after, about 12 or so people come along the road in costumes. Some of them are adults; some of them are just little kids being led by the hand. There's no real theme that I can tell, one woman is a mermaid, and there's a little kid that's a dinosaur. "Is that it?" I hear someone say from in the café through the open door. "Ohh it's a bit sad really, isn't it?" says one of the ladies who is sat beside Gwen. Gwen is clapping enthusiastically and waving at the passing children.

As people walk past, Gwen regularly calls out and greets them, introducing them to me; most of them walk over and have brief chats about Gwen's recent health troubles or their families. The same happens when we move to go and see Brenda, Gwen's friend and someone else I know from my research, perform with her Welsh Folk Music Group at the other side of the fete. It seems to take forever to make any progress along the street as Gwen chats with everyone, and their children and grandchildren, often in buggies with ice-creams or sweets from the stalls. She knows all their names. She asks them about starting school; she taught many of the older ones when she was a teacher. She seems to just know everyone but also seems to genuinely care about everyone, remembering important facts about them. She has reassured the Turkish man that she will be looking forward to his shop opening.

Fieldnotes, Aberfest, June 2018

"It's not like it used to be" was what one resident said to me when we discussed Ebbw Fach after I asked whether she liked living in the area. This sort of refrain was commonplace, but there were many other ways that community members narrated the changes to the communities following the closure of the coal mines. Some of these reflected broader images of the South Wales Valleys that are mobilised in the UK media. This subsection will explore some of the characteristics of the post-industrial Ebbw Fach, considering the ways in which local residents and media accounted for local networks,

issues of decline, job losses and the wider impacts of deindustrialisation for a community that was once so defined by its relationship to industry.

As shown by Gwen in the above vignette, the social networks that were so intrinsic to the images of the community in the past endured in the contemporary context. Gwen, in particular, used these networks to explain why she was so attached to the area, explaining, "it's just a special place. It's the people. They make it special.... People here, they just care about each other." Younger residents of the area also expressed similar ideas, suggesting that these impressions of the community are not entirely rooted in experiences of the mining community itself. As Emma explains: "A lot of people have moved away...but a lot did stay in the community and still help each other out... like my neighbour is my plumber and he can do anything, I can just pop round if I need a hand."

The expression that 'everyone knows everyone' was commonplace, with clear evidence of interconnected networks of families and friends in the area. However, beyond these accounts of a 'tight-knit' community, the impressions of contemporary Ebbw Fach were less favourable.⁸

The communities that are part of Blaenau Gwent are often subject to negative perceptions from both within and external to the area. In a 2013 BBC article entitled the 'unbearable sadness of the Welsh valleys' Mark Easton wrote about the Ebbw valley, a series of towns and villages to the Northwest of the fieldwork area. He writes:

"The numbers tell a long and sad story of decline. "We are top of every league you don't want to be top of," a man tells me. Poverty, sickness, worklessness - Blaenau's name is always among the worst...the communities settled here [were] extinguished."

Easton (2013: BBC News online)

Negative perceptions of the Welsh valleys are pervasive, reinforced by statements such as the above quote. A Sky documentary about an area of Merthyr Tydfil, another post-

⁸ It is also worth noting that all of the residents and participants that informed this research were from relatively similar backgrounds; white, British, and from families that were traditionally working-class. These accounts are therefore heavily impacted by these experiences, and although the area had a large white population at 98.2% in Blaenau Gwent in 2021, these experiences are not meant to suggest a universality of these experiences of the community (StatsWales 2021)

industrial town in the South Wales valleys, described one community as having a 'stench of decay' with 'bleak nihilism' (see Thomas 2016:1-2). These are, of course, not entirely uncontested viewpoints; many members of that town responded with anger at the 'unfair' portrayal of Merthyr in the documentary (see WalesOnline 2010, Malone 2010). "The numbers" that Easton refers to do indicate characteristics of decline, echoing the post-industrial condition that I outlined in section 4.2. Many of these statistics are attached to Blaenau Gwent as a whole, yet they still serve to illustrate the issues in Ebbw Fach.

As stated above, the population of the area was approximately 38,805 in 1921. By 2011 this had fallen to around 16,398 residents in the same approximate area (see GB Historical GIS 2017), and a Wales Online article suggested that Blaenau Gwent was the only area of Wales that still had a declining population in 2012 (Rutherford 2012). The diminishing population was perceived by residents as a reflection of the 'state' of the local area as a whole. A participant at the Care Group stated: "Of course people have left, a lot had to, and a lot just wanted to live somewhere that was doing better", and when I asked Lloyd if he would consider moving back to the area from his home in Cardiff he said, "There's just nothing there, work wise, if you've got anything more than GCSEs."

The loss of jobs is particularly stark. As stated above, Beatty *et al.* (2007) and Beatty and Fothergill (1996) have illustrated how jobs in the South Wales coalfield that were lost to the closure of the mines have never been adequately replaced, and for many people, this is evidently still the case. In March 2020, the unemployment rate for Blaenau Gwent was 4.4% when compared to the Wales average of 3.7%, and the rate for incapacity benefit is one of the highest in the UK at 11.9%. However, the impact of the mine closures is evident in work-lives far beyond issues of unemployment. The loss of a 'job for life' has been impactful for working-class communities, and this is particularly heightened in mono-industrial areas such as Ebbw Fach (Strangleman 2001). One resident stated that: "It's not just like the jobs have gone, it's like a way of life." High rates of depression and other mental illnesses are often pointed to as an indicator of these wider changes, especially amongst men, and in Blaenau Gwent, as many as 1 in 6 people are prescribed anti-depressants (Easton 2013).

Other residents suggested that the decline had created a wider crisis of frustration and disinterest, spanning beyond the miners that were made redundant or retired as the pits closed to their children and grandchildren. As Lloyd explained of this intergenerational experience:

The people who worked in the mines, a lot of them stopped working in their 40s and 50s, and they are kind of left behind. People are still resentful about that...they're like a loitering generation. Even their kids, they feel the same way.

Many participants and residents suggested that the problem rest with the younger generation who had grown up in families with no one in employment and did not actively seek work, in keeping with the pervasive images in the UK media of the 'benefit scrounger' (Loveday 2014; Willmott and Griffin 1996). One resident described them as "[the] lot that you see in the Wetherspools" in Abertillery town centre who had "never even thought of getting a job", echoing the common narrative in the UK media and policy surrounding people who are said to be suffering from 'low educational attainment and aspiration' (Bright 2012). Some, like Emma, described young people in the area that were aiming at "getting pregnant, getting a house, having kids, living off the benefits". "People round here, they're just idle", said Matt. There was also a general concern around drug usage and crime amongst young people in the area, which is often invoked as further evidence of decline (Bright 2011). The aforementioned tunnel in Six Bells was regenerated after it was identified as a hotspot for muggings and drug usage.

The policies of austerity, brought in by the Conservative government in 2008, have also had significant impacts on the area. Blaenau Gwent is identified as one of the areas with the largest financial loss to working-age adults as a result of various Conservative welfare reforms, with approximately £700 per adult lost in the 2014/2015 fiscal year alone (Beatty and Fothergill 2013). Further austerity measures were implemented since 2015 and are likely to have continued to negatively and disproportionately impact communities in the former industrial areas of Britain (Beatty and Fothergill 2016, 2017). For residents, the changes brought about by austerity have been recognisable through the closure of local services, such as the Abertillery library and the end of the Communities First programme in 2017. The Communities First programme – a Welsh

government initiative focused on reducing poverty and its effects – had supported several community groups in the area, and its absence was noticeable when I commenced by fieldwork in late 2017, shortly after it ceased running in Ebbw Fach. Whilst some groups, such as the craft group, had continued independent of the funding, other organisations and services had closed as a result, such as the 'Men's Group' that one member of the walking group told me about. Adam commented on the austerity measures, saying, “the area just can’t afford any more cuts and hits, people can’t absorb it and it has a knock-on effect”. The loss of EU funding is also apparent. A second train line, that was apparently EU funded according to a man I spoke to at the station, stood unfinished at Llanhilleth, he explained “I don’t know if they’ll ever finish it, now that we’ve voted to leave, we won’t get any of that money.” Following funding from the Welsh government, many of the railway lines that had been closed in the 1960s were reopened, including the line up to Llanhilleth and on to Ebbw Vale that was reopened in 2008, but Abertillery and the Ebbw Fach valley had not included in these schemes.

These persistent conditions, of closures and decline, are not restrained to public services. Abertillery town centre is a clear indicator of the changes to the area since the closure of the mines. Whilst the 'glory days' of the town are often remembered fondly, this is offset by a mournful account of the town now. As Adam explained, "it’s heart-breaking, to see what it’s become.” The old Pontolyn department store closed and reopened as a Wetherspoons pub, frequented by the aforementioned ‘loitering generation’ as they were referred to as by local residents. Many explained how businesses struggled to survive in the town, leading to an abundance of charity shops, betting businesses, and 'vape' shops, not a million miles from the high-streets where I grew up in the Black Country. During the fieldwork period of late 2017-early 2019, one café which I visited regularly experienced several changes of ownership and periods of closure as the renting owners struggled to sustain the business. A report on the South Wales valleys explained that the local economy was unable to support small businesses, and this further diminished the area and those who aimed to be self-employed (David *et al.* 2003).

I was frequently told about that in the past you could “buy anything you needed in Abertillery”, and most often, I heard about the cinemas. “We used to have 4 cinemas!

Just in Abertillery.” Joe recalled in detail the trips to see films, and it was recorded in an audio clip at the local heritage room for visitors to listen to.

As we [me and Meg] walked along the terraces just up from the pithead baths, Meg told me about the cinema. ‘There used to be a cinema here, just on the end of this line of houses. The Playhouse Cinema’ There’s nothing really there now, the houses just end opposite an old hotel with a Chinese takeaway and a bus stop: ‘You can hardly believe it now’ Meg adds. I can’t even picture a cinema in this spot, I struggle to imagine how these little towns and villages sustained them, but I’m told over and over again how they were always busy, almost like they’re a source of pride. This used to be a place busy enough that it warranted all these cinemas.

Fieldwork, Walk in Llanhilleth February 2018.

4.6. Chapter Conclusions

This chapter has focused on outlining the key contextual information necessary to engage with the complex relationship between industrial presents and industrial pasts.

Firstly, I have outlined the key approaches to working-class communities to highlight the ways in which they have been constructed and conceptualised in social science studies, as well as providing historical context for the structural changes that have occurred during the processes of industrialisation and deindustrialisation. I have then outlined the ways that these structural changes affected the South Wales coalfield in particular, as a uniquely organised industrial area.

Sections 4.4. and 4.5. have focused on the Ebbw Fach valley providing contextual information regarding industrial life and the post-industrial community in the research area. By rooting these explorations in the narratives of local residents, I argue that this is not necessarily a 'correct' representation of the past but rather speaks to how the community-past is constructed in the contemporary context, subject to contemporary re-imaginings. This is a key component of the following research chapters and underpins much of my engagement throughout the rest of this thesis; these histories are mobilised to re-imagine the past and the present. Whilst this is often reminiscent of nostalgic

rememberings, this perhaps moves beyond nostalgia, creating not only a sense of 'longing for a past, but something more complex, an emotive sense of alienation as belonging in the contemporary community is eroded and belonging to an imagined past is heightened. To quote Narvaez (2006:52), "the past thus becomes vivified in shared presents."

In the context of Ebbw Fach, it is possible to reflect on Bauman's ideas of how neoliberalism and mobility may 'wound and scar' community members as these deeply entrenched connections are uprooted (Bauman 1996:25-26). Seamon (2014:14) suggests that the loss of a particular 'way of life and a 'way things were, and the associated belonging that can be constructed around these histories, itself can cause expressions of "sadness, regret, worry, depression, anger, fear or grief". These emotive concepts will be revisited throughout this chapter, but they have already been made apparent in the discourses presented in this section. This experience is not easily categorised as a sense of alienation from the community, even for individuals. Many of the constructions of the past which are invoked are subjective and unequal, often overlooking the difficult and dangerous work of mining, the poverty of the communities, and issues of inequality and marginalisation that occurred within these 'idyllic' mining communities (Crow and Allen 1994). Similarly, the ways in which the nature of the community has changed are subjective; they are accounted for differently by different individuals. As such, the following sections will discuss the ways in which community is discursively constructed in the present, considering the importance of endurance and continuity from the constructions of the community-past. However, in the next section, I engage with forms of mobility that operate within Ebbw Fach to consider how wide structural changes can impact everyday practices across temporal scales.

5. Mobility in Ebbw Fach

5.1. Introduction

This first section of empirical analysis will engage with mobility patterns, both in their physical and social forms and explore how these movements are implicated spatially, practised and experienced. This thesis seeks to highlight legacies of industrial heritage in the ex-mining communities of Ebbw Fach (see section 4.5). This analysis section considers how historical patterns of mobility and (re)constructions of these patterns may endure. I propose that, in keeping with ideas of practice and rhythm, aspects of industrial mobility continue in embodied and lived practices of mobility in these communities. I also highlight ways in which these historical mobilities are constructed and understood by communities, paralleling theories of increased mobility that are associated with various models of contemporary mobilities (such as Virilio 1986; Beck 1992, 1994; Castells 1996; Bauman 2000) and the critiques of these ideas (see for example Adey 2006; Frello 2008; Cresswell 2010; Inglis 2014; Ferreira *et al.* 2017). This section also suggests that these (re)constructions and discourses of mobility endure in emotive and affective ways, especially when brought into alignment with contemporary decline and changes within these communities.

This chapter presents mobility as a series of interconnected ebbs and flows, interruptions and pauses, frictions, tensions and erosions, rhythms and repetitions. I seek to consider mobility as operating simultaneously across a variety of scales (Sheller 2017). Following the literature highlighting the transformative impact of deindustrialisation on industrialised communities (such as Linkon 2018), I highlight the legacies of industrial mobility in these areas. I, therefore, consider constructions of historical mobility as inherently related to industrial processes and productive modernity and compare these to contemporary and often mundane mobilities (Binnie *et al.*, 2007). I suggest that this comparison, this discontinuity, that is often embodied, experienced emotionally and affectively by residents, highlights patterns of mobility as relevant to this thesis (Jensen *et al.*, 2015). As Cresswell (2012:646) asserts: “moving, meaning and bodily practice are entwined in ways that travel through history.”

First, I present constructions of historical mobilities that operated during industrial pasts. I draw significantly here on ideas established in traditional cultural studies of working-class communities and how these conceptualisations of mobility within these communities may be aligned with accounts from residents and fieldwork. I also consider how these constructions may endure to construct ideas of isolation and separation and highlight the perceived importance of locality and how this may be related to the construction of Ebbw Fach as a 'typical working-class area'.

Secondly, I outline ways in which mobility can be understood to have altered and accelerated within these areas in response to deindustrialisation and processes of globalisation. This discussion draws on theories of the multi-scalar impacts of these large-scale changes to mobility. Additionally, I discuss the patterns of physical mobility and social mobilities associated with these changes within the context of Ebbw Fach.

Thirdly, the previous sub-sections theories are complicated and contested through accounts of past mobilities and contemporary immobilities. I seek to highlight the importance of agency and practice in how mobility is conceptualised and highlight the role of scale in conceptualising how historical mobilities endure and how contemporary mobilities are experienced. Additionally, I draw on ideas of aspiration and care to consider how historically-rooted ideas of mobility impact individuals' longer-term mobility and how such constructions may relate to ideas of localism and community.

Finally, I draw the instances of mobility outlined in the previous sections to consider how these accounts, theories and experiences may create moments of affective circuitry (Stewart 2007). I suggest that these moments of resonance can highlight the ways these varying aspects, emotions, flows, and histories of mobility converge in the everyday contemporary landscape, allowing a greater reflection on how industrial histories are implicated in these rich assemblages.

5.2. "You didn't need to go anywhere else"- Historical Immobilities, Localism and Security

This first section of analysis seeks to establish how mobilities can be conceptualised in the Ebbw Fach area whilst the mines were operational. I outline ways in which the

mobilities of these communities align with two bodies of work in particular; from conceptualisations of the 'starting point' before increasing mobility following the industrial era (Virilio 1986; Beck 1992; Beck *et al.* 1994; Castells 1996; Bauman 2000), and from collections of work into traditional working-class communities, often conducted in the mid-20th century in the UK. Both of these ideas are central to this discussion, but I also suggest that the ideas of community and immobility that are outlined in these models have relevance to how the place is conceptualised and related to by residents in the present.

Many sociological and cultural studies into working-class communities (such as those outlined by Strangleman 2017) established a particular construction of what industrial communities would resemble, with particular characteristics assigned to mining communities. These (re)constructions bear great significance throughout this thesis and are discussed in subsequent chapters, and studies suggest the value of using a multi-temporal lens to understand mobility in Blaenau Gwent. Day (2006) explores perceptions of industrial communities drawn from extensive sociological research conducted in the 1960s, 70s and 80s. These projects emphasise ideas of stability and locality (see Young and Willmott 1957; Frankenberg 1966; Rose 1968; Dennis *et al.* 1969; Bulmer 1975). This work forms a significant contribution to how these historical mobilities are understood.

Building on this literature, Bauman (2000:58) suggested that the nature of industrial employment involved a common trend of arresting workers' mobility, keeping them 'riveted' to their places of work. This construction is echoed in many similar works on contemporaneous mobilities, mainly focused on ideas of immobility, stability and continuity. Of course, these ideas of immobility are problematic when considered concerning scale (Adey 2006). As many participants explained, mobility beyond the immediate area of Ebbw Fach was historically rare within the everyday rhythms of mobility. These communities were, of course, mobile.

In contrast to the hyper-mobility that is often discussed in these theories (see chapter 2), this historical mobility was concentrated within the local or hyper-local area (as discussed by Young and Willmott 1957, for example). This is most evident when considering, as discussed above, the more mundane practices of mobility (Binnie *et al.*,

2007). The distances between workplaces and houses were often short, as the housing was built deliberately for the employees of the mines. The participants recalled stories and experiences of the miners walking to and from the mines, even from their own recollections or the stories they had heard:

When the men came out the pit you'd be playing in the street, and they'd walk past, and they'd be so black from the coal dust you couldn't tell who they was.

Brenda, from fieldnotes, Chatting in Brenda's Kitchen, June 2018

Me and Meg walk along an overgrowth footpath and under the main road, following a road into sparse woodland and growth on the hillside. Meg explained "this was the route the men would take to the Llanhilleth pit, and they'd come up here and go into the baths at the top, then walk home. It was never far."

Fieldnotes, Walking with Meg in Llanhilleth, January 2018

This theme of local mobility is of paramount importance when conceptualising these communities and is not, despite assertions of immobility from theories of hyper-mobile presents, a contradiction of these ideas. In fact, for this discussion, I use the terms local mobility and hyper-local mobility in order to account for both movement in and between these individualised locales such as Six Bells, Abertillery, and Cwmtillery (see Fig 1.4). As the above examples suggest, some mobility practices were intensely hyper-local, focused in the immediately walk-able area during the industrial period. As well as accounts, the relationships of proximity are even inscribed in the landscape, as many participants explained to me as we moved around the area or talked about their homes on different streets (resonating with examples from Azaryahu 1996; Alderman 2003). John Lancaster opened the Arael Griffin mine in Six Bells, and the area still has the streets named Lancaster Street, Arail Street and Upper Griffin Street, as I detailed in Chapter 4 (see figure 5.1)

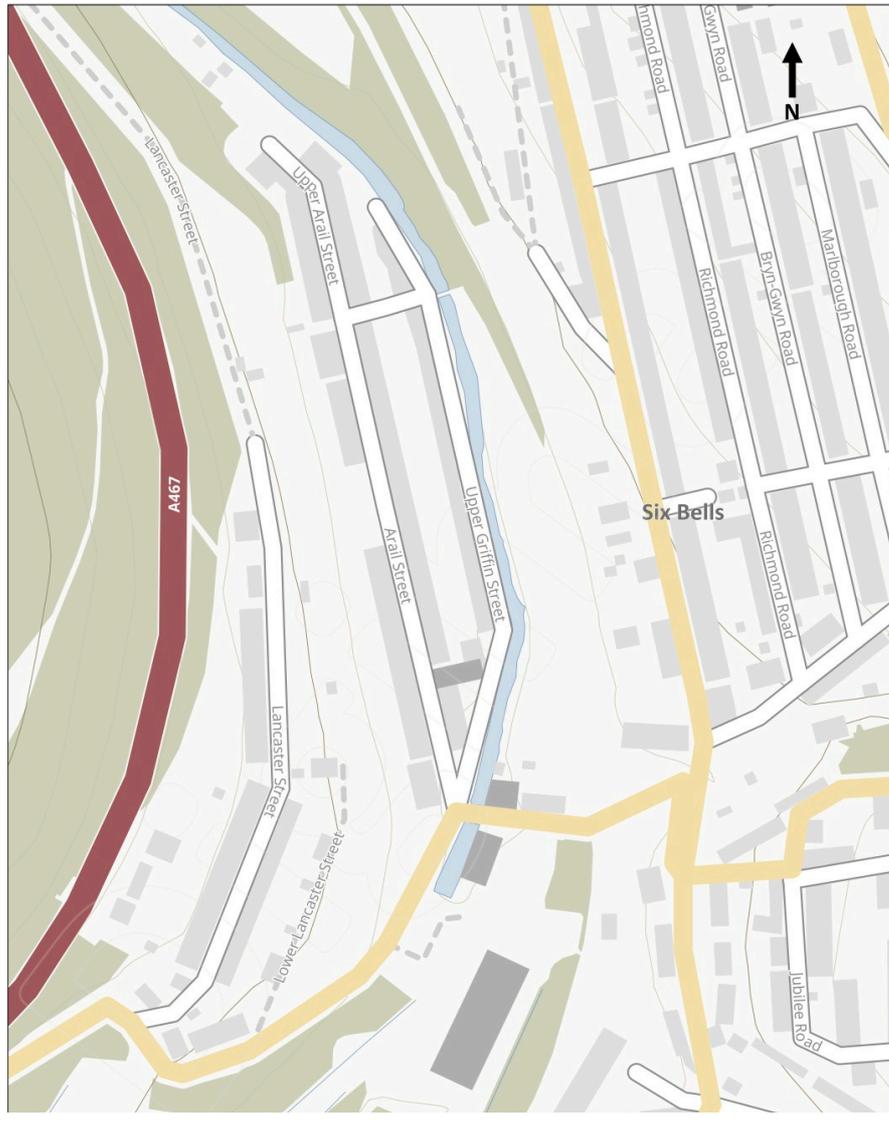


Figure 5.1: Excerpt of map from Six Bells 2021. Adapted by Walker/OS (2021a).

This localised mobility was also enabled by the services provided in the communities themselves. The provision of services in the local area is reported as typical for a working-class town, and a mining community in particular, due to the tendency for mining settlements to be geographically isolated (Bulmer 1975:61). Many of the social organisations and shops were in the immediate area, often within walking distance of homes and workplaces, such as the Miners' Institutes in the heart of both Llanhilleth and Six Bells (see Emery 2018a). Joe highlighted how the proximity of these services and places of importance resulted again in particular practices of walking: "You'd come out of the pit, walk to the pub, walk home." This particular recollection and the above examples from Brenda and Meg are gendered, focused on the men who worked as

miners. However, similar patterns of mobility, focused within the local area, were also recalled by female participants, who focused on accessing local services and shops. The participants often referenced the provision of schools and hospitals locally, commonly funded by the miners. Although not from the Abertillery area, Brenda explained her experience growing up in a similar mining community in the South Wales valleys:

The town up there, it was thriving. There was all sorts. A green grocer's, a Co-op, many fish and chips shops, a library, a chemist, a hardware shop, a café, a sort of...happy days style café...a butcher, fishmonger, drapery, a sort of nice upmarket tobacconist, you could get nice gifts there, toys shops... this was all when the mine was open. It's well past its glory days now.

Brenda, from fieldnotes, Chatting in Brenda's Kitchen, June 2018

The relationships between being geographically isolated and self-sustaining as a community are therefore evident, reflecting the historical accounts of similar working-class communities and pit-villages (see Rees 1978, also outlined in chapter 4). These characteristics are related to a community's independence facilitating and resulting from such immobility across broader scales. As the above sociological studies referenced, the hermetic nature of these communities was evident. This was frequently reaffirmed by the participants and residents in describing their historical practices in the area and their emotive relationship with the communities in which they had grown up and lived.

We thought this was the entire world.

Brenda, from fieldnotes, Chatting in Brenda's Kitchen, June 2018

You lived here, you knew everyone, you worked here. It was your life.

Joe, Interview, April 2018

We didn't go anywhere else...you didn't need to go anywhere else!

Leigh, from fieldnotes, Six Bells Walking Group, August 2018

Although often in brief and fleeting statements such as those quoted above from Brenda, Joe and Leigh, the identity of a past place as self-sufficient and stable and consistent is (re)created and (re)constructed through these comments, often laden with

emotion and nostalgia. It allowed me as a researcher to engage in an affective sense with these ideas of a stable and localised past, as I experienced traces of this historical hyper-local mobility (Cresswell 2012). This was established and reinforced through my encounters with the in-depth familiarity that long-standing residents displayed of the area, or through walking paths built to allow miners to walk from home to the mine, or through the frequency of participant's own stories, always set within the immediate area.

As kids, the boundaries was, that mountain [he points out the window to one direction], that mountain [he points the opposite direction] and down to Aberbeeg.

Joe, Interview, April 2018

The impact of this hyper-local past was also reinforced by the repetition of these stories by both those who recalled or could not recall these pasts 'first-hand', resonating with Taylor's (2012) examples of generational association. For example, Rebecca was under 30 and could not remember the area whilst the mines remained operational.

Oh yeah, that used to be busy [old hotel in Abertillery]. All of town did [sic]. I bet you've heard all about how you could buy all sorts here? My nan always says you could get anything you needed in Abertillery, even a car!...It's unbelievable when you see it now.

Rebecca, from fieldnotes, Driving in Rebecca's car, May 2018

In examples such as this from Rebecca, I suggest it is possible to perceive not only the importance of the past personal experience of the hyper-local mobility that is presented in accounts such as those above but also the enduring importance for contemporary residents. I also suggest that these legacies can be perceived not only in terms of everyday mobility but also in more long-term flows permeating these areas.

Many participants suggested that the prevalence of local mobility had great significance for individuals moving across their life-course, as many have suggested (see, for example, Taylor 2012; Coulter *et al.* 2016; Ferreira *et al.* 2017; Cuzzocrea 2018). As many of the aforementioned studies into working-class communities suggested, individuals tended to stay in the area. Some moved nearby, but many had been born,

raised, and continued to live in the same immediate area, such as the same village, throughout their lives, which many of the participants started.

I was born in the house, with my mother and my grandmother. We lived there until I got married, and then I moved down the road. I've never moved out of Six Bells.

Joe, Interview, April 2018

I'm a Six Bells Girl. I've always lived in Six Bells.

Sheila, from fieldnotes, Six Bells Craft Group, May 2018

My great-grandparents moved onto Griffin Street, and they were the first people to live in that house.

Rebecca, from fieldnotes, Chat in Ty Ebbw Fach, May 2018

The hill looks down onto Six Bells, Gladys points to a road hill and explains 'I was born down on that road, in the cottage where my mother lived. And then we moved across there [points to another street, perhaps three streets across.] It looks to be less than a 5-minute walk from Gladys's current home.

Fieldnotes, Walk with Gladys in Six Bells, June 2018

When I asked these participants why they had never moved, many suggested that it had not been necessary, something they had even considered, or something they had wanted to do. Joe stated simply, "never needed to."

This sub-section has outlined the main trends of historical mobility recalled and constructed by residents and participants in the Ebbw Fach area. I have argued that these communities appear to typify accounts of self-sufficient working-class towns and villages from literature. Whilst highlighting that mobility did occur in these accounts, it was often hyper-local, therefore supporting many of the ideas presented in the constructions of the stable and secure 'working-class community'(see chapter 4). I have outlined how this is apparent in accounts of services, practices and the landscape itself, both in terms of everyday and more permanent flows of mobility. Additionally, I have also introduced the relevance that these constructions have to these past mobilities' contemporary recollections, suggesting their enduring importance. This relevance, and

the practiced legacies, will be considered further in section 5.4. However, to situate these legacies within the contemporary context, I will now discuss how mobility is accelerated and increased in the Ebbw Fach area, further considering the theories outlined above.

5.3. “You just have to move, you can’t do anything here.” Contemporary mobility as a Response to Industrial Decline

Many of the models presented in the previous sub-section discuss a variety of contemporary worlds, whether understood as "risk society, globalisation, late modernity, liquid modernity, network society", as Inglis (2014:100) outlines. Within many of these conceptualisations, the contemporary epoch is described as being especially mobile (see chapter 2). This section considers how mobilities within the Ebbw Fach area may align with these theoretical approaches within the context of deindustrialisation and the drastic changes presented by the closure of the mines and associated industries. This idea is drawn from accounts from participants and includes my ethnographic reflections from using the transport in the area myself.

Compared to the hyper-local mobilities outlined in the previous sub-section, it was evident that physical mobility in the Ebbw Fach area could be perceived to have accelerated and increased following the mines' closure. I will outline these changes across various scales to explain the changing trends of mobility in the area. I will then outline the reasons for such changes to mobility, relating to the assertions made in numerous accelerated conceptualisations of mobilities. Finally, I will consider how these changes and the reasons for them have impacts on social mobilities and also for place attachment within Ebbw Fach.

These changes and accelerations could first be conceived within localised mobilities. The previous section highlighted the historical prevalence of hyper-local mobilities, however in the contemporary context, it was common for even more localised mobilities to be expanded to encompass more expansive areas. For example, Gwen and Brenda both drive to attend their chapel in the neighbouring village, Emma drives from Six Bells to her job in Llanhilleth and many group members from Six Bells, and

neighbouring villages drive to the Six Bells Craft Group. Services, groups, and workplaces had been dispersed across the area, rather than being concentrated around individual communities and workplaces such as mines. Now, it was more commonplace to drive between these locales rather than walk.

However, these processes of accelerated mobility are perhaps most apparent when considering more regional mobility, as well as these having a perceivably more significant impact on the identity of the community and for place attachments. Perhaps the most common form of mobility in and out of the Valleys area was commuting for employment. The 2011 census, cited in Rae (2017), displays a significant difference between people commuting from the South Wales valleys areas to Cardiff by car than by train. One participant, Rebecca, also commuted by car to her work near Merthyr Tydfil. These trends of commuting are in stark contrast to past forms of employment in the immediate area, as discussed above, and Beatty *et al.* (2007) suggest that this is a response to the decline in local employment, especially for those who were previously employed in the mines and related industries.

The loss of local jobs was frequently mentioned by both participants and in the literature regarding ex-mining communities (such as Dicks 2000; Turner 2000; Strangleman 2017) and was cited as a significant reason for migration out of the area. Many people suggested that there would be limited employment opportunities in the Abertillery area, especially for those with university qualifications. Rebecca explained that she would have had to commute far further than Merthyr Tydfil if a relevant work opportunity had not opened up there and other participants had similar thoughts. Others explained how mobility was essential for the population after the mines closed.

People tried to and get reskilled after the mines shut down, but then there's no jobs, so they have to commute, and that's how it becomes a commuter town.

Adam, from fieldnotes, Chat at Ty Ebbw Fach café, June 2018

There's just nothing there, work wise. Unless you go into some of the factories.

Lloyd, from fieldnotes, Chat at Costa, Cardiff, May 2018

Literature and media have suggested that mobility is a necessary response to deindustrialisation and globalisation as a whole (see, for example, Beatty *et al.* 2007), and this is a sentiment that permeates not only into the patterns of mobilities observed in Ebbw Fach but impacting the attitudes and meanings ascribed to these flows by residents. Many participants suggested that to achieve their ambitions, it was necessary to leave the area. A similar sentiment is reported in a case study from Sardinia from Cuzzocrea, focusing on young people's mobility (2018:1112). This was the case for many of the participants, both those who were currently under 20 and those who had moved in the past, such as Brenda, who had moved to pursue her nursing training. The youngest participants, Lloyd and Emma, focused on these issues repeatedly throughout our conversations, suggesting that this relationship between aspiration and mobility was significant to their relationship with the area and community. Whilst Lloyd was already living away from home and had lived in several places, including briefly in the USA, Emma was approaching a move away from the town, dependent on her A-level results in the summer of 2018. Despite being at different stages of the 'moving away' process, these two participants made very similar comments about why they had decided to leave the area.

You just have to move, you can't do anything here. Not once you've got GCSEs.

Lloyd, from fieldnotes, Chat at Costa, Cardiff, May 2018

I mean, if I stay here, there's just nothing to do, not for work. I work here [café] and down in Cardiff, but if I want a proper job, like, a career, I have to move.

Emma, from fieldnotes, Chat at Llanhilleth Miners' Institute, April 2018

It is evident through these examples how changes to mobilities impact ideas of aspiration and social mobility, as 'moving away' is presented as a solution to limited job prospects within Ebbw Fach. How these ideas resonate with other attitudes regarding social mobility and historical constructions of long-term mobilities will be discussed further in the following section. However, contemporary mobilities and the accelerations of this mobility can also be conceptualised more broadly to consider the wider-ranging impact of deindustrialisation.

Other participants suggested that the increase of long-term migrations away from the Ebbw Fach area is also closely related to a sense of community decline in the area, rather than explicitly due to the lack of employment in the area. Adam, employed in Ebbw Vale, a town in the neighbouring valley, discussed how he might not have chosen to stay in the area if he had known how "things were going to go". This non-specific answer, coupled with our discussions regarding the changes to the local community, Abertillery town centre, and his experience working for Blaenau Gwent Council, creates an affective sense of this decline in how he relates to the area as a place, as well as reflecting a loss of local services and businesses. These trends of commuting and moving away from the area are embedded with further concern about the community, echoing literature on the 'loss of community in light of increased mobility (Bauman 2000). Gladys explained that she felt even commuting had significant impacts on the community and suggested that much of the time that was dedicated to socialising and being involved in community groups and projects in the past was now spent commuting. Adam explained how he felt about these changes to the town:

It's upsetting really, what it's become. It's becoming a dormitory town; people work elsewhere and shop elsewhere and no one wants to spend their money here.

Adam's comments suggest that this decline, and related mobilisation of the population, is not restricted to employment opportunities. Other participants explained other reasons for moving within the area beyond only for employment:

You kind of have to drive, so you can get around and have a life...I work down here [Llanhilleth], my school is in Newbridge, I live up in Six Bells and then my boyfriend lives over in Blackwood.

Emma, from fieldnotes, Chat at Llanhilleth Miners' Institute, April 2018

The only real cinemas around here now are either up in Brynmawr or in Blackwood.

Gwen, Interview, May 2018

We shop up in Tesco in Abertillery or we drive up to Brynmawr. You can't be sure you'll get everything in town [Abertillery town centre].

Joe, from fieldnotes, Chat in Ty Ebbw Fach café, June 2018

In light of such accelerated contemporary mobility, it is possible to observe how many of the accounts provided by Ebbw Fach's residents align with these ideas. Mobility has increased as the self-sufficiency discussed in the previous sub-section has declined, following the loss of the mines and related services and businesses, and the context of austerity, eroding the support networks characterise the community. As Beatty *et al.* (2007) suggest, mobility serves to negate the limitations of place caused by declines in employment opportunities and community services and have impacts on how individuals relate to these communities. This argument is keeping with Binnie *et al.*'s (2007 p:167–168) idea of dislocated rhythms, with the past rhythms of local mobility disrupted by deindustrialisation related practices. Instead, regional mobilities are being "woven into the mundane" as practices of commuting and travelling become normalised.

These trends of increased mobility are widely discussed in the theories above of post-industrial communities. It is suggested that this mobility contributes to a loss of security, stability, and even, as Polanyi (1944) suggests, the loss of localised senses of community. These ideas can be traced in the examples of accounts above, as the ability to exist in hyper-local space is eroded and mobility becomes more commonplace, impacting everyday rhythms, relationships with place and even aspiration. These constructions, which reflect the theories of accelerated mobilities referred to above, have enduring significance for how individuals perceive their contemporary mobility, and I suggest that this is of increased importance when comparisons are drawn with the past-hyper local mobility.

This section has highlighted how increased mobility can be understood across varying scales within Ebbw Fach's context. I have suggested that these changes impact how mobility is practised in everyday life and shape ideas of community and even social mobilities within the area. Finally, I have reinforced the importance that past mobilities, as outlined in section 4.1., have for understanding relationships with contemporary heightened mobilities. However, I now seek to problematise the dichotomous

representations of mobility presented in this discussion thus far. This is not to diminish the importance of these arguments constructed, but rather to reveal how these contradictions and even paradoxical (re)constructions and experiences are implicated in mobilities, both historic and contemporary (Harris and Moore 1980; Cresswell 2010; Merriman *et al.* 2013).

5.4. “You used to get all sorts coming through” Mobile Pasts and Immobile Presents

In the previous section, I have presented the argument that Ebbw Fach has experienced a gradual acceleration of mobility. This sub-section seeks to trouble these perceptions and to highlight the tensions and contradictions embedded in these ideas. As Cresswell (2010; 2012) states, mobility itself is not ‘new’ despite the prevalence of theories that may suggest so through the emphasis on contemporary mobilities, such as outlined in the previous section. Critiques of the models of accelerated contemporary mobilities suggest a lack of awareness of mobility's relational nature within these globalising settings, as 'moorings' Urry suggests are necessary for these fluid movements to occur (Adey 2006; Ferreira *et al.* 2017). These ideas of relational mobility and related critiques highlight the importance of everyday and localised mobility, and these arguments inform this following section. I seek to highlight ways in which mobility can be perceived to have declined in the contemporary context and ways in which the past itself featured other mobilities: flows that were intrinsically part of the industrial operation of these communities.

While the previous section has suggested that mobility has intensified as a response to deindustrialisation and the associated decline, I also seek to highlight ways in which mobility is limited due to the same processes. Again, this is not to suggest that the discussions of increased mobility above are invalid, but rather to highlight how changes to mobility and the associated rhythms of movement may ebb and flow, impact individuals and communities unequally, and act across different scales simultaneously (Adey 2006; Cresswell *et al.* 2016; Sheller and Urry 2016). As Martin (2011:192) states: “stillness butts up against the sheer force of movement.” Again, these processes of decline were not entirely linear, as is exemplified by the provisions of trains within the

Ebbw Fach and Tillery valleys, with a train line reopening in 2008 up to Ebbw Vale, a large town in the neighbouring valley (see figure 1.4). This sense of a loss of mobility, along with the local decline that only some can negotiate, perpetuates senses of these areas as 'left behind' (see, for example, Taylor 2012). The original train line to Abertillery and on to Brynmawr, connecting the valley to the larger towns along the South Wales coast, Newport and Cardiff, was closed in 1962 for passenger services. One resident at the Craft Group said: "That was a big blow that was... It was like being totally cut off."

Although this railway line was re-established, mainly to facilitate commuter trends as discussed above, it does not serve the Tillery valley. The service stops at Llanhilleth and moves through Aberbeeg and up the other branch of the valley to stop in Ebbw Vale. This, of course, is evidence of an unequal variation of train provision, and for the areas of Aberbeeg, Six Bells, and Abertillery, it is possible to consider the loss of train service. These tensions around where a train line operates might further perpetuate ideas and realities of being isolated and neglected for transport provision, as inequality for trains provision varies not only by region but from village to village, providing a rural mapping of the kind of 'splintering' of access outlined by Graham and Marvin (2001). This was also evident in the bus provision, with limited services from several companies. A local service, Henley's, ran services through areas on the periphery of towns, such as through Cwmtillery and Brynithel, but otherwise, bus times were limited. Many participants and residents I encountered during the fieldwork expressed frustration at the number of buses and trains that ran and their reliability.

One train an hour, it's ridiculous.

Fieldnotes, Lady in pink raincoat at the Bus stop in Llanhilleth, June 2018.

I don't get the buses, love, it's like a lucky dip if they even come.

Fran, from fieldnotes, Six Bells Craft Group, July 2018

In another example, Emma explained that she took the train down from Llanhilleth to Cardiff for her weekend job rather than drive her car, as it was too expensive to park in Cardiff. This appeared to be a common practice, as I noticed when using the train when many individuals commuted. The trains were particularly busy before 8.30 am, and after 5 pm, compared to the almost empty trains between those times. This supports

comments from many of the participants who suggested that many of those who stayed in the area had to commute to their places of employment, with work in the immediate area being significantly limited. This movement itself is also subject to difficulty and frictions experienced by residents to varying degrees (Taylor 2012; Jensen *et al.* 2015). Many people referred to the heavy traffic along main roads, especially around rush hour and on the roads to Newport and Cardiff.

Emma further explained other barriers to these movements:

The parking in Cardiff costs almost as much as I get paid for a shift, so there's no point in driving. I know a lot of people do that, when you work in a shop or a bar or whatever. People with like, proper jobs, might drive, but most don't.

Emma's comment, in particular, highlights the inequalities that are embedded within practices of mobility. Cresswell (2012) discusses the concept of being 'stuck', of communities or individuals that are removed, by virtue of their positionality, opportunities or even physical location, from increasing flows of mobility. This operates at multiple scales and can be perceived from the railway lines' closure to Abertillery to those who cannot afford to pay the parking fees when commuting. Additionally, and without these networks, the Valleys are physically hard to access, adjacent to steep mountains that are hard to transverse. These experiences of 'stuckness' are manifest in everyday rhythms as well, as Edensor and Holloway state. Unlike the examples drawn on by Cresswell (2012) of momentary systematic failures that produce senses of being 'stuck', the participant's accounts and my own experiences of long waits for buses that often never arrived, tightly-packed old worn train carriages or roads closed by floods, highlight a deeply embedded sense of friction experienced in mundane everyday mobilities. These frictions are not universally experienced, following Kaufman *et al.*'s (2004) model of 'motility', and are intensely political in nature (Cresswell 2010; Martin 2011). I argue that it is within the context of historical mobility and deep contemporary social inequalities that these frustrations are reinforced and (re)constructed.

Whilst this might appear to be a contradiction of the earlier arguments, which highlighted the localised mobility, and regionally-immobile nature of historical flows of people, I suggest that these frustrations largely stem from questions or constructions of

agency. Although significant bodies of literature highlight the power dynamics that limited the mobility of working-class individuals within the industrial era, I suggest that the accounts provided by residents of Ebbw Fach construct that immobility, or instead localised mobility, as elective and positive. The narrative of historically working-class communities as 'trapped' was limited in the experiences and conversations I had in these areas. Instead, these narratives of being 'trapped' were usually situated in the context of contemporary 'stuckness'. For example, Lloyd stated:

The trees here, the ones they planted to fuel all the mines, people say like oh, they're so lovely and green, but I just think, they make you feel trapped. Like just these huge walls of trees.

This was further reinforced by the association discussed above between aspiration and moving away, suggesting that staying in the immediate area was undesirable and limiting. This contrasts with the historical practices, where many suggested that 'staying local' was done out of choice, with individuals exercising agency in where they chose to live.⁹

The idea that mobility in the past was limited was also complicated, considering again how mobility and immobility can operate differently across multiple scales (Edensor and Holloway 2008; Cresswell *et al.* 2016). Many of the accounts provided by participants and residents of the area featured comments around the varieties of movement and transport prominent whilst the areas' mines were operational. Additionally, this was obvious in the landscape at the time, old maps show past railways that allowed constant flows of coal and goods to move through and with the town.

As Hollywood (2002) explains, miners were perceived as a significantly more mobile working population, moving to access employment as pits opened and closed and other roles were needed. Many of the participants had family from areas outside of Wales who had moved to work in the pits opening in and around Abertillery. Therefore, these constructions of industrial place as consistent and unchanging are misleading, despite

⁹ Of course, this is perhaps a problematic perception. Many individuals suggested that moving had simply not been presented as an option, that it was a commonly accepted, and expected, practice to stay local. This is discussed in greater detail in the following section.

the endurance of these ideas discussed in section 5.1. While some of the pits in the area, such as the Cwmtillery Pit, or the Aberbeeg North Pit, were sunk as early as the 1840s, most of these communities did not develop extensively until the 1880s (Welsh Coal Mines Website 2007). This had significant impacts on how people moved into the area and provided examples of historical migration.

My family, they were from Somerset originally. My father, sorry, my grandfather, he came here to help sink the mine.

Gladys, Interview, April 2014

I have family from Pembrokeshire, and so I'm one of the most Welsh people here. Most people have family from England mostly, Warwickshire, Somerset, Gloucestershire, the Forest of Dean. All sorts.

Margaret, from fieldnotes, Walking Group, August 2018

Notably, I found that the accounts of these migrations were not presented as forced or negative by participants; the question of agency and of why or if these individuals chose to move to work in Ebbw Fach was not addressed. Communities were formed by the migration necessitated by the pits themselves, as workers moved to take advantage of the job opportunities. Therefore, degrees of migration were normalised from the outset of these towns and villages as industrial sites. My own family had relatives who had walked from the Black Country to take jobs in coal mining in the South Wales Valleys. Hollywood (2002) also considers how miners' mobility within the coal mining industry declined in the latter half of the 20th century relative to when mines were being opened and established. Some individuals explained that they knew miners move away to work in other mines across the country as some of the pits began to close, moving to work in more affluent and reliable pits, as Coulter *et al.* (2016) discuss, or to work in safer industries. Again, this contradicts constructions from the earlier section outlining the image of the past as characterised by stillness, continuity and stability.

Like now, everyone knows if you aren't local, but back then, there were always people coming and visiting, for business and stuff. There'd be all sorts coming through. It's not as friendly here as it used to be.

Joe, from fieldnotes, Chat in Ty Ebbw Fach café, June 2018

As an industrial hub and busy town, Abertillery was recalled by participants as a dynamic and exciting place, as Joe states above. This contrasts to some constructions of these 'past places' as static, unmoving and distinctly bounded, removed from the flows of mobility that were more common for industrial cities. The models of industrial towns and pit villages, geographically isolated but enrolled in trades and movements of workforces, goods, and businesses, and therefore vibrant, are perhaps of greater use here, as some participants recalled (Gilbert 1995).

Town was always busy, people coming and going. People used to travel up to do their shopping, from all over. Abertillery was a place to be.

Adam, from fieldnotes, Chat at Ty Ebbw Fach café, June 2018

Even 20 or 30 years ago, you used to get a huge police presence in town, because everyone came here for the pubs and the music. It's all gone now; everyone just goes down to Cardiff.

Mark, from fieldnotes, Chat at Mark and Lynn's June 2018

It was a great place to be. Just so much going on.

Lynn, from fieldnotes, Chat at Mark and Lynn's June 2018

This discussion displays that the decline experienced by Ebbw Fach residents is not easily mapped onto any 'model' of mobility. Instead, it is regarded in comparison to a past presented by many of the participants- a past when mobility was possible and evident but not always necessary for the community. The mobility was often focused, aligned with locality and community. This comparison made by participants created an affective sense of loss and punctuated the importance of mobility as it was experienced within these communities, speaking to the idea of an 'everyday affect' (Waterton 2014). This discussion also tentatively introduces ideas of nostalgia, as the recollections of the past, whether mobile or immobile, were largely positive when compared to contemporary flows or 'stuckness'. This sense of being both subject to globalised flows of mobility and declining local capacities to access past mobilities is often framed around the purported 'decline of community', stimulating these ideas of nostalgia from both perspectives (Bauman 2000; Ray and Reed 2005; Bright 2011; Cuzzocrea 2018). Where the contemporary immobility was framed as frustrating and symptomatic of inadequate

infrastructural provision, past immobility was framed as elective, positive and as a result of a place that was self-sufficient, resulting in a vibrant community.

This section has sought to outline how pasts were more mobile than existing interpretations might suggest and how immobility and 'stuckness' are experienced in the present. Whilst localised mobility was prevalent in the historical industrial community, individuals were not necessarily removed from opportunities within their life-courses to move, nor was the area removed from other flows. As in sections 4.1. and 4.2. I suggest that it is the comparison, the contrast and enfolding of these past experiences of mobility that (re)make ideas of contemporary mobility. Here I have suggested that the agency of the community, or perception of agency, allows for comparing chosen and forced mobilities. I also suggest that this comparison impacts how localism and community are conceptualised for longer-term mobility practices and will discuss this further in the following sub-section.

5.4.1. “Staying Put” or “Being Stuck”: Contemporary Life-Course Mobility

In addition to accounts of 'being stuck' or isolated, there were contrasting ideas of 'staying put' within Ebbw Fach. These relationships to locality and staying 'local' throughout the life-course relate to practices of historical mobility, whereby individuals stayed in the immediate area throughout their lives, as outlined in section 4.1. However, there are instances where these practices can be reconfigured in light of the accelerated mobilities discussed in section 4.2. Whilst the above discussion on 'stuckness' relates clearly to experiences of friction and even stasis, these are generally articulated around ideas of more everyday mobilities, such as commuting. However, how individuals 'stay put' in these contexts are worth further discussion.

The tendencies for community members to remain in their communities throughout their lives were commonplace across different age ranges and throughout life experiences. These examples often included both historical and contemporaneous examples, with many families remaining in the same community. Although these were not always individuals who had remained within the same locality throughout their lives, there was a clear tendency to remain within Ebbw Fach or within the valley itself (as depicted in Fig 4.3). For example, Joe explained that none of his six children lived further

away than Llanhilleth or Abertillery, making that around a 12-mile area along the length of the valley. Mark, throughout his life, lived in Newbridge, Aberbeeg and Abertillery (see figure 5.2). Lynn was raised in Risca and had moved to Abertillery. Gwen lived in Blaina and had grown up in Brynmawr. Simon too had lived in various towns, always within the Ebbw valley. Evidently, mobility within the immediate area was commonplace.

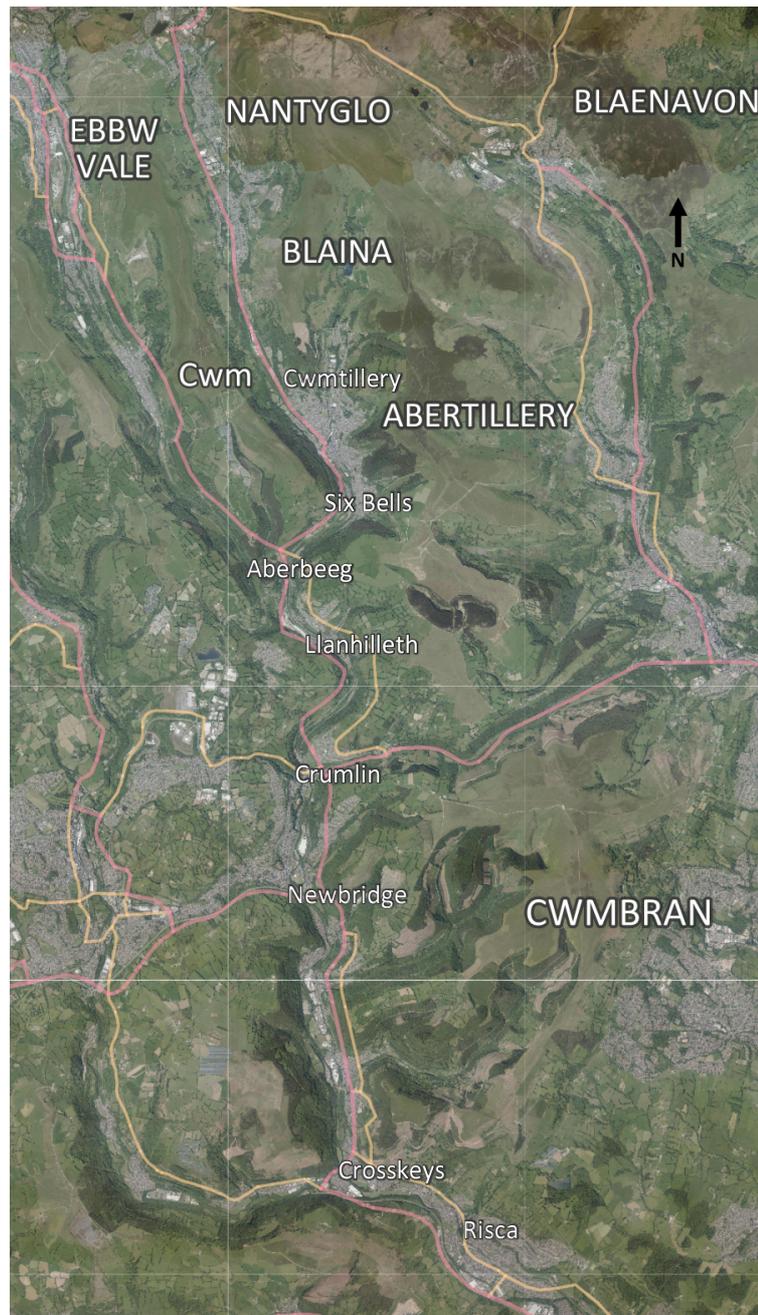


Figure 5.2: Map of major towns in the Ebbw Fach valley where many residents had lived. Walker/OS (2021b)

Looking further afield, Rebecca also explained how she had returned to the area:

We used to live up on that side of Six Bells...I lived in Peterborough for a bit...now I own a house just up the hill there (gestures to the side of Six Bells by the main road), and my mum lives right opposite. You can see her house from my front step.

Rebecca, from fieldnotes, Chat in Ty Ebbw Fach, May 2018

Like Rebecca, several people I encountered had lived outside of the South Wales area for some time before returning to live close to where they had grown up. This suggests that these individuals are not 'trapped' in these communities, in contrast to some of the constructions above. Additionally, these movements across the life course are not only restricted to contemporary or post-industrial contexts. For example, Gwen lived in Germany for some time due to her marriage to a man in the army. In the 1960s, Brenda had left her Welsh mining village to train as a nurse in Liverpool and spent much of her life there, only returning to the South Wales valleys in the last decade. Throughout the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, many other participants had worked further afield, as well as the more contemporary examples of Lloyd and Rebecca. These mobility patterns complicate understandings of being 'stuck' and perhaps highlight the continuity of localism despite the accelerated mobility discussed above.

There were many reasons that individuals stated for 'staying put'. When I asked Gwen if she would ever live anywhere else, she responded with no and, when asked why explained: "it's just a special place. It's the people. They make it special." Most of the reasons participants gave for remaining in the area or returning to the area related to these ideas of community and familiarity. Rebecca explained that she had considered not moving back but that the house prices were much lower than other places that she had considered buying a house, and "it means I can live by my family, and I've got like, a support network.

The importance of these support networks also highlights the role of care practices in both facilitating or arresting mobilities in these long-term choices, whether formal or informal. Many participants alluded to the support provided by community members in various forms such as help with house renovations, transport, advice and emotional

support, to name a few. Child-care, in particular, has significant implications for the mobility of residents in these areas, and the enrolment of individuals into paid work, especially for women, which has been widely considered within the literature on social mobility work (Wheelock and Jones 2002; Cameron and Gibson-Graham 2003). I spent time at a children's playgroup attended by child-minders who formally cared for children whilst their parents worked and grandparents who cared for their grandchildren. The group provided play facilities for the children and support and community for those with the child-care role. This highlights how these various and intersecting provisions of care positively impact the mobility of the parents, who are therefore able to attend work (Wheelock and Jones 2002; Cameron and Gibson-Graham 2003). Many of the child-caring took place at unpredictable or potentially 'anti-social' times, due to the prevalence of shift-work for parents working in manufacturing or nursing, which would not always be accommodated by formal nurseries, as one attendee of the Craft Group, Sian explained:

They're [her son and daughter-in-law] both on shifts... so usually they can have the kids but sometimes they both get put on the same shift... and we get them. Or the shifts get changed and they just appear at our door.

Sian, from fieldnotes, Six Bells Craft Group, August 2018

Sian's example also highlights how her more immediate everyday mobility, and everyday practices, are limited by their role as child-care providers for their grandchildren (Penn 2009; Settle *et al.* 2009; Tarrant 2010). This was mirrored in the experience of many of the child-minders I met; one specifically explained how she had needed to buy a large van to move the children around the local area. These child-care provisions were framed often as necessary, in order for families to function and remain in work, due to the cost of other care provisions, as is widely supported in the literature (see, for example, Wheelock and Jones 2002; Penn 2009; Posadas and Vidal-Fernandez 2013), but it also resonates with many historical examples of intergenerational support and care that participants referenced. For example, Gladys described growing up being frequently cared for by her aunts and uncles and grandparents in Six Bells in the 1940s and 1950s. This further highlights how some residents may be perceived as 'stuck' due to their reliance on these familial or similar networks of care or obligation to these

networks. Notably, these obligations also most commonly involved grandmothers and mothers, highlighting a particularly gendered aspect to these care roles (as discussed in Wheelock and Jones 2002; Settle *et al.* 2009; Posadas and Vidal-Fernandez 2013).

It is also worth considering how the ideas above of aspiration and social mobility may be implicated within these discussions of 'staying put'. Whilst Emma and Lloyd above outlined the connection they made between moving away and aspiration, other participants seemed to respond positively to people remaining within the community. I also experienced this, as one participant asked me, 'why didn't you go to uni at home?'. Typical of several conversations I experienced, on one occasion, I witnessed a member of the Craft Group explaining that her daughter was moving to Bristol:

At the one end of the table, there's a conversation going on, I think about Carrie's daughter, maybe. "She's gone to Bristol to look for a place"

Anna looks up from her crochet- "what's she going down there for?"

Carrie shrugs "Work. Got a job."

"Well can't she find anything closer? Seems daft to move." Anna responds.

Rachel sitting next to her, nods without looking up. Carrie doesn't reply, focusing on her sewing...

Fieldnotes, Six Bells Craft Group, June 2018

For many participants, moving away was not seen as desirable or necessary. Emma explained that her grandparents were unhappy with her looking to attend university in Ireland, and Rebecca also recalled a similar experience from when she first moved away to attend university. As Evans (2016) posited, 'imagined futures' were perceptibly situated in the local, as recalled or imagined pasts were also. Again, resonating with practices of care, Brenda highlights the tensions between these ideas of providing a strong community support network and aspiration. She drew on her own experience of growing up in the South Wales coalfield in the 1950s and then of moving away to pursue her nursing career in Liverpool:

You'd play out, and like, even if you were on the next street, your mum would know people so they'd keep an eye on you...the pictures you had seen in

books, they remind me of what it was like, with the women on the corner, baby in a shawl, and they'd be chatting and the kids would play and they'd watch you...I do wonder what we've lost, everyone going into work. I wonder what I missed when, when I was working.

Brenda, from fieldnotes, Chatting in Brenda's Kitchen, August 2018

However, this preference for 'staying put' was not only expressed by older generations who had experienced the industrial era. Both Lloyd and Emma reported that they experienced adverse reactions to their aspirations and desire to leave the Abertillery area. Emma explained that "people say that you're like, up yourself if you want to move away and do something more and not stay local.", whilst Lloyd suggested that people 'look down' on people with aspirations, in particular for those who chose to go to university. Lloyd suggests that these attitudes discourage students at school to work hard, for fear of being labelled a 'swot', and that those who do attend university often try and commute from the area to university, rather than moving away, to avoid these negative attitudes. This, again, relates to the pressure experienced by individuals to remain in the immediate area, and Lloyd and Emma both suggest that this is to the detriment of achieving more education and better job prospects.

One perspective of young people who were less represented within my fieldwork was those who did not wish to leave these communities. Despite not speaking to anyone within this demographic directly, I experienced their presence throughout my fieldwork. For example, many of my participants and other community members talked about 'young people', and their limited aspirations and their related unwillingness to work. Whilst localism and 'staying put' was often romanticised as a continuation of positive aspects of community cohesion, it was often bound in tension with ideas that moving away would provide better opportunities. It is this tension that Evans (2016) discusses in a similar context in South Wales, suggesting that place attachment and aspiration often co-exist, with individuals who often had both "localised 'imagined futures'" and high aspirations.

These ideas reflect Bright's (2011:73) work on another ex-coal mining community, where he suggests that 'staying put' is a reflection of loyalty, whilst moving away is "tantamount to betrayal and 'mobility' is a fundamental risk to identity", drawing on

Samuel (1986) and Massey (1984). As I explored in chapter 4, the identity of the area is heavily related to the deeply-entrenched social and care networks that are seen as inherent to working-class and mining communities, and the mobility of people away from the area directly diminishes these networks. This is despite the loss of the work and lifestyle that grounded these regimes in everyday life, yet these networks still hold great significance for how an area is understood. Being part of these networks, participating in community events, and performing knowledge of these networks, is how these characteristics endure; leaving the area is the ultimate rejection of these practices.

This sub-section has briefly outlined how the tensions and contrasting relationships with mobility might relate to more long-term mobility or immobility practices. I have addressed examples of 'staying put' and how these practices' continuity can highlight the enduring ideas of community and stability. The attitudes that are interrelated to these practices are also considered. However, many of the examples outlined in this section highlight the importance of family networks, intergenerational, and care to mobility practices.

5.5. Practices of Remembering/Practices of Moving

In light of these accounts of vitality and mobility in a historical place, greater affective weight can be placed on comments addressing the area's gradual decline. Beyond accounts, it is also possible to be made aware of a more mobile past, often in traces and resonances in the landscape (following, for example, DeSilvey 2012). Participants and I often walked along footpaths that followed old railway tracks or routes to mines and factories that were no longer present, removed from the landscape but with an enduring infrastructure (Dawney 2019, 2020). If drawing on Hoskins (2016) model of memory ecologies, we transverse memory walking through the landscape, then memories of a vastly different (im)mobile past are foregrounded by this focus, drawn from both my own experiences and the emphasis of participants, creating a "background of expectation" (Thrift 2000:34). This section will consider how the various flows of mobility and frictions of immobility can be experienced in everyday rhythms in the contemporary landscapes of Ebbw Fach. I propose that many of the constructions considered in previous sections resonate in everyday practices and behaviours. I suggest

these practices, behaviours, and rhythms are imbued with significance, affect and emotion that speaks to relationships with the past and the past-in-present.

Much of this section draws on ethnographic reflections of moving through and around place, in moments that spark, using Stewart's (2007) term, 'affective circuitries'. These 'circuits' are affective connections, or the 'assemblage of disparate scenes' (Stewart 2007:5; in DeSilvey 2012:48)¹⁰ between the practices of mobility that I encounter, my recollections of the accounts of participants, and the potential meanings that may be traced to these moments of affective importance. It draws heavily on the mobilities literature that draws on non-representational and embodied theories explored in detail in Chapter 2.

I suggest here that contemporary mobility is embedded within historical collective remembering of localism and community. This can be perceived in these moments of affective resonance and between atmospheres, senses of 'something that needs attending to', as Stewart (2007:5) suggests. This was perhaps most prevalent in my experiences of practices of localism, perhaps mirroring constructions or memories of historical practices, perhaps existing as a continuation of such practices, as a series of continued rhythms and routines, in the lived and embodied practices of mobility (Mauss 1979; Fuchs 2017; Nash 2018).

This was perhaps most obvious in the case of the bus services:

The lady beside me at the bus stop tuts audibly as a Stagecoach bus rounds the corner, 20 minutes later than the scheduled time. From snippets of conversation I've had, people seem to prefer Phil Anslow to Stagecoach, and Henley's, the local service, seems to be the most preferable. Rose left the Church group earlier the other day to make sure she caught the Henley's bus from Abertillery.

Fieldnote, Waiting at the Bus Stop in Llanhilleth, August 2018

Henley's is a local family-run service based in Abertillery and only served the immediate area. Again, it became apparent when using these services that they operated

¹⁰ The consideration of this methodological approach is addressed in sections 3.2 and 3.4.3.

differently from other local services. They often served less common routes to more isolated villages situated away from the more common bus routes, such as Cwmtillery and Brynithel. I considered that this might also contribute to the various attitudes to these companies. However, Henley's was also differentiated from the other services in terms of the practices observed on these buses as opposed to the other bus companies. In these examples, it is possible to observe the familiarity, locality and intimacy that are described in many of the accounts of working-class communities in traditional studies, within the context of a particular performance of mobilities as the following vignette of a time I used the Henley's bus service conveys.

On a street in Cwmtillery I'm unsure if the bus will arrive, but luckily it appears on the hour. I board the bus and ask for a ticket to Six Bells. It's much cheaper than the other services for such a short trip I notice. The bus is also much older, with paper posters advertising local trips to the beach and fetes on a notice board by the driver. After sitting on the bus for a few minutes, I notice that everyone that gets on and off the bus is greeting the bus driver and everyone on board. I've never noticed this on any of the other services, most people seem to direct greetings to just those who they know.

I'm making notes on my phone before I realise that there's a young woman trying to get my attention. She's trying to tell me that the bus driver is asking where I want dropping off. I've never seen this happen on a bus before, anywhere in the UK. Flustered, I stammer that the normal stop in Six Bells is fine. The bus driver tells me to have a good day, and I say goodbye to the 5 or so people on the bus.

Fieldnote, Henley's Bus from Cwmtillery to Six Bells, August 2018.

The above vignette includes many references to the Henley's service identity of the service as local, friendly, and traditional. The informality of the bus stops, as well as the more social aspect of the journey, sparked thoughts of past bus journeys, run by people who knew all the passengers, and lived locally, familiar with the area, resonating with accounts from the studies mentioned above into 'traditional working-class communities' and how these practices of mobility also served to illustrate the localised knowledge and

practices that endure into the contemporary context. This was in stark contrast to the Stagecoach service, with formalised routes and less conversation with the bus driver.

It is possible to consider how these might be related to past iterations of mobility and of past bus services, representing a continuity of mobility that resonates with ideas of rhythmanalysis as conceptualised by Lefebvre (2004) and adopted to consider the incorporation of history into embodied practices of mobility by Vergunst (2010). Many participants spoke about local bus services that took residents to Abertillery to shop and socialise, miners and workers to the pits and industries, and occasional large trips to the seaside. The advert for a beach trip in the Henley's bus sparked these recollections of these conversations and of images of groups of families on trips to Weston-Super-Mare that I'd seen in the Black Country area. Local iterations show school children and company groups on similar trips (ADMS and Eckley 1995:135; Morris 1997:137). These examples not only serve to illustrate practices but also to illuminate local mobility as a means to highlight connections to the past.

However, the resonances of the past and how recollections and memories become embedded and affectively intertwined with contemporary practices do not only include practices of localism. In other cases, it is possible to perceive how mobility can be understood as continuities:

I'm stood on the train platform at Llanhilleth, and there's more and more people turning up. There's a group of women in playsuits and dresses, and huge heels, and then another similar group further up who arrive. One shouts across to say hi to the other group, they all seem to know each other. A few men are wearing smart shirts and jeans, drinking Strongbow and Fosters cans.

I'm reminded of Brenda's recollections from when she used to live in the area in the 1960s. 'There used to be quite a few big dances halls. We'd go to the ones near us, but around here there was the Met in Abertillery or the Llanhilleth Institute. Or we'd get the trains. There was a big one down in Newbridge, and the Top Rank I think it was called in Cardiff. Last train was at half 10...and, and there would always be a big rush for the last train.' Polly told me about the dresses her mother used to buy to go down to Cardiff on

the train on weekends. And these days, Emma said she often goes down to Cardiff for nights out. She could easily be on this platform.

I'm just tired, this is my fourth train today that's been delayed. I look across the road at a line that was being constructed, but the construction of the second line has been abandoned apparently. The railway tracks just stop. One line is all that runs.

Fieldnotes, Llanhilleth Train Station, July 2018

This vignette illustrates how the past can be experienced, performed and reconfigured in a contemporary context. Here a practice of getting the train to 'go out in Cardiff, is both recalled and witnessed, an apparent continuity but facilitated by a train line that did not operate for over 40 years. A temporal disjuncture is overlaid as interrupted rhythms are reintroduced, as old mobilities were again made possible, and contemporary limitations and my frustrations are then further implicated at this moment (Reid-Musson 2018).

Again, it is possible to perceive the complexity of, and potential for, considering the historical resonances of mobility, to imbue contemporary practices with meaning. Additionally, this approach can highlight the relevance of these histories beyond formal sites of recollection to include sites of everyday practice and everyday 'stuckness'. Notably, these ideas of longer-term interruptions provide an alternative reading of models of mobility. As much literature focuses on momentary, fleeting interruptions in everyday practice (such as Edensor and Holloway 2008; Edensor 2010; Vergunst 2010; Guiver and Jain 2011; Cresswell 2012), this example also highlights how interruptions may endure and be overcome with mobilities, as communities adapt and reconfigure mobility around these interruptions.

In other cases, mobilities can be the vehicle to perceive the entangling of personal recollections and collective memories.

"Me and Kieran, we used to walk between here and Aberbeeg when we lived there, when he was little. We'd walk up that path...I still like to do that walk." Gwen explains to me, talking more slowly, the pauses heavy, emotion. She's talking about the path that follows what was the old railway line, it runs from

Aberbeeg up to Six Bells and onto Abertillery. It would have run right past the old Six Bells Colliery, and probably past the Vivian Pit further up too.

Fieldnote, chat with Gwen in Ty Ebbw Fach, June 2018.

Here, walking, a practice previously discussed above as resonating with the ideas of the hyper-local past community, is a practice through which Gwen recalls her times with her deceased son and through which they transversed spaces of industrial significance. Although this chapter has been primarily preoccupied with outlining and explaining practices and constructions of mobility, it is also important to recognise that these practices and recollections are embedded with meanings beyond those which may be conventionally assigned to simply 'moving around'. As Hoskins (2016) asserts, mobility itself involves moving through 'memory ecologies' through a landscape that serves as a vehicle for recollection of personal biographies, emotions and collective histories.

Gwen's story illustrates the ways in which personal legacies are embedded with enduring practices of movement through the area. Jensen *et al.* (2015) highlight the ways in which these affective resonances, as explored in chapter 2, can highlight not only the practical patterns and rhythms of mobility, but can be employed be more attentive to power relations and the emotive and complex practices and reasons for mobility. Of course, these themes have been addressed throughout the chapter, however I would suggest that in these moments of affective circuitries that are described in these vignettes it is possible to consider the cumulative impact of these various intersecting aspects of mobility across time, and through the processes of deindustrialisation.

5.6. Conclusion

How mobility is practised in the Ebbw Fach research area, both in long-term and short-term flows, at varying scales, are imbued with the drastic changes inherent to post-industrial societies (Linkon 2018). This chapter has outlined how mobility was recollected and reconstructed in a historical industrialised past to highlight the intensity of changes to mobility and introduce a consideration of how these changes are perceived in light of the changes to the community. I have argued that it is precisely by

adopting the historically-attuned understanding of mobility that Harris and Moore (1980) proposed that we can best understand how mobility is granted meaning in the contemporary post-industrial context. This is of great relevance to this project's primary aim: to consider how industrial pasts continue to permeate into contemporary everyday life.

In the previous chapter, I outlined the nature of the Ebbw Fach community and the related historical constructions of the community-past. In this chapter, I have illustrated how these constructions are connected to forms of mobility, including localism, self-sufficiency and collectivism, and the importance of social networks to provide care and support, and how that has become somewhat synonymous with community identity. Additionally, I have explained how changes in mobility are implicated in changes to these characteristics that are so profoundly attached to the construction of the typical 'pit village'.

I have not sought to further any particular readings of mobility nor dispute the theories that form the starting point of this discussion. Instead, I aimed to suggest how these different understandings of mobility can be used to understand best the limitations, opportunities and everyday experiences of movement in the Ebbw Fach area. This chapter has explored the complexities and contradiction-laden nature of considering mobility in Ebbw Fach. Some participants experienced 'stuckness' and an aspirational desire to move with the recent acceleration; others resonated with ideas of stillness, continuity and closeness. This is not necessarily only mapped onto individual mobility, as people transverse similar contradictions in their everyday lives. The landscape itself does the same; mobilities are interwoven with these tensions, frustrations, continued and accelerated practices, and complex emotional relationships with the movements and practices themselves and what they represent.

Within this section, I have discussed how the models of contemporary mobilities can be used to understand the nature of change in these communities (Virilio 1986; Beck 1992; Beck *et al.* 1994; Castells 1996; Bauman 2000). I suggested that these models are not necessarily employed to categorise homogenous changes to mobility, but instead that they can be considered in light of how individuals perceive and experience these changes. The intensity of these constructions of past mobility, whether that be

immobility, security, or flows of productivity, and their emotive and affective resonances, significantly impact how residents and participants in this project perceive contemporary mobility. How participants recalled the mobilities of the past reveal the often-nostalgic relationship that these communities have with such histories and highlight how mobility is implicated in recollections. I suggest that the identity of these communities, as localised, self-sufficient, friendly and vibrant, can first be revealed in these recollections, which will form an essential aspect of the discussion moving into the following chapter.

Additionally, I have suggested that by problematising the idea that contemporary mobilities are accelerated, it is possible to perceive how various community members may be perceived as 'stuck' or 'trapped' within Ebbw Fach. Again, I suggest that these frictions and limitations to mobility occur at multiple scales and interwoven with more complex relationships with place, familial obligations, and individual aspirations. Importantly for the emphasis on historical legacies in this project, I have outlined how contemporary mobilities may be perceived in light of the area's industrial past. I suggest that these legacies contribute to the continuation of community identity as discussed above and the continuation of the imaginaries of community-past and further complicate these place attachments in light of the contemporary decline and perceived limitations to the area.

Finally, I have begun to consider how mobility can be employed to consider more emotive, embodied and affective legacies of the past. This builds on much of the literature which considers the mundane, everyday, practised nature of mobilities (such as Lefebvre 2004; Binnie *et al.* 2007; Edensor 2010; Reid-Musson 2018). Engaging with these affective landscapes and memory ecologies, I have sought to move beyond only accounts of past mobility to consider how these legacies are borne out in the contemporary landscape. I have sought to consider how the accounts, practices, recollections, landscape and emotions, which can all be used to reflect on mobilities and changes to mobility, do not occur in isolation of each other, instead coalescing to create these complex and often contradictory experiences of place. This forms the basis for how I seek to continue discussing landscape and memory in the following chapters.

6. The Memorials of Ebbw Fach

6.1. Introduction

Chapter 4 introduced various histories of the Ebbw Fach and the associated imaginaries of the community as it was. Building on these ideas, Chapter 5 presented the various ways in which mobility is altered, shaped, and understood through temporal change. This chapter seeks to develop these arguments by focusing on the most obvious examples of a relationship with the past: memorials. This chapter does not offer an exhaustive discussion of formalised memory in the Ebbw Fach Valley, neither in memorials, museums, nor practices. Instead, it focuses on particularly poignant examples of commemoration in the area to consider how these engagements can be used to address the second research question of this thesis: How can formal memorials and memorial practices be related to ideas of post-industrial community?

Chapter 2 introduced key debates that contribute to my engagement with memorials in the area, including debates around formal heritage. As such, I consider the various narratives, representations, and practices that are attached to three particularly relevant memorials in the Ebbw Fach Valley: *The Guardian of the Valleys*, henceforth referred to as *Guardian*, a memorial to the Six Bells mining disaster, an unnamed memorial to the same event in Six Bells and a memorial to the Llanhilleth colliery. Fundamentally, I argue that relationships to these memorials can be used to reflect on broader attitudes towards the industrial pasts and can reveal what aspects of those pasts may be reconstituted, performed, and valued in the present.

Firstly, I discuss the role of *Guardian*, considering the various narratives that are mobilised in relation to the memorial statute, before discussing the representational work of the statute in how it depicts miners and how this invites engagements with the bodies of coal miners across time as legacies of industrial heritage. I then consider how *Guardian* is situated within a broader post-industrial setting, to acknowledge the spatial aspect of commemoration and how this is related to more democratised forms of memory. The second section of this chapter focuses on two lesser-known memorials in the area, considering the role of decay and forgetting in commemorative practices. Finally, I reflect on how practices of commemoration reinforce the importance (or lack

of) for these memorials, and how these practices are situated within broader conceptualisations of the community in the context of forms of decline and loss.

6.2. *The Guardian of the Valley*: Representations, Memorialisation, and Formal Heritage

As me and Kate drive up along the main roads into Six Bells and to a junction, I can see the head of a large statue of a man, copper coloured and somehow intermittently semi-translucent as we drive, appearing in the gaps between bright red and orange trees. I recognise it from the village's Wikipedia entry, but it is only few flashes as we wind down to the base of the valley and he disappears behind all the foliage...

Fieldnotes, Driving to Six Bells, November 2017

The above vignette recounts the first fieldwork visit I made to the research area of Ebbw Fach, and in particular, to the village of Six Bells. *Guardian* was constructed in 2010 as a memorial to 45 men killed in a mining explosion in 1960. The statue depicts a miner, standing with his arms at his sides, palms up, bare-chested and wearing a helmet (see fig 6.1). The statue itself is 20m tall and is mounted on a 7.4m tall plinth on which the names of the victims of the explosion are carved and situated on the site of the Arael Griffin Mine, the location of the disaster. The translucence that is alluded to in the above vignette is attributed to a moiré effect, namely, how the steel-strips that make up the miner are arranged; *Guardian* appears both solid and ethereal as he is viewed at different angles. The recollection above accounts for the way in which *Guardian* punctuated my experiences of the field area from the outset, acting as my first glimpse of the field area.

Guardian highlights several debates around heritage and memory within this local area, relating to ideas of formalised memory and experiences of memorialisation. The construction of *Guardian* as a site of significance for industrial heritage is implicated in debates around power, as well as in understandings of how memory and memorials can be embedded or removed from everyday practices. This section, therefore, engages with the multitudes of memory-work related to *Guardian*. Firstly, I consider the



Figure 6.1. *The Guardian of the Valleys*, Tyleran3(2012) Reproduced under a creative commons

meanings frequently attributed to *Guardian*, rooted in narratives from local community workers and residents. Secondly, I consider *Guardian* as a representation of mining and the bodies of miners and how this representation may contrast with the embodied legacies of mining in the community. Finally, I seek to position *Guardian* in the wider context of Six Bells and the Ebbw Fach Valley to consider the ways in which memorialisation further embeds post-industrial heritage into and onto the landscape. Throughout this section, I consider the interaction between collective and individual forms of memory to examine how *Guardian* may illustrate the contestations between these narratives and practices of belonging and memory.

6.2.1. Constructions of *Guardian* and Narratives of the Six Bells Disaster

Memorials serve as focal points for much of the work in social science into the ways in which communities remember disasters and collective loss. Therefore, a discussion of *Guardian* makes significant contributions to these debates. Many focus on the question of who is enrolled in the design and decision-making about the memorials (see for example Harrison 2013, Reading 2011, Smith 2006). The various ways in which communities are enrolled in memorialisation processes was addressed from the outset of my research in the Six Bells area. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I met with

community workers who had been heavily involved with the fundraising, design consultation, construction and unveiling of the memorial. Throughout this conversation, the importance and relevance of *Guardian* was reinforced, constructed the memorial as an authentic grass-roots effort, designed with lots of input from the community. This is in alignment with ideas that are presented in Power (2008:170) that in mining communities “suggestions for future memorials included local artistic works as long as they were designed by, or the design was accepted by, the community rather than imposed upon it.” It was evident in conversations with those who worked on *Guardian* from its conception:

“When we were doing the consultation, people kept coming and telling Seb [the sculptor] ‘you’ve got the wrong helmet, ours weren’t like that.’”

-Interview with Community Worker in Six Bells (16th November 2017).

“We made it FOR the people here, it was designed with them and for them. It’s all about their voices.”

- Interview with Community Worker in Six Bell (16th November 2017).

Guardian is evidently represented in these interactions in a largely positive light, suggesting that the approval of *Guardian* was largely universal in the community and that the reactions to *Guardian* had been overwhelmingly positive and had other widespread positive impacts. One suggested that crime rates had fallen, and employment increased in the areas around the statue. However, these were not opinions only held by the community workers, but also residents themselves were positive about *Guardian* and the community's engagement in the project's design and fundraising.

“So, 50 years after the mining disaster, it was decided to build Guardian. And it was to be done with Six Bells community groups...”

Gwen, Interview, May 2015

"I think it's great, what, what they did with [Guardian], it's so grand. And the park, it's a lovely park."

"It's just so important, to have something to remember the men."

Quotes from fieldnotes.

Guardian, of course, served a significant symbolic purpose as a memorial to those who were killed in the disaster. In alignment with Nora's ideas (1989), *Guardian*, as a commemorative statue, is an example of physical *lieux de memoire*. It serves as a place where a collective remembering of the disaster is situated and 'crystallised' through *Guardian's* material presence. This itself creates affective resonances that I will discuss in a later section; however, it also delineates *Guardian* as a space of formal and official memory. There is clearly an established narrative around the memorial, and that is reinforced in a neighbouring heritage centre, as well as through community events such as an anniversary service at the local church and visit to the site, as well as through a 'lantern walk' usually held in the winter. Some events, such as the anniversary service, focus on the commemoration of the disaster in particular, allowing *Guardian* to become associated with remembrance through practice as well as representation. The Ty Ebbw Fach centre (see appendix 6) has a room dedicated to the heritage of the area, and a large section of the display was dedicated to information on both the design and construction of *Guardian*, and then on the disaster itself and the subsequent inquiry.

The disaster and *Guardian* are embedded as key characteristics of the area's history and, therefore, the community's identity. As is evidenced in more widespread media representations of the area, the disaster is often framed as the defining event in the area generally, and Six Bells specifically. Media websites frequently commemorate the anniversary of the disaster (see for example Griffiths 2020), often with stories from the victims' families, but Six Bells and often even the larger town of Abertillery are often unrepresented in the national media by name. One resident stated, "the disaster is the only reason anyone has ever heard of us".

These representations reinforce the importance of the disaster and *Guardian* and illustrate how a collective identity is constructed around *Guardian* that is represented to those 'outside' of the community, as well as around the related disaster. The

aforementioned emphasis on 'community' in the design and construction of *Guardian* reinforces ideas of Six Bells and Abertillery as 'typical pit villages', with engagement from locals and deep-rooted connection. In one entry from the guestbook at the Ty Ebbw Fach centre, a centre which often acted as the visitor centre for *Guardian*, a visiting couple wrote: "Gave a real sense of Welsh community". *Guardian* was also featured in a campaign video by the UK Labour Party for the 2017 General election, whilst it also appears in a video for a Manic Street Preachers song (Owen 2018). It serves symbolic purposes in both of these videos, reinforcing the connection between the area and the memorial but also celebrating *Guardian* as an image of Welsh community identity, as well as being reinforced by the local community events that are focused on *Guardian*. These representations and accounts illustrate how *Guardian* and the associated community reinforces the imaginaries of such communities. The importance of these constructions was outlined in Chapter 4 as fundamental to how the contemporary community's identity is constructed and articulated. Throughout this chapter, I consider how memorialisation practices have great significance for reconstituting these identities in the contemporary context, in light of deindustrialisation and decline. Since the loss of the mines, the anchors of these perceived, performed and (re)constructed local characteristics, such as collectivism, localism, have diminished, and so instead, commemoration serves to provide reinvigorated opportunities to perceive, perform and (re)construct these aspects of the community (Connerton 1989). This is of even greater significance in the context of the rapidly diminishing population of ex-miners in the area, which I revisit later in this chapter.

Nora conceptualises *lieux de memoire* as an absence of real memories, but in the context of Six Bells, many relate to *Guardian* in a personal way, as those who recalled the disaster or lost friends or family members. When *Guardian* was mentioned in conversation with residents of the area, it was common for individuals to explain their own connections to the disaster, whether they could remember it or knew a victim. This was most obvious in the case of Joe, who was present in the immediate aftermath of the explosion. The celebration of 'authentic' memory, which is reinforced by Nora (1989), is evident in Joe's role in the memorialisation of the disaster. Blakely and Moles (2019:625), who also spent time with Joe, explain how he is positioned as "someone to

speak to about the disaster". As I experienced, Joe retells the story almost exactly the same each time, has a typed account of the disaster and his experience, was interviewed "on the tele" several times and his account is replayed on a set of headphones in the heritage centre. Official narratives become established, and intertwined with how the disaster is understood, reinforced with personal recollections repeatedly retold by those delineated as those who know. Joe, and others who 'were there' or 'lost someone', can provide "detailed, specialised and idiosyncratic memories that guarantee historical authenticity" (Dicks, 2000: 155).

This was also evident with those from outside the area, who frequently referred me to people who 'had been there', or had lost a relative, rather than speak about the details of the disaster themselves. Blakely and Moles (2019) also explain that these recollections are not universally accepted, and that accounts differed. Their experience of differing accounts, and my experience during fieldwork of the reluctance to speak of the disaster in detail, are most likely related. It presents a question of who is allowed to determine a 'true' account of the disaster, which is then embedded in the Ty Ebbw Fach centre and the *Guardian* site and suggests that residents in the area are aware of these distinctions. These examples of personal recollections of the disaster and how they are (possibly un)represented by *Guardian* highlights the debate discussed by Muzaini (2012:230) around whether formal memorialisation practices "diminish[es] the particularity of individual narratives". This practice of invoking individual narratives again demonstrates the practices of belonging that are observable in the area; as the disaster is a community-defining event, so too do individuals position themselves relative to that disaster:

"I knew most of the men that worked there."

Jane, Interview in her home with Joe, April 2018

"My best friends' dad, he was killed."

Carol, from fieldnotes, Care Group, June 2018

In particular, the guest book in Ty Ebbw Fach illustrates these connections. Guests to the memorial and the heritage room are encouraged to sign the book, as shown in figure

6.2, and some of these entries include references to personal connections to the disaster. Some examples are:

“Memories of my Dad”

entry from June 2011, on the anniversary of the explosion.

“My Uncle Ben was one lost, so beautiful a tribute”

entry from April 2018

“Remembering my father, Islwyn”

entry from June 2010, on the anniversary of the explosion.

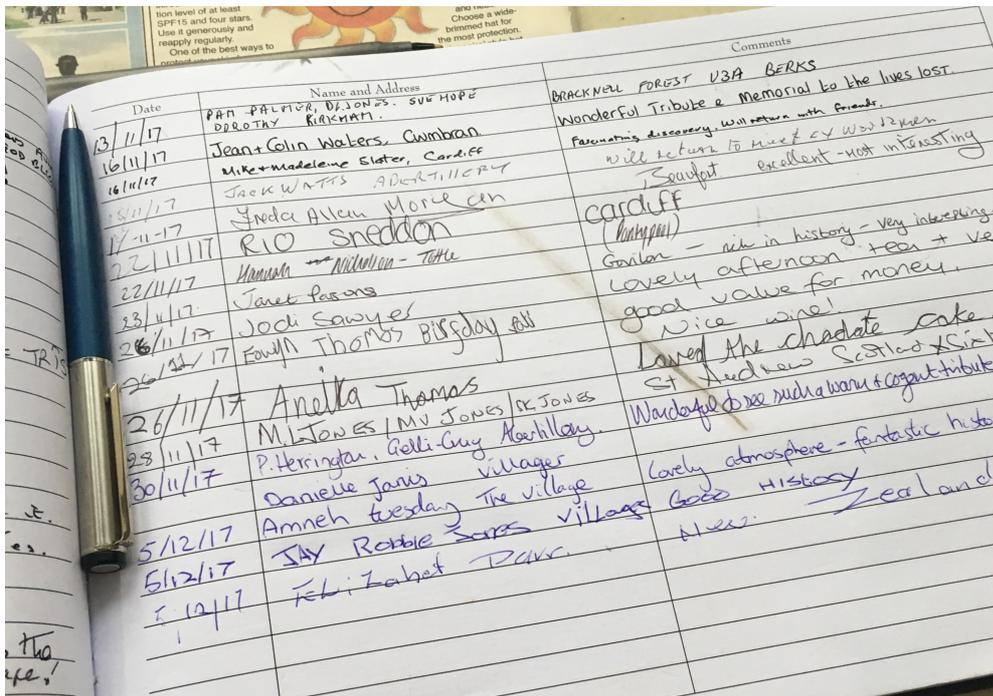


Figure 6.2: Guest book at Ty Ebbw Fach. Taken by author, January 2018.

While these guestbook entries were different from the accounts that I gathered from locals connected to the disaster, they also reinforced the personal memories attached to the memorial for some individuals. Notably, they are recorded in a publicly available format and are accessible to other visitors to the area. For those who read these accounts, the statements construct *Guardian* as a place of great personal significance, not only for collective practices of the community (Connerton 1989). Many individuals who left messages were not from the area, yet the messages indicated their choice to visit the site. Others were locals from neighbouring areas, including Ebbw Fach, who had recorded their own visits to and feelings about the site, some more than once and many

with several entries from the same family who visited the memorial and the heritage room together, often on the anniversary of the disaster. Therefore, personal memorialisation is practised, recorded, and reconstructed through these commemorative messages, also indicating more individualised practices of remembrance and belonging (Clark and Cheshire 2003; Tanović 2019).

Despite the prevalence of the disaster for ascribing meaning to the site of *Guardian*, often through formal heritage practices, it was evident that not everyone in the area engaged with *Guardian* in the same way, much in the way that the disaster was also recalled differently. One most prevalent framing of *Guardian* was not only as a memorial to the 1960 disaster but as a memorial to miners more generally. This was perhaps intentional, due to the title of the sculpture as *The Guardian of the Valleys*. Many participants talked about *Guardian* as 'The Miner', and some explained that it was 'for the miners' or 'to remember the miners killed in the mines', without making specific reference to the disaster. These narratives also pervaded the media; in one ITV article, a picture is captioned "The *Guardian*...is also intended to represent miners across Wales" (Griffiths 2020). One entry in the Ty Ebbw Fach guest book reads, "[w]onderful tribute to all those people in the Valleys that kept bringing the coal to keep us warm-thank you." These statements position the *Guardian* as a memorial to the Valleys' industrial history and the miners more generally. These ideas suggest that for many people, *Guardian* represents not only a memorial to the 45 named men but for anyone who had worked down the mines or been impacted by mining accidents and associated health issues. The conceptualisation of *Guardian* as a memorial to miners more generally, rather than for the disaster, displays how individuals and even communities can ascribe their own meanings to sites of memory (Winter 2010), whilst further reinforcing the way in which *Guardian* is articulated to re-establish collective identity through commemoration and collective memory (Connerton 1989). Notably, the stories around the cause of the disaster are also obscured from the memorial, recorded in a brief display at Ty Ebbw Fach.

Thus far, most of the opinions around *Guardian* I have discussed have largely celebrated the memorial. Residents of Six Bells were quick to refer to *Guardian* when I expressed an interest in mining or the heritage of the area. However, after some time conducting

fieldwork, other less favourable discourses emerged around *Guardian* from some residents. This reluctance to express opinions dissenting from the accepted narratives of *Guardian* as a site of great community importance perhaps displays both an understanding of the ways in which *Guardian* is celebrated, presented to outsiders, and apprehension at being seen to disagree with a project that is constructed discursively as being 'by the community for the community'. Some participants stated that they wondered if the money that had been raised for *Guardian* could have been 'better spent' on other projects that would address some of the deprivation and decline in the area, relating to Winter's (2010: 317-318) discussion around the cost and maintenance of memorial sites, often with public funds. Others had some issues with the associated heritage room and the attached charity group, which they felt was so closely involved with *Guardian* that it was impervious to criticism from local people, due to *Guardian's* status.

Others also expressed scepticism at the common suggestion from those involved with *Guardian* and Ty Ebbw Each that *Guardian* created a significant opportunity for tourism in the area. Lloyd, for example, said, "I just mean, tourists? Here?". When I suggested to one resident that the statute had created economic and social changes in the area, echoing a community worker's claim, I was met with a sarcastic eyebrow raise. Opinions that were less positive about *Guardian* were also evident in the land-use debate around *Guardian*. Many community figures argued in council meetings and publicised in the press their resistance to a new primary school being built on the Parc Arael Griffin site in immediate proximity to *Guardian*, and this was echoed by many other residents. However, some told me in confidence that the school was desperately needed, in contrast to the prevailing discourse of resistance established around *Guardian*. The use of the Parc Arael Griffin site will also be considered in a subsequent section (see section 6.2.3, and appendix 8); however, this further highlights the ways in which formal memory sites are subject to interpretation and contestation by those who engage with the space. As Winter (2010) explains, these memorial sites are always subject to differing understandings of the past, and different interpretations, even if these do not, in the case of *Guardian*, necessarily extend to clear forms of counter-memory (Foucault 1977). Those from the council, who wanted to have the school built, were accused of

'politicising' the site of *Guardian*. As Winter (2010) therefore discusses, it is possible to suggest that *Guardian* is perhaps meant to serve as an opportunity for 'apolitical remembrance', obscuring the political histories that could be attached to the statue, such as the destructive histories of mining. This perception of *Guardian* as almost valorised, depicting the 'mythic miner' as Day (2006:78, drawing on Hall 1981:45) would describe, versus the scepticism around the point of *Guardian* illustrates a broader tension between community identity and heritage work. The tension around the importance of protecting and celebrating *Guardian* also extends to other commemorative practices in the area, although not all. I revisit these debates in a later section of this chapter.



Figure 6.3.: The barely visible *Guardian*, from a hillside in Six Bells. Taken by author, June 2018

Finally, and in line with the first vignette presented about *Guardian*, I return to my own experiences of *Guardian* to engage with the ways in which these narratives about the memorial are situated within everyday practices in and around Six Bells:

I'm on the bus, coming down over the hill into, what I assume, is the main road into Six Bells. This isn't the route I would often take to Six Bells, but the trains aren't running as usual today, so I've taken the bus from Cwmbran. I'm hoping to use the Guardian, the large memorial to the miners killed in 1960, as a landmark, but through the dense woodland that runs alongside the road, I can't see it at all. We've reached a section of the main road that I recognise, and so I know we've passed the Guardian some way back. I realise how often it is, actually, that I come along the road past Guardian and never spot him. 'They built him in a hole.' I recall someone told me at the heritage centre at the recent fete about how they'd built the large statue at the very bottom of the huge looming valley.

Fieldnotes, Bus to Abertillery, through Six Bells, July 2018

Whilst Kattago (2009: 152) suggests that “heroic figures tend to easily fade into the background and become part of the public landscape of everyday life”, I too argue that *Guardian* has a much less conspicuous presence in everyday life beyond active practices of remembering and commemoration (see figure 6.3). For instance, many of the participants who expressed the importance of *Guardian* also explained that they rarely visited the site. Although sometimes visible, the above vignette explains the limited presence *Guardian* has in terms of the noticeable landscape of the area. This limitation does not diminish the many narratives ascribed to the site, as I have discussed. Instead, it presents a question as to what role *Guardian* plays within the more everyday practices in Ebbw Fach. After some time in the area, I noticed that *Guardian* was rarely discussed in more everyday conversations that did not explicitly concern Parc Arael Griffin, local heritage or the disaster. At the local community groups I attended, *Guardian* was never discussed. Even Joe, who was enrolled so greatly in the story-telling that provided *Guardian* with a claim to authentic memory of the event, made little reference to the statue beyond the story of how it was completed, and explained that he never really went up to the site outside of formal commemorative events. Whether this is due to his

lack of mobility or his everyday behaviours, this further indicates how *Guardian* itself is perhaps evident of a site of memory that serves in the exceptional, rather than the everyday. It is mobilised to articulate the community identity to outsiders but not within. Indeed, beyond the immediate discussions of the disaster and the statue, *Guardian* itself became an absence in my fieldwork, away from main pathways, meeting sites, and everyday conversations about family pasts and shared recollections, instead appearing over houses in fleeting moments in which the disaster is remade present and relevant for fleeting moments in the landscape.

Evidently, *Guardian* has great symbolic meaning for both the community and for individuals connected to the disaster. The icon features heavily in the leaflets, advertising, and logos from the area. However, the collective narratives often attached to the site are contested, often focused on projecting a construction of the community to the outside, shown by the limited engagement with *Guardian* between residents. *Guardian* is most significant for visitors to the area and for the bereaved families who are attached to the disaster. The importance of presenting monuments to the mining era is evident for many of those who place value on the site, as it provides an opportunity to reconstruct the 'traditional pit village' community in relation to the disaster. *Guardian* not only serves to commemorate the individuals killed and to be attached to personal narratives of the event and the subsequent grief, but to commemorate the experiences of the mining era and therefore enable a mobilisation of the community-past in the contemporary context. However, it is also evident that this is not necessarily seen as being of great importance to everyone within the community. The tension around how memorialisation is valued in the area is revisited later in this chapter, but I first move to consider other representational aspects of *Guardian* as a depiction of a 'typical miner'.

6.2.2. *Guardian* as 'The Miner' and ex-mining bodies

Whilst the previous section is largely focused on how the community discursively frames *Guardian*, it is also worth considering *Guardian* as a representation of miners. As I explained above, *Guardian* is often known by other names including just 'The Miner'. This construction of *Guardian* as deliberately being 'every miner' or 'the typical' miner presents interesting questions regarding the 'body' of *Guardian* and ex-miners' bodies

in the community. As explained above, *Guardian* represents an image of a 'typical' miner in its construction and the narratives attributed to this memorial statue.

Joe pauses and goes, 'Here, give us your hand', putting his hand out to me. I gingerly offer up mine, and he lifts it to his head. He's got his hair cut short all over, it's coarse and spikey. But I can feel notches in his head, contours and dents. I try not to flinch, but I'm surprised about the depth of the scars. I draw my hand away, as if I've crossed some sort of personal boundary. 'That's from where it [the mine roof] came down on me. I've got them all down my back as well.'

Fieldnotes, Chatting with Joe and Jane at their home, April 2018

I also suggest that questions of authenticity are relevant here, as Joe is positioned as an authority on the accident and mining in the area more generally. To quote Tuan, "touch is the sense least susceptible to deception and hence the one in which we tend to put the most trust" (1993: 45). Whilst *Guardian* is presented as hyper-masculine – tall, muscular, able-bodied and unblemished – Joe uses his scars, along with his stories, to reinforce his authenticity as a 'real' miner, willing to allow relative strangers to touch them in order to support the stories with a tactile experience. Whilst it was a poignant and embodied experience for me, for Joe it appeared unremarkable, an everyday reminder of how he embodies this authentic identity of ex-miner.

Unlike other moments of affective remembering that are detailed in this chapter, this experience with Joe conveys a moment of resonance through engagement with the traces of industrial heritage which he carries on his own body. A large body of literature considers how class and gender, and other aspects of identity can be inscribed on the body (such as Butler 1991), which is particularly evident in this example with Joe. The encounter between my body and his illustrates a quote from Bhatti *et al.* (2009: 71), where his mining experience and the dangers of mining are "imagined and remembered through the body"- both his and mine. The stories he tells of mining accidents, not only his own but other deaths and injuries, are punctuated by the tactile experience of his scars, the momentary surprise I feel at the depth, and the imaginary of the pain and fear of being trapped under a rockfall. To draw on Stewart's (2007: 3) work, this retelling is given 'density and texture' through the embodiment evident in this interaction. For Joe,

the scars reinforce his own connection to the past; he writes in his memoirs, "I still look at my blue scars and remember my time working in the mining industry".

As Back (2007:73) quotes, Foucault (1977: 25) stated, "the body is the surface of an inscription of events." This is the case with Joe's body, as he bears the scars from his mining accidents. Foucault also considers the body as being a political field, commodified and instrumentalised, which was also apparent in the stories Joe told about the loss of mining colleagues, one which he told me several times:

When a horse was killed, they sent three inspectors to look into it...and we said, they only sent one [inspector] when Bill died...And they said, well, it costs money to replace a horse.

Joe's scars serve to illustrate the relative disregard for miners' bodies and lives in these coal mines by the 'higher ups'. Whilst Back (2007) discusses the use of tattoos as inscriptions that delineate identity and membership to a particular group, I argue that Joe's scars serve as inscriptions to indicate his own identity as an ex-miner, but also as part of a community that had their bodies commodified, damaged and often even discarded; Joe retired young due to his ailing health and in order to give a job to another mine fire officer who had been made redundant in a neighbouring pit. I suggest that in the case of Joe and the body of the ex-miner, it is useful to contrast the scars on Joe's body with the body of *Guardian*.

Whilst Joe is scarred by his history with the mining industry, he also carries many other embodied traces of this work. He is hard of hearing, which he attributes to the use of heavy machinery that the miners balanced on their shoulders. He has heart and lung issues, the key reasons he retired. Many coal miners suffer from long-term health issues resulting from their time in the mines, and morbidity rates in coalfields often reflect this (Cochrane and Thomas 1965). Yet, unlike the scars, these are not tactile injuries, instead they are embodied by the ex-miners and often heard by those who know them. The discomfort of pausing mid-conversation for Joe to cough or having to repeat myself more loudly for Joe to hear reinforced this, as another moment where again, the 'scars' of Joe's time in the mining was made immediately apparent, as part of his everyday live and everyday interactions.

Work on the geographies of touch and haptic geographies have frequently highlighted the intimate and affective intensity of human-to-human contact (Ahmed 2000; Paterson 2009; Rodaway 1994; Hetherington 2003; Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2010; Tahhan 2010), suggesting its role in creating senses of intimacy, closeness, empathy and even discomfort when done inappropriately (Ahmed 2000; Chen 2018). The vignette above encapsulates many of these feelings but fails to capture how haptic engagement and memory can be interrelated. I suggest that the haptic engagement with the embodied histories of mining on Joe's body highlights how, for many individuals in the South Wales coalfield, the notion of 'post'-industrial is problematic; their bodies still embody their industrial pasts, the scars endure. Bearing witness to these 'scars', whether literal scars or bodily injuries that endure, allows for a greater engagement and awareness of the continuation of industrial pain, risk and exploitation into the contemporary context.

To return to *Guardian*, it is possible to suggest that the memorialisation of the absent miners perhaps ignores the everyday lived realities of those miners who were 'left behind'. Work on the commemoration of coal mining in the UK has considered how miners are represented in memorials, and much of this explores the emphasis on male figures and other imagery typical of mining, such as winding wheels. Morrell (2017) suggests that much of the importance of the masculine imagery used in these memorials is drawn from the diminishing role of masculinity in the post-industrial economy (see also Walkerdine and Jimenez 2012; McDowell 2003a, 2003b, and 2008). Established from the 1842 Coal Mines act, which prohibited women and children's work underground, mining is synonymous with a particular form of masculinity, as a job performed only by men in the UK, and this is reinforced in a vast array of public images and representations. This is evident in the case of *Guardian*. He is depicted as muscular, stoic and strong, echoing the depiction of a Miner in a statue by Stephenson in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne (see Morrell 2017), and an overall positive representation of working men and miners. Yet despite this, *Guardian* is not depicted at work. Instead, the work is implied in his muscular form and uniform. *Guardian* is even depicted shirtless, presumably to highlight his build further. His face is unidentifiable due to both his height and construction, and therefore, he remains blank and open to re-inscription, whereby

the face of any miner could be there. Yet it is also in stark contrast to the ex-miner of Joe, who is elderly, short, stout and walks with a cane. Joe also recalled a story where he was told he would be too short to take up a fire officers' job in the mine and proved the supervisor wrong. Clearly, even when he was younger, he did not necessarily embody the 'ideal' miner that appears to be depicted by *Guardian*.

Considering the preoccupation of this project with the everyday legacies of post-industrial heritage and coal-mining, the representation work done by *Guardian* is complex and perhaps exclusionary. 'All miners' are commemorated, but not represented, by this memorial. I suggest that through the haptic engagement with Joe's scars, his stories of injury, and witnessing Joe's everyday health difficulties, the limitations of this representation were made apparent to me as a researcher in the area. Although it is obvious that not 'all miners' would appear like *Guardian*, the statue's role as 'The Miner' serves to homogenise those it represents and render them worthy of being 'commemorated' rather than still living in the area. Their suffering is obscured as the unblemished *Guardian* comes to represent the miners, rather than those who lived and experienced it. *Guardian* is deliberately ambiguous, and the more nuanced and continual destructive histories of mining are eroded.¹

Guardian also highlights the role of other ex-mining bodies, those that were killed due to the disaster. I explore the affective resonance of these absent bodies throughout this chapter, considering the importance of their absence from the community and landscape. Much of the literature on absent bodies focuses on those whose bodies are lost, unable to be buried, and therefore have no set place of memorial (see Gambardella 2011; Peffer 2003; Grider 2007; Walker 2015). In contrast, the bodies of victims at Six Bells were recovered, yet I argue that the literature on absent bodies still applies; many men were made absent from everyday life in Ebbw Fach despite the recovery of their bodies. Whilst *Guardian* indicates this, the individual stories are not conveyed; the focus is on the collective miners and then the specific disaster. The absence of these men, killed in the pits through the Six Bells disaster or many others, is abstracted and transposed onto *Guardian*, which then serves to symbolise collective loss across the mining communities of the Valleys.

Additionally, I suggest that by engaging with ex-miners such as Joe and considering the legacies of their own mining experiences, we can also consider those who were made absent not through large-scale well-commemorated mining accidents but by the everyday injuries of coal mining. For example, Joe recalls events where single men were killed in accidents, often in horrifying detail. As I explored in the previous chapters, the sense of risk associated with coal mining was pervasive through everyday life; this perhaps partly explains why *Guardian* serves as such a collectivised memorial: it could have been any of the miners killed that day.

Yet there are even more mundane losses that I suggest are not directly invoked by *Guardian*. Again, I wish to consider the absent bodies of ex-miners. Apart from Joe, I only briefly met one other ex-miner as part of a walking group I attended. He mentioned fleetingly that "there aren't many of us left." I found that this catalysed a greater engagement with the absences of these ex-miners across the everyday landscape of Ebbw Fach. This re-emerges throughout this chapter, made more apparent in certain moments throughout my fieldwork, yet I also suggest that *Guardian*, again, does not necessarily capture these losses. By focusing on the extra-ordinary event of a mining disaster, although all too common across Welsh coal mines, the more mundane morbidity of coal-mining is obscured. As Joe explained, in a moment of solemn gravity, "the dust is so fine...it floats continuous...and it goes down in your lungs, and it's floating there, and sticks in your lungs...and that's how you die." His wife, Jane, quickly changed the subject.

My awareness of and engagement with these losses were cumulative. The vast majority of the people I met through the various social groups were women, so it is difficult to assume that the loss was as commonplace as it perhaps appeared. However, many spoke of their bereavements, often in passing and without necessarily referencing the cause. Gladys, aged in her 90s, had lost both her first and second husband, Jane had been previously married to a miner who died of a heart-attack, Rita's ex-miner husband died of lung disease, Joe described the loss of many of his good friends from the mine, whom he had remained in touch with long after his retirement. Of course, it is not certain that these men were killed by diseases related to coal-mining, and it was not always comfortable or appropriate to ask. However, the prevalence of lung disease and

other occupational-risk diseases was well documented across the coalfields. As many as a third of Welsh coal-miners had some level of pneumoconiosis in 1950, high rates of bronchitis and emphysema, and in 2018 the Welsh government reported that the Welsh valleys had some of the worst mortality rates for lung diseases in the UK (Welsh Government 2018; cf Mclvor and Johnston 2007; Enterline 1964). Considering this, it likely that the Ebbw Fach community would have been impacted not only by the Six Bells Colliery disaster but also by the "steady drip-drip of death in the pits" (Benson, quoted in Mclvor and Johnston 2007: 42). Yet this did not cease once the coal mine closed. Men embodied their industrial pasts in their experiences of various lung diseases, and now many landscapes, and families, are impacted by their absence.

Despite this increased mortality amongst ex-miners, their notable absence in the fieldwork was also a result of the time elapsed since coal-mining took place in Ebbw Fach. Joe was in his 80s. Nowadays, many ex-miners have passed away due to old age as much as these health risks. Almost everyone had a family member who was a miner, but almost no one had any left alive. This is perhaps made most evident in my reliance on Joe's own stories. For me, Joe came to represent the ex-Six Bells miner, a singular representation and embodiment of these legacies and a source of these stories. As I continued, and failed, to find other ex-miners to speak to, Joe's role in my work became more expansive and the absences of other miners more profound. In my field-notes, I wrote: "Everyone in the area, over a certain age, had known hundreds of miners, and I can only find one."

This perspective might explain the affinity within the local area for *Guardian*, as a symbol of stoic endurance and protection over the community where almost everyone would have experienced some form of bereavement from the accidents in the pits or health impacts of coal mining. *Guardian* does not suffer from these health conditions, nor is he erased by them, instead he is resilient. If *Guardian* is seen as symbolising 'every miner', then he serves as a memorial to all of these men. The *moire* effect renders the statue almost translucent from certain angles seems to perpetuate this; *Guardian* appears both strong and ethereal, somehow metal but see-through. It serves to illustrate well the complex and contested relationships that I found in the Ebbw Fach area. Simultaneously *Guardian* is limited by the same imagery that makes him admirable and notable; through

his design and the various meanings attached to him, he is removed from the everyday lived reality of the community. The commonplace losses are overlooked by the site's scale; the everyday injuries and enduring health issues and scars are not captured in this memorial. The representation of the 'every miner' looks nothing like the ex-miners that still live in the area simultaneously becomes a representation of an unreal or imagined miner. Whilst 'everyone' is concerned with remembering the mines as they were, so too are they focused on an idealised and historical image of a miner that no longer exists even as ex-miners live on.

6.2.3. *Guardian*, Parc Arael Griffin and Memorial Space

Reflecting on the role of *Guardian* in the everyday landscape of Six Bells and Ebbw Fach more broadly necessitates a discussion of not only the relationship between the community and *Guardian*, but also its geographical context (see appendix 8). Whilst *Guardian* does not visibly dominate the everyday landscape of Six Bells, the narrative presence is evident. I also argue that despite the limited importance of *Guardian* within everyday life, *Guardian* has a place-defining role in the more micro-scale geography of Six Bells and Parc Arael Griffin. Much of the above discussion is focused on *Guardian* in isolation of its geographical context. It is focused on the representative work that *Guardian* does and on the narratives associated with the memorial. However, memorials do not exist without geographical context; *Guardian* is impacted by the space of the park whilst the park is also imbued with meaning by *Guardian*.

Much of the preceding discussion of *Guardian* has focused on the discourses and opinions related to the monument. However, I argue that considering the site on which *Guardian* is situated, that of Parc Arael Griffin, allows for a consideration of industrial heritage in this area beyond only narrative understandings (Fuchs 2002:237). This is not to diminish the discourses outlined above, instead this section aims to consider the experience of Parc Arael Griffin and *Guardian* as a site where these narratives coalesce along with the phenomenological experience of being in-place in an area of commemoration and remembrance (Maddrell and Sidaway 2016); the narratives themselves have become embedded in the landscape. This approach forms much of the rest of this chapter, as I argue, to consider memory beyond only these accepted and celebrated sites such as *Guardian*.

Parc Arael Griffin occupies the same site as the Arael Griffin Mine, operational in Six Bells since it was sunk in 1863, creating an immediate geographical connection to the area's mining heritage. As well as *Guardian*, other more personal memorials have been inscribed on the site in various forms. As a result of *Guardian*, the park's regeneration has constructed the site as a place of leisure and commemoration, with a clear footpath and emphasis on ecology; the Ty Ebbw Fach centre includes information about the species of plant and animal that are supported in the green space. Finally, as mentioned above, the site is subject to contestation around the construction of a new school planned at the time of fieldwork. In addition to the discussions around *Guardian*, Parc Arael Griffin has several purposes for different individuals and groups. Hoskins' (2012) model of 'memory ecologies' is useful in the case of Parc Arael Griffin, as this place is not restricted to remembering a single event in history. However, I would add that the concerns around the park redevelopment also added a component of not only remembering but also of imagined futures of the site. Drawing on much of the discussion presented in chapter 2, I want to present how this serves as a "landscape of uncanny, shifting, overlapping and contradictory affects and territories", drawing on Robert's (2019: 112) work on the Hiroshima Peace Park.

Guardian quickly comes into view, and it's quite impressive as the sun shines through the clouds behind him... Guardian is almost translucent, with mottled patterns on the terracotta metal pattern. It's larger than I anticipated. From a distance his height was not obvious; I've mainly seen him from roads that run level with his head or even higher up, looking down across the valley.

...The names of the victims are written in huge letters around the side of the plinth beneath Guardian, with their names, nicknames, relationships and where they were from. I walk slowly around the base, upwards. There's a set of twins, a man nicknamed 'Smiler', one of them was as young as 18, many were in their 50s, closer to retirement than the start of their career. They're younger than my own dad, older than my youngest sibling.

It's deathly quiet; I can barely hear anything other than the rush of wind through trees that frame the lawns of the park and the faint sounds of the roads that sit slightly up the valley on either side....

There are two painted car tyres at the side of the walls that encase the base of Guardian, in stripes of red, yellow, green and blue. It does stand out against the muted tones of Guardian, in greys and brass and copper, and the greens and reds that make up the surrounding landscape and the hillsides.

Fieldnotes, walking through Parc Arael Griffin, December 2017.

Guardian has an affective presence that is evident in the above vignette. Much of the emotional and affective intensity is traced in the breaks between recollections and the silences that cannot be easily written into field notes. Again, Stewart's idea that affect allows us to understand that "something is happening" through the resonances of that moment. This is perhaps particularly evident when I focus on the victims' names, an aspect of commemoration heavily weighted and emotive (see Grider 2007 on the Vietnam War Memorial or Blair and Michel 2007 on the AIDS Memorial Quilt). Yet, even in a vignette that is primarily concerned with engaging with the phenomenological experience of *Guardian* as a commemorative site, the broader spatial context is significant. Parc Arael Griffin does not only act as a 'backdrop' for these feelings and intensities; it is intertwined with the sense of quiet contemplation and the sound of the trees and the wind through the valley. As Winter and Sivan (2000) suggest, memorial spaces are considered synonymous with silence. This is reinforced through both the landscape of the park and through the affective intensity of *Guardian*. I removed headphones and made no audio field notes in the park, intentionally taking part in retaining and experiencing the quiet itself as part of engaging in the site's commemorative purpose.

It is the affective presence of *Guardian*, and the associated atmospheric experience that I argue delineate the site of Parc Arael Griffin as a site of remembrance and allows this to extend beyond only the formalised heritage that is attached to *Guardian*. As Moles and Blakeley (2019:642) detail about the site, and I also noted, "people come and scatter ashes, plant trees in memory of their loved ones and put commemorative plaques in place". This is partly due to the landscape itself, geographically situated on the site of

the mine and redeveloped from its days as a mine. The space is quiet, peaceful and green. The relationship between perceived 'natural places' and remembrance has been well-considered by geographers (Maddrell and Sidaway 2016), and this is again reinforced in the case of Parc Arael Griffin. Maddrell and Sidaway (2016: xv) suggest that these places associated with death and dying can "evoke the deepest of memories and ...stir an intensity of emotions", and I suggest that this is undoubtedly the case for Parc Arael Griffin. Again, it is essential to return to the meaning ascribed to *Guardian* and how these meanings are used to mediate the democratised heritage practices that occur on the site.

It's freezing cold, the sky is almost as white as the snow, as I trudge up to Guardian. I don't go all the way up to the base, the path is only gritted in some places, but I stop at a dram that's mounted on a stone at the side of the path. It's marked with two plaques:

"Abertillery and Blaina Rotary Club & Abertillery Round Table.

This colliery dram commemorates the history of coal mining in South Wales."

"In loving memory on Dennis Michael Sheehy, Six Bells miner and rescue team member at the disaster.

Died 3rd September 2013, aged 76."

I wonder if the dram is from Six Bells mine. I suppose they would have written that if it was. I remember the men whom Joe told me about killed in various horrendous ways down there, possibly beneath my own feet. I don't know if they have any benches or plaques anywhere. I wouldn't even know if they did. It's not as if they include the whole story of their deaths on a bench.

Fieldnotes, walking through Parc Arael Griffin, December 2017.

This vignette is drawn from a visit only a week later than the one detailed above. Firstly, it is evident that the plaque regarding the "history of coal mining in South Wales" relates again to the dualistic purpose of commemoration that *Guardian* and the surrounding area serves. It is possible to perceive how even these more small-scale remembrance

practices, from family members and local groups, are still articulated around the disaster that is attached to *Guardian*. One such bench was erected by a local family who lost two family members in the disaster, seeking a place to remember them in particular, as Gwen explained. This bench was placed along the main footpath between the centre of Six Bells and *Guardian*. Gwen also explained that following the installation of the first bench many others were interested in these more democratised memorials: “She had someone who had lost her father, in the disaster, she wanted a bench. Then the coal board, they wanted one.” Clark and Cheshire (2003), in the context of roadside memorials to those who have died in road accidents, discuss that it is possible to see these types of individual memorials as an attempt to acknowledge individual loss within these greater events, such as in the case of the mining disaster or mining more broadly. They materially demarcate the personal bereavements that took place in these shared events.

These multiple engagements in memorialisation further highlight the location of Parc Arael Griffin as being on the site of a former mine. Whilst *Guardian*, and other commemorative items, visibly demarcate the site for the commemoration of the disaster and industrial heritage, the connection with the mining heritage of the area is also geographical. The site's eastern border is marked by the footpath that traces the railway line, which would have once served the mine. Here it is possible to engage with the absent-presence of the mine (to draw on Edensor 2008), and it is worth considering within this discussion of the affective dimensions of this commemorative place. Joe's stories are not recorded in detail in Parc Arael Griffin, preserved instead in the heritage centre. Yet they, and other stories of the disaster, endure through their geographical proximity:

I look up towards Guardian and then back towards Ty Ebbw Fach and Six Bells. I'm unsure where the mine shaft actually was around this site, but I know it would have been around here somewhere, I've seen pictures of the pit and I try and fit the buildings and the wheels onto the landscape before me, I think they were further down the path, past Guardian. I know the chapel, Bethany Chapel, on the Northern side of the park, that was used as a makeshift mortuary. Joe would have found the body of the young man, the

first body he found, somewhere here. The bodies would have been recovered, brought up these mine shafts. And probably other bodies too, injured and dead, over the years that the pit operated, judging from Joe's stories...

Fieldnotes, Walk around Six Bells, May 2018

Again, it is possible to see how these stories recalling the disaster can never be disentangled from other stories and recollections of the operational mine and again revisiting the mortality associated with miners. However, not all the commemorative practices attached to and interwoven in the landscape of Parc Arael Griffin were directly related to the industrial heritage of the site. Gwen also provided her own account of personal memory in the Parc Arael Griffin area. In 2007 her son was killed whilst working in South Korea and following that she and some friends planted a tree to commemorate him along a footpath that ran from Aberbeeg, where they had once lived, to Six Bells, alongside *Guardian*. "I used to come up and then he'd come up with his friends on their bikes and such, and *Guardian* wasn't there then, was it?". This highlights another example of how Parc Arael Griffin is not subject to singular accounts of the past or singularly ascribed meanings. *Guardian* identifies the area as a place of commemoration for the disaster through meanings and affective experiences. Others then intersect this with their personal connections to this event and the broader context of mining, yet the site itself is still open to other engagements from individuals. For Gwen, Parc Arael Griffin is of significance because of her memories with her late son, regardless of the industrial heritage. The designation of this area as a heritage site, because of the disaster and the industry, allows her to use it for her own commemorative practices. The redeveloped land is made appropriate for remembrance practices, becoming a quiet and contemplative space.

Gwen's memorial tree is also interesting for considering the question of who commemorative practices are for. As discussed above, much of the *Guardian* site also serves to attract tourists for its nature and aesthetics, as well as for those who relate to the mining heritage beyond the more localised context. Others seek to identify their own family member's presence in the narrative through their more small-scale memorials. However, Gwen explained that following vandalism of the tree and memorial plaque, she no longer had a plaque to demarcate the tree for its memorial

purpose, hoping to discourage any further vandalism. "I mean, I know and the people I care about know about it, so that's all I need really." This poignant account not only provides another example of the intense personal grief that can be negotiated in these designated sites of remembrance but also indicates the complexities of these processes. Not everyone is willing to be enrolled in commemorative practices, instead engaging in vandalism on the site, or others are removed from its resonances without knowing its historical significance. However, I argue that the presence of *Guardian* and various memorials convey, in an affective sense, the role that remembrance plays in the park beyond the more explicit narratives of the past.

Tensions were also apparent in the contestation around the site in light of the planned school development. Gwen also explained that she no longer visits the site as she is fearful about what may have happened to the memorial tree following the site's redevelopment, which was just beginning at the end of my fieldwork. The impending loss of place that was evident as I began to finish fieldwork added one final dimension to engaging with memory in Parc Arael Griffin:

I go to walk down onto the footpath and notice that there's a huge fence been erected all around the park. It's just a sheer panel, I can't even see in. Guardian is totally obscured because it's on the other side of the park, but the path is completely blocked. The ground is dented around the fences though, even if it's not a proper path, so I follow it around the perimeter until I reach the path again. I wonder whether it's even possible to get near to Gwen's tree anymore, and if I've passed it without realising. I walk along the path, down towards Ty Ebbw Fach. Looking back up towards the site, I can see the tops of diggers over the fences, where once would have been taller towers with large winding wheels, pulling men and coal up from below the ground.

Fieldnotes, Walk to Ty Ebbw Fach, August 2018.

Remembrance is not static or fixed and can be renegotiated or diminished in the contemporary context. This section has discussed Parc Arael Griffin as a space for formal memorialisation practices and more individualised recollections. I have argued that these various forms of memorialisation intersect with other forms of memory within a

place, such as the absence of industrial buildings and how they were not only associated with loss of individuals but also of a way of life. This reflects a significant body of literature that frames the closure of large-scale industries such as coal-mining as a shared experience of grief and loss (Walkerdine 2010). However, thus far, I have only considered the industrial legacies of mines within the space of the Arael Griffin mine site. Therefore, the following section will consider other prevalent industrial sites, and some associated memorials, in the Ebbw Fach research area.

6.3. The 'Other' Memorials

In this section, I consider how two memorials in Ty Ebbw Fach highlight the complexities of remembrance in the area. The two memorials are situated in Six Bells and Llanhilleth respectively. The first memorial commemorates the Six Bells Mining Disaster in 1960 and is built on a grass verge on the side of a road in Six Bells that winds down to the Ty Ebbw Fach centre and Parc Arael Griffin (see figure 6.4, and appendix 8). Second is the memorial to the Llanhilleth Pits, situated near to the Llanhilleth Baths, on a footpath. Both are situated down from the main road that runs along the valley, and both depict winding wheels that are so commonly associated with mining memorials (Morrell 2017). Neither have clearly defined names, but unlike *Guardian*, this does not appear to result from a multitude of meanings being attached to them. They were not commonly referenced by those I spoke to and required explanation whenever they were mentioned; 'the memorial to the miners, not *Guardian*, the stone one, in Six Bells, by the bridge'.

On a patch of garden, in the middle of some paving, as the road bends around and under the old railways, is some sort of stone structure, probably about 3 metres tall...If I wasn't in the area literally looking for heritage, I wouldn't think to approach it, it looks like some sort of strange public art left to fill a space.... It's kind of triangular, and I think it has a stone to represent a winding wheel at the top, and after I look at it for a while, I realise that it's a miners' lamp on one side. I'm unsure if the stone is local stone, it looks mottled and pale. It's nowhere near as degraded as I was expecting from what I'd heard... it's still clearly legible, with the message commemorating

those killed in the 1945 mining disaster and those killed during the dates that the Arael Griffin Mine was operational. I wonder what's going to happen to it if it can't be restored or repaired. Around the sides are faces, they look like rough line drawings, outlining the features of men, women and children from the area. There are faces of people literally fading from the rock.

Fieldnotes, Visit to Six Bells, December 2017



Figure 6.4: The ambiguous 'Old' Six Bells memorial, in the snow, taken by author December 2017.

The memorial in Six Bells, which I call the Six Bells Memorial, was bought up in a discussion on my first visit to the area. A community worker who was involved with the funding of *Guardian* explained that *Guardian* had been built in order to replace the 'old memorial'. She explained, "we looked into it, and they basically told us that there's nothing we can do to restore it, that it's just going to erode away". Yet it was not until the following trip that I saw the memorial, as recounted in the above vignette (see also figures 6.5 and 6.6). I spoke about it later that day with Meg, who provided some greater context for the site (see Gurney 2013). The memorial was built away from the original pit area, which was privately owned at the time, in the 1980s. This ownership meant that this memorial is situated on the other side of the old railway line, with a large embankment between it and the actual site of the disaster. It makes it easy to miss unless you take a particular path from the main road down to the road, and even then, it does not necessarily encourage engagement as its form is unclear. Unlike other 'threatened' memorials, such as that discussed by Berns (2016), there are no clear efforts to mark out it out as being a memorial, such as through candles, ribbons and other material indicators, making it relatively easy to overlook within the everyday landscapes of Six Bells; the residents apparently accept its fate.



Figures 6.5 and 6.6.: The erosion of faces and inscription on the 'Old' Six Bells memorial. Taken by author, December 2017.

Like the memorials described by Kattago (2009:149), this memorial is 'asleep' in the landscape, easily overlooked and removed from more commemorative practices than *Guardian*. The carvings on the Six Bells Memorial provide an interesting contrast to *Guardian* in how they represent the miners and the community. Whilst *Guardian* depicts 'every miner' – generic but stereotypically masculine and able-bodied – the faces carved in line-drawings on the Six Bells Memorial are unique and heterogeneous. Meg later tells me that they depict local people and that you can even see the resemblance. Apparently, some locals know them by name, but no one I met made any reference to them. Meg's website named a couple specifically (Gurney 2013). The depictions are not only those of miners but women and children. The men are not wearing miners' uniforms, and they vary in age; one is old with large spectacles. It is impossible to tell if he is an ex-miner or has another profession. Despite the intended meaning of the monument specifying that it is to commemorate those killed in the Six Bells pit, it commemorates a much broader section of the community, reflecting the widespread impact of the deaths in the pit (as discussed previously in this chapter). The more individualised representations are indicative of other commemorative practices but are less commonplace in more formalised memorials. As Tanović (2019:95) explores in the context of the flowers and cards left at the gates of Kensington Palace after the death of Princess Diana, photographs serve to grant "the whole ritual a sense of individuality and objecting to the inevitable fate of the victim becoming a statistic". Whilst these are not photographs, the etchings clearly portray individuals from the area. Yet they are not direct victims of the disaster and cannot be made statistics; therefore, I argue that these depictions serve to illustrate the wider community that were victimised by the mining disaster and other deaths in the Six Bells pit, not only as a homogenous group but as a series of individuals connected to this site.

Notably, the faces are indiscernible from even a small distance; the memorial's greatest impact is when you are close to it. As these faces are further eroded due to groundwater damage and weathering, they will become even harder to perceive in detail; this will occur in parallel to the fading of memories about the stone carving and who is depicted there. Meg explained that she is unsure if there are records of who was used as the models for the carvings; their identities are entirely dependent on the living memory of

those in the area that know them or knew them. Whilst they could well be still living, as the memorial was only made in the 1980s, it almost resembles an eroded gravestone where the names are faded, yet in this case, it is the faces. If we conceptualise the erosion of this memorial as a form of material 'forgetting', then it is worth considering what is being forgotten. Since *Guardian* was built as an intended replacement for this monument, it is clearly suggested that had *Guardian* not been built, the 1960 disaster at the Six Bells mine would have been forgotten, at least in material terms. In media coverage of *Guardian*, family members of the men killed made statements such as "this should have been done sooner", despite the Six Bells Memorial. This is despite the proliferation of stories around the event and keeping with narratives around commemoration: monuments are necessary as they outlast living memory, conveying an agreed image of a shared past (Assmann 2008; Welzer 2008; Winter 2008). Despite *Guardian's* presence, there is a sense of loss, or anticipatory loss, around the erosion of this memorial, at least in my own affective experience of the site. I consider that if *Guardian* commemorates *the disaster*, then it is perhaps the wider representation of the community that is more significant for this memorial. The grandeur and scale of *Guardian* are deemed 'fitting' whilst recognising the small-scale mundane aspects of the community in the Six Bells Memorial is not. As in the previous chapter, there was some degree of concern that the community-past would be forgotten; I suggest that this memorial's erosion conveys the materiality of these fears (Assmann 2008; Hamilakis and Labanyi 2008). Generalised histories, such as the 'every miner' represented by *Guardian* endure, but the more intimate and everyday histories, attached to individuals, are eroded. This reflects much of the anxiety discussed in the previous chapter; that the individual characteristics that identify the community as 'remarkable' will soon be forgotten. This is a metaphorical observation; the meaning attached to the site by residents is difficult to discern. No one discussed it in everyday conversation, other than Meg, and I never saw anyone standing there.

Like the Six Bells memorial, the Llanhilleth Pit memorial also had little engagement from the local community (see appendix 9 for the geographical location of the memorial). Meg introduced me to the site, and again she was the only person I found who referred

to the site. Yet unlike the Six Bells Memorial, I was unaware of the memorial until Meg took me to see it on one of my first trips to the area:

As we walk down through the tunnel, I have no idea where we're going. Its muddy underfoot and we seem to be a long way down from the main road. Looking along the path, maybe 20 yards, is a sculpture of some kind, dark and hard to make out between the bare tree branches that thatch the sky behind it. It's the same colour as the trees, and has a hatched limb rising out of the ground, so its form is hard to discern until we get a little closer. It's two winding wheels, mounted on the ground, with the tower between them. I can't really tell what it is meant to represent, unlike the winding towers that I've seen depicted, but it's clearly some sort of mining machinery, rusted and it's almost like it's been discarded down here off the main road.

Fieldnotes, Visit to Llanhilleth Memorial with Meg, January 2018

Unlike the Six Bells Memorial, this site has no apparent connection to any event or any individuals. The plaque at the base of the memorial describes the history of the Llanhilleth pits, informing visitors about when the pit was opened, nationalised, and closed, and the various companies that operated the pits or were involved in their redevelopment. There is no recognition of the men within the mines nor the wider community. According to the plaque, the memorial is the "Headgear of No.2 Pit" and serves to "commemorate the colliery's existence". It focuses on the large-scale and structural aspects of mining, unemotive historical facts to remember these components, yet there is limited symbolic work attached to these ideas. This site's affective resonance is also unlike *Guardian* or the Six Bells Memorial; there were no stories attached to this site that I had heard. Even Meg, a local history enthusiast, had little to say about the memorial. Whilst *Guardian* is mobilised to symbolise the collective identity of a pit-community, this memorial provides no clear narrative about the community-past other than that 'it was' and how it was interwoven with practices of nationalisation and demolition. The absence of stories in this memorial may go some way to explain its location; unlike *Guardian*, it cannot be easily used to reconstruct the community-past as it does little to represent such a community. Additionally, due to its unremarkable appearance and 'hidden' location, it cannot provide the impact of *Guardian* to the

'outside world'; it represents the mundane infrastructures of coal-mining rather than the respectable and mythical coal miners.

The Llanhilleth Pit memorial is reached from a small underpass that runs beneath the road, from the side of the Baths. It is hard to find, so I would have likely missed it had Meg not taken me there. It depicts the winding tower and wheels that would have operated at the Llanhilleth Pits, that would have been situated further down the valley hillside from where it stands. It is in an area of woodland, on a footpath, and although I visited in the winter, it was clear that the area would be pretty overgrown in the summer. As a resident stated in a news article (Doel 2007): "you can't see it from the road, and some people don't even know it's there". Additionally, no one mentioned the monument to me in the many conversations I had with residents, even Meg, who was with me when I first visited, had little to say on the site. It is physically and discursively absent from the more everyday landscape of Llanhilleth, relegated to liminal space (Byrne 2010; Maddrell 2009:678).

The site's materiality conveys this; it is experiencing some degree of decay, slowly being integrated into the thicket of brambles and trees. It also could only be accessed from a site of ruination, that of the Llanhilleth Pithead Baths, tied geographically, therefore with other sites of even more obvious ruination. Like the Six Bells memorial, the neglect of this site, both in its maintenance and its discursive absence from conversations, suggests that this is another memorial that is 'forgotten'. Although positioned on a metal frame, the winding wheels do not move and convey how they previously operated; their material history is obscured. Those who can remember operational winding wheels are fewer and fewer in the area, and it is not too far in the future that those who can remember them working will be gone, connecting to a broader concern of the loss of living memory (Briggs 2014). Therefore, these wheels are rendered permanently static, rooted into the ground, as memories of the wheels as dynamic instrumental parts of a broader machine are lost. It is granted meaning through a plaque that recounts the memorial's intended symbolic purpose, but it is hard to read. The meaning is not entirely inaccessible, the meaning is conveyed in the winding wheels, but it is obscured, challenging to interpret both physically through reading the unclear plaque and the site of the memorial itself as somewhat hidden. The monument is already ambiguous, and

this ambiguity will increase as the decay persists and rust eats away at the metal, making its form more unclear.¹¹ It is a memorial to the mine, as long as the plaque is legible, and then after that, for as long as the wheels are recognisable as wheels, and the audience can recognise a winding wheel and what its role was. Beyond that, it is difficult to know what role the assemblage of metal will adopt, as an unnarrated industrial trace in the landscape.

Decaying memorials can convey a sense of forgetting. While *Guardian* is frequently referenced in online media, representations of the area and local heritage centres, such as in Ty Ebbw Fach or the Llanhilleth Miners' institute, neither of these memorials are mentioned. Even Meg, who was deeply interested in all aspects of heritage in the local area, had only one post on her blog for these memorials, whilst *Guardian* occupied many posts and her website's main header. I suggest that this can be somewhat associated with the representations of community perpetuated in some of these sites, namely that the community-spirit and closeness of the area is a continuation of the community-past, drawing on the discussions in the previous chapter. Therefore, I argue that the erosion of these memorials can act, symbolically as a form of forgetting that Connerton (2008) terms 'repressive erasure', where the connection between the community-past and community-present is denied. This is particularly evident in the Six Bells memorial, where the faces that indicate the variety of individuals related to the deaths in the mines are diminished both by the erosion of the rock and by the symbolic removal of the memorial from heritage narratives in the area. This choice to build *Guardian* and overlook the other memorials in the area suggests a particular reading of what is necessary to remember. Simply, there is no need to commemorate the community-past because it endures in the community-present.

By reflecting on these memorials, the anxiety surrounding 'forgetting', which I had been aware of throughout the fieldwork, became something that I shared. Throughout this

¹¹ This deliberate ambiguity is commonly used in the construction of memorials, as Foss (1986) considers in the context of the Vietnam veterans memorial and is an unintended consequence of navigating how to memorialise contested events. In the context of deliberate ambiguity, Young (1993) draws on the work of Freed considering how to memorialise the Holocaust: "memory be sufficiently ambiguous and open ended so that others can inhabit the space, can imbue the forms with their own memory" (Freed in Young 1993). See also Stephens 2006, Mitchell 2003, Spencer and Muschert 2009, Beckstead *et al.* 2011.

project, and throughout my life, I was and am preoccupied with overlooked and mundane memories (see section 3.3.3) instead of more formalised heritage practices. I was therefore caught by the attention granted to *Guardian* in contrast to the less celebrated memorials at Six Bells and Llanhilleth. The Six Bells Memorial, in particular, with identifiable faces of local people, seemed to reflect the more everyday sense of industrial pasts, extending beyond disaster and into the wider community, with which I was concerned. As such, the anxiety that I felt that these more mundane histories were being overlooked became attached to this decaying memorial that had already been 'replaced' symbolically with *Guardian*. This sits as an uncomfortable disjuncture in my engagement with these sites, unlike the other narratives attached to them, as I place value on sites according to my research interests. I engage in anticipatory nostalgia, which I perceived to be present in many other aspects of my fieldwork.

As DeSilvey (2006; 2017) argues, the process of decay grants further meaning to these materials that are being eroded and damaged, rather than rendering them meaningless. The decay of these memorials can serve as wider metaphors for the parallel decay of the industrial history in the area. A quote from Walter Benjamin in Buck-Morss (1991:170) seems to concisely explain the relevance of these forgotten memorials and ruins: “the crumbling of the monuments that were built to signify the immortality of civilisation becomes proof, rather, of its transiency”. Yet it is also not an immediate forgetting, or an immediate loss, despite the commonplace framing of deindustrialisation as a clear temporal disjuncture between an industrial past and a post-industrial present (Byrne 2002). The deindustrialisation process was long and drawn out; pits were amalgamated into 'mega-pits', workforces were moved to neighbouring mines as others were closed, supporting industries waned after the closure of the pits (Coulter *et al.* 2016). Likewise, the decay of these monuments is gradual, sometimes waxing and waning. It is not entirely linear, as efforts are made to tame the vegetation, and as stories are told that reinvigorate these sites, they are restored somewhat, granted meaning again and spatially identified as worthy of preservation. Yet the decay endures. It serves to illustrate these processes of decline as complex and lingering, still present in everyday lives, even if overlooked or placed below the main often-travelled roads. The Llanhilleth Memorial's decay and absence from the

narratives of Llanhilleth do not lessen its 'ideological charge' that Whelan (2005:63) suggests are the currency of monuments when visited, at least not for everyone, myself included. The site is still emotionally and affectively moving but does not only catalyse imaginaries of winding wheels that are operational but also of the wider landscape, as it was before, during the mines, now and into the future.

6.4. Collective Memory, Practices of Commemoration and Community Identity

I have engaged with complex and interconnected ideas surrounding commemoration, collective and individual memory, and fears around loss and forgetting throughout this chapter. Chapter 4 also outlined the importance of a shared imaginary of the industrial past, and chapter 5 began to outline how this relates to mobility practices in the contemporary context. Through this chapter, I have argued that these imaginaries are critical for how commemoration is viewed, adopted, and practised in the area. Many of the characteristics I outlined in chapter 4 focused on diminishing aspects of historical life, such as intense localism and collectivism. I argue that this is indicative of Batcho and Shikh's (2016) concept of 'anticipatory nostalgia' but also a hope to resist these losses and forms of decline.

Commemorative practices seek to delay these losses, I argue, as individuals engage with these practices and therefore reinforce particular characteristics of the typical mining community. As in the Ty Ebbw Fach guestbook, *Guardian* provides an opportunity to present a 'Welsh community' to visitors, as a site that was made 'by and with the community' but also as a site that represents other characteristics of pit villages; *Guardian* is depicted as strong, stoic, and protective, and so, by extension, are the communities associated with this memorial. Being enrolled in commemorative practices is celebrated, reported in local media, such as when local children are taught about the Six Bells mining disaster (Griffiths 2020), or when children were involved in designing a mosaic to depict the area's history on an underpass in Abertillery, as one participant recalled doing during her time at school. The celebration for the opening of *Guardian*

was frequently mentioned to me as a notable event where "everyone came"¹²As I stated above, many other events are focused on *Guardian*. I argue that these events allow the community to reconstruct ideals of collectivism and familiarity through these events and less historically-focused events such as Aberfest discussed in Chapter 4. In contrast, sites that do not necessarily invite events, such as the Llanhilleth Memorial, are forgotten, unable to be mobilised to reconstruct contemporary community around the desirable characteristics of the community-past. The details of the companies that ran Llanhilleth pit offer little nostalgic value to the area; without personal connections to the site, which are becoming rarer, these forms of memorial serve little purpose for these collective practices. Meanwhile, the Six Bells Memorial is subsumed, replaced by *Guardian* that better illustrates these values of closeness, resilience and self-sufficiency, and in a grander iconic visual sense. The memorials for the disaster ignore this older, smaller memorial.

This, therefore, adds greater weight to tensions around the importance of commemorative sites. By 'refusing' to engage with commemorative practices, such as through supporting the new school on the Parc Arael Griffin site, 'some people' are perceived as failing to reconstruct these community characteristics in the present context, where the absence of the mines renders them as being under threat or in decline. These groups are also perceived as threatening at various scales. Some in the area, especially those involved in community groups, focused blame on those in the area but either damaged or did not care about historical sites and events. Adam complained that "no one comes to Aberfest anymore", for example.

Regarding the Abertillery mosaic, Emma explained: "We were all involved with it, back in primary school. But they've obviously smashed it up and everything." This vandalism is not only mentioned in order to illustrate the behaviour of some members as objectionable and destructive, but as disrespectful of these sites of memory. I would argue that this is also perceived as disrespectful to the community itself, as contemporary identity becomes heavily reliant and reconstructed with and through these memory sites that invoke the history of the area. This was often articulated

¹² I was unable to attend any events at *Guardian* during the fieldwork due to a combination of ill health and poor weather throughout the research period.

around young people, who were also often labelled as unemployed, disinterested in work and disengaged with the area. I largely did not come into contact with anyone from these demographic groups, and thus they remained an unrepresented group within my fieldwork. However, these ideas were (re)constructed by participants and residents of various ages, highlighting the pervasiveness of these narratives, many of which reflect ideas of working-class communities echoed in the press, but also the diminishing characteristics of the 'typical pit village'.

Another example of blame is the 'Save Our 'Stute' campaign run by local campaigners to preserve the Abertillery Miners' Institute after it was sold off to a private developer with an uncertain plan for the future. In a quote in a local newspaper, one resident said:

This is probably the last thing they can take from us in this valley. I hope it's kept going for some sort of public use... Why don't the wider public wake up and see what is going on, our very heritage is being stolen from the people

Quoted in Gillett (2016)

Unlike the vandalism discussed above, this highlights how wider decision-makers are blamed for failing to preserve historical sites. Similar criticisms originate from the council decision to build the school on Parc Arael Griffin; these institutions are not only removing opportunities for commemoration by changing this site but also opportunities to reconstruct community identity around these sites. This reinforces narratives of the Valleys being neglected or ignored more generally, but others in the area framed these criticisms as being the direct result of nostalgia. As Emma stated, "things have changed, and people hate that, and they want everything to go back to how it was, not move forward." Lloyd also agreed, saying "they hate change...they're obsessed with the past" of those who lived in the area. Evidently, whilst some celebrated commemoration as an opportunity to re-establish valuable community characteristics, others saw it as a limiting and narrow-minded viewport.

6.5. Chapter Conclusions

The anxiety surrounding 'forgetting' is evident, as threats to heritage sites are condemned by residents attempting to maintain historical sites. Those who fail to

engage with practices attached to commemorative sites, damage these sites, or diminish their meaning in some way, are perceived as threatening the history of the area and, by association, the identity of the community. However, some sites are not selected as being 'valuable' for preservation and engagement. This chapter argues that this selection is dependent mainly on what role that monument can serve in the contemporary context, such as *Guardian* illustrating narratives of community engagement, solidarity, care, and resilience. Additionally, *Guardian* exemplifies the growing trend of memorialisation and heritage investment for redevelopment in deprived areas, aiming to attract tourists to the area (see Dicks 2000). Yet, within the realm of everyday mundane life, these narratives are rarely mobilised amongst residents. Even the (mostly) revered *Guardian* has limited importance beyond narratives of the community in particular forms, whilst the other memorials I consider have experienced decay both materially and in their relevance. They no longer serve to address the anxieties that the industrial past is being forgotten, instead they illustrate the gradual forgetting of the personal, intimate, boring, and difficult histories that hold waning importance for the collective identity of the community. *Guardian* is, as Terranova-Webb (2012) suggests, allows for the 'relevant' pasts, featuring the caring community and strong, stoic miner, to be fixed in place and therefore maintained in the present and into the future.

I have also considered other forms of memory that can be invoked through the engagement with these heritage sites to suggest that they are often more complex than the 'definitive' stories attached to such sites (as Edensor 2005:845 states). Nevertheless, *Guardian* and the other memorials act as material signifiers of the value placed, at some point when they were conceived, designed and installed, on the industrial past of Ebbw Fach. They, therefore, are the most obvious examples of how industrial heritage endures in the landscape. However, the following chapter will seek to engage with less evident legacies of these pasts.

7. Enduring and Diminishing Industrial Pasts

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 has focused on how industrial heritage is commemorated within the landscape of Ebbw Fach through formal memorials of varying importance to local remembering. I have argued that these memorials can illuminate the enduring importance of these industrial pasts in many forms, including competing narratives of what is valued about these histories. I also argue that the legacies of industrial pasts are also traceable in more mundane places that might otherwise be overlooked in the contemporary context, as I introduced in earlier chapters. Through this, I contribute to broader discussions about informal heritages and multiple forms of memory that may co-exist in communities and landscapes.

As the final empirical chapter of this research project, this chapter introduces a selection of these traces within the mundane everyday landscapes of Ebbw Fach. This is not to diminish the importance of the formal sites and practices that I discussed throughout chapter 6, but rather to situate these sites within a wider, more quotidian context. I aim to highlight how these commemorative practices, and the tensions associated with them, are embedded within other aspects of everyday life in this post-industrial area. Fundamentally, I wish to present the complexity of these industrial legacies and how they coalesce, emerge, and are brought into discourse with each other.

I draw here significantly on the work on DeSilvey (2006, 2012, 2017) and Edensor (2001, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2007 and 2016; cf DeSilvey and Edensor 2013; Emery 2018a, 2019a, 2019b), to consider these overlooked and even forgotten places by engaging with ideas of both decay and ruination, but also endurance and persistence (see Ingold 2013). Much of this endurance can be seen in material forms, through the very nature of ruins and remnants, drawing on the above work but also other work on material persistence, including in industrial landscapes (Dawney 2020; Arnold and Lafreniere 2017). However, I also conceptualise endurance in other forms, particularly through associated practices and narratives of history. I follow Edensor (2008:327-328), who states that “these seemingly far-away times are never quite as distant from more recent

eras, for their residues remain in peoples' bodies, habits and manners, and in the material infrastructure of space."

Each of the following sections will feature moments recalled in vignettes where I engaged with industrial pasts in multiple forms simultaneously: as material, as narrative, as imagined, as emotive, as embodied in both my body and the bodies that are absent, as part of the landscape and as affective (see chapter 3.5.4). It, therefore, will not always follow clear narrative conventions; emergences are sometimes unfinished and without clear comprehension. In other cases, some form of understanding comes later. To deal with this, I follow Emery (2018a) drawing on the accounts from others of an 'erased' site:

Vivid reconstructions of direct memories sit alongside ones invoked from traces of stories and fragments transferred to me by family, friends, research participants and other representations. Younger versions of the actors in these memories are brought into existence from previously viewing old photographs dug out of chocolate tins and shared with me to illustrate narratives. These memories, not witnessed but entrusted to me, feel as though they are from experience.

(ibid:235-236)

Unlike Emery, I have no 'direct memories' of these sites before their closure, ruination and erasure. Much of my understanding is rooted in the narrative accounts from participants and residents and various research materials on local history, which provide images that further built up a 'sense of what was'. Therefore, many of my engagements with these places draw on such imaginaries and fragmented stories, as is evident in the above vignette. Within this chapter, I focus on several key sites across the landscape of Ebbw Fach. I consider these sites for the meaning formally ascribed to them and how they made the industrial pasts 'legible' in the various forms I have outlined (see DeSilvey 2012).

Firstly, I consider the symbolic and material traces of industrial life in the landscape of Ebbw Fach, engaging with how these signify the history of the area despite deindustrialisation. I discuss how this relates to imaginaries of these industrial pasts and

how they are embedded in the landscape symbolically and materially. I then move to outline how particular practices can also be understood as legacies of the industrial past, relating to broader ideas of embodied heritage (as discussed in chapter 2). I conceptualise how these practices are embedded in the context of post-industrial landscapes, how they can illustrate community identity and belonging, and how their endurance can also highlight aspects of the community that have been diminished by deindustrialisation and other wider changes. Finally, I present an engagement with a singular vignette as a conclusion. This concluding section does not necessarily provide a clear argument for this chapter; instead, I hope to illustrate through this vignette the sheer complexity and multiplicity of attempting to narrate industrial pasts, both in continuity and discontinuity, in the contemporary area of Ebbw Fach.

7.2. Traces of Industrial Pasts in the Landscape of Ebbw Fach

Some traces of the industrial past of the area are obvious, explicit and recognisable within the landscape. As referenced in section 4.4, road names are often reflective of the industry that was once situated there. In Six Bells, there are the previously mentioned three roads are named in relation to the Arael Griffin Pit; Arail Street, Upper Griffin Street, and Lancaster Street (see fig 5.2). These streets were named as the mine owners built the houses for the miners. In other cases, the names served to commemorate the industry that had once occupied the same site; Brewery Court is a residential road built on the site of the Webb's Brewery in Aberbeeg, mirroring other practices of road-naming as an exercise in commemoration (Alderman 2000,2003; Azaryahu 1996, 1997; Atkinson 2007). All other notable physical traces of this industry have been erased and replaced by housing. Whilst these industries have gone, the names remain. They do not necessarily serve the powerful memorial purpose of street names in sites such as those discussed by Alderman (2000;2003), where road names linked to Martin Luther King Jr. are used to articulate African American identity in the Southern USA. Nevertheless, the presence of names associated with past industries in the landscape of Ebbw Fach still signifies the history of the area in mundane and everyday forms. These names do not necessarily invite further contemplation of the

industrial past. Rather they punctuate the everyday in small symbolic forms, perhaps eliciting some recognition from those who can recall their namesakes.

The subtle, unrecognised traces of industry are pervasive throughout Ebbw Fach. I argue that whilst easily overlooked, they contribute to an overall landscape that is materially and symbolically imbued with the industrial past; it is both unremarkable and inescapable. Some, like the street names, have been deliberately interwoven into the everyday backdrop of life. Others are persistent despite practices of erasure or decay. This section will detail some of these traces and consider how they are encountered when moving in and through Ebbw Fach.

I return to the example of the tunnel in Six Bells, introduced in section 4.4, renovated to reduce the risk of crime. This tunnel was once used as a key route for miners to access the pit when coming from the eastern side of Six Bells, but a community worker explained that it had become a site associated with crime and anti-social behaviour, especially by young people. The organisation, Communities First, installed new lighting and a mural designed by local school children depicting the 'Six Belles' that were reportedly the root of the name of the local area, as well as other images: "the history of the village, complete with farms, the pit and chapel was illustrated." (Meg's blog, Gurney 2013; see also figure 4.4). The tunnel is a pathway that traces the route between miners' homes is enrolled in both the commemorative practice of these industrial pasts and myth-making of the 'Six Belles', but this commemorative practice is also used to try and address another more problematic legacy of that industrial history, embedded in practices of regeneration as part of heritage work (Smith 2006). As I explored in chapter 4, the relationship between anti-social behaviour and deindustrialisation is well-recognised, and the Six Bells tunnel illustrates how these multiple legacies of industrial pasts can coalesce in everyday spaces. Yet it is also rooted in a place that might also exhibit little to no engagement with different temporalities. To return to Kattago (2009:153), and the arguments made about *Guardian* in the previous chapter, this is another aspect where memorial sites can become part of an unremarkable backdrop, unrecognised; sometimes it is just a tunnel to walk through.

Whilst road names and murals act as symbolic reflections of such pasts, other traces are less deliberate and therefore are less easy to decipher and attach to particular aspects

of the past. Material traces of industry are often even less noticeable and further defy more conventional understandings of heritage. They exist as artefacts 'as process', not existing in the form of permanence or stasis but subject to persistence, transformation, and destruction, and so they are drawn into a form of ambiguity (drawing on DeSilvey 2017:29). In the cases I explore here, these traces often occupy liminal spaces, between villages, along footpaths and in areas of overgrowth on the edge of the main roads and villages, or at least, that is where they are more evident and visible to me, as a curious but unfamiliar visitor.

Me and Meg walk along the footpath up the hillside over the top of Aberbeeg and over where the old Aberbeeg mine operated. I'm not sure where we're going in particular, Meg seems to know. As we walk, I notice that the gullies of water that run alongside the paths are orange. I ask her why, and she explains it's because of everything that the mines left underground when they shut. The streams run through the old passages, conveying the drams, props, rail lines, lift shafts, pulleys and cables that sit entombed in the hillsides out into the fresh air in rusted particles.

Fieldnotes, Walk with Meg, January 2018

Some aspects of memory defy the regimented nature of individual or collective recollections or even recognition. The account above from a walk with Meg near Aberbeeg illustrates a time during the research when I encountered definite traces from mining and quarrying that had taken place in the area. The discussion of rusted water running in gullies alongside wide footpaths that twisted up along the hillside towards old, abandoned quarry faces and eventually blocked by a fallen tree presents a clear contrast between the formalised spaces of memory and recollection. Even as Meg was aware of my interest in the area's industrial heritage and was herself an enthusiastic local historian, she did not refer to the water until I raised it, highlighting how easily overlooked these minute and mundane traces of industrial heritage can be. Again, the theme of decay is evident; the processes of erosion are often overlooked but provide opportunities to engage with memory beyond the most formalised and apparent

instances. Once I became aware of these streams, I spotted them frequently around the area.¹³

Again, these connections allow for engagements with the past that might be otherwise obscured. An imaginary of abandoned mining tunnels and vast arrays of once-valuable equipment, valued even above the lives of miners according to Joe and other ex-miners, is conjured when we encounter this trace. Both the scale and the speed of the abandonment of these industrial labyrinths are made immediate through this account from Meg. Even if they often remain unrecognised, these small material traces and the associated imaginaries are not made absent. Instead, they endure in the landscape and in the ambiguity of ruination. The streams of rust introduce questions of the geology, the ecology, and the landscape, but it also highlights the complexity of the linear temporal understanding of post-industrial places. Whilst buried, invisible, and often unaddressed by residents, the physical structures of mining remain underground, gradually eroded and reduced slowly. It served as a clear metaphor for the relationship between the community and mining, an enduring, sometimes overlooked but nonetheless present, industrial past. It also contributes to the omnipresent sense of such histories and the ambiguity of these places; natural processes reveal the endurance of industry even as they diminish their material presence.

Many other histories are more obscured as the most obvious indicators of the industrial past are removed, and no commemorative work takes place. In terms of materiality, buildings are demolished, and the sites redeveloped. Odd gaps in the built environment create moments of contemplation and uncertainty, as the imaginary of the industrial landscape is invoked in these undefined places:

There's a big gravel path, it looks like it might be some sort of stopping place, it's hard to tell. I wonder if it's the old colliery site, and if they used to have trucks and trains here, moving the coal and goods. But that's just speculation...The site beneath me looks like a variety of gardens and a park,

¹³ Notably, it is possible to dispute whether the rusted colour of the water is 'accurately' attributable to the rusting machinery or the iron content of the rocks in the area. Geologists may find the story here concerning. However, I am most concerned with local people's perceptions and how they account for the water.

and then just areas of lawn that don't seem to be anything in particular. There's no one around, and it's hard to reconcile this with the pictures I've seen of Cwmtillery Colliery that was on this site. The stretches of grass seem large when I think of the number of buildings that were once crammed into this place, and no winding wheels reach up into the sky...

Fieldnotes, walk through Cwmtillery, August 2018

The role of the imaginary is evident, especially when engaging with material traces or material absences. As I actively looked in the landscape for the eruption of these traces throughout my fieldwork, there were moments of uncertainty, as I describe above in the case of the old Cwmtillery pit, standing in a gravel yard attempting to draw on images of the old pit sites. I have no personal memories of these areas, and many of the places and material traces were unnarrated by local participants. The more mundane, small traces were not discussed in conversation, not mentioned in local history books, nor commemorated in displays in local heritage rooms. My understanding of the footpath ending because of the railway line that once existed there was drawn from historical maps of the area, creating a moment of affective realisation when I made this connection as I reached this strange interruption in the pathway. I was drawn into things that I struggled to connect to discourses or imaginaries of the past in other cases. This was evident in one case, where my audio notes recounting a craft group that I had just attended were interrupted by me spotting 'something' as I walked along another area of the footpath, which I narrated to myself:

So, then we just discussed the fete on Saturday... there's something just off the path in the overgrowth, I wonder what it is. [sounds of me walking on leaves] Hmm. Maybe nothing. It's just some sort of raised brick thing. Maybe a drain, it's about the right size. Not sure why it would be raised like this, it's like 2 feet off the ground, like a little brick box. Maybe it was something to do with the railway. Or maybe it's just something else entirely. Probably nothing. I'm just looking for anything old now, this is stupid.

Audio note, Walking along footpaths from Six Bells and Aberbeeg, June 2018

Even as I follow the route of an abandoned railway line, some materials defy understanding. Instead, they inhabit an awkward space, their meaning and histories obscured by my lack of knowledge on the subject of various industrial constructions, even small ones, and obscured by the absence of their wider context and the practices of decay and overgrowth. In the case of the 'brick box', the dismantled railway is used to both provide a rationale for why it might be something significant to me and why the overgrowth that surrounds it renders it ambiguous and 'perhaps nothing'. I reflect on Brennan-Moran's (2019) experience of 'looking for a haunting' and how this failed, "I was certain that something would hit me, *move me...*", as I was doing in this case, highlighting my performative engagement with these industrial pasts; I am attempting to 'conjure' the ghosts, as Brennan-Moran (2019) describes, as I attempt to narrate and ascribe meaning to points in the landscape.¹⁴

The absence of these old industrial complexes and routes is evident; they still clearly shape the landscape even after being removed, providing boundaries for brownfield sites as the houses and roads around them remain. Edensor (2005:834), drawing on the work of Lynch (1972), describes this as a 'temporal collage' between that which remains and that which is erased, of multiple temporalities that intersect, overlap and emerge. Many places around the area were punctuated by these conspicuous absences, where buildings seem to have once been but are no longer. As in the vignette above, paths seem to lead nowhere, and grass areas are placed awkwardly between roads of houses and formalised parks. In Aberbeeg, a footpath ends abruptly, where the railway line was reinstated but only for part of the valley. It is a temporal disjuncture mapped as a spatial disruption (Clope and Jones 2008; Crang and Travlou 2001). These sites, such as footpaths, patches of woodland and areas of green lawns, are not demarcated as being worth commemoration but also do not seem to have a clear purpose in the contemporary landscape. Historically speaking, many local people talked of playing, hanging out or drinking in the old pit buildings as children or teenagers before they were demolished, and now many of the areas of woodland and park are used similarly. Lloyd

¹⁴ This is perhaps part of my preoccupation in addressing the warning from Walter Benjamin that "every image of the past that is not recognised by the present as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably" (1985: 255).

explained how common forest fires were in the summer from people drinking and setting fires in the wood, and I saw material traces of similar practices at the adjunct footpath in Aberbeeg:

I reach the end of the footpath, it turns sharply under a bridge, this is where the railway would have met the station in Aberbeeg. There's an area of scorched ground, someone's clearly made a fire here, and burnt what looks like polystyrene. There's tins of cider lying around.

Fieldnotes, Walk from Six Bells to Aberbeeg, June 2018

Even in the absence of what can formally be recognised as industrial ruins, these practices still reflect Edensor' (2005a) work on the destructive and deviant activities often associated with industrial ruins. These areas inhabit the landscape as liminal places alongside the formalised parks and commemorative spaces, but their industrial past is evident in their disjuncture with the landscape around them. These places are clearly of a different time, temporally out-of-place as well as spatially undefined and awkward, and so the absence of the industry that once framed them is made stark. Having little knowledge of the industry, as I did when I arrived, they rendered the landscape difficult to read.

DeSilvey (2017:31) quotes Casey (2000:311), who explains: "everything belongs to some matrix of memory, even if it is a matrix that is remote from human concerns and interest". However, I also suggest that being removed from human concerns and interests does not render these traces without meaning; they persist materially in the landscape, and so their persistence reinforces the industrial past as enduring. Casey (2000:198) also considers the role of landscape in *giving us pause* or attaching memory through the variegation of place. Following this, I suggest that these traces, even as obscured or elusive as they may be, still provide opportunities for memory of industrial pasts to punctuate the contemporary landscape. However, these traces do not exist in isolation of each other and are not experienced as such. I will explore this in the following sub-section.

7.2.1. The Llanhilleth Pit-Head Baths

Meg suggests we go for a walk, she'll show me some interesting places... I'm happy to go outside, it's cold but clear and bright. There was a lot of frost on the floor this morning, and on the hillsides up above Six Bells that remain shrouded in shadow, they are still coated with white and silver... She drives straight down to Llanhilleth along the main road...she turns off alongside a large brick building.

It's clearly abandoned, with panels behind glass-less windows. Presumably, the glass has been removed so it doesn't get broken. It's square and boxy, red brick with a flat roof, square windows and a short brick wall around the building. There's a few bare trees and bushes, as we drive past. Some windows still have glass on the other side, and many are broken, or filled with large concrete bricks ... There's more trees around the edge of the building, and many have bird feeders strung in them, along with the litter that's just around, caught in the overgrowth. There's a trailer with a blue tarp pulled over it, it doesn't look abandoned, so it's clearly just acting as a storage area. To the left side of the building are two brick terraced houses, with bricked-up windows. The bricks themselves look older, worn and dark like some of the other miners' terraces in the area. On one window is blue graffiti reading 'LORD FORGIVE ME MY SINS'. I can't figure out why someone would write that on an empty house.

Fieldnotes, Walk with Meg, January 2018



Figures 7.1 and 7.2: The abandoned house and Llanhilleth Pithead Baths, taken by author January 2018.

The above vignette provides an account from my field notes of a visit I made to the pit-head baths in Llanhilleth with Meg (see also figures 7.1 and 7.2, and appendix 9). I had driven past the baths on the local bus a number of times without realising it and had only known about it from a marker on google maps from when I was checking said bus route. There was little to no recognition of the site in any of the local heritage 'museums', and the site itself was not marked. Yet, as well as highlighting questions of what is 'worthy' of preservation, the Llanhilleth Pit-Head Baths, or simply the baths as I will refer to them, provide an opportunity to consider ruination, but also how these different traces of industrial heritage are interwoven. At first, I struggle to engage with the resonances of this place, and in the vignette, I am evidently preoccupied with the contemporary state of the ruins. I recall struggling to envisage this as a place that was used; I was unfamiliar with the practices of pit-head baths. The architecture too did not seem to fit my imaginaries of old industrial buildings, vastly different from the pictures of colliery buildings I was familiar with.

Yet the place still inspired an engagement with the industrial past, particularly when narrated by Meg and later Joe, who spoke of other baths in Six Bells. Through the

narratives that local people provide for the baths, I find the site is made 'legible' in the landscape. Later, on the same walk, Meg explains that the baths were built in response to campaigns from the local community, particularly the wives of miners. As she explained: "the women were tired of their men coming home filthy". Feminist literature has extensively considered women's role in working-class histories and repeatedly highlights the omission of their influence from historical accounts and research (Bennett 2015; Day 2006). Although removed from much of the local commemorative efforts, these baths act to highlight these overlooked legacies.

After my initial visit to the Llanhilleth baths, Joe provided another account of pit-head baths, explaining that the "old boys" would always insist on wearing a towel when the baths first opened, but that the rest "didn't care" about nudity. I also visited preserved pit-head baths at the 'Big Pit' heritage site in Blaenavon, only a valley away. Within white-tiled bathrooms with open stalls was a life-size depiction of a miner from behind, naked in the shower. Upon my later visits to the Llanhilleth baths, these accounts and depictions resonated more. The ruins became haunted by the more everyday practices that would have taken place there, in similar material surroundings of sterile tiles, the mundane and unremarkable processes of washing, talking and joking, with some miners protecting their modesty, at the end of long shifts. This stands in stark contrast to *Guardian*, as I discussed in the previous chapter, where the more mundane practices and mundane bodies are not commemorated; few of the prevailing representations of mining culture focused on the more everyday experiences of miners outside of the pits, particularly in the context of commemorative projects (see Morrell 2017)¹⁵.

However, it is not only these overlooked histories that I think can be highlighted by engaging with ruins. I also argue that the traces I have discussed in the previous section can be considered within the contexts of ruins and the associated stories and narratives. By understanding the role of these baths within a wider mundane context, the small traces in the area, such as a footpath that runs under the road down towards the Llanhilleth Memorial discussed in the previous chapter, are given more evident

¹⁵ There are exceptions. Examples of everyday life in industrial literature and media: Strangleman (2008) explores this, referencing the mass-observation project and projects such as Bryan's (2003) *Rouge*, Olsen and Cabadas' (2002) *The American Auto Factory*, that were corporate photographic collections.

meaning¹⁶. On a later visit to the baths, I experienced the area near the memorial quite differently as I was now more familiar with how this site would have been used. The traces in the landscape are rendered meaningful by their proximity to clear heritage sites, even if they are not necessarily recognised as such. Rather than it being a footpath that ends abruptly, I understand its role in a daily practice that is no longer done:

We start to walk back up the hill towards the baths, the sky is white cold. My breath rises in front of my face. I think about how many times the miners here would have trudged up here, as we would have, but black from coal, and presumably shattered, even wet from working on their bellies in the mine, to get to the baths at the top of this incline. A shift-load at a time, the path underneath as muddy as now but with miners' boots, heavier than mine, made muddier each day, after each man, back and forth. Back and forth. Breathy conversations that they would have had together on their walk, their breaths as mist, I feel like the silence now is made deafening by their absence.

Fieldnotes, Walk with Meg, January 2018

I argue that it is these sorts of mundane and overlooked legacies that are highlighted by subtle traces of industry. The everyday mechanisms of mining, the routes of railway lines, the mundane trips to wash, and so on, are unintentionally inscribed on the landscape despite a lack of commemorative work. Furthermore, these instances of persistence reinforce these mundane pasts as being part of the present. Following my fieldwork, the baths were demolished, and the land was earmarked for a new housing development. It is possible to posit that these more mundane histories of everyday routines and rhythms become harder to engage with as their clear material traces are removed from the landscape. Further, as the stories that granted the baths meaning are diminished, often through the loss of living memories of such sites, the history is further obscured. Finally, it is possible to perceive these small traces as the potential last remnants of industrial histories that are omitted from and by heritage practices.

¹⁶ The geographical relationship of these sites is displayed in appendix 9.

I argue that these it is these sorts of mundane and overlooked legacies that are highlighted by subtle traces of industry. The everyday mechanisms of mining, the routes of railway lines, the mundane trips to wash, and so on, are unintentionally inscribed on the landscape despite a lack of commemorative work. Furthermore, these instances of persistence reinforce these mundane pasts as being part of the present. Following my fieldwork, the baths were demolished and was earmarked for a new housing development. It is possible to posit that these more mundane histories, of everyday routines and rhythms, become harder to engage with, as their clear material traces are removed from the landscape. Further, as the stories that granted the baths meaning are diminished, often through the loss of living memories of such sites, the history is further obscured. Finally, it is possible to perceive these small traces as the potential last remnants of industrial histories that are omitted from and by heritage practices.

7.3. Everyday Practices as Industrial Endurance



Figure 7.3: Image of the gardens of the miners' housing, Llanhilleth. Taken by Author, 2018.

Whilst the previous section of this chapter has focused on the material and symbolic traces of the industrial past in the landscape of Ebbw Fach, this second section will consider the community that endures in the context of these legacies. I argue that the practices that I will go on to outline illustrate how the community continues to reconstruct the 'community-past' outlined in chapter 4 in the contemporary post-industrial context. It is critical to situate these practices amongst the landscapes I have discussed so far. Casual chance conversations between neighbours take place in parks built on redeveloped pits or on high streets that were once the site of many local family businesses but now feature many empty units, common chains stores, and discount shops. Many of the previous examples are traces occupying liminal spaces on the edges

of villages and towns, yet it is not the case that these are the only examples of endurance from the industrial past. The materiality and symbols of the industrial past are inescapable, but they are also drawn into everyday lives.



Figure 7.4: Streets of Llanhilleth, looking from the Institute, taken by author, December 2017

Perhaps the most obvious example of community practices that is reminiscent of the industrial past is the miners' cottages that comprise much of the contemporary landscape of these communities. As I mentioned previously, mine-owners often built this housing on roads named for the companies, and the housing was usually uniform. Lines of miners' cottages still stand in the area (see figures 7.4 and 7.5). They illustrate a clear material continuity from the industrial past, devoid of the decay I have previously explored; they are still largely inhabited and well-maintained. They are reminiscent of the previous arguments that overlooked materiality can reveal the continuity of industrial practices and lives as enduring physical infrastructures from the mines. These

homes also provide an opportunity to consider how a sense of community itself endures through everyday practices of friendship and neighbouring:

Walking down the streets towards Llanhilleth Station, I follow the lines of terraces. There are four neat lines of identical terraces that sit in a block between the railway and the main road. These roads were built by the 1920s to house the miners working at the expanding collieries, the Llanhilleth collieries, Red Ash and New Pit, operational just further down the rail line. It's uniform as I walk along the houses, red-brick terraces that face each other and cars line each side of the road. It must be bin day, there are lots of plastic boxes along the road in colours blue and green. Over the top of the houses, I can see the Miners' Institute at the end of the rows, looming on higher ground looking across the houses in red brick with white windows. There's no question at any point around here that the mines were part of life, even as they were further down the valley.

It's quiet as I walk through, but there's plenty of people around. A young man in a tracksuit walks past, and soon after a woman in her thirties passes me, and I again feel conspicuous as an 'outsider'. I walk past a man sat in a plastic garden chair, in a shirt and trousers, who nods at me as I pass. A woman stands in her doorway, leaning on the frame, smoking a cigarette, wearing slippers and chatting to another woman carrying a carrier bag.

I'm reminded of Lloyd's story about his grandmother, who lived in Abertillery, that she always would sweep her front step. Other stories, from Brenda, Joe, Gwen and Gladys, about playing in the streets as children and being supervised by a group of the mothers 'with the baby in shawl' I remember, seem easily envisaged on streets such as these, maybe even on these actual streets. I've seen so many pictures of it, in the local history books, of people chatting on their step. But I guess they didn't usually have plastic lawn chairs or carrier bags in.

As far as I've seen, people don't sit out on the street in Six Bells and Abertillery. Although I've seen people talking in the street in Six Bells and Abertillery, briefly like I might do when I see someone I know in Cardiff or

back in Stourbridge, I've never noticed people actually sat on their doorstep to socialise. It feels almost... out of place. I wonder if that's why I feel so conspicuous. And genuinely surprised. I just didn't think this still happened, that people still had these kind of streets

Fieldnotes, Streets of Llanhilleth, June 2018

The above vignette details a walk along the streets of Llanhilleth, where four parallel streets of miners' cottages sit between the railway line and the main road. Maps illustrate that they were likely built in the early 20th century (see figure 7.5 that depicts the construction of these streets). Despite prevailing narratives about the loss of community and familiarity that I encountered during fieldwork, this vignette displays an example of how practices that are often associated with working-class neighbourhoods are engaged in and in the same setting (as explored in section 4.2). Logan (2008:33) stated that "living heritage is embodied in people", which is easily observable in this account from Llanhilleth. This argument perhaps perpetuates Fuchs's (2017) work. Fuchs suggests that these practises are embodied by individuals, many of whom will have grown-up engaging in and observing these practices and now continue them in their own homes in the area. This is also an intensely affective experience, prompting me to recall other stories of these sorts of streetscapes from participants. It stands out as something moving, almost out-of-time in the contemporary post-industrial landscape.

Within this chapter, I do not wish to exclude examples of disruption, erasure, and decline from ideas of endurance. The casual conversations I observe on the streets of Llanhilleth are reminiscent of the images, stories and imaginaries of the 'traditional' working-class neighbourhood, which I explored in section 4.2. However, it is interesting to compare this experience of Llanhilleth with other parts of the research area, where residential streets had no evidence of these public-space doorstep cultures. I did not regularly observe such 'streetscapes' being played out in other neighbours of Ebbw Fach. The presence of bodies on the street in Llanhilleth, chatting and socialising, highlights their absence on the street elsewhere in the area. This illustrates a critical argument that I wish to highlight around ideas of endurance and legacies; these are not linear processes (see Rhodes 2020 for a critique of these linear perspectives of such processes,

as well as Wheeler *et al.* 1997). Deindustrialisation and the associated social and cultural changes do not always occur congruously, nor are these changes continuous. Rather they ebb and flow. Whilst some areas illustrate examples of continuity, others highlight the changes that these communities have experienced. The absence of such practices in other parts of Ebbw Fach does not necessarily suggest an absence of community, but it does convey its loss that many participants alluded to in section 4.5, as either something that had already happened or soon would be happening.

These practices indicate the form of community that is viewed with nostalgia by the residents and group members I spent time with and myself. I suggest that this reflects Batcho and Shikh's (2016) term of 'anticipatory nostalgia', particularly in how it is adopted by Arboleda and Lorimer (2020). I am moved both by the presence of, albeit

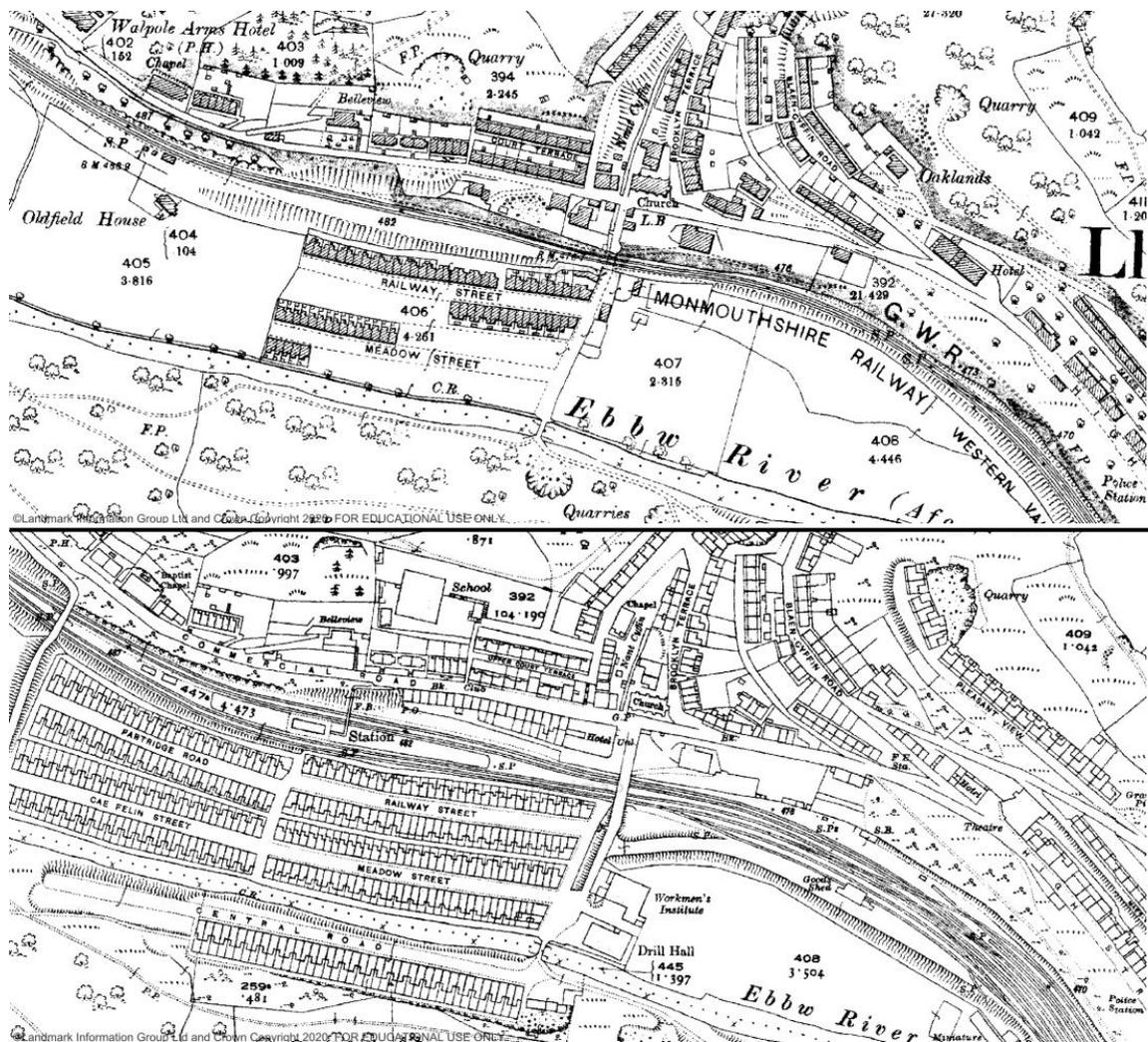


Figure 7.5: Excerpt of maps of Llanhilleth, with the rows of houses depicted in the 1900s (top) and 1920s (bottom) Walker/OS (2020b).

only a few, people spending time in the street socialising and the belief that this is likely to be soon a practice that is diminished here as it appears to have been in other parts of Ebbw Fach. In this case, it is both nostalgic and anticipatorily nostalgic, depending on which temporality is enrolled in the contemplation. In Llanhilleth, the fear is for the loss of these social practices; in other parts of Ebbw Fach, the social practices are seen as already gone, relegated to the industrial past, which not only leaves an absence of neighbourliness in the mundane spaces of the present but further highlights this absence. These apparently contradictory perspectives of the community are both embedded in the above vignette, enfolded into a tense experience of the post-industrial present.

These co-existing experiences of loss, change, and endurance are typical of the other practices I consider in this sub-section. Whilst the physical landscape of the miners' cottages looks largely unchanged, other sites are significantly transformed by projects of regeneration that attempt to address other negative impacts of deindustrialisation (Rhys 2019; Cadwalladr 2016). The Six Bells tunnel discussed above illustrates this and other public sites, particularly social ones. As introduced in section 3.5.2 (see also appendix 6), Ty Ebbw Fach occupies this position of ambiguity. Before its regeneration, it was the Coach and Horses pub that mainly served the miners who worked in the pit opposite and Six Bells' community. Many participants and residents had fond memories of such a space and commiserated its closure. For example:

It's like this place [Ty Ebbw Fach], this is another one [pub] that's gone. There's so many places shut because the industry went and then the money went and no one could afford to drink there anymore...I remember as a kid, we used to play skittles upstairs, where that like meeting room is now.

Adam, from fieldnotes, Ty Ebbw Fach café, June 2018

Now, Ty Ebbw Fach serves as a community space, with offices for local businesses, a heritage room and a café.¹⁷ It became a central point of my research due to the contacts I made with the directors there, but also, as a relatively rare place where I could sit

¹⁷ Ty Ebbw Fach's usage was not without its difficulties: the café business had a variety of owners during the fieldwork period as they struggled to keep the business viable.

indoors unquestioned, illustrating the limited number of publicly accessible places in the smaller villages of Ebbw Fach, with Abertillery as somewhat of an exception. Here, some of the contradictions of post-industrialism are evident; even spaces for social gathering still highlight those that have been lost, altered, or diminished. Many participants focused on the variety of clubs and pubs that had closed, including the Six Bells and the Abertillery Miners' Institutes, which had been key sites for the communities to organise socially and politically. As I mentioned in section 6.4, the Abertillery institute was subject to a campaign to 'Save Our 'Stute', valued as a heritage site and as a site for public use.

As Waddington *et al.* (2001) suggest, the loss of these 'focal points of social contact' has led to the 'dismantling' of the networks intrinsic to a sense of belonging in the community (see also Stephenson and Wray 2005:179). This relates again to the sense of the community as being threatened and likely to diminish further in the future, continuing on the trajectory established by deindustrialisation.

Despite this decline, spaces for formal organisation were actually fairly commonplace. Ty Ebbw Fach had a meeting room upstairs, Six Bells also had another community centre nearby, Abertillery had a number of church halls, and Aberbeeg too had a community centre. Llanhilleth's Miners' Institute had reopened as a Social Enterprise and Charity Organisation after a period of closure. In these spaces, many community groups and organisations met, as I found during my fieldwork (see section 3.5.2). As I explored in section 4.2, many mining communities were known for their local organisations. Whilst it is easy to conceptualise these community groups as instances of continuity from the industrial past, this is not always the case. Many groups, such as the Six Bells Craft Group, had been recently established by community initiatives, such as Communities First, to address the decline associated with the legacies of deindustrialisation (see section 1.2 and chapter 4). As Marilyn explained to me, the Craft Group, in particular, was focused on reducing loneliness and combatting other mental health issues in the older members of the community. However, she also acknowledged that many other groups in the area had been unable to continue after the Communities First initiative ended. It was a concern voiced through many other groups: church coffee mornings, the care group, the playgroup and, that these organisations were not sustainable. Private businesses also struggled, as Adam explained to me:

“everyone is encouraged to start businesses because there’s no jobs, but there’s no money here to sustain them. People don’t think to shop local, or can’t afford to, so everything just goes under.”

Adam, from fieldnotes, Ty Ebbw Fach café, June 2018

Again, this is easily juxtaposed against an industrial past where many companies operating in the area were local family firms owned by residents and recalled fondly in the contemporary context. The concerns about the continuation of these community groups and services were well-established and complex, attributed to low employment, a lack of interest in community activities, commuting and so on. However, it is easy to perceive how these concerns can again reflect 'anticipatory nostalgia' for the community groups and networks that endure.

I also consider how these community spaces, whether formal or informal, highlight and facilitate practices that illustrate forms of community and may also relate to an imaginary of the community-past.

Whilst me and Gwen are chatting, two ladies walk past and apparently restart a conversation that they had been having earlier with Gwen about visiting Penarth and the trains there. I've noticed this happens constantly, every time I'm in here, someone runs into someone else. I realise later that Gwen didn't know the ladies before that day but that they'd just got talking.

Fieldnotes, Ty Ebbw Fach cafe, Six Bells, May 2018

I'm just coming in from the back garden with Mark and Lynn, and I spot Joe and Jane sat at a table having their lunch. They wave to me, “we heard you were out the back!” I have no idea who from, there’s no one else in the café that I know. In fact, there’s no one else in the café, but clearly someone had recognised me, and that I knew Joe and Jane. I assume it must be the café staff.

Fieldnotes, Ty Ebbw Fach cafe, Six Bells, June 2018

I illustrate assumed familiarity in these above examples and how it reflects on constructions of typical working-class communities as friendly and comprised of deep

social networks. Therefore, I wish to focus on how certain practices between community members can be seen as a form of relating to industrial pasts. In chapter 3, I alluded to the construction of 'everyone knows everyone' as fundamental to the imaginary of the community-past and suggested that it was still intrinsic to the area's identity. Even in Gwen's case meeting two women in the café, the acceptance of conversation between strangers is commonplace, as they are seen as 'insiders', which Kusenbach (2003: 477) frames as 'stranger inclusion' due to their apparent membership of the community. This was an ever-present series of practices, where local familiarity, kinship ties and friendliness were performed and reinforced in many ways. Other conversations often focused on particular recollections, constructing a shared history that was (believed to be) commonly experienced. I suggest that this 'shared past' is mobilised and reinforced within these practices of belonging and socialising. By describing and sharing their knowledge of the past with other community members, people can claim their position within this shared past. As Emery (2018b) suggests, belonging is granted a sense of authenticity through shared remembering and experiences. I witnessed several examples of this; on one afternoon at the ACCESS group for carers in Abertillery, the attendees, a group of about 6, had a brief conversation:

Do you remember Rhys... used to work down at the butchers in Llan, I think it was his dad's [shop]?" The group agrees, and conversation moves to stories about Rhys, and how helpful he used to be. I decide I might as well take some notes. "He thought he ran the place!" Someone else agrees, and they laugh.

Fieldnotes, Care Group meeting at Abertillery, June 2018

Another example occurred when I was in a pub with members of the walking group, highlighting how these shared pasts were also interwoven with family histories:

"Do you remember the barbers on the High Street? My dad, he used to own that shop!"

"I do remember that I used to get my hair cut there."

Conversation between group members at a local pub after a Walking Group
Outing from Fieldnotes, Brynmawr, August 2018

These performances and conversations are, I argue, a clear way of performing local knowledge and reinforcing belonging, particularly when drawing on historical knowledges (see also Walker 2020, Casella 2012, May 2017). These two examples are only two of a considerable number of instances I saw of these forms of conversation; it was probably the most common form of interaction I saw beyond casual greetings. These many recollections and discussions of shared experiences reinforce community identity and a belief in the community's homogeneity. This sense of coherence is reminiscent of the typical working-class community (see also Walker, forthcoming), but these are relevant to the community-past and construct the enduring imaginaries of what the community *is and should be*.

I, therefore, argue that the performances of localised knowledge and intense kinship ties are not only to reinforce belonging in the area but also to reconstruct the values of community that were so well-established in the industrial past. The imaginary of the industrial past highlights these connections, as explored in chapter 4, and therefore, it is positioned as key to Ebbw Fach's identity. Since the loss of industry and the associated patterns that reinforce everyday shared lives, the remaining aspects of commonality are granted even greater significance. Through these relationships and performances such as those detailed here, industrial life endures, beyond even the generations, that can recall industrial pasts. I suggest that settings such as Ty Ebbw Fach and public spaces such as buses, streets, and parks allow for these forms of interaction. Such interactions establish both belonging, shared experiences and a sense of the community, which endures despite deindustrialisation and the other forms of decline apparent in the area. Nevertheless, the geography and extent of these connections have been diminished; the ties from going down the pit together are replaced by conversations on the street or the bus, visiting the same churches and so on. Consider one instance of the care group meeting when they had a dance teacher in for the meeting:

We [a group of carers] meet weekly in a church hall. It's exceptionally dark and dated, with a thick patterned red carpet that always reminds me of old pubs. The bathrooms are freezing. The Church itself is tucked on a road off the main high street in Abertillery; you have to walk past a set of wheelie bins that I've more than once moved out of the way of a car trying to manoeuvre

on a car park. Today, a guest, Margaret, comes in to teach us line-dancing... I am incredibly poorly co-ordinated and struggle to remember what to do with each foot, finding myself frustrated and embarrassed, which I try and swallow, along with my hatred for the song playing, 'Achey Breaky Heart'. Pat is giving me instructions from where she's sat, she's already told me that she used to teach dance at Llanhilleth Institute, that everyone local wanted to dance... One group member, Nina, is really good, easily picking up the steps and many other group members comment on how well she's doing. She laughs. "Me and Richard used to go to all the dances, at all the clubs." I'm struck by this, and I consider that it must be strange, to go from dances with all your friends, in pictures of big dance halls that I've seen in the local heritage room, to a group of 6 in a dark church hall on a Monday lunchtime.

Fieldnotes, Dance Lesson at the Care Group, Abertillery, June 2018

I consider dancing as a particular embodied practice that is still done by those in the area, but the setting of this practice has changed. Whilst continuing to dance, Nina reconstructs this past in the present, drawing on her own experiences in the often-mentioned dance-halls that were commonplace in industrial Ebbw Fach. Yet, the location of the dance in the above vignette is vastly removed from the historical setting of such dance halls, instead taking place in one of the remaining public spaces, something done as a novelty amongst a small community group. In this enduring practice, the broader changes to social lives are made evident in the post-industrial present.

7.4. The Multiplicity of Industrial Pasts and Memory in the Mundane Everyday: Llanhilleth Miners' Institute.



Figure 7.6: Llanhilleth Miners' Institute, taken by December 2017

Finally, and in the way of a conclusion, I wish to present an example of how these multiple forms of endurance, and discontinuity and loss, maybe experienced simultaneously, in emergent forms, in what I argue is a 'multiplicity of memory' (drawing on section 2.3.4). To do this, I present the depth of these legacies and how they coalesce in place, in various forms and often in contradictory and tensile temporalities, in a vignette from a visit to the Llanhilleth Miners' Institute.

The Llanhilleth institute looks inviting, with yellow glow from some of the large windows as I walk along the row of houses in the drizzle. I've seen older photos of the Institute, and it looks mostly unchanged, watching over the houses. I hurry up the steps opposite, past a small war-memorial adorned with poppies, and into the front foyer, shaking off my umbrella in the open doorway. I'm stood looking at the small entrance hall, with wooden staircases on both the left and right and a corridor forward, with a sign that explains that the cafe is in that direction. But the other doors seem to be closed, not to be entered. It strikes me how different this is to the working clubs I've been in back in the Black Country, that seemed much more like pubs once you got inside, just with larger rooms and modern windows. The same plush red carpet stands out in my head. Here are wooden floorboards and leaflets for local events and businesses in holders by the door. I wonder if the Institute was always like this or if this was part of the renovation. I have no idea what this might have been like here. I struggle to place the images of dances, of drinking with neighbours and friends, of wedding receptions.

There's something about the Institute that feels somewhat overwhelming, and my sense of intruding also feels heavy. It's eerily quiet, which feels out of place for a building that is such a visible community hub, visible over all the houses over the road. It's the sheer depth of history but also, more than that, the many layers of what it means that the Institute is still here, in some form. It's both enduring, still acting as a community site, but lost; the dances no longer happen, the pool I've heard about is unused and inaccessible in the basement- as I look around, there's no sign of stairs downwards. Doctors' offices that were previously there were also closed, the GP surgery another victim of austerity. I can't tell this though. There's nothing in the foyer that tells me about these changes, I just conjure the stories I've heard. I struggle to envisage this as it would have been, as the hub and the centre of the village, where men came for support during strikes, and everyone else came for social events.

Meg's blog, I remember reading it, explained how it was saved by the miners' contributions in the 1960s when most other institutes were closing. I recall the Abertillery and Six Bells Institutes, now a derelict building at risk of demolition and another that's been turned into a few small flats, respectively. This one was saved, for some reason, but was still closed for many years, riddled with damp: Not that you can tell from the immaculate entrance room I'm standing in.

I wonder if I've been loitering in the foyer for too long, but it's hard to tell where to go. It feels intrusive to wander in, my uncertainty at the place makes me reflect that this is not a place for outsiders. The sign tells me that the café is open, so I wander into there. There's a row of computers and a large table as you go into the door, as well as glass cabinets of items that are related to the mining past, a helmet, lamp checks, lamps and so on. It's not at all dissimilar to the displays in Ty Ebbw Fach, if less curated.

The more 'café' section of the café is to the left. It's got kitsch design with red plastic gingham place-mats, and a small hatch. I wonder if this café has been struggling like the one in Six Bells, I had definitely heard that the owner had changed. There's an older couple sat at a table watching the TV, Homes Under the Hammer is on. They look up as I enter, but look away quickly, it feels as if they expected to recognise me. I buy a cup of tea for £1 from a woman behind the counter who does not seem interested in chatting to me as I mention the awkward train times as a justification for me being there, which for some reason feels necessary. The tea is given to me in a mug with the teabag still in and milk added, and I sit down in a chair, with a notebook, glancing across at the mining display. Above the computers are pictures of Llanhilleth in the past; the Institute, the railway and the pit-buildings. There's a poster with something on, and I strain to read it, thinking it might have some relevance to the pictures. I later realise it's advertising job-hunting sessions on the computers on a Tuesday afternoon.

The lady behind the counter comes out and starts to chat with the couple about some mutual acquaintances. Later another woman arrives with a

young child, presumably her granddaughter, and they order chips, and also chat with the other couple.... Later, on my way out of the building, I look for the bathroom but also poke my head into other rooms. One is a large hall, but I don't linger as I notice a pair of presumably staff rearranging chairs. I wonder if that's where dances would have been held, like the ones everyone was always mentioning.

Fieldnotes, Visiting the Miners' Institute, Llanhilleth, August 2018

In this vignette, I hope, in some capacity, to convey the weight of temporalities that can be brought to bear on fundamentally mundane spaces such as community buildings and cafés. I am preoccupied with these legacies, which I argue, makes them more apparent, moving and compelling, but I also recall that these are places that are imbued with personal memories and shared histories for many residents.

Just in this brief visit to the Miners' Institute, I am confronted with many legacies of the industrial past; the use of the hall as it was, the role it played in miners' collective action and organising, the social history of the site, the loss of clubs and events, the impact of struggling businesses, cuts to public services, unemployment and efforts to address it, social ties and networks that endure, efforts of commemoration and conserving artefacts in mundane spaces, forms of decline and regeneration, enacted and enveloped within a small café room. All of this in a building that looks relatively unchanged from the outside, as shown in figure 7.6, whilst its nearby counterparts are ruined or converted.

In this chapter, I have provided several examples of how these many different forms of industrial life endure and punctuate the everyday landscapes of Ebbw Fach. At the outset, I focused on material endurances, and how these might be easily overlooked in the landscape and removed from prevailing narratives of heritage. The landscape itself is industrial and post-industrial simultaneously. Through moments of disruption, as I have described throughout this chapter, this is made apparent to the researcher. I consider discourses that provide narrative understanding of these moments, eliciting images of the industrial past, stories, and quotes from residents which become attached to these eruptions of intensity. It is in these moments that different forms of memory coalesce. These discussions have also conveyed how forms of collective and cultural

memory can be positioned within broader phenomenological experiences of memory in the landscape (Narvaez 2006; Crane 1997), rather than only acting as socially-constructed narratives and practices. These narratives and practices are brought into discourse with the affective, emotive and embodied past.

I then moved to consider the practices within these landscapes and how such practices can be used to consider the multiplicities of decline and endurance. By attuning to the affective resonances of these practices and places, I suggest that it is possible to understand the complex, overlapping, and sometimes contradictory ways that the community can be seen as both a thriving form of continuance from industrial society and as subject to the decline that is so inherently related to these post-industrial places. It is not a clear-cut way of understanding community, but I argue that historicising these relationships to place and the collective allows us to better understand these tensions in contemporary Ebbw Fach.

Fundamentally my argument is that these engagements with the past, as it endures or as it is diminished and declining, occur at once, within moments of intensity and part of a mundane backdrop of quotidian places and practices. To disentangle these connections and multiple temporalities is a reductive way of attempting to convey the depth of place as being both post-industrial and still-industrial simultaneously. By drawing on an array of geographical approaches to memory, I have highlighted the complexity of these nexuses of memory and how they are interwoven into the community that remains in Ebbw Fach.

8. Conclusion: A Geography of Multiplicities of Post-Industrial Memory

8.1. Introduction

This thesis has presented an engagement with the multiple ways that industrial pasts emerge in everyday experiences of Ebbw Fach. This concluding chapter presents the key points I have drawn from this thesis and situate them within wider contributions and future work. These arguments contribute to existing bodies of work on memory, its role in contemporary communities and illuminate how relationships to the past are interwoven with the processes of (de) industrialisation and shape the nature of post-industrial communities. As this thesis has shown, these are all inherently geographical areas of inquiry, as these multi-temporal legacies shape place attachment, community identity, imaginaries of the past and experiences of landscapes.

Additionally, I have engaged with memory across various registers, considering how these registers interact, intersect and are experienced in multiplicity throughout everyday settings. The empirical chapters have illustrated instances where narratives, materialities, practices, and landscapes have elicited moments of resonance with industrial pasts through a focus on mobility, memorial sites, and aspects of endurance and discontinuity across Ebbw Fach. This nuanced, immersive and somewhat experimental engagement with legacies of the past, I argue, can contribute to improved understandings of post-industrial communities.

I first outline how I have addressed the key research questions and set out the main conclusions of this thesis, grouped thematically to consider the complexity of memory in Ebbw Fach. Secondly, I build on these conclusions to consider this project's broader relevance and reflect on the methodology developed in this research project. I then propose several ways to adapt this empirical approach into other future research areas before finally presenting some closing contemplations on the project and geographies of post-industrial memory.

8.2. Addressing Research Questions and Key Themes

Chapter 2 introduced three key research questions that shaped this research project:

How does industrial heritage endure in the daily lives of individuals in post-industrial communities?

How can industrial pasts be understood to shape the contemporary nature of the post-industrial community?

How can landscape be used to consider industrial heritage and its endurance in the post-industrial context?

Through the empirical chapters in this thesis, I have illustrated the data that I have informed the main arguments that I use to address these questions. The relevant chapters of the thesis were constructed, in my view, to provide a 'layered' engagement with the different aspects of memory, with each chapter adding more complex components to the nexus of memory understanding. The research questions above have been addressed throughout these chapters and cannot be easily disentangled from each other. Therefore, in this section, I will present conclusions grouped around the key themes that emerged from the research, and within these sub-sections, address the research questions.

8.2.1. Trajectories of Change

First and foremost, it is vital to identify that the changes of deindustrialisation and wide societal shifts do not necessarily follow linear trajectories. Whilst existing literature, such as the newspaper articles and broader discussions introduced in chapter 4 (see Easton 2014; Thomas 2016; Beatty and Fothergill 1996; Beatty *et al.* 2007), establishes a narrative of comprehensive decline in all aspects of life since the closure of the coal mines in the area, the lived experiences of this period of change are not as simplistic. Similarly, literature on mobility presents a similarly direct trajectory, from a state of relative immobility to hyper-mobility (Virilio 1986; Beck 1992, 1994; Castells 1996). Throughout this thesis, I have displayed the inadequacy of these conceptualisations of temporality and change. This is particularly evident throughout Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis, focused on the legacies of industrial life and the changing mobility patterns in the area. For instance, I discussed how the inaccessibility of the rural communities has been

worsened as a result of austerity and diminished local provision, despite other forms of mobility becoming accelerated as a result of the same decline, such as the trend towards commuting (Rae 2017; Beatty *et al.* 2007).

The broader context that incorporates an engagement with industrial pasts is relevant to understanding how some practices endure or decline or can even be revived due to changing circumstances. For instance, the revival of local fayres stems from a desire to reinvigorate the community in reflection of the events of the industrial past. These practices reflect nostalgic rememberings of the community-past and illustrate how such sentiments can impact the contemporary (May 2017; Jones 2010). Therefore, these trajectories are further complicated by the enfolding of pasts into the contemporary and highlight the multitemporal nature of such widespread changes.

As I engaged with them, these legacies are subject to these ebbs and flows of change; some legacies become reinvigorated, whilst others that I have identified may be rapidly diminished. As Jones (2011:882) states, accounts such as those I have explored "are not to tie us to any fixed past." Whilst the conclusions regarding this trajectory do not necessarily provide any clear answers to the research questions, this has been a fundamental and underpinning principle of this thesis and informs how we conceptualise industrial pasts 'enduring' as I address the research questions.

8.2.2. Ebbw Fach and the Community-Past

The discussion of how the community is shaped by industrial pasts and impacted by these uneven and meandering trajectories highlights how I have understood the nature of these pasts that are frequently drawn-out in the present. I have conceptualised an imaginary of the 'community-past' of Ebbw Fach, that is constructed through heritage practices such as commemoration and curation, discourses such as shared stories or personal recollections, and affective attachments to particular places and practices that resonate with this image of 'how it used to be'. These relationships include senses of belonging, alienation experiences, and nostalgic sentiments, but all are dependent on an impression of the community-past. This construction is subjective, but commonalities in how this imaginary is invoked are evident, mainly as these ideas are rooted in shared histories and common experiences (Savage 2005; Johnson 2005; Linkon 2018).

Chapter 4 explored the detailed histories of Ebbw Fach and how these contribute to the construction of the community-past. This 'community-past' was reinforced throughout the thesis, informed by depictions of working-class communities in 20th century Britain, and coal-mining in particular, drawing on an extensive body of literature that considers this (see chapter 4). These representations, prevalent in media and literature, become interwoven with personal recollections of the past and mediate how the present is understood and experienced. Whilst the idea of the 'community-past' is not universally accepted, impacted by personal experiences, values, and family histories, there are common aspects that are emphasised. Shared histories are drawn on, reinforced, and implicated in constructing the community's identity, which is tied to historical experiences of unifying struggles, frequent risk and danger, and "everyone being poor". I have illustrated the many ways that the 'community-past' is invoked in the present and how it shapes post-industrial presents. Even for the younger participants that I spoke to, it was evident that these imaginaries endured and related to their impressions of Ebbw Fach, in both a positive and negative sense, highlighting the communication of such constructions in the absence of personal memories (Assmann 2008; Winter 2008). This interconnected nature of the community provided a support network and rendered people 'trapped' and unable to envisage life beyond the area, rooted in a long-standing history of such networks and kinship ties. Whilst this example was explored in chapter 5, the role of 'community-past' is evident throughout this thesis. The fact that 'everyone knew someone killed' in the Six Bells disaster, the presence of memorials that reinforces these connections, and the familiar faces fading from the older memorial all these examples illustrate how the community-past is constructed throughout the everyday environment of Ebbw Fach.

Meanwhile, the on-going practices of sharing local knowledges and reinforcing these close-knit networks illustrate how these community bonds are re-established and performed in the present. I suggest that the community-past as a construction is continually invoked in these practices and that such practices have affective weight. Not only are they illustrations and behaviours to show belonging and to reinforce ties, but they establish the continuity of the key aspects of the 'community-past' into the post-industrial present. They are meaningful not only in their own right but also to ensure

the enduring identity of Ebbw Fach, in alignment with these constructions and opposition to the perceived 'decline' of the community and loss of such collective identities (Walkerdine 2010; Seamon 2014). I have focused on how practices and reconstructions of community identity can ensure a continuity of these heritages into the future. However, I also considered the more prominent attempts at ensuring the endurance of these histories: through forms of formal heritage and commemoration, as I will discuss in the following sub-section.

8.2.3. Contrasting Heritages, Memorials, and Recollection in the Everyday

The focus in chapter 6 on three memorials in Ebbw Fach, and other formal heritage spaces, was an exercise in considering the everyday endurance of industrial life through such formal heritage sites. Addressing the primary research question, I asked whether these instances of formal heritage could illustrate instances where industrial history endured in Ebbw Fach's landscape since memorials are perhaps the most obvious way of invoking these industrial histories. This engagement with memorials and formal heritage sites revealed the contestations evident in these commemorative practices and highlight questions of who and how the past is recalled in the present through these formalised representations.

This thesis presents an engagement with how meaning can be ascribed to memorials — focusing on *Guardian* in particular as the most iconic memorial in Ebbw Fach — and how this meaning can be redefined through engagements from the local community. Memorials such as *Guardian* can serve multiple meanings, representing both the victims of the 1960 explosion and mining more broadly. By incorporating a broader engagement with the site of memorials, in this case, Parc Arael Griffin, I illustrated further how memorials do not sit in spatial vacuums but reconstruct the places associated with them, building on existing work from Kattago (2009), Foote (2003), McDowell (2008), Doss (2012), and many others.

This engagement also allows for more opportunities for democratisation of heritage, as the broader context provides places and materials that can be inscribed with personal commemorative practices that can accompany but also diversify the role of the original memorial. Personal stories that are not necessarily connected to the site's intended

meaning, such as Gwen's loss of her son or the bodily traces of the dangers faced by miners, become embedded in these heritagescapes. I suggest that this also addresses the third research question regarding the role of landscape, as the landscape of Parc Arael Griffin has become shaped by commemorative processes and practices. Simultaneously, *Guardian* provides a symbol around which the identity of the community can be rearticulated, a clear example of the strong, ideal, stoic man that features heavily in the constructions above of the community-past.

However, engaging with Ebbw Fach's memorials also highlights the limitations of such commemorative activities and sites. Whilst *Guardian* was revered, other historical sites and memorials became more obscured and forgotten. This was evident materially, through decay and dereliction, and through the meaning attached to these sites, such as the Six Bells Memorial, the Llanhilleth Pit-head baths, and the Llanhilleth Memorial. By extension, I also consider other places framed by industrial heritage endure in the community, such as the footpaths and empty lots, that are not commemorated. The anxiety of forgetting, which I have discussed regarding the community and around memorials, clearly does not necessarily extend to all aspects of the industrial past.

In actuality, the memorials of Ebbw Fach did not readily illustrate the ways that industrial pasts endured in *everyday life*. Even *Guardian* occupies a peculiar space of both pride and affection and apathy, becoming more and less translucent depending on whether anyone engages with the sculpture's meaning. Other memorials were forgotten and eroded, sites demolished and left as wasteland, places left obscure and oddly situated, pathways ended and wound around absent transit lines. These aspects of the landscape that continue to convey the industrial history of the area also simultaneously reveal the aspects of this history that are not clearly narrated and, therefore, not clearly valued or instrumentalised by heritage practices. These tend to illustrate the most mundane and everyday aspects of the industrial past, and I argue that even in their obscurity, they still illustrate the ambiguity and sense of temporal disjuncture embedded within this valley.

8.2.4. A Multiplicity of Memory- and the Enduring Relevance

Whilst I presented my intention to engage with memory in multiplicity in chapter 2, I have illustrated throughout the empirical chapters of this thesis how this multiplicity may emerge and interact in the lived experience of Ebbw Fach. The approach of moving from mobility to memorials, and the many forms of endurance, aimed to display how these multiplicities can be layered, exploring clear flows of everyday life, to then integrate processes, places and representations of commemoration, and then to finally engage with the many punctuations of the present with the industrial past. This way of considering memory, I suggest, is why it is difficult to answer any of the research questions in isolation.

For instance, I consider how the stories of family members standing in the street, socialising and playing, became attached to the site of Llanhilleth when I visited, and how images of such streetscapes in media and local history books were invoked, whilst becoming simultaneously attached to the materiality of the site: the miners' cottages, and highlighting the absence of such streets elsewhere. This then contributes to broader imaginaries of the community, as it was, as it is now, and as it will be, as such 'streetscape' practices become entangled in the imaginary of what it means to be a resident of Ebbw Fach, or Llanhilleth more specifically. In this way, I argue that the everyday is continually punctuated by the industrial past of the area and that the community is constructed in, through, with, and around these imaginaries and practices.

Not all of this can be easily narrated. Much of the work done with memorials of multiplicity operates in the intense realm of affect. Walking through a street becomes, through these various entanglements, an embodied and intensely charged moment in the fieldwork process. Difficult politics are rarely discussed but hang in atmospheres around certain topics. Mining is not mentioned; mining just *was*. My continual fatigue of persistently trying to visualise *what was* traced over *what is* becomes layered over the fear of adopting nostalgic views of the past, and a sense of being 'not-from-here', and an evanescent inexpressible but strong *something*, a sensation at the disruption, loss, grief, curiosity, resilience and intensity of history in such places.

It is not just that I experience these multiplicities; instead, that these multiplicities, in subjective forms, are unavoidable and pervasive. Whilst my desire to be 'haunted' is

obvious. I suggest that the intensity of these multiplicities is inescapable, sometimes drawn out into legibility by local knowledges, narratives, personal memories and so on, but always *there*, acting to disquiet and unsettle, never a coherent whole and never totally obscured. Whether this, perhaps unclear, reflection on the nature of post-industrial memory acts to answer the research questions or not, I argue that this is an unavoidable web when engaging with multitemporal presents in research and that it likely permeates into the everyday relationship with such multitemporal pasts too.

8.2.5. The Enduring Relevance of Industrial Pasts

As a conclusion to a series of tentative conclusions, I draw together these ideas to consider *how* industrial pasts are still present-ed in Ebbw Fach. Throughout this thesis, I have outlined an extensive array of ways industrial pasts endure in the contemporary setting of Ebbw Fach, throughout this thesis and drawing on existing literature. The existing literature illustrates structural changes and issues outlined in chapter 1 and chapter 4, presenting the broader issues in post-industrial communities, such as those in Ebbw Fach. Since I was preoccupied with how these issues may manifest in the participants' everyday lives, I did not necessarily research these issues; rather, they provide a crucial understanding of the context. For this study, these issues are embedded in more everyday aspects of life, in multiples and multiplicities, layered, inextricable, sometimes obscured and sometimes glaring.

I argue that this approach is beneficial as this is *how* these issues are experienced by residents in Ebbw Fach, through delayed buses, news of unemployed neighbours and friends, small local businesses opening and closing, and so on. Yet this is also made especially poignant in contrast between these contemporaneous experiences and the recollection (whether individual or communicative) of a past where these were not issues, quite the opposite.

Simply put, industrial life and industrial heritage emerge in almost all aspects of life in Ebbw Fach - either in its conspicuous absence that highlights the changes of deindustrialisation, or in the endurance of practices, behaviours, attitudes, values, landscapes, materials, family biographies, affects, memorials, and others. The list is

likely endless, and what has emerged in this thesis is probably a reflection on my personal interests and what resonated with my youth in the Black Country.

8.3. Wider Relevance

Conceptually speaking, this project has provided a framework, with an associated methodological approach, to address the multiplicities of memory within everyday life across a variety of registers. By using DeSilvey's 'affective circuitries' and Hoskins's model of memory ecologies¹⁸ I have presented an engagement with memory that considers geography and affect as crucial components of how we might encounter and understand everyday life through past and present interaction. Fundamentally, this work contributes to a broader call for geographical engagements with the phenomena of memory, as Jones (2011) called for.

Additionally, I have sought to highlight the interconnections between forms of memory and how they may be brought into alignment in these moments of affective intensity and understanding that allow for unexpected relationships between materiality, narratives, landscape, sensation, and so on to be integrated into readings of memory. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the integration of discourses and imaginaries into these subjective, emotive, material and affective moments is crucial to the lived experience of *being* in place and shaping recollections but is also difficult. I argue that it is advantageous to adopt these approaches; much of the work that has engaged with memory in these more affective forms often does not emphasise discourses in constructing how these traces of the past are made-sense-of by the researcher in the present. This work responds to the call from Waterton (2014:841) to consider a more-than-representational engagement with heritage, to "grasp more fully the work that heritage sites, places and experiences *do* in wider social and social and political life, particularly in terms of producing feelings of belonging, identity, inclusion... marginalisation, subjugation and exclusion". This highlights how this approach can be readily adapted to critique and consider the *interaction* between formal heritage and

¹⁸ as well as being informed by approaches from Stewart (2007), Roberts (2012), Jones (2005;2011;2015), Waterton (2014), to name a few prominent examples.

other forms of heritage that may be otherwise overlooked, rather than presenting them in dichotomy (Legg 2007).

The thesis considers the role of memory in contemporary landscapes in settings that have experienced drastic structural changes, such as deindustrialisation. I argue that a similar attentiveness could easily be applied in other geographical communities that have experienced such changes, whether deindustrialisation or other more gradual changes, such as migration, gentrification or programmes of austerity, by integrating a deep and holistic view of the historical legacies that are embedded in these practices. The methodological and theoretical lenses adopted here are co-constituted and were complicit in how I made sense of the work I did in Ebbw Fach. Attending to heritage and memory in various forms and how it contributes to contemporary conditions is not an original call from within geography to better integrate historical perspectives. However, this project has highlighted the relevance of such multi-temporal approaches to contemporary everyday life.

In chapter 1 and chapter 4, I presented a brief overview of the many issues that are faced by those living in Ebbw Fach and similar parts of the UK, whether in the wider South Wales Valleys area, other ex-coal mining communities or other post-industrial areas. Although focused on the emergent, elusive, and subjective experiences of memory, this project seeks to contribute to a wider conversation about how communities such as these adapt to a post-industrial world and what that actually *means* in practice. I argue that a greater attentiveness to these historical legacies can contribute to policy work and interventions that can consider how to address the problematic consequences of deindustrialisation, and lead to better understandings of the relationship between past and present, as well as envisaged futures, in places that have been impacted by structural changes.

8.4. Methodological Reflections on an Ethnography of Memory

This project attempted to engage with memory across a wide variety of registers and forms, and as a result, employed an ethnography that sought to account for the emergence, coalesce and contractions of memory simultaneously. At this point, I want

to provide a brief evaluation of this method and how it may be applied to other work engaging with multi temporality in the future.

Perhaps the most obvious limitation of this study is the overwhelming presence of the researcher. In chapter 7, I consider if I am 'looking for a haunting', perhaps where there is nothing worth considering, and I still debate this issue, where the preoccupation of the researcher can be transposed onto the research in ways that may obscure other histories in the area (Brennan-Moran 2019). I conclude that, as a resident of a post-industrial area, albeit in a vastly different setting, this engrossment in industrial pasts is likely relevant to the everyday lives of residents, but it cannot be stated in any certainty. Memory is subjective, particularly in the more holistic understandings of the phenomena. As such, all of the stories I retell, the moments of resonance, and connections I draw between the industrial past and the post-industrial present, are interconnections that I make. Whether these are convincing connections and how the residents of Ty Ebbw Fach might view them, it is difficult to say. I argue, however, that this mediating role of the researcher, especially when working with complex nexuses of memory, is unavoidable. Rather than arguing that this renders this project as an exercise of self-indulgence, I aim for this approach to highlight to readers the sheer depth of the industrial past embedded in contemporary Ebbw Fach. I also hope that work would stimulate readers to adopt these more creative concatenations of the past and present in their work.

By focusing on the 'imaginaries' of the past, rather than 'accurate' representations, it potentially reinforces problematic or homogenised aspects of these histories, underplaying the complexity of the actual long-term decline of the coal mining industry. I justify this by arguing that these imaginaries are influential constructs in the contemporary realm but wish to make this evident as a cautionary note. The stories recounted here illustrate forms of endurance and resonance that are no less powerful due to these inaccuracies or generalisations but cannot necessarily extend to any form of the historical record of a working-class coal-mining community. In addition, focusing on more generalised relationships to the past, this thesis may also, unfortunately, reproduce homogenised images of the contemporary community in the Ebbw Fach area. Even geographically, Llanhilleth, Abertillery, Six Bells, Aberbeeg and Cwmtillery are

notably different, and exploring the nature of these differences was beyond this project's scope, since my experience of the area was focused on moving between places. Despite these limitations, I argue that an ethnographic approach such as that used in this research helped attend to the various ways in which resonances of memory could emerge and make the landscape and community of Ebbw Fach 'legible' to draw on DeSilvey (2012) or 'intelligible' (Nesbitt and Tolia-Kelly 2009). This embodied attentiveness to memory can allow for integrating different registers of the past to become connected. Foregrounding the researcher's experience and accounting for such subjectivity facilitates an engagement with memory beyond official heritage narratives. Indeed, I argue that the outsider perspective I adopted can be helpful, especially when I was approaching the area with somewhat limited knowledge of the local area's history. Whilst at times, this meant that places, discourses and sensations were difficult to decipher, it allowed for a more inclusive engagement with the past that avoided privileging established narratives of the past and instead drew on the local stories, similar places, images and fragments of knowledge that I had already contemplated.

8.5. Future Research Suggestions

The ways that this research could be continued and expanded academically are numerous, but several have emerged as particularly notable throughout this project.

Firstly, the attentiveness that I have exhibited to the non-human in the nexus of memory has not necessarily extended into the empirical focus of this project. I have considered these non-human aspects as a further example of how the landscape is imbued with industrial pasts, but this remains an anthropocentric lens. Many geographers and social sciences have considered how these non-human biographies and landscapes can illuminate legacies of industrial processes in terms of contamination and ecologies (see DeSilvey 2017; Mah 2009; Thompson 2020). The nexus of memory that I have presented in this thesis could easily be extended to consider these ecological legacies in Ebbw Fach and other parts of the South Wales valleys to consider the interaction between landscape, non-human actors and broader structural changes of deindustrialisation.

The absence of greater attentiveness to the community's inequalities is an obvious limitation of this project that future research could seek to address. Due to the participants, I engaged with, this project may present a relatively homogenised perspective of what it is like to live in Ebbw Fach, especially since most of the participants were women over sixty, who were engaged in local organisations. This resulted from how I aimed to access everyday places where interactions were taking place; I observed many other people in the broader context of the research whilst in the area. However, the majority of the time I spent in the area was with these groups. As such, younger residents and residents that were not involved in such groups were significantly less present in this research. I did not intend to produce any generalisable sense of place or account of Ebbw Fach, so I argue that the lack of a form of 'external validity' is not necessarily a limitation of the project. However, it is a clear avenue for future research, especially as many of the unemployment issues impact people under the retirement age, which was not the case for the majority of the participants.

Additionally, as Phinney (2020) has explored, the impact of austerity and the longer-term effects of deindustrialisation, is often disproportionately felt by those in the community from ethnic minority groups (see also Cole 2016; Berry 2016). On this point, all of the participants, and the vast majority of residents that encountered during the fieldwork, except for perhaps four individuals, were white. While the demographics of the area reflect this proportion in the population, the experiences of life in Ebbw Fach are heavily racialised. The experiences and relationships of non-white people to industrial history and the colonial legacies that are interwoven in these histories are extensive and likely different to the recollections of the residents I spoke with. Further work on this would be invaluable, especially as these would further illuminate the exclusionary nature of heritage, particularly in contexts heavily associated with the traditional 'white working class' and the imaginaries that go with this.

The local community members occasionally referenced the political tensions that pervade in this area I spoke with, albeit rarely and with little broader discussion. Considering the rise of right-wing sentiment, the high Brexit vote, the relative decline of Labour movements, and the growth of Welsh nationalism, this area calls for more significant research. Many projects address these questions, both in South Wales and in

similar post-industrial contexts; however, I again advocate for an approach that is historically-attuned and more holistic in how these historical legacies can be conceptualised. The emotional and affective aspects of political work can easily be overlooked, especially when attending to historical trends and political events, but in this thesis, I have conveyed the importance of engaging with these aspects of memory in order to understand best the multitude of ways that historical legacies can still impact contemporary sentiments (Guderjan *et al.* 2020; see also Thorleifsson 2016).

How the communities of Ebbw Fach, and other similar communities, perceive post-industrial futures is an evident continuity of this research project. I have focused mainly on how the past and present are interwoven, and futures are an obvious omission from these discussions. Again, this would not be an entirely novel approach, a significant body of work in geography has considered potential futures, and some of this has informed this project (Smith and Campbell 2017; Strangleman 2007). However, by attending to these relationships between past, present and future, this approach to memory work could also be applied to ideas of how these communities can address many of the fundamental issues of deindustrialisation and address the existing problems outlined in chapter 2. I consider this project's utility to address these issues and inequalities, and I further advocate for a similar approach to envisaging post-industrial futures.

This highlights the potential uses of this research to support future work that is perhaps more closely associated with policy interventions or addressing particular problems in the area. I explored the relevance of this work to a more meaningful and attentive approach to the legacies of deindustrialisation, and future work could address this, connecting this deeper understanding to consider how best to introduce more tailored and holistic policy interventions—for instance, investigating not only the impact of Communities First interventions in the area, that featured intermittently throughout the thesis, but also how community members received them, how and why some groups have succeeded or failed since the removal of the support of the initiative, and how these impressions and experiences of the programme can reflect or relate to the community's relationship with the industrial past. This is only one example, which could have easily become a greater focus of this project, but it illustrates how research that is

more attentive to the endurance of historical structures can be integrated into research that may go on to inform more effective policy work.

8.6. Final Reflections on a Geography of Post-Industrial Memory

The concept of this thesis emerged from a life-long interest in the nature of living in an industrial place without industrial work. It was through an attempt to engage with the complexity of this relationship that attentiveness to memory emerged as a phenomenon that could potentially begin to encapsulate the many different ways that people in post-industrial places relate to the past.

Amy, I was on a train and met some people from the valleys . . . they were ex-miners . . . I was telling them about your research, and one was like, 'what's she researching all that stuff about the mines for? They closed years ago'.

Quote from a colleague, January 2018

This statement from a colleague who encountered a few ex-miners from the area including Ebbw Fach shows the widespread belief that the industrial period has been entirely relegated to the past. As communities become more temporally distant from their industrial pasts, the traces in landscapes and popular memory become less obvious and more easily malleable for heritage industries. Even as a participant stated, he felt that the people of Abertillery are "living in a bubble...stuck in the past", the attentiveness to this industrial past can be critiqued as backwards-looking, conservative, or nostalgic.

This thesis has presented a myriad of ways in which this is not necessarily a helpful way of viewing this relationship in the context of Ebbw Fach and quite probably in other post-industrial places around the UK. Even as we move further from the period where whole communities were employed in heavy industry, the relevance of this relatively short period of UK history will continue to be reinforced. As I have shown, these legacies are frequently unremarkable, taken-for-granted, so interwoven into everyday life that it is difficult to envisage a future where these are no longer the norms. For communities such as those in Ebbw Fach that owe almost their entire existence to the coal industry, their very persistence is a legacy of such industrial pasts. With the additional context of the

long-standing constructions of the working-class coal-mining community that still pervade popular imaginaries, it is further reinforced in deeply emotive ways, woven into the everyday, and conspicuous in that which has become absent. As Linkon (2018:169) states: "the half-life of deindustrialization may well last for decades". By engaging with these multiplicities of memory, I argue that geographers and social scientists can provide profound and meaningful engagements with the 'left-behind' places drastically transformed by deindustrialisation but rooted in industrial pasts that can never quite be left behind.

Reference List

- Abertillery & District Museum Society and Eckley, S. 1995. *Abertillery, Aberbeeg and Llanhilleth*. Stroud: The Chalford Publishing Company.
- Adey, P. 2006. If mobility is everything then it is nothing: Towards a relational politics of (im)mobilities. *Mobilities* 1(1), p.75–94.
- Ahmed, S. 2000. *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London: Routledge.
- Aitchison, C. and Evans, T. 2010. Managing Leisure, The cultural industries and a model of sustainable regeneration: manufacturing ‘pop’ in the Rhondda Valleys of South Wales. *Managing Leisure* 8(3) pp. 133–144.
- Alderman, D.H. 2000. A Street Fit for a King: Naming Places and Commemoration in the American South. *Professional Geographer* 52(4), pp. 672–684
- Alderman, D.H. 2003. Street names and the scaling of memory: The politics of commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr within the African American community. *Area* 35(2) pp. 163–173.
- Altrichter, H. and Holly, M.L. 2015. Research Diaries. In: B. Somekh and C. Lewin eds. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, London: Sage Publications, pp.24–32.
- Amin, A. 2002. Ethnicity and the multicultural city: Living with diversity. *Environment and Planning A* 34(6) pp. 959–980.
- Amit, V. 2002. *Realizing Community: Concepts, Social Relationships and Sentiments*. London: Routledge.
- Anderson K, 2003, White natures: Sydney's Royal Agricultural Show in post-humanist perspective, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28(4) pp.422–441.
- Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.

- Anderson, K. 2003. White natures: Sydney's Royal Agricultural Show in post-humanist perspective, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28, pp.422–441.
- Anderson, K. and Smith, S. 2001. Emotional Geographies, *Transactions. Institute of British Geographers*, 26(1) pp.7-10
- Antonsich, M. 2010. Searching for belonging - An analytical framework. *Geography Compass* 4(6) pp.644-659
- Appadurai, A. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Arboleda, P. and Lorimer, H. 2020. 'Anticipatory nostalgia' and place-making in the midst of change, In: M. A. Rhodes II, W. R. Price and A. Walker eds. *Geographies of Post-Industrial Place, Memory and Heritage*, London: Routledge pp.23-36
- Arnold, J.D.M. and Lafreniere, D. 2017. The Persistence Of Time: Vernacular Preservation of the Postindustrial Landscape. *Change Over Time* 7(1), pp. 114–133
- Ashworth, G.J., Graham, B.J., and Tunbridge, J.E., 2007. *Pluralising pasts: heritage, identity and place in multicultural societies*. London: Pluto Press
- Asselin, M. E. 2003. Insider research: Issues to consider when doing qualitative research in your own setting. *Journal for Nurses in Staff Development*, 19(2) pp.99-103
- Assmann, A. 2008. Transformations between history and memory. *Social research*, 75(1) pp.49-72.
- Assmann, J. R. 2006. *Religion and cultural memory: ten studies*. Trans. Livingstone, R. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Assmann, J. R. 2010. Communicative and Cultural Memory. In: A. Erll and A. Nünning eds. *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, New York: De Gruyter pp. 109-118.

- Atkinson, D. 2007. Kitsch geographies and the everyday spaces of social memory. *Environment and Planning A*, 39(2) pp.521-540.
- Azaryahu, M. 1996. The power of commemorative street names. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14(3), p.311–330.
- Azaryahu, M. 1997. German reunification and the politics of street names: The case of East Berlin. *Political Geography* 16(6):479–93
- Back, L. 2007. *The Art of Listening*. London: Berg
- Bal, M. 2015. Travel Companions, In: Kattago, S. ed. 2015a. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Memory Studies*, Farnham: Ashgate pp. 145-162
- Bal, M., Crewe, J.V. and Spitzer, L. eds. 1999. *Acts of memory: Cultural recall in the present*. Dartmouth: University Press of New England.
- Barad, K. 2007. *Meeting the universe halfway: Quantum physics and the entanglement of matter and meaning*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Bauman, Z. 1996. From pilgrim to tourist – or a short history of identity. In: Shall and P. Du Gay. eds. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: SAGE.pp.18-36
- Bauman, Z. 2000. *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Beatty, C. and Fothergill, S. 1996. Labour market adjustment in areas of chronic industrial decline: The case of the UK coalfields. *Regional Studies* 30(7) pp. 627–640.
- Beatty, C. and Fothergill, S. 2013. *Hitting the Poorest Places Hardest: copy of welfare reform database*. Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research, Sheffield Hallam University.
- Beatty, C. and Fothergill, S. 2017. The impact on welfare and public finances of job loss in industrial Britain. *Regional Studies, Regional Science* 4(1) pp. 161–180.

- Beatty, C., Fothergill, S. and Powell, R. 2007. Twenty years on: Has the economy of the UK coalfields recovered? *Environment and Planning A* 39(7), p.1654–1675.
- Beck, U. 1992. *Risk society: towards a new modernity*. Sage Publications: London.
- Beck, U. 1994. The Reinvention of Politics: Towards a Theory of Reflexive Modernisation, In: Beck, U., Giddens, A. and Lash, S. eds. *Reflexive Modernisation: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp.1-56
- Beckstead, Z., Twose, G., Levesque-Gottlieb, E. and Rizzo, J. 2011. Collective remembering through the materiality and organization of war memorials, *Journal of Material Culture*, 16(2), pp. 193–213
- Beer, S. 2016. *The Trajectories of Industrial Change: Disrupting, Managing and Assembling Futures in Teesside*. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.
- Bell, C. and Newby, H. 1971 *Community studies*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.
- Bell, D., 1976. The coming of the post-industrial society, *The Educational Forum* 40(4) pp. 574-579.
- Benjamin, W. 1985, *Illuminations*, trans. H. Zohn and H. Arendt, New York: Schocken.
- Bennett, K. 2015. Women and economy: complex inequality in a post-industrial landscape. *Gender, Place and Culture* 22(9), pp. 1287–1304.
- Bennett, G. 2016 Abertillery & District History, *Out of the Blue Artifacts* [online] <https://outoftheblueartifacts.com/> [Accessed 27th March 2021]
- Berger, St. 2001. Working-Class Culture and the Labour Movement in the South Wales and the Ruhr Coalfields, 1850–2000: A Comparison. *Journal of Welsh Labour History/Cylchgrawn Hanes Llafur Cymru*. 8(2) pp.5–40
- Bernard, R.H. 2013. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. London: Routledge.

- Berns, S. 2016. In defense of the dead: Materializing a garden of remembrance in South London. *Material Religion* 12(2), pp. 165–188.
- Berry, C., 2016. *Austerity politics and UK economic policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan
- Beynon, H. and Austrin, T. 1994. *Masters and Servants: Class and Patronage in the Making of a Labour Organisation*, London: Rivers Oram Press.
- Bhambra, G.K. 2017. Brexit, Trump, and ‘methodological whiteness’: on the misrecognition of race and class. In: *British Journal of Sociology*. 68(1), pp.214-232
- Bhatti, M., Church, A., Claremont, A. and Stenner, P. 2009. ‘I love being in the garden’: enchanting encounters in everyday life, *Social & Cultural Geography* 10(1) pp.61–76.
- Binnie, J., Edensor, T. and Holloway, J. 2007. Mundane mobilities, banal travels. *Social and Cultural Geography* 8(2), p.165–174.
- Birch, A. H. 1959. *Small Town Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Blackman, L. 2007. Researching affect and embodied hauntologies: Exploring an analytics of experimentation. In: B.T. Knudsen and C. Stage eds. *Affective methodologies*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 25-44.
- Blair, C. and Michel, N. 2008. The AIDS Memorial Quilt and the Contemporary Culture of Public Commemoration. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 10(4), pp. 595–626.
- Blakely, H. and Moles, K. 2019. Everyday practices of memory: Authenticity, value and the gift. *Sociological Review* 67(3), pp. 621–634.
- Blokland, T. and Nast, J. 2014. From public familiarity to comfort zone: The relevance of absent ties for belonging in Berlin’s mixed neighbourhoods. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 38(4) pp.1142-1159
- Bondi, L. 2005. Making Connections and Thinking through Emotions: Between Geography and Psychotherapy. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30: 433–448.

- Brennan-Moran, E. 2019. Ghosted (I went looking for a haunting). *Text and Performance Quarterly* 39(3), pp. 268–284.
- Briggs, A. 2014. *The Age of Improvement 1783-1867*, London: Routledge
- Bright, N.G. 2011. 'Off the model': Resistant spaces, school disaffection and 'aspiration' in a former coal-mining community. *Children's Geographies* 9(1), pp.63–78.
- Bright, N.G. 2012. Sticking together!' Policy activism from within a UK coal-mining community. *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 44(3), pp. 221–236.
- Bright, N.G. 2013. An intergenerational ethnography of school disaffection in a post-industrial coal-mining area. *Doctoral, Sheffield Hallam University* (United Kingdom).
- Brown, R. and Brannen, P., 1970. Social Relations and Social Perspectives amongst Shipbuilding Workers—A Preliminary Statement: Part One. *Sociology*, 4(1), pp.71-84.
- Browne, B. C., and McBride, R. S. 2015. Politically Sensitive Encounters: Ethnography, Access, and the Benefits of "Hanging Out". *Qualitative Sociology Review*, 11(1) pp. 34-48
- Browne, B.C. 2013. Recording the personal: the benefits in maintaining research diaries for documenting the emotional and practical challenges of fieldwork in unfamiliar settings. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 12(1) pp.420-435.
- Bryan, F. 2003. *Rouge: Pictured in its Prime*. Dearborn, MI: Ford Books.
- Bryman, A. 2004. *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Busiek, K. and Juul, K. 2008. 'We are Here: Yet we are not here': The Heritage of Excluded Groups, In: Graham, B. and Howard, P. eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Aldershot: Ashgate pp. 105-123
- Buck-Morss, S.1991. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. London: The MIT Press

- Bulmer, M. ed. 1975. *Working-class images of society*. London: Routledge.
- Bulmer, M. ed., 1978. *Mining and Social Change: Durham County in the 20th century*. London: Croom Helm.
- Burgess, R. G. 1981. Keeping a research diary, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 11(1) pp.75-83.
- Burgess, R. G. 2002. *In the field: An introduction to field research*. London: Routledge.
- Burke, P. 1989. History as Social Memory. in T. Butler, ed., *Memory: History, Culture, and the Mind*. New York: Basil Blackwell
- Burn-Murdoch, J., 2020. *Levelling up: how wide are the UK's regional inequalities?* [online] FinancialTimes.com. Available at: <<https://www.ft.com/content/c9db4c66-5971-11ea-a528-dd0f971feb9c>> [Accessed 29 March 2021].
- Burns, A., Newby, M. and Winterton, J. 1985. The Restructuring of the British Coal Industry. *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 9(1) pp.93–110.
- Butler, J. 1991. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York: Routledge
- Byrne, D. 2010. Industrial culture in a post-industrial world: The case of the North East of England. *City*, 6 pp.29-289
- Byrne, D., 1991. Western hegemony in archaeological heritage management. *History and anthropology*, 5(2), pp.269-276.
- Cabadas, J. 2004. *River Rouge: Ford's Industrial Colossus*. St. Paul, MN: MBI Publishing.
- Cadwalladr, C. 2016. View from Wales: town showered with EU cash votes to leave EU, *The Guardian* 25th Jun [online] available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jun/25/view-wales-town-showered-eu-cash-votes-leave-ebbw-vale> [Accessed 13th August 2020].

- Calhoun, C. 2003. 'Belonging' in the cosmopolitan imaginary. *Ethnicities* 3(4) pp.531-568
- Calhoun, C.J., 1983. The radicalism of tradition: Community strength or venerable disguise and borrowed language? *American Journal of Sociology*, 88(5), pp.886-914.
- Cameron, J. and Gibson-Graham, J.K. 2003. Feminising the economy: Metaphors, strategies, politics. *Gender, Place and Culture* 10(2), p.145–157.
- Cameron, R., 1997. 'The most colourful extravaganza in the world': Images of Tiger Bay, 1845–1970. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 31(2), pp.59-90.
- Campbell, S. 2003. *Relational Remembering: Rethinking the Memory Wars*. Langham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Campbell, S. 2006. Our Faithfulness to the Past: Reconstructing Memory Value. *Philosophical Psychology* 19 (3) pp.361–380.
- Casella, E.C. 2012. 'That's just a family thing, you know': Memory, community kinship, and social belonging in the hagg cottages of cheshire, North-West England. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16(2), pp. 284–299.
- Casey, E. S. 2000. *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press
- Castells, M. 1996. *The Rise of the Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture, Volume 1*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Charlesworth, S. 2000. *A Phenomenology of Working-Class Experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Chen, B.-W. 2018. Touching intimacy: Bodywork, affect and the caring ethic in erotic gay massage in Taiwan. *Gender, Work & Organization* 25(6), pp. 637–652.
- Church, R., and Outram, Q. 1998. *Strikes and solidarity: coalfield conflict in Britain, 1889–1966*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Clark, J. and Cheshire, A., 2004. RIP by the roadside: A comparative study of roadside memorials in New South Wales, Australia, and Texas, United States. *Omega-Journal of Death and Dying*, 48(3), pp.203-222
- Clark, T., 2008. 'We're Over-Researched Here!' Exploring Accounts of Research Fatigue within Qualitative Research Engagements. *Sociology*, 42(5) pp.953-970.
- Cloke, P., Johnsen, S. and May, J. 2007 The periphery of care *Journal of Rural Studies* 23(4), pp.387–401
- Coalfields Taskforce, 1998. *Making a Difference: A New Start for England's Coalfield Communities*, London: DETR
- Coates, K. and Barratt Brown, M. 1997. *Community under attack: the struggle for survival in the coalfield communities of Britain*. Nottingham: Spokesman Press.
- Cochrane, A.L. and Thomas, J., 1965. Changes in the Prevalence of Coalworkers' Pneumoconiosis among Miners and Ex-Miners in the Rhondda Fach 1951-61. *Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, 22(1), pp.49-57.
- Cohen, A.P. 1982. Belonging: the experience of culture, In: A. P. Cohen ed. *Belonging: identity and social organisation in British rural cultures*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. pp.1-18
- Cole, M. 2017. *New Developments in Critical Race Theory and Education: Revisiting Racialized Capitalism and Socialism in Austerity*, London: Palgrave Macmillan
- Colwell, C. 2015. Curating secrets. *Current Anthropology* 56 pp. 263–275.
- Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Connerton, P. 2008. Seven Types of Forgetting, *Memory Studies*, 1(1) pp.59-71
- Coser, L.A., 1992. The revival of the sociology of culture: The case of collective memory. *Sociological Forum*, 7(2) pp. 365-373

- Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. 1988, Introduction: iconography and landscape. In: D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels. eds., 1988. *The iconography of landscape: essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.1-10
- Coulter, R., Ham, M. and Findlay, A.M. 2016. Re-thinking residential mobility: Linking lives through time and space. *Progress in Human Geography* 40(3), pp.352–374.
- Cowie, J., and Heathcott, J. 2003. *Beyond the ruins: The meanings of deindustrialization*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.
- Crane, S.A., 1997. Writing the individual back into collective memory. *The American Historical Review*, 102(5), pp.1372-1385.
- Crang, M. and Tolia-Kelly, D. 2010. Nation, race and affect: senses and sensibilities at national heritage sites, *Environment and Planning A*, 42(10), pp. 2315–2331
- Crang, M. and Travlou, P.S., 2001. The city and topologies of memory. *Environment and planning D: society and space*, 19(2), pp.161-177.
- Cresswell, T. 2004 Defining Place In: Cresswell, T. ed. *Place: a short introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell pp.1-12
- Cresswell, T. 2010. Towards a politics of mobility. *Environment and planning D: society and space*, 28(1) pp.17-31.
- Cresswell, T. 2012. Mobilities II: Still. *Progress in Human Geography* 36(5), p.645–653.
- Cresswell, T., Dorow, S. and Roseman, S., 2016. Putting mobility theory to work: Conceptualizing employment-related geographical mobility. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 48(9), pp.1787-1803.
- Critcher, C., 1979. Sociology, cultural studies and the post-war working class. In: John Clarke, Chas Critcher and Richard Johnson. eds. 1979. *Working class culture: Studies in history and theory*, London: Hutchinson pp.13-40.

- Crompton, R. 1998. *Class and Stratification*. 2nd ed, Cambridge: Polity Press
- Crouch, D. 2015. Affect, Heritage, Feeling, In: Waterton, E. and Watson, S. eds. *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.177-191
- Crow, G. and Allen, G. 1994. *Community Life: An Introduction to Local Social Relations*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Curtis, B., 2013. *The South Wales Miners: 1964-1985*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Cuzzocrea, V. 2018. 'Rooted mobilities' in young people's narratives of the future: A peripheral case. *Current Sociology* 66(7), p.1106–1123.
- Damasio, A. 1999. *The feeling of what happens. Body and emotion in the making of consciousness*. London: William Heinemann.
- Davidson, J., Bondi, L. and Smith, M. eds. 2005. *Emotional geographies*, Oxford: Ashgate pp.205-218
- Davies, J., Jenkins, N., Baines, M. and Lynch, P.I. 2008. *The Welsh Academy Encyclopaedia of Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Dawney, L. 2019. Atomic cities and analogue dreams: on infrastructural remains. *Presented at Postindustrial imaginaries: beyond progress, memory and loss* 27th March (University of Brighton, Centre for Memory, Narrative and Histories)
- Dawney, L., 2011. The motor of being: a response to Steve Pile's 'Emotions and affect in recent human geography'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 36(4), pp.599-602.
- Dawney, L., 2020. Decommissioned places: Ruins, endurance and care at the end of the first nuclear age. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 45(1) pp.33-49.

Day, G. 2006. *Community and everyday life*. London: Routledge.

de Certeau, M. 1984. *The Practices of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

De Nardi, S. 2016. 'Who were the enemies? The spatial practices of belonging and exclusion in Second World War Italy. In: D. Drozdowski, S. De Nardi, and E. Waterton. eds. *Memory, Place and identity: Commemoration and remembrance of war and conflict*, London: Routledge, pp.95-110

Degnen, C. 2005. Relationality, place, and absence: a three-dimensional perspective on social memory. *The Sociological Review* 534. pp.729-744

Degnen, C. 2016. Socialising place attachment: Place, social memory and embodied affordances. *Ageing and Society* 36(8) pp.1645–1667.

DeLyser, D., and Sui, D. 2014. Crossing the qualitative-quantitative chasm III: Enduring methods, open geography, participatory research, and the fourth paradigm. *Progress in Human Geography*, 38(2), pp.294-307.

Dennis, N., Henriques, F. and Slater, C. 1969. *Coal Is Our Life: An Analysis of a Yorkshire Mining Community*. 2nd ed. London: Tavistock Publications.

DeSilvey, C. 2006. Observed decay: telling stories with mutable things, *Journal of Material Culture*, 11(3) pp.318-338.

DeSilvey, C. 2012. Copper Places: Affective Circuitries. In: O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen. eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in Identity, Place and Becoming*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 45-57.

DeSilvey, C. and Edensor, T. 2013. Reckoning with ruins, *Progress in Human Geography* 37(4) pp.465-485.

DeSilvey, C., 2017. *Curated decay: Heritage beyond saving*. Chicago: University of Minnesota Press.

Dessingué, A. 2015. From Collectivity to Collectiveness: Reflections (with Halbwachs and Bakhtin) on the Concept of Collective Memory, In: Kattago, Siobhan ed. 2015. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Memory Studies*, Farnham: Ashgate pp.89-103

Dicks, B. 1997. The life and times of community spectacles of collective identity at the Rhondda Heritage Park. *Time and Society*, 6(2–3), pp. 195–212.

Dicks, B. 2000. *Heritage, Place and Community*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Dicks, B. 2008. Performing the hidden injuries of class in coal-mining heritage. *Sociology* 42(3) pp. 436–452.

Diprose, R. 2008. "Where' your people from, girl?": Belonging to Race, Gender, and Place Beneath Clouds. *Differences-a Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 19(3), 28-58

Doel, L., 2007. *Delight as eye-sore set for demolition*. [online] South Wales Argus. Available at: <<https://www.southwalesargus.co.uk/news/1586809.delight-as-eye-sore-set-for-demolition/>> [Accessed 22 March 2021].

Doss, E. 2012. *Memory Mania: Public Feeling in America* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Drozdewski, D., De Nardi, S., and Waterton, E. eds. 2016. *Memory, place and identity: commemoration and remembrance of war and conflict*. London: Routledge, p

Easton, M., 2014. *The unbearable sadness of the Welsh valleys*. [online] BBC News. Available at: <<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-23028078>> [Accessed 27 March 2021].

Ebbinghaus, H., 1964 [1913]. *On memory*, trans: H.A. Ruger and C.E. Bussenius, New York: Teachers' College

Eckley, S. and Bearcroft, D. 1996. *Voices of Abertillery, Aberbeeg and Llanhilleth*, Cheltenham, UK: NPI Media

Edensor, T. 2002. *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg.

- Edensor, T. 2005a. *Industrial Ruins: Space, aesthetics and materiality*, London: Berg.
- Edensor, T. 2005b. The ghosts of industrial ruins: ordering and disordering memory in excessive space, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23(6) pp. 829-849.
- Edensor, T. 2007. Sensing the ruin. *The Senses and Society*, 2(2) pp.217-232.
- Edensor, T. 2008. Mundane hauntings: commuting through the phantasmagoric working-class spaces of Manchester, England. *cultural geographies*, 15(3) pp.313-333
- Edensor, T. 2010. Walking in rhythms: Place, regulation, style and the flow of experience. *Visual Studies* 25(1), p.69–79.
- Edensor, T. and Holloway, J. 2008. Rhythmanalysing the coach tour: the Ring of Kerry, Ireland, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33(4), pp.483-501
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., and Shaw, L. L. 2011. *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. University of Chicago Press.
- Emery, J. 2018a. *Geographies of Belonging in the Nottinghamshire Coalfield: Affect, Temporality and Deindustrialisation*. Doctoral Thesis. University of Leicester.
- Emery, J. 2018b. Belonging, memory and history in the north Nottinghamshire coalfield, *Journal of historical geography*, 59 pp.77-89.
- Emery, J. 2019a. Geographies of deindustrialization and the working-class: Industrial ruination, legacies, and affect, *Geography Compass*, 13(2) pp.1-14.
- Emery, J. 2019b. 'The once romantic now utterly disheartening (former) colliery town': The affective politics of heritage, memory, place and regeneration in Mansfield, UK, *Journal of Urban Cultural Studies*, 6(2-3) pp.219-240.
- Emery, J., 2020. After Coal: Affective-Temporal Processes of Belonging and Alienation in the Deindustrializing Nottinghamshire Coalfield, UK. *Frontiers in Sociology*, 5 p.38.

- Enterline, P.E. 1964. Mortality Rates among coal miners. *American journal of public health and the nation's health* 54(5), pp. 758–768.
- Erll, A. 2010. Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction, In: A. Erll and A. Nünning eds. 2010. *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, New York: De Gruyter, pp. 1-18.
- Erll, A. 2011. *Memory in Culture*, trans: S, Young. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Evans, C. 2016. Moving away or staying local: the role of locality in young people's 'spatial horizons' and career aspirations. *Journal of Youth Studies* 19(4), p.501–516.
- Evans, Y. and Smith, A., 2006. Surviving at the margins? Deindustrialisation, the creative industries, and upgrading in London's garment sector. *Environment and Planning A*, 38(12), pp.2253-2269.
- Ferreira, A., Bertolini, L. and Næss, P. 2017. Immotility as resilience? A key consideration for transport policy and research. *Applied Mobilities* 2(1), p.16–31.
- Fine, G.A. 2003. Towards a peopled ethnography Developing theory from group life meso-level. *Annual Review of Sociology* 38, pp. 159–179.
- Firestone, W. A. 1987. Meaning in method: The rhetoric of quantitative and qualitative research. *Educational researcher*, 16(7) pp.16-21.
- Foote, K. and Azaryahu, M. 2016. Toward a geography of memory: Geographical dimensions of public memory and commemoration. *Journal of Political & Military Sociology*, 35(1) pp.125-144.
- Foote, K.E., 2003. *Shadowed ground: America's landscapes of violence and tragedy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Forster, J. Petrie, M. and Crowther, J. 2018. Deindustrialisation, community, and adult education: The North East England experience. *Social Sciences* 7(11) pp.1-16
- Fortier, A.M. 1999. Re-Membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s). *Theory, Culture and Society* 16(2), pp. 41–64.

- Foss, S.K., 1986. Ambiguity as persuasion: The Vietnam veterans memorial. *Communication Quarterly*, 34(3), pp.326-340.
- Foucault, M. 1977. *Language, counter-memory, practice: selected essays and interviews*, trans. Bouchard, D. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Foucault, M., 2000. *Power: essential works of Foucault 1954–1984, Vol. 3*. Translated: P. Rabinow. New York: New Press.
- Frankenberg, R. 1966. *Communities in Britain: Social Life in Town and Country*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Frello, B. 2008. Towards a discursive analytics of movement: On the making and unmaking of movement as an object of knowledge. *Mobilities* 3(1), pp.25–50.
- Fuchs, A. 2002. Towards an ethics of remembering: the Walser-Bubis debate and the other of discourse, *German Quarterly*, 75(3) pp. 235-247.
- Fuchs, T. 2017. Collective Body Memories. In: C. Durt, T. Fuchs and C. Tewes. eds. *Embodiment, enaction, and culture: Investigating the constitution of the shared world*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, pp.333–352.
- Gallagher, S. 2008. Direct perception in the intersubjective context. *Consciousness and Cognition* 17(2), pp.535–543.
- Gambardella, S.J. 2011. Absent bodies: The AIDS memorial quilt as social melancholia. *Journal of American Studies* 45(2), pp. 213–226.
- Game, A. 2001. Belonging: experience in sacred time and space. In: May, J. and Thrift, N. (eds.) *Timespace: geographies of temporality*. Routledge: London, pp. 226–239
- Garbutt, R. 2009. Social Inclusion and Local Practices of Belonging. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 1(3) pp.84-108

GB Historical GIS 2017. Blaenau Gwent District Through Time, *A Vision of Britain Through Time [online]* Portsmouth: University of Portsmouth. Available at: <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10197235/cube/TOT_POP> [Accessed 27th March 2021]

Geertz, C. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: selected essays*. New York: Basic Books.

Gilbert, D. 1995. *Imagined Communities and Mining Communities*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Giles, C., 2020. *Levelling Up: How Wide Are The UK'S Regional Inequalities?* [online] 2nd March. FinancialTimes.com. Available at: <<https://www.ft.com/content/c9db4c66-5971-11ea-a528-dd0f971febbc>> [Accessed 22 August 2020].

Gillett, F., 2016. *Sadness as Valleys workmen's institute goes up for sale*. [online] South Wales Argus. Available at: <<https://www.southwalesargus.co.uk/news/14439220.sadness-as-valleys-workmens-institute-goes-up-for-sale/>> [Accessed 27 March 2021].

Giffey, R. 1981. Incorporation and Conflict: A Case Study of Subcontracting in the Coal Industry, *The Sociological Review*, 29(3), pp. 475–497

Goldthorpe, J. H., Lockwood, D., Bechhofer, F. and Platt, J. 1969. *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Gorman, R. 2017. Changing ethnographic mediums: the place-based contingency of smartphones and scratchnotes. *Area*, 49(2) pp.223-229.

Graham, B. and Howard, P. 2008, Introduction: Heritage and Identity, In: B. Graham and P. Howard eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Aldershot: Ashgate pp.1-18.

Graham, B., Ashworth, G., and Tunbridge, J. 2016. *A geography of heritage*. London: Routledge.

Graham, S. and Marvin, S. 2001. *Splintering Urbanism: networked infrastructures, technological mobilities and the urban condition*. London: Routledge.

Grider, N. 2007. 'Faces of the Fallen' and the dematerialization of US war memorials. *Visual Communication* 6(3), pp. 265–279.

Griffiths, M., 2020. *Remembering the Six Bells Colliery disaster sixty years on* | ITV News. [online] ITV News. Available at: <<https://www.itv.com/news/wales/2020-06-28/remembering-the-six-bells-colliery-disaster-sixty-years-on>> [Accessed 22 March 2021].

Grosz, E. 1999. Becoming... An Introduction. In E. Grosz. ed. *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures*, London: Cornell University Press pp.1-12.

Guderjan, M., Mackay, H. and Stedman, G. 2020. *Contested Britain: Brexit, Austerity and Agency*, Bristol: Bristol University Press

Guillemin, M. and Gillam, L., 2004. Ethics, reflexivity, and “ethically important moments” in research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 10(2), pp.261-280.

Guiver, J. and Jain, J. 2011. Grounded: Impacts of and Insights from the Volcanic Ash Cloud Disruption. *Mobilities* 6(1), p.41–55.

Gurney, M. 2013. Local History of South Wales & Llanhilleth Miners' Institute. [online] Available at: <<http://meg-dragon.blogspot.com/>> [Accessed 27th March 2021]

Halbwachs, M. 1980 [1950]. *The Collective Memory*, trans. F.J. Ditter Jr. and V. Yazdi Ditter, New York: Harper Colophon

Halbwachs, M. 1992 [1941]. *On Collective Memory*, trans. L. Coser, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Hall, S. M. 2011. Exploring the 'ethical everyday': An ethnography of the ethics of family consumption. *Geoforum*, 42(6) pp.627-637.
- Hall, S.M., 2009. 'Private life' and 'work life': difficulties and dilemmas when making and maintaining friendships with ethnographic participants. *Area*, 41(3), pp.263-272.
- Hall, T. 1981. *King Coal*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Hamilakis, Y. and Labanyi, J. 2008. Introduction: Time, materiality, and the work of memory. *History and Memory* 20(2), pp. 5–17.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. 1995. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
- Harris, R.S. and Moore, E.G. 1980. An Historical Approach to Mobility Research. *The Professional Geographer* 32(1), p.22–29.
- Harrison, R. 1978. *Independent Collier: The Coalminer as Archetypal Proletarian Reconsidered*. Sussex: Harvester Press
- Harrison, R. 2013. *Heritage: critical approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Harrison, R. 2015. Beyond "natural" and "cultural" heritage: Toward an ontological politics of heritage in the age of Anthropocene. *Heritage & Society*, 8(1) pp.24-42.
- Harrison, R. and Rose, D., 2010. Intangible heritage. In T. Benton. ed. *Understanding heritage and memory*, Manchester: Manchester University Press pp.238-276.
- Harrison, R., 2013. *Heritage: critical approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Hart, C. 2017. Metaphor and intertextuality in media framings of the (1984-1985) British Miners' Strike: A multimodal analysis. *Discourse & Communication* 11(1), pp. 3–30
- Harvey, D. 1985. *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

- Harvey, D. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harvey, D.C. 2008. The History of Heritage, In: Graham, B. and Howard, P. eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, pp. 19-36
- Harvey, D.C., 2001. Heritage pasts and heritage presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(4), pp.319-338.
- Hawke, S.K. 2011. Local residents exploring heritage in the North Pennines of England: Sense of place and social sustainability. *International Journal of Heritage and Sustainable Development* 1(1), pp. 32–40.
- Hayes-Conroy, J. and Hayes-Conroy, A. 2010. Visceral geographies: Mattering, relating, and defying. *Geography Compass* 4(9), pp. 1273–1283.
- Haynes, K. 2012. Reflexivity in Qualitative Research. In: C. Cassell and G. Symon eds. *Qualitative Organizational Research: Core Methods and Current Challenges*. London: SAGE pp.72–89.
- Hebbert, M. 2005. The street as locus of collective memory, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23(4) pp.581-596
- Herbert, S. 2005. The trapdoor of community. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95(4), pp. 850–865.
- Hetherington, K., 2003. Spatial textures: place, touch, and praesentia. *Environment and planning A*, 35(11), pp.1933-1944.
- Hill, L. 2013. Archaeologies and geographies of the post-industrial past: Landscape, memory and the spectral, *Cultural Geographies*, 20(3) pp.379-396.

Hincks, S. and Robson, B., 2010. *Regenerating communities first neighbourhoods in Wales*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Hirsch, M., 2008. The generation of postmemory. *Poetics today*, 29(1), pp.103-128.

Hobsbawm, E. 1983. Introduction: Inventing Traditions, In: Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. eds. *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.1-14

Hockey, J., Penhale, B. and Sibley, D., 2005. Environments of memory: home space, later life and grief. In J. Davidson, L. Bondi and M. Smith eds. *Emotional Geographies*, London: Routledge pp.135-146.

Hoelscher, S. and Alderman, D.H. 2004. Memory and place: geographies of a critical relationship, *Social and Cultural Geography*, 5 pp.347-355.

Hoggart, R. 1957. *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working Class Life*, Chatto and Windus: London

Hollywood, E. 2002. Mining, migration and immobility: towards an understanding of the relationship between migration and occupation in the context of the UK mining industry. *International Journal of Population Geography* 8(4), p.297–314.

hooks, b. 2009. *Belonging: A culture of place*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hopper, K. 1996. Fresh Thickets of Trouble: Unresolved Ethical Issues of Research in the Urban Public Domain, a Commentary. *City & Society* 8(1), pp. 155–172.

Horton, J. and Kraftl, P. 2012. Clearing out a Cupboard: Memory, Materiality and Transitions, In: O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen. eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in Identity, Place and Becoming*, London: Palgrave Macmillan pp.25-44.

Hoskins, A. 2016. Memory Ecologies, *Memory Studies*, 9(3) pp. 348-357.

Hoskins, G., 2007. Materialising memory at Angel Island Immigration Station, San Francisco. *Environment and Planning A*, 39(2) pp.437-455.

- Hoskins, G., 2012. Lobotomizing Logics: A Critique of Memory Sports and the Business of Mapping the Mind. In: O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen. eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in Identity, Place and Becoming*, London: Palgrave Macmillan pp. 234-249
- Huigen, P.P.P. and Meijering, L. 2005. Making Places: A Story of De Venen, In: Ashworth, G.J. and Graham, B. eds. *Senses of Place: Senses of Time*, Aldershot: Ashgate
- Humphries, J. 1981. Protective Legislation, the Capitalist State, and Working Class Men: The Case of the 1842 Mines Regulation Act. *Feminist Review* 7(1) pp.1-33.
- Huysen A, 1995. *Twilight Memories: Marking Times in a Culture of Amnesia*. London: Routledge
- Inglis, D. 2014. What is Worth Defending in Sociology Today? Presentism, Historical Vision and the Uses of Sociology. *Cultural Sociology* 8(1), p.99–118.
- Ingold, T., 2013. *Making: anthropology, archaeology, art and architecture*. London: Routledge.
- Jackson, B. 1968. *Working Class Community: Some General Notions Raised by a Series of Studies in Northern England*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Jensen, O.B., Sheller, M. and Wind, S. 2015. Together and Apart: Affective Ambiences and Negotiation in Families' Everyday Life and Mobility. *Mobilities* 10(3), p.363–382.
- Johnes, M. 2012. *Wales since 1939*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press
- Johnson, N.C. 2005. Locating memory: tracing the trajectories of remembrance, *Historical Geography*, 33 pp.165-179.
- Jones, B. 2010. The Uses of Nostalgia: Autobiography, Community Publishing and Working Class Neighbourhoods in Post-war England. *Cultural and Social History* 7(3), pp. 355–374.

Jones, O. 2003. 'Endlessly revisited and forever gone': On memory, reverie and emotional imagination in doing children's geographies. an 'addendum' to "'to go back up the side hill": Memories, imaginations and reveries of childhood' by Chris Philo, *Children's Geographies*, 1(1) pp.25-36.

Jones, O. 2005. An emotional ecology of memory, self and landscape, In: J. Davidson, L. Bondi and M. Smith. eds. *Emotional Geographies*, London: Routledge pp.205-218.

Jones, O. 2011. Geography, Memory and Non-Representational Geographies, *Geography Compass*, 5(12) pp.875-885.

Jones, O. 2015. "Not Promising a Landfall ...": An Autotopographical Account of Loss of Place, Memory and Landscape. *Environmental Humanities* 6(1) pp. 1–27

Jones, O. and Cloke, P. 2008. Non-Human Agencies: Trees in Place and Time. In: C. Knappett and L. Malafouris. eds. *Material Agency.*, New York: Springer pp. 79–96.

Jones, O. and Garde-Hansen, J. 2012a. Introduction. In: O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in identity, Place, and Becoming*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp.1-17.

Jones, O. and Garde-Hansen, J. 2012b. Identity In: O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in identity, Place, and Becoming*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp.18-24

Jones, O. and Garde-Hansen, J. 2012c. Place. In: O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in identity, Place, and Becoming*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp.69-99

Jones, O. and Garde-Hansen, J. 2012d. Becoming In: O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in identity, Place, and Becoming*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp.140-166

Kampanellou, E., 2014. *Rethinking deindustrialization and health across time and space*. Doctoral Thesis. University of St Andrews

- Kansteiner W 2002. Finding meaning in memory: a methodological critique of collective memory studies. *History and Theory*, 41(2), pp. 179–197
- Kattago, S. 2009. War Memorials and the Politics of Memory: the Soviet War Memorial in Tallinn. *Constellations* 16(1), pp. 150–166.
- Kaufmann, V. and Berman, M.M. 2004. Motility: Mobility as Capital. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 28(4), p.745–756.
- Kelliher, D. 2017. Constructing a culture of solidarity: London and the British coalfields in the long 1970s. *Antipode*, 49(1), 106-124
- Klein, K.L., 2000. On the emergence of memory in historical discourse. *Representations*, (69), pp.127-150.
- Korpela, K.M., 1989. Place-identity as a product of environmental self-regulation. *Journal of Environmental psychology*, 9(3), pp.241-256.
- Kusenbach, M. 2003. Street phenomenology: The go-along as ethnographic research tool, *Ethnography*, 4(3) pp.455-485.
- Landsberg, A., 2004. *Prosthetic memory: The transformation of American remembrance in the age of mass culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Laurier, E. Miller, R., Muñoz Zech, D.I. 2017. Ethnography. In: *Oxford Bibliographies*. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199874002/obo-9780199874002-0171.xml>. [Accessed 10th March 2021]
- Law, J. 2007. Making a Mess with Methods, In: Outhwaite, W. and Turner, S. P. eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Social Science Methodology*, London: SAGE, pp. 595-606
- Law, J. and Urry, J., 2004. Enacting the social. *Economy and society*, 33(3), pp.390-410.
- Law, J., 2004. *After method: Mess in social science research*. London: Routledge.

- Lee, D. and Newby, H., 1983. *The problem of sociology: an introduction to the discipline*. London: Psychology Press.
- Lefebvre, H. 2004. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, time and everyday life*. New York: Continuum.
- Legg, S., 2005. Contesting and surviving memory: space, nation, and nostalgia in Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23(4) pp.481-504.
- Lewis, C. 2016. Regenerating community'? Urban change and narratives of the past. *Sociological Review* 64(4), pp. 912–928.
- Linkon, S. 2018. *The Half-Life of Deindustrialization*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Linkon, S. L., and Russo, J. 2002. *Steeltown USA: work and memory in Youngstown*. Kansas: University Press of Kansas.
- Littler, J. 2008. Heritage and 'Race', In: Graham, B. and Howard, P. eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Aldershot: Ashgate pp. 89-104
- Locke, J. 1997. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Roger Woolhouse, London and New York: Penguin.
- Lockwood, D. 1966. Sources of Variation in Working-Class Images of Society, *Sociological Review* 14(3): 249–67
- Lorimer, H. 2012. Surfaces and Slopes- Remembering the World-Under-Foot, In: O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen eds. *Geography and memory: explorations in identity, place and becoming*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp. 253-257.
- Lorimer, H., 2008. Cultural geography: non-representational conditions and concerns. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(4) pp.551-559.
- Lorimer, H., 2008. Cultural geography: non-representational conditions and concerns. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(4), pp.551-559.

Lorimer, J., 2010. Moving image methodologies for more-than-human geographies. *cultural geographies*, 17(2), pp.237-258.

Loveday, V. 2014. 'Flat-capping it': Memory, nostalgia and value in retroactive male working-class identification. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 17(6), pp. 721–735.

Lovell, N. 1998. Introduction. In: Lovell, N. ed. *Locality and Belonging*. New York: Routledge. pp.1-23

Lowenthal, D. 1961. Geography, Experience, and Imagination: Towards a Geographical Epistemology. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 51 pp. 241–260.

Lowenthal, D. 1985. *The past is a foreign country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lynch K, 1972. *What Time is this Place?* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

Mackenzie, R., Stuart, M., Forde, C., Greenwood, I., Gardiner, J. and Perrett, R., 2006. 'All that is solid?': Class, identity and the maintenance of a collective orientation amongst redundant steelworkers. *Sociology*, 40(5), pp.833-852

Maddrell, A. 2012. Online memorials: the virtual as the new vernacular. *Bereavement Care* 31(2), pp. 46–54.

Maddrell, A. and Sidaway, J.D. 2016. Introduction: Bringing a Spatial Lens to Death, Dying, Mourning and Remembrance, In: Maddrell, A. and Sidaway, J.D. eds., *Deathscapes: Spaces for death, dying, mourning and remembrance*. 2nd ed. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. Pp. 1-18.

Maddrell, A., 2009. A place for grief and belief: the Witness Cairn, Isle of Whithorn, Galloway, Scotland. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 10(6), pp.675-693.

Mah, A., 2009. Devastation but also home: Place attachment in areas of industrial decline. *Home Cultures*, 6(3), pp.287-310.

Malone, S. 2010. Residents hit out at Sky's Merthyr documentary. WalesOnline [online] Available at:<<https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/residents-hit-out-skys-merthyr-1897254>> [accessed 29th March 2021]

Manic Street Preachers 2018. Manic Street Preachers - Distant Colours (Official Video). *YouTube*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7RZzxbZ6WWY> [Accessed 29th March 2021]

Mannay, D. 2010. Making the familiar strange: can visual research methods render the familiar setting more perceptible? *Qualitative research*, 10(1) pp.91-111.

Mannay, D. and Morgan, M., 2014. Doing ethnography or applying a qualitative technique? Reflections from the 'waiting field'. *Qualitative Research* pp.166-182.

Margalit, A., 2002. *The ethics of memory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Martin, C. 2011. Turbulent stillness: The politics of uncertainty and the undocumented migrant. In: D.Bissel. and G.Fuller. eds. *Stillness in a Mobile World*. Oxon: Routledge, p.192–208.

Massey, D. 1984: *Spatial divisions of labor: Social structures and the geography of production*. New York: Methuen.

Matless, D., 2017. Writing Regional Cultural Landscape: Cultural Geography on the Norfolk Broads. In J. Riding and M. Jones. eds. *Reanimating Regions*, London: Routledge pp. 9-25.

Mauss, M. 1979. *Body Techniques in Sociology and Psychology*. Trans. B. Brewster, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Massumi, M. 2002. *Parables for the Virtual: Movements, Affect, Sensation*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press

May, J. and Thrift, N. 2001. Introduction, In: J. May and N. Thrift, eds. *Timespace: geographies of temporality*. London: Routledge. pp.1-46

- May, J., Williams, A., Cloke, P. and Cherry, L., 2020. Still bleeding: The variegated geographies of austerity and food banking in rural England and Wales. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 79, pp.409-424.
- May, V. 2017. Belonging from afar: Nostalgia, time and memory. *Sociological Review* 65(2), pp. 401–415
- McCormack, D.P. 2003. An event of geographical ethics in spaces of affect. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* .28(40), pp.488-507
- McCormack, D.P. 2010. Remotely Sensing Affective Afterlives: The Spectral Geographies of Material Remains. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 100(3) pp. 640–654.
- McDowell, L. 1991. Life without Father and Ford: The New Gender Order of Post-Fordism. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 16(4), pp.400–419
- McDowell, L. 2003a. *Redundant Masculinities*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- McDowell, L. 2003b. Masculine Identities and Low-Paid Work: Young Men in Urban Labour Markets, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(4) pp.828-848.
- McDowell, L. 2005. *Hard Labour: the forgotten voices of Latvian migrant 'volunteer' workers*, London: UCL Press.
- McDowell, L. 2008. Thinking through class and gender in the context of working class studies, *Antipode*, 40(1) pp.20-24.
- McIvor, A. and Johnston, R. 2016. *Miners' lung: A history of dust disease in British coal mining*. London: Routledge
- Mckenzie, L. 2017. The class politics of prejudice: Brexit and the land of no-hope and glory. *British Journal of Sociology* 68(1), pp. S265–S280.

- McLean, F. 2008. Museums and the Representations of Identity, In: B. Howard and P. Graham. eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, pp. 283-298
- Meier, L. 2013. Encounters with haunted industrial workplaces and emotions of loss: Class-related senses of place within the memories of metalworkers. *Cultural Geographies*, 20(4) pp. 467–483.
- Merrill, T. and Kitson, L., 2017. *End of Coal Mining in South Wales: Lessons learned from industrial transformation*. Geneva: International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD).
- Merriman, P., Jones, R., Cresswell, T., Divall, C., Mom, G., Sheller, M. and Urry, J. 2013. Mobility: Geographies, Histories, Sociologies. *Transfers* 3(1) pp.147-165
- Miles, S. 2006. Small city- big ideas: culture-led regeneration and the consumption of place. In: Bell, D. and Jayne, M. eds. *Small Cities: Urban Experience Beyond the Metropolis*, pp. 233-244
- Miller, D. and Woodward, S., 2007. Manifesto for a study of denim. *Social Anthropology*, 15(3)., pp.335-351.
- Mitchell, K., 2003. Monuments, memorials, and the politics of memory. *Urban Geography*, 24(5), pp.442-459.
- Mogey, J. M. 1956. *Family and Neighbourhood*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moreau, T. and Alderman, D. H. 2012. Graffiti Heritage: Civil War Memory in Virginia. In: O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in identity, place and becoming*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp.139-160.
- Morrell, V. 2017. *Ice, Sea, Coal? Uncommon Subjects, Common Themes: Interpreting the Cultural Representations of Scott, Dunkirk and Durham Coal Miners in the Context of Decline*. Doctoral thesis, University of Huddersfield

Morris, R. 1997. *A History of Webbs Brewery, Aberbeeg*. Old Bakehouse Publications: Abertillery.

Morrisey, B. 2012. A Domestic Geography of Everyday Terror: Remembering and Forgetting the House I Grew Up In. In: O. Jones, J. and Garde-Hansen eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in identity, place and becoming*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp.184-198.

Morton, A. 2002. Emotional Accuracy. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 76 pp.265–275.

Morton, A. 2013. *Emotion and Imagination*. Cambridge: Polity

Mulhern, F. 1998 *The Present Lasts a Long Time: Essays in Cultural Politics*, Cork: Cork University Press

Murray, R., Baldwin, J., Ridgway, K. and Winder, B. 2005. Socio-economic Decline and Adaptation: South Yorkshire's Former Coalfields. *Local Economy* 20(4), pp. 344–359.

Muzaini, H. 2012. Making Memories Our Own Way.: Non-State Remembrances of the Second World War in Perak: Malaysia. In: O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in identity, place and becoming*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp.216-233.

Narvaez, R.F., 2006. Embodiment, Collective Memory and Time. *Body & Society*, 12(3), pp.51–73.

Nash, L. 2018. Performing Place: A Rhythmanalysis of the City of London. *Organization Studies* 41(3) p. 301-321

National Assembly for Wales, 2017. *Communities First: Lessons Learn*, Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales: Equality, Local Government and Communities Committee.

- Nayak, A. 2003. 'Last of the Real Geordies'? White Masculinities and the Subcultural response to deindustrialisation, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 21 pp.7-25
- Nayak, A. 2006. Displaced masculinities: Chavs, youth and class in the post-industrial city. *Sociology*, 40(5) 813-831.
- Nelson, N.L., 1996. The thief and the anthropologist: A story of ethics, power, and ethnography. *City & Society*, 8(1), pp.119-127.
- Nesbitt, C. and Tolia-Kelly, D., 2009. Hadrian's Wall: Embodied archaeologies of the linear monument. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 9(3), pp.368-390.
- Nixon, D. 2009. 'I can't put a smiley face in': working-class masculinity, emotional labour and service work in the 'New Economy.' *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16(3), pp. 300–322
- Nora, P. 1989. Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire. *Representations*, 26, pp.7-24.
- O'Reilly, K. 2012. *Ethnographic Methods*, 2nd ed. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Olick JK, Vinitzky-Seroussi V, Levy D. eds. 2011. *The collective memory reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Olick, J.K. 1999. Collective memory: the two cultures, *Sociological Theory*, 7 pp.333-348
- Olick, J.K. 2010. From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products, In: Erll, A. and Nünning, A. eds. 2010. *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, New York: De Gruyter, pp. 151-162
- Olick, J.K. and Robbins, J., 1998. Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24(1) pp.105–140.

Olwig, K.F. 2002. The ethnographic field revisited: Towards a study of common and not so common fields of belonging, In: Amit, V. ed. 2002 *Realizing Community: Concepts, social relationships and sentiments* London: Routledge pp. 124-145

ONS 2018. Household income inequality, UK: Financial year ending 2019 (provisional), Office for National Statistics, Available at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/personalandhouseholdfinances/incomeandwealth/bulletins/householdincomeinequalityfinancial/financialyearending2019provisional>, [Accessed 27th February 2021].

ONS, Office for National Statistics. 2020. Household income inequality, UK: financial year ending 2019. Office for National Statistics. Available at: <<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/personalandhouseholdfinances/incomeandwealth/bulletins/householdincomeinequalityfinancial/financialyearending2019>> [Accessed 20th February 2021]

Pahl, E.F. 1984. *Divisions of Labour*. Oxford: Blackwell

Pain, R. 2004. Social geography: participatory research. *Progress in human geography*, 28(5), 652-663.

Parkes, J., 2010. Research on/as violence: Reflections on injurious moments in research with friendship groups. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 23(3) pp.347-361.

Parry, J. 2003. The changing meaning of work: restructuring in the former coalmining communities of the South Wales Valleys. *Work, Employment and Society*, 17(2) 227-246.

Paterson, M. 2009. Haptic geographies: ethnography, haptic knowledges and sensuous dispositions. *Progress in Human Geography* 33(6), pp. 766–788.

- Pearson, G. 1993 Foreword. Talking a good fight: authenticity and distance in the ethnographer's craft, in D. Hobbs and T. May. eds. *Interpreting the Field: Accounts of Ethnography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. vii–xx.
- Pearson, M. and Shanks, M. 2001. *Theatre/Archaeology*, London: Routledge
- Peffer, J. 2003. Animal bodies/absent bodies. *Third Text* 17(1), pp. 71–83
- Penn, H. 2009. International perspectives on quality in mixed economies of childcare. *National Institute Economic Review* 207(1), p.83–89.
- Phillips, J. 2018. The meanings of coal community in Britain since 1947. *Contemporary British History* 32(1), pp. 39–59
- Phillips, R. and Stein, J. 2016. Heritage and Community Regeneration in Northern Ireland: Finding Points of Coalescence in the Development Planning Process. *Journal of Community Practice* 24(1), pp. 4–17.
- Philo, C., 2003. 'To go back up the side hill': Memories, Imaginations and Reveries of Childhood. *Children's Geographies*, 1(1) pp.7-23.
- Phinney, S., 2020. Rethinking geographies of race and austerity urbanism. *Geography compass*, 14(3), p. e12480.
- Pile, S., 2010. Emotions and affect in recent human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 35(1), pp.5-20.
- Plazak 2013 Coal Mining Employment in the UK, 1880-2012 (DECC data) Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:UK_Coal_Mining_Jobs.png [accessed 29th March 2021]
- Polanyi, K. 1944. *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Posadas, J. and Vidal-Fernandez, M. 2013. Grandparents' Childcare and Female Labor Force Participation. *IZA Journal of Labor Policy* 2(1). pp.2-14.

Povinelli, E.A. 2013. *Economies of Abandonment: Social Belonging and Endurance in Late Liberalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Power, R. 2008. 'After the Black Gold': A View of Mining Heritage from Coalfield Areas in Britain. *Folklore* 119(2) pp.160-181

Price, W.R. 2020. Unearthing community identities at the National Coal Mining Museums of Great Britain, In: M. A. Rhodes II, W. R. Price and A. Walker eds. *Geographies of Post-Industrial Place, Memory and Heritage*, pp.71-84

Proust, M., 1928. *Swann's way*. Translated: Scott Moncrieff, *New York: The Modern Library*.

Radstone, S. 2000. Working with Memory: An Introduction, In: S. Radstone ed. *Memory and Methodology*, Oxford: Berg pp.1-24.

Rae, A. 2017. The Geography of Travel to Work in England and Wales: Extracts from the 2011 Census. *Applied Spatial Analysis and Policy* 10(4), p.457–473.

Ramsden, S., 2016. The role of the industrial workplace in working-class community, 1945–1980. *Family & Community History*, 19(1), pp.34-49.

Ray, L. and Reed, K. 2005. Community, mobility and racism in a semi-rural area: Comparing minority experience in East Kent. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(2), p.212–234.

Reading, A. 2011. Identity, memory and cosmopolitanism: the otherness of the past and a right to memory, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 14 pp.379-394

Redepenning, M. 2012. 'The Elephant Is Part of Us and Our Village': Reflections on Memories, Places and (Non-)Spatial Objects, In: O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in identity, place and becoming*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp.124-138.

Redmayne, R.A.S. 1904. The Coal-Mining Industry of the United Kingdom, *The Engineering Magazine*, xxvi. Available at:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coal_mining_in_the_United_Kingdom [accessed on 30th March 2021]

Rees G, 1985, "Regional restructuring, class change, and political action: preliminary comments on the 1984-1985 miners' strike in South Wales" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 3 pp.389-406

Rees, T.L. 1978. Population and industrial decline in the South Wales Coalfield, *Regional Studies*, 12(1), pp.69-77

Reid-Musson, E. 2018. Intersectional rhythmanalysis: Power, rhythm, and everyday life. *Progress in Human Geography* 42(6), p.881–897.

Renold, E. and Ivinson, G., 2014. Horse-girl assemblages: towards a post-human cartography of girls' desire in an ex-mining valleys community. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 35(3) pp.361-376.

Rhodes, M.A. 2020. Amgueddfa'r Gogledd: Slate, slavery, and transatlantic labor in the National Slate Museum. In: M. A. Rhodes II, W. R. Price and A. Walker eds. *Geographies of Post-Industrial Place, Memory and Heritage*, pp.185-200

Rhys, S. 2019. This is how much money Wales gets from the European Union and how it is spent, Wales Online [online] Available at: <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/politics/how-much-money-wales-gets-12765100> [Accessed 25th March 2021]

Ricoeur, P. 1991. Life in quest of a narrative, In: Wood, D. ed, *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation*. London: Routledge, pp.20-33.

Rifkin, J. 1996. *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era*, New York: Putnam.

- Roberts, E. 2012. Family photographs: Memories, Narratives, Place, In: Jones, O. and Garde-Hansen, J. eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in identity, place and becoming*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.91-108
- Roberts, K. 2019. Hi-ro-shi-ma space: The pathways of post-memory, In: C. Drozynski, and D. Beljaars. Eds. *Civic Spaces and Desire*, London; Routledge pp.95- 115
- Roberts, K. 2001. *Class in Modern Britain*, London: Palgrave
- Roberts, K., 2011. *Class in contemporary Britain*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan
- Roberts, K.1978. *The Working Class*, London: Longman
- Robinson, F. 2002. The North East: A Journey through Time. *City* 6 (3): 317–334
- Robinson, K. and Sheldon, R. 2019. Witnessing loss in the everyday: Community buildings in austerity Britain. *The Sociological Review* 67(1), pp. 111–125
- Rodaway, P. 1994. *Sensuous geographies: body, sense and place*. London: Routledge
- Roffe, J., 2010. Multiplicity. In: Parr, A. ed. *The Deleuze Dictionary*, 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press pp.181-182.
- Rose, G. 1968. *The Working-Class*, London: Heinemann.
- Rose, M., 2006. Gathering ‘dreams of presence’: a project for the cultural landscape. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24(4) pp.537-554
- Rossmann, G.B. and Rallis, S.F., 2010. Everyday ethics: Reflections on practice. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 23(4) pp.379-391.
- Rutherford, A. 2012. Blaenau Gwent only area in Wales to show fall in population, South Wales Argus [online] Available at: <https://www.southwalesargus.co.uk/news/9820407.blaenau-gwent-only-area-in-wales-to-show-fall-in-population/> [accessed on: 29th March 2021]

- Sacks, H. 1986. Some considerations of a story told in ordinary conversations. *Poetics*, 15 pp.127–138.
- Said, E.W., 2000. Invention, memory, and place. *Critical inquiry*, 262., pp.175-192.
- Salaman, G. 1971. Two Occupational Communities, *Sociological Review* 19(3), pp.389–99
- Sampson, K. and Goodrich, C. 2005. 'We're Coasters, Why should we move?' Community Identity, Place Attachment and Forestry Closure in Rural New Zealand. *Sites: a journal of social anthropology and cultural studies*, 2(1) pp. 124–149.
- Samuel, R., B. Bloomfield, and Boana, G. 1986. *The Enemy Within: Pit Villages and the Miners' Strike of 1984-85*. London: Routledge.
- Sather-Wagstaff, J. 2015. Heritage and Memory, In: Waterton, E. and Watson, S. eds. *The Palgrave handbook of contemporary heritage research*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.191-199
- Savage, M. 2005. Working Class Identities in the 1960s – Revisiting the Affluent Worker Studies, *Sociology* 39(5) pp. 929–46
- Schudson, M., 1992. *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget and Reconstruct the Past*, Basic Books: New York
- Seamon, D. 2014. Place attachment and phenomenology: the synergistic dynamism of place. In: L. C. Manzo and P. Devine-Wright, eds. *Place attachment: advances in theory, methods and applications*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 11–23
- Seddon, V., 1986. *The cutting edge: women and the pit strike*. London: Lawrence and Wishart
- Settles, B.H., Zhao, J., Doneker Manici, K., Rich, A., Pierre, S. and Oduor, A. 2009. Grandparents caring for their grandchildren: Emerging roles and exchanges in global perspectives. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 40(5), pp.827-848

- Sheller, M. 2017. From spatial turn to mobilities turn. *Current Sociology Monograph* 65(4), p.623–639.
- Sheller, M. and Urry, J. 2016. Mobilizing the new mobilities paradigm. *Applied Mobilities* 1(1), p.10–25.
- Shiple-Coddington, K. 2011. Spectral geographies: Haunting and everyday state practices in colonial and present-day Alaska. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 12(7) pp. 743–756.
- Silverman, D. 2007. A Very Short, Fairly Interesting and Reasonably Cheap Book About Qualitative Research, London: Sage.
- Sivaramakrishnan, K. and Vaccaro, I. 2006. Introduction. Postindustrial natures: Hyper-mobility and place-attachments. *Social Anthropology* 14(3), pp. 301–317
- Skeggs, B. 2004. *Class, Self, Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, J.K. and Deemer, D.K. 2000. The Problem of Criteria in The Age of Relativism. In: N. K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln eds. *A Handbook of Qualitative Research* 2nd Edition. London: Sage, pp.877-896
- Smith, L. 2006. *Uses of Heritage*, London: Routledge
- Smith, L., and Campbell, G. 2017. 'Nostalgia for the future': memory, nostalgia and the politics of class. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23(7) pp. 612–627
- Smith, M.W., 1995. Ethics in focus groups: A few concerns. *Qualitative Health Research*, 5(4) pp.478-486.
- Sørensen, T. F. 2013. We have never been Latourian: archaeological ethics and the posthuman condition. *Norwegian archaeological review*, 46(1) pp.1-18.
- Stake, R. E. 2000. Case Studies, In: N. K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln eds. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd ed. London: Sage pp. 435-454.

StatsWales, 2021. Ethnicity by area and ethnic group, *Local Labour Force Survey/Annual Population Survey*. Available at:<<https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Equality-and-Diversity/Ethnicity/ethnicity-by-area-ethnicgroup>> [accessed 29th March 2021]

Stebbins, R. 1991. Do we ever leave the field? Notes on secondary fieldwork involvements. In: W. Shaffir and R. Stebbins eds. *Experiencing Fieldwork: An Inside of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage pp.248-255.

Stephenson, C. and Wray, D. 2005. Emotional regeneration through community action in post-industrial mining communities: The New Herrington Miners' Banner Partnership. *Capital & Class*, 29(3) pp. 175–199.

Stewart, K., 2007. *Ordinary affects*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Strangleman, T. 2001. Networks, place and identities in post-industrial mining communities. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25(2) pp. 253–267.

Strangleman, T. 2007. The Nostalgia for Permanence at Work? The End of Work and Its Commentators, *The Sociological Review*, 55(1) pp.81-103.

Strangleman, T. 2017. Deindustrialisation and the Historical Sociological Imagination: Making Sense of Work and Industrial Change. *Sociology*, 51(2) pp. 466–482.

Strangleman, T. and Rhodes, J. 2014. The 'New' sociology of deindustrialisation? Understanding industrial change. *Sociology Compass* 8(4), pp. 411–421.

Strangleman, T., Rhodes, J. and Linkon, S., 2013. Introduction to crumbling cultures: Deindustrialization, class, and memory. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 84 pp.7-22.

Tahhan, D.A. 2013. Touching at depth: The potential of feeling and connection. *Emotion, Space and Society* 7(1), pp. 45–53.

- Tanović, S. 2019. The Dual Role of Memorial Architecture. In: *Designing Memory.*, pp. 77–144.
- Tarrant, A. 2010. Constructing a social geography of grandparenthood: A new focus for intergenerationality. *Area* 42(2), p.190–197.
- Taylor, Y. 2012. *Fitting into Place? Class and Gender Geographies and Temporalities.* Farnham: Ashgate.
- Terranova-Webb, A. 2012. Moving through Memory: Notes from a Circus Lot, In: Jones, O. and Garde-Hansen, J. eds. *Geography and Memory: Explorations in identity, place and becoming,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.199-215
- Tettey, W.J. and Pupilampu, K.P. 2005. Continental Africans in Canada: Exploring a Neglected Dimension of the African-Canadian Experience, In: Tettey, W. J. and Pupilampu, K. P. eds. *The African diaspora in Canada: negotiating identity and belonging.* Calgary: University of Calgary Press. pp.3-25
- Thomas, G.M. 2016. 'It's not that bad': Stigma, health, and place in a post-industrial community. *Health and Place*, 38 pp.1–7.
- Thompson, C.F. 2020. Industrial heritage in an era of climate catastrophe: contamination as heritage, In: M. A. Rhodes II, W. R. Price and A. Walker eds. *Geographies of Post-Industrial Place, Memory and Heritage,* London: Routledge pp. 172-185
- Thorleifsson, C. 2016. From coal to Ukip: the struggle over identity in post-industrial Doncaster. *History and Anthropology*, 27(5) pp.555–568.
- Thrift, N. 2000. Still Life in Nearly Present Time: The Object of Nature. *Body and Society* 6(4), p.34–57.
- Tierney, W. 2000. Undaunted courage: Life history and the postmodern challenge, In: N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln eds. *Handbook of qualitative research,* London: Sage pp.537-554.

- Till, K., 2003. Places of memory. *A companion to political geography*, pp.289-301.
- To, N. 2016. Diasporic montage and critical autoethnography: Mediated visions of intergenerational memory and the affective transmission of trauma. In: B.T. Knudsen. and C. Stage eds. *Affective Methodologies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK pp.69-93.
- Tolia-Kelly, D.P. and E. Waterton, & S. Watson, eds. 2017a, *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, London: Routledge
- Tolia-Kelly, D. P., Waterton, E., & Watson, S. 2017b. Introduction : heritage, affect and emotion. In D. P. Tolia-Kelly, E. Waterton, & S. Watson, eds., *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, London: Routledge, pp. 1-11
- Tolia-Kelly, D.P. 2004. Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Re-memory Through Artifacts in the British Asian Home, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29(3), pp.314–29.
- Tolia-Kelly, D.P. 2010. *Landscape, race and memory. Material ecologies of citizenship*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tolia-Kelly, D.P., 2006. Affect - An ethnocentric encounter? Exploring the “universalist” imperative of emotional/affectual geographies. *Area*, 38(2), pp.213–217.
- Townsend, A. 1983. *The impact of recession on industry, employment and the regions, 1976–81*. Beckenham: Croom Helm
- Trivelli, E. 2015. Exploring a ‘Remembering Crisis’: ‘Affective Tuning’ and ‘Assemblaged Archive’ as theoretical frameworks and research methodologies, In: B.T. Knudsen. and C. Stage eds. *Affective Methodologies*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp.119-139.
- Tuan, Y.F. 1977. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Tuan, Y.F. 1993. *Passing, Strange and Wonderful: Aesthetics, Nature, and Culture*, Washington D.C.: Island Press

Turner, R. 2000. *Coal was our life: an essay on life in a Yorkshire former pit town*. Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University Press.

Tylerian3, 2012. *Guardian* overlooking parc Arael Griffin, Wikipedia Available at: <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guardian_\(sculpture\)#/media/File:Guardian3.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guardian_(sculpture)#/media/File:Guardian3.JPG)> [accessed 30th March 2021]

Urry, J. 2000. *Sociology Beyond Society*, London: Routledge

Urry, J. 2007. *Mobilities*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Vergunst, J. 2010. Rhythms of walking: History and presence in a city street. *Space and Culture* 13(4), p.376–388.

Virilio, P. 1986. *Speed and Politics: An Essay on Dromology*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Waddington, D. and Parry, D. 2013. Mining Technology Transactions of the Institutions of Mining and Metallurgy: Section A Managing industrial decline: the lessons of a decade of research on industrial contraction and regeneration in Britain and other EU coal producing countries. *Mining Technology*, 112(1), pp.47-56

Waddington, D., Critcher, C. and Dicks, B., 2001. *Out of the ashes?: the social impact of industrial contraction and regeneration on Britain's mining communities*, London: The Stationery Office

WalesOnline 2010. Controversial Sky documentary has sparked outrage in Merthyr. *WalesOnline* [online] Available at: <<https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/local-news/controversial-sky-documentary-sparked-outrage-1897668>> [accessed 29th March 2021]

Walker, A. forthcoming. "Everyone always did the same": Constructing legacies of collective industrial pasts in ex-mining communities in the South Wales Valleys, *Emotion, Space and Society*.

Walker, A. 2020. Everyday resonances of industrial pasts: Considering lived and affective memories in ex-coal mining landscapes in a South Wales valley. In: M. A. Rhodes II, W. R. Price and A. Walker eds. *Geographies of Post-Industrial Place, Memory and Heritage*, London: Routledge, pp. 52-67

Walker, A. and OpenStreetMap 2020. "The Eastern South Wales Valleys", 1:1715000, OpenStreetMaps, Map data copyrighted OpenStreetMap contributors and available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org>. Created August 2020.

Walker, A. and OS, Ordnance Survey 2021a. "Six Bells Roads" PDF Map, 1:2500, Ordnance Survey 2021, using Digimap Ordnance Survey Collection, <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>, created March 2021

Walker, A. and OS, Ordnance Survey 2021b. "Ebbw Fach valley area" PDF Map, 1:150000, Getmapping Plc, 2021. Ordnance Survey, using Digimap Ordnance Survey Collection, <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>, created March 2021

Walker, A. and OS, Ordnance Survey 2021c. "Six Bells Map with Notable Sites" PDF Map, 1:4000, Getmapping Plc, 2021. Ordnance Survey, using Digimap Ordnance Survey Collection, <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>, created March 2021

Walker, A. and OS, Ordnance Survey 2021d. "Llanhilleth Map with Notable Sites" PDF Map, 1:4000, Getmapping Plc, 2021. Ordnance Survey, using Digimap Ordnance Survey Collection, <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>, created March 2021

Walker, A. and OS, Ordnance Survey. 2020a. "Aberbeeg Railways" PDF Map, 1:7500 British National Grid, 1900. Ordnance Survey, using Digimap Ordnance Survey Collection, <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>, created March 2021

Walker, A. and OS, Ordnance Survey 2020b. "Llanhilleth Houses" PDF Maps, both 1:5000, British National Grid 1900 and 1920, Ordnance Survey, using Digimap Ordnance Survey Collection, <https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/>, created March 2021

Walkerdine, V. and Jimenez, L. 2012. *Gender, Work and Community After De-Industrialisation. Gender, Work and Community After De-Industrialisation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Walkerdine, V., 2010. Communal beingness and affect: An exploration of trauma in an ex-industrial community. *Body & Society*, 16(1), pp.91-116.

Walkerdine, V., Lucey, H., and Melody, J. 2001. *Growing up girl: Psycho-social explorations of gender and class*. London: Palgrave.

Wanhill, S. 2000. Mines-A Tourist Attraction: Coal Mining in Industrial South Wales. *Journal of Travel Research*, 39 pp.60-69

Ward, M. R. M. 2014. 'We're different from everyone else': contradictory working-class masculinities in contemporary Britain. In: S. Roberts, ed. *Debating modern masculinities: change, continuity and crisis?* Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 52–69

Warwick, D, and G. Littlejohn. 1992. *Coal, Capital and Culture: A Sociological Analysis of Mining Communities in West Yorkshire*. London: Routledge.

Waterton, E. 2014. A More-Than-Representational Understanding of Heritage? The 'Past' and the Politics of Affect, *Geography Compass* 8(11) pp.823-833.

Waterton, E. and Smith, L., 2010. The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16(1-2), pp.4-15

Waterton, E. and Watson, S. 2015. Methods in Motion: Affecting Heritage Research, In: B.T. Knudsen. and C. Stage eds. *Affective Methodologies*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp.97-118.

Wattis, L., Green, E. and Radford, J., 2011. Women students' perceptions of crime and safety: negotiating fear and risk in an English post-industrial landscape. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 18(6), pp.749-767.

- Watts, J.H., 2008. Emotion, empathy and exit: reflections on doing ethnographic qualitative research on sensitive topics. *Medical Sociology Online*, 3(2) pp.3-14.
- Webster, C. 2003. Race, Space and Fear: Imagined Geographies of Racism, Crime, Violence and Disorder in Northern England, *Capital and Class* 80, pp.95–122.
- Webster, C., 2008. Marginalized white ethnicity, race and crime. *Theoretical Criminology*, 12(3), pp.293-312
- Weiss, L., 2007. Heritage-making and political identity. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 7(3), pp.413-431.
- Welsh Coal Mines. 2007. Collieries. [online] Available at: <<http://www.welshcoalmines.co.uk/Photo.htm>> [Accessed 25 March 2021].
- Welsh Government 2018 Valuing our health: Chief Medical Officer for Wales Annual Report 2018/19, Welsh Government Online Support [online] Available at: <<https://gov.wales/sites/default/files/publications/2019-05/chief-medical-officer-for-wales-annual-report-2018-2019.pdf>> [accessed 29th March 2021]
- Wetherell, M. 2012. *Affect and Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding*, London: Sage Publications.
- Wheeler, M.A., Stuss, D.T. and Tulving, E., 1997. Toward a theory of episodic memory: the frontal lobes and auto-noetic consciousness. *Psychological bulletin*, 121(3), p.331.
- Wheeler, R. 2014. Mining memories in a rural community: Landscape, temporality and place identity. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 36 pp.22-32.
- Wheelock, J. and Jones, K. 2002. 'Grandparents Are the Next Best Thing': Informal Childcare for Working Parents in Urban Britain. *Journal of Social Policy* 31(3), p.441–463.
- Whelan, Y. 2005. Mapping Meaning in the Cultural Landscape, In: G.J. Ashworth and B. Graham. eds. *Senses of Place: Senses of time*, Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, pp. 61-72.

Whitehead, A. 2009. *Memory*. London: Routledge.

Winter, J. 1995. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Winter, J. 2006. *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

Winter, J. 2008. Sites of Memory and the Shadow of War, In: A. Erll and A. Nünning eds. *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, New York: De Gruyter, pp.61-76

Winter, J. and Sivan, E., 2000. *War and remembrance in the twentieth century*. Vol 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Winter, J., 2012. The generation of memory: reflections on the “memory boom” in contemporary historical studies. *Canadian Military History*, 10(3), p.5.

Winter, J.M., 1992. Catastrophe and culture: recent trends in the historiography of the First World War. *The Journal of Modern History*, 64(3), pp.525-532.

Woodward, K. 2008. Hanging out and hanging about: Insider/outsider research in the sport of boxing. *Ethnography*, 9(4) pp.536-560.

Wylie, J., 2005. A single day's walking: narrating self and landscape on the South West Coast Path. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30(2) pp.234-247.

Wylie, J., 2007. The spectral geographies of WG Sebald. *cultural geographies*, 14(2), pp.171-188.

Wylie, J., 2009. Landscape, absence and the geographies of love. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34(3) pp.275-289.

Wyn Jones, R., 2021. Why did Wales shoot itself in the foot in this referendum? [online] The *Guardian*. Available at: <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/27/wales-referendum-remain-leave-vote-uk-eu-membership>> [accessed 27th February 2021].

Young, J. 1993. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and their Meaning*. New Haven, CT: Yale University press

Young, M. and Willmott, P. 1957. *Family and Kinship in East London*. London: Penguin.

Appendices

List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Cover Image

Appendix 2: Recruitment Poster

Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet

Appendix 4: Sample Questions for Discussion in Ethnographic Interviews

Appendix 5: Consent Form

Appendix 6: Ty Ebbw Fach

Appendix 7- Example of Analysis Mindmaps

Appendix 8- Map of Six Bells, with notable sites

Appendix 9- Map of Llanhilleth, with notable sites

Appendix 1: Cover Image

Figure 9.1: Cover image, Made by author from open-source images and personal photos of Ebbw Fach.



Appendix 2: Recruitment Poster

Figure 9.2: Recruitment Poster, made by author (2017).



**Are you a resident of Six Bells?
Do you have a story you'd like to
tell about the community?**

A new project from Cardiff University
is interested in the lives of individuals
living in towns with industrial history
and heritage.

If you'd be interested in talking to the
researcher, please take a leaflet!

CARDIFF UNIVERSITY
PRIFYSGOL CAERDYDD

E·S·R·C
ECONOMIC
& SOCIAL
RESEARCH
COUNCIL

Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet

Figure 9.3: Participant Information Sheet, made by author (2017).

I'd like to take part- now what?

Please contact me by phone or email so I know you would like to take part. I will then get in touch to arrange meeting up with you to complete a consent form- and so you can get to know me a little better before commencing the research.

If you have any friends, family or colleagues who you think would like to take part, please feel free to pass this flyer along.

Please contact me, Amy Walker, at walkera13@cardiff.ac.uk or on 07701072174

Thanks for taking the time to read this information. If you have any further questions, please get in touch!

PhD Thesis Research Study: Industrial Heritage: Identity, Family, Memory and Post-Industrial Communities

Life and Community in Six Bells, Wales

Information for Participants

CARDIFF UNIVERSITY E.S.R.C ECONOMIC & SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL PRIFYSGOL CAERDYDD

What is this project?

My project is seeking to research the everyday lives of individuals living in a post-industrial community. I am interested in your everyday lives in both the home and the local area. This is to understand how the identity of the area is embedded in your everyday lives, and your family. The project is also about in investigating your relationships to industries and employment in the area- past or present. I'd like to hear about how people feel about their local area, their family's relationship to the Six Bells area and the histories of that area- especially in post-industrial communities.

Why is this study being conducted?

This is part of a PhD research project. The research is focused on everyday lives in Six Bells so I can discuss how the histories of communities are related to the contemporary lives of residents here.

What would taking part involve?

At the start of the research, mostly it would just involve sitting down with me having a chat about your lives, including your memories of the area and your family background, as well as how you feel about local issues. Beyond that, how the research proceeds is something that is decided by you and me and how much time you can spare to be involved in the project.

What will happen to my information?

Information I collect will be stored securely. It will be used in my PhD thesis and accompanying publications. Any names of individuals and companies will be anonymised and you will not be identifiable from the findings or in any material that is produced.

Who is running the project?

My name is Amy Walker, I am a PhD researcher at Cardiff University in the Department of Geography and Planning. This research forms my final thesis project for my doctorate. My research interests lie in industrial areas across the UK.

Why have I been asked to take part?

I'm aiming to research a Welsh Valley's community for their industrial history, close-knit communities and unique character. Mostly, I'm looking for people who would be comfortable talking to me about their family's relationship with the area. These are the only criteria for taking part!

What if I change my mind?

You will have the right to withdraw from the research, or from any part of the research, without giving reasons at any time before the completion of the analysis period in December 2018. If you choose to withdraw from the study, any data you have provided will be withdrawn and destroyed.

Appendix 4: Sample Questions for Discussion in Ethnographic Interviews

Relationship with the area

Do you like living here? Why?

Have you ever lived elsewhere? What was that like compared to Six Bells?

How long have you lived here?

What made you stay in Six Bells?

How has Six Bells changed in your lifetime? What do you think is worse? What do you think is better?

What was it like growing up here?

What do you think is the most important thing that has happened here?

Relationship with the area- Family History

How long did your parents live in Six Bells?

What brought your parents to Six Bells/other?

What kind of jobs did your parents do?

Employment History

Did you ever consider doing a job like (your parents')?

What job did you want to do when you were growing up? Why did you (not) do that job?

Did you ever think about getting a job?

What responsibilities did you have in that job?

When you worked in XX, what was your day like?

Did you get on well with the others working in XX?

Life in Ebbw Fach

What is your average day like now?

Do you have friends locally? How did you become friends? (Could I talk to them)

What do you tend to do in the area with friends and family?

Are you involved with any local groups? What do you get involved with these groups? Why these groups? How did you become involved?

Where are your favourite places nearby? Why? (Could we go and visit them?)

Why did you stay in the valleys? Do you think you'll ever leave? Why?

Do your family still live locally? Did your kids stay nearby? Why?

Do you ever visit *Guardian*? Were you involved with that?

Who do you rely on if you have a problem? Like an issue with your house?

Mining History

Do you remember any accidents in the mine?

What was the run up to the pit closing like?

Can you remember the pit closing? What was that like? Can you remember people talking about it? How did the area change after the pit closed?

Do you remember the accident in 1960? /Do you remember the first time you heard about the accident in 1960?

Have you ever experienced redundancy? What was it like? How did your everyday life change?

Do you think the community of Six Bells is different?

Do you think the mine was important for Six Bells and why?

Appendix 5: Consent Form

Figure 9.4: Consent Form, made by author (2017)



CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Industrial Heritage: Identity, Family, Memory and Post-Industrial Communities

Name of Researcher: Amy Walker

Please check all boxes

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study.
I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

3. I understand that the information I provide will be reported anonymously, so that it cannot be traced back to me individually, unless I specify otherwise.

4. I am aware that in accordance with the Data Protection Act this information may be retained indefinitely, on a secure and encrypted device.

5. The information I provide can be used in subsequent publications and presentations.

I, _____ (NAME), consent to participate in this study conducted by Amy Walker and supervised by Professor Mark Jayne at the School of Geography and Planning, Cardiff University.

Signed (Participant): _____ Date: _____

Appendix 6: Ty Ebbw Fach

All photos by taken by author.

Ty Ebbw Fach, or Tŷ Ebbw Fach is a “community-run building” in the village of Six Bells in the Ebbw Fach area. It is named after the Ebbw Fach River, and occupies the same building that used to be the Coach and Horses Pub, directly opposite the Arael Griffin colliery. The pub was closed for several years before it was redeveloped. It is owned and run by Six Bells Regeneration Ltd, “a community business set up to regenerate the local area with jobs and training opportunities and by the redistribution of profits into the community” (Six Bells Conference Centre website 2021).



Figure 9.5: Ty Ebbw Fach, from author, December 2017

Upstairs rooms are offices available for local businesses, and for the Six Bells Regeneration company, and a conference room. However, of most interest is the heritage room and café downstairs. The café was run by different renters throughout the fieldwork period, and often closed due to no one taking on the business.

The Six Bells Regeneration Company runs the heritage room, and by extension, is involved with much of the curation of heritage materials. Within the heritage room are displays about the Six Bells Disaster, the mines, and information about *Guardian*. It essentially serves as a visitor centre for the memorial in the nearby park and seems to be involved in any tours of the site. Other social events occur here, and use most of the rooms in the building, such as that where I met many participants in April 2018.



Figure 9.6: Ty Ebbw Fach heritage room, from author, December 2017

Glass cabinets sell products from local craft groups, including the Craft Group that was visited as part of this fieldwork. It also features a variety of leaflets about local businesses and charities.



Figure 9.7: Ty Ebbw Fach heritage room, cabinets of products from local groups, from author December 2017.



Figure 9.8: Ty Ebbw Fach heritage room, book swap and community leaflets, from author, December 2017.

Appendix 8- Map of Six Bells, with notable sites

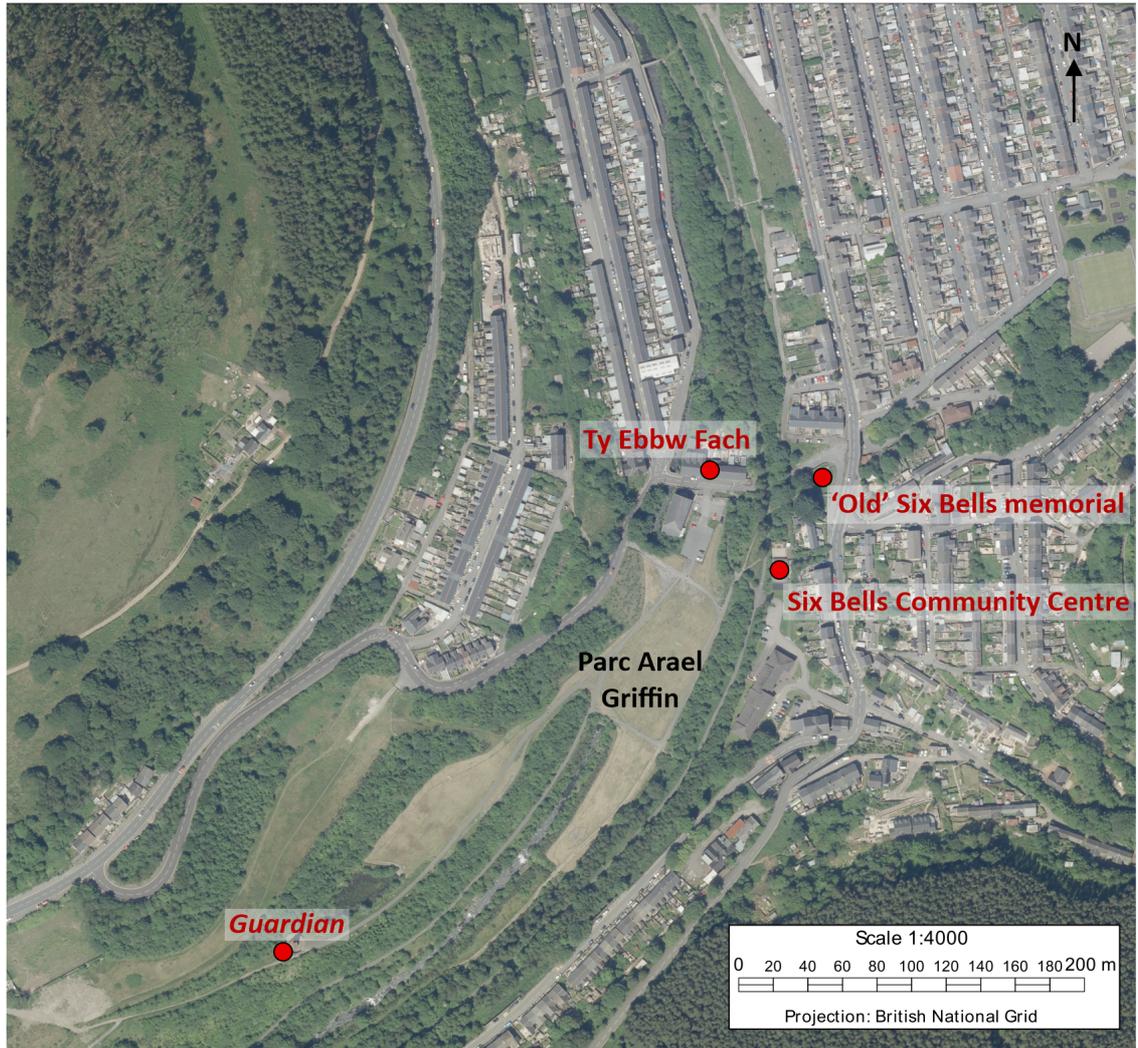


Figure 9.10: Map of Six Bells 2021, drawn by author (Walker/OS 2021c).

Appendix 9- Map of Llanhilleth, with notable sites

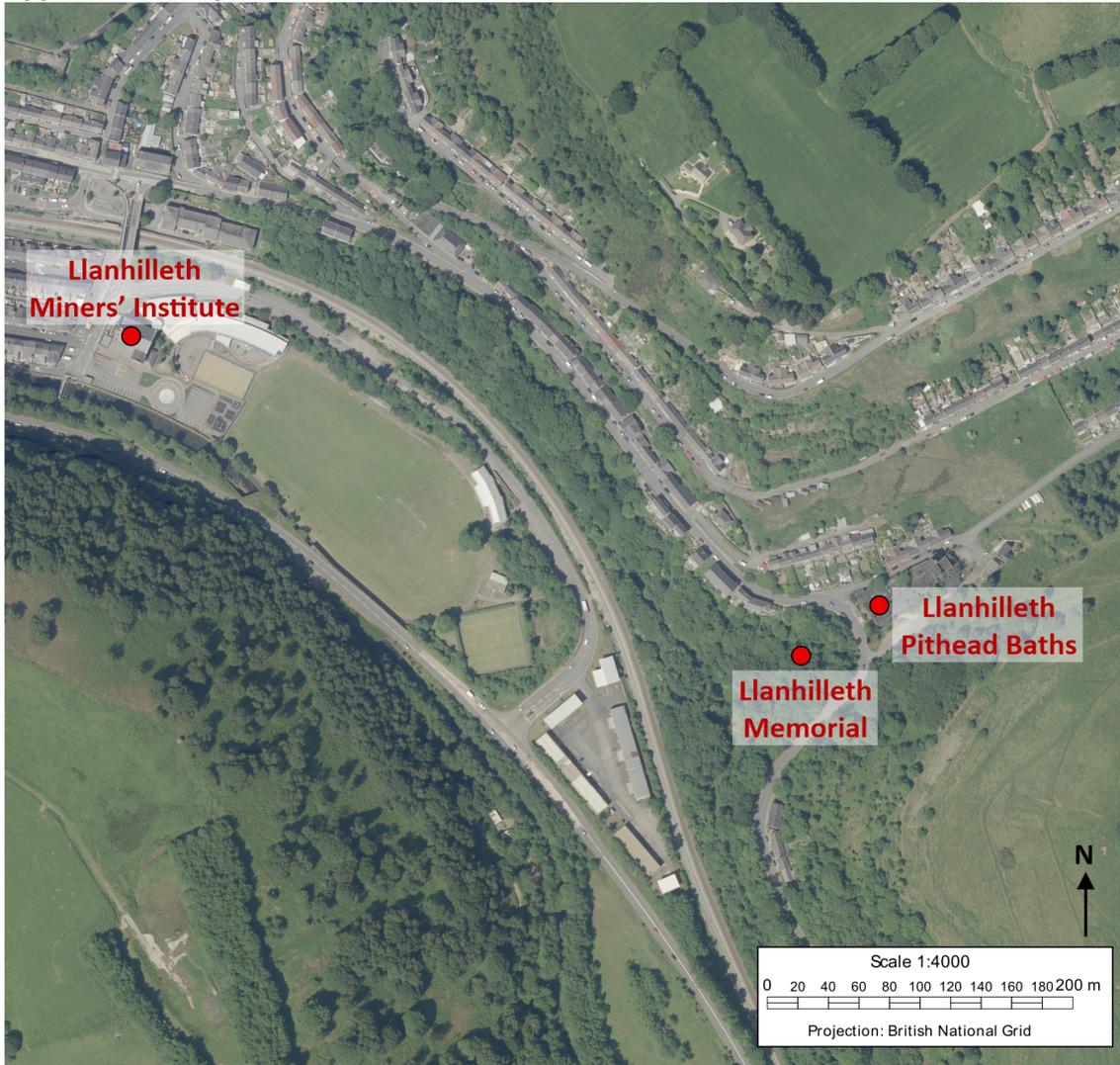


Figure 9.11: Map of Llanhilleth 2021, drawn by author (Walker/OS 2021d).