Understanding the Deindustrial Body: The Legacy of Occupational Health and Illness in the Former Kent Coalfield

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Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research

71,804 Words

2019

Abstract

The deindustrial body pulls together narratives of ill-health, community and working life offering a framework to explore deindustrialisation. It draws on Sherry Linkon's (2018) concept of the 'half-life of deindustrialisation' taking account of the duality between past, present and future evident in narratives of former Kent miners (and their families). The body is central to the study of deindustrialisation, presenting work as shaping male identity and subsequently collective identity dictating the moral order of the surrounding communities. Through a dialogue of over thirty interviews, contextualised within over twenty-four months of ethnographic data, this thesis traces the embodied identity of the miner as he transitions from industrial to deindustrialisation. This is assessed through the masculine bravado, pedagogics and habits of industry to the contemporary experiences of ill-health and illness. The repercussions of industry closure are explored with reference to individual and collective bodily experiences as portrayed through accounts of memory, ruination and normalisation of ill-health. It reveals accounts from a neglected coalfield that has much to add to our understanding of deindustrialisation. Repercussions of industry closure remain present in contemporary society, influencing individual and collective experiences that in turn shape the body of work identity and post-industrial livelihood.

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Acknowledgements

In the researching and writing of this thesis, I have had the honour to work with several inspiring individuals who I must acknowledge. First, I would like to thank Professor Tim Strangleman, I am thankful for his supervision and enthusiasm for the project – I finish this PhD knowing much more about 1970's British sitcoms than ever before. I was fortunate also to have Dr Ben Baumberg-Geiger as part of my supervisory team, whose feedback and thoughtful reflections, I have greatly appreciated throughout the process.

This project owes an enormous thank you to the men and women of the Kent Coalfield communities, who have welcomed me into their lives. I have been privileged to have them share with me their memories of work and their lived experiences post- closure – each one of them deserving of a book in their own right. In particular, a special thank you must go to Gary Cox at Betteshanger Community Sports and Social Club in Deal, alongside John Kemp, his family and Stuart Elgar at Elvington and Eythorne Heritage Group, for their help and support in the recruiting process and for putting up with my countless questions about mining terminology. I hope this thesis does justice to the wonderful men and women that you all are.

I would also like to thank Mel Lloyd, Emma Pleasant and Hayley Finnemore, the latter two who started this PhD journey with me in 2015. I would not have eaten as many jacket potatoes, nor would it have been half as fun without the encouragement, advice and support of these three individuals. I am very fortunate to have gained three very dear friends on this journey. Also, to my cat Ricki, who has sat with me whilst writing and supplied often unwanted assistance in editing the thesis by sitting on the laptop.

On a personal note, I would like to thank my Nanny Row (Shirley Rowland), Uncle Tim (Tim Padfield), as well as Peter and Margaret Coe, for sharing memories of our family with me and providing photos of the family, many of which are included in this thesis. A special thank you must go to my partner Sam Coomber for his support, love and encouragement. Also, to his parents Danny and Angie Coomber for always taking an interest in my research, I shall forever treasure my Mining Moomin painting.

Lastly, I dedicate this thesis to my parents Stuart and Denise Rowland. As a thank you and testament to their unrelenting love and support, which has been a constant source of inspiration. You have always believed we could make it to the premier league and now we just have the play-offs to go!

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Introduction

Of the oral history interviews that I conducted as part of my thesis, that with Gary Cox stands out for me as one of the most memorable and significant. “I should warn, I’m a soppy git”, were the first words that Gary uttered as the recording began. I, as someone who had been known in the past to cry at Great British Bake Off, remember thinking this interview might prove quite a challenge. Gary had entered work at Betteshanger colliery late in life, his father and grandfather both working at the colliery before him. Gary was to eventually assume his beloved father’s role when he graduated to the development team. During his time as part of this team in the 1980s, Gary suffered a neck injury that forced him to leave the industry early. In the aftermath of Betteshanger colliery closure in 1989, Gary was to become a significant figure in the heritage of the Kent coalfields. Memories of work and of his childhood spent growing up in the mining community of Mill Hill in Deal, Kent, proved significant in Gary’s embodiment of the coal industry:

> Mining for many, for all miners, that was the job, that wasn't your life, your life was being part of a mining family. My life as a mining family started when I was born in Wilson Avenue […] What is mining spirit for me? We’re asked that question loads and loads of times, going around with talks and things and for me it goes back to my youth. As a child playing out in the street, I could name pretty well ninety percent of the people who lived in that street and their mums. And all their mums and dads were my uncles and aunties and of course they weren’t, in fact I don't think any of my real uncles and aunties lived in that street. But they were all comrades of my dad, all miners and that and so even

> those that weren't miners, they were in that street and in that community [...] We could walk in each other's houses and if they were eating, they'd get a plate for you and the camaraderie even as a child. But you felt safe, that was the biggest thing, you were happy and you felt safe and you did everything together. Yeah, we got up to all sorts, bad things, not bad things, scrumping, pinching, chopping down trees for bonfire night and the usual things [laughs] (Gary Cox interview, 7th February 2017).

In the meeting room of the club on that early spring morning, sitting there listening to Gary speak, it was as if we had transcended time, back to the coalfield community of Gary's youth. Abrams describes this sensation in oral history interviews, as undergoing a form of 'mental time travel', whereby events brought to the forefront of memory enable individuals to place both their past and present self within a contemporary setting (Abrams, 2010:83). Gary Cox in drawing comparison between past and present formations of the Mill Hill area in Deal, reveals the dualistic state of deindustrial communities.

More directly, the narrative speaks of the lingering effects of closure that former miners and their families have had to endure, in what Sherry Linkon (2018) eloquently describes as the 'half-life of deindustrialisation'. The term conveys the sense of absence and bewilderment that comes with the process of deindustrialisation. For Linkon, deindustrialisation is like the fallout effects from radioactive decay, influences lessen over time but the damage inflicted by industry closure remains in the health problems, anti-social behaviour and economic deprivation evident in these areas (2018:6). Gary's childhood account captures the half-life of industry that individuals experience within deindustrial society. It recognises the strong bodily

connection that workers and their families had to the colliery as an industry that shaped their identity and community life, rendering industrial decline as having corrosive and devastating effects. Gary, in the fondness of tone with which he spoke of childhood memories of the Kent coal mining community, emphasises the drastic changes that the coal industry had undergone in the last century.

Coal was discovered in Kent in 1890 subsequently leading to the coalfields' development despite perceptions of the area as a non-industrial part of the UK. In 1989, after one hundred years the coal industry in Kent ended with the closure of Betteshanger colliery. From early on, the industry was exposed to deindustrialisation with the closure of both Shakespeare colliery in 1915 and Chislet colliery in 1969. But the effects of industry cessation became more apparent during the 1980s with Tilmanstone and Snowdown colliery finally closed in 1986/1987, followed by Betteshanger shortly after in 1989. This proved most consequential for communities surrounding the collieries, with the effects still present in the 'half-life' of industry evident in contemporary society.

For a coalfield, which had in the 1980s employed some three thousand two hundred men (Beatty *et al.* 2007:1660), these communities now seemed far removed from the descriptions of Gary's childhood - with deep coalmining finished in Kent and wider UK, since 2015. In this thesis, deindustrialisation is a process of interlinking episodes, rather than a neat, single event in history. This therefore enables the creation of a dialogue, in which to examine narratives of occupational health through interchanges in discussion of everyday social experience and at a deeper level the personal and emotional implication of those events (Legard *et al.*

2003:144). In Gary's childhood, the job and mining life ran as parallel universes, the two worlds colliding because of his Father's accident. As he states here:

> You talk about health, the first thing that I remember actually, I mean that was all part of being a mining family, the first thing I knew about mining, was when my Dad was brought home on a stretcher. Middle of the night and we worked it out, I think I was about four or five. It was very early but I didn't know it was my Dad, 'cos they came in with this stretcher, with a black man on the stretcher […] I can remember sitting on the stairs and my Sister and Brother just put me back up in the bedroom and of course I was interested to find out who it was and when I went down obviously my Mum had washed my Dad then and it was my Dad. You know he's cut; he'd been buried underground and instead of washing him or anything they just put him on a stretcher and brought him home, not even hospital. I would think knowing my Dad, he's passed away now, they probably wanted to take him to hospital but like many miners, "no take me home we'll deal with it at home". I mean that led to him actually leaving the colliery much later on 'cos it did his back in. But that was sort of the first time I realised that was another part of our lives sort of thing and couldn't say that put me off being a miner (Gary Cox, interview 7th February 2017).

Coal mining was not simply an occupation, it was a mode of living that had a significant impact in shaping family life and the domestic space. As Gary reminisced, it was clear that the accident had acted as a catalyst in terms of his own father's later health problems. Moreover,

through enabling a dialogue between past and present, it placed the embodied experience of occupational health within a wider context of industry and community life, alongside sensory and emotional experience, ramifications of which are evident in deindustrialisation. The half-life shapes contemporary experience, identity and actions, 'episodic memory' as described by Abrams (2010) enabled a telescopic insight into the manner through which former miners embodied their experience of work through occupational health.

Several months into my PhD, I came across a photograph of my Great-Great-Grandfather (Sydney William Padfield), who along with his son, my Great-Grandfather (Sidney Arthur J Padfield) (figure 2.0), had worked at Tilmanstone Colliery. My family's connection to the mining industry in Kent up until the commencement of my PhD, had remained un-discussed, mentioned only briefly on occasion by my Nanny Row (Shirley Rowland), when she spoke about her Father. Over the process, my Nan, along with her brother, my Uncle Tim (Tim Padfield) and their cousin Peter Coe, revealed more stories, including the Padfield family's settlement in Kent at the beginning of the twentieth century, coinciding with the development of the coalfield. My research further encouraging stories from my Nan, of a proudly hung photograph in her Grandmother's house. The scene depicted their Grandfather (figure 1.0) shortly after he had received the Edward Medal for Gallantry from the King in 1931, the only one ever awarded in the Kent Coalfield. My Uncle Tim in our discussions of colliery life reflected on his Father's accident at the colliery in August 1957, in which he fractured his left Tibia and Fibula, leaving him with an impaired locomotion flexion of the knee (figure 3.0). His memory of the event formed by the fondness with which he remembered the purchasing of a pair of football boots with the compensation money. This prompting my Nan's memory, who having just become a mother for the first time in 1957, remembered the purchasing of a Mobo

Rocking Horse with the compensation money from her Father's accident. The discussion of my PhD among my relatives proved an enlightening experience. As I gained insight into the overlooked childhood memories of my Nan, Uncle Tim and their Cousin Peter Coe, alongside my own family's place in the heritage of the Kent Coalfield.

Before, the man in his dark suit, flat cap and stern expression, would have seemed nothing more than a nameless face in a photograph. Now, through awakening the memories of my relatives, this brought a level of sentimentality. The evident warmth and love with which they spoke about their childhood and family, with clear affection for the man, Sydney William Padfield stood in the photograph (figure 1.0).

Like my thesis research for my family, discussion of health for Gary had led him to examine the role of the colliery as fulfilling a social and occupational function. The child-like innocence with which Gary spoke, enabled an articulation of the sense of loss and the last thirty years vanished with the rawness of emotion, making it seem only yesterday the colliery had closed. However, whilst Gary highlighted the importance of the coal industry in his own life, he moreover, highlighted the potential of occupational health as a mechanism for exploring the wider embodied implication of deindustrialisation. The body possessing a horological role, a timepiece of industrial, social and communal change.

Research Questions

This thesis aims to explore the relationship between the body and deindustrialisation. The concept of the deindustrial body is examined through the following research question, followed by three further sub-questions:

How does the concept of the deindustrial body add to our understanding of deindustrialisation?

- How does the deindustrial body as a concept help to understand individual and collective work experience and identity?

- How do communal narratives impact understanding of deindustrialisation as an embodied process?

- What does the 'deindustrial body' mean within the legacy of the coal mining industry of Kent?

I want to consider the body within deindustrialisation as illustrative of the half-life of industry, as a process of change that former workers and their communities continue to undergo in adjusting to post-industrial livelihood. This thesis pulls together a range of literature, analysing accounts and narratives of industry and employment more broadly to highlight the importance of the work in construction of identity and masculinity, alongside the impact of loss of work upon the body and embodiment. Industrial labour proved central in shaping individual and collective approaches to work and health, remnants of which survive in their understanding of deindustrial society.

In research on industry decline and deindustrialisation the body has proved a subsidiary field of sociological research. In cases where the body is central, this is understood within a wider

socio-political context of social and environmental change. In line with narratives of deindustrialisation the body is illustrative of 'transition', from the stability of industrial labour to the contemporary 'crisis' of identity brought about by industrial loss (Kideckel, 2008). Such accounts are central in highlighting embodiment in narratives of industrial livelihood, in adopting the body as a framework it pulls together aspects of ill-health, community and work evident within deindustrial society. McIvor (2017:26) states that 'selective remembering' of the lived and embodied experiences of individuals is being 'airbrushed out' of the industrial workplace. The body and embodiment in deindustrialisation focuses on how the politics of social change, have overlooked the community degradation and haunting that has emerged post-closure. This thesis, in examining the deindustrial body as an extension of half-life of industry, aims to comprehend the embodied attachment that former coal miners retain in the legacy of ill-health that exists in coalfield communities. The thesis draws on theories of emotion and body pedagogics, that reveal the sensory and habitual attachment to work practices (see for example Hochschild 2012 [1979]; Wacquant, 2004) to further explore the embodiment of craft skill within industrial and post-industrial society.

This thesis considers the relationship between the body and deindustrialisation with reference to emotion, craft skill, community embodiment and moral order. The lack of emphasis on the body within deindustrial literature is notable and essential for understanding the emphasis on ruination and community in existing literature. In considering how to approach the subject of the body and embodiment within deindustrialisation, I drew on studies of gender and work in deindustrialisation (Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012), alongside culture and memory (Cowie and Heathcott, 2003). I sought to consider the economic implications of deindustrialisation, the loss of economic revenue (Bluestone and Harrison,

1982) and the role of nostalgia and heritage, dominating narratives of industrial livelihood (Dicks, 2000; Strangleman, 2004; Linkon and Russo, 2002). Essentially, this combining of cultural and social theories of decline helped to conceptualise the deindustrial body within the legacy of industry past and present.

In establishing the deindustrial body as a concept I drew on the work of Kideckel (2008) *Getting by in Postsocialist Romania*, Walley (2013) *Exit Zero* and Linkon (2018) *The Half-Life of deindustrialisation*. Together with my data collection, these books encouraged an understanding of the worker's body and embodiment that had repercussions in the present, not just past experiences of employment. More notably, it informed my understanding of the worker's body as a fluid object, moving through industrial and deindustrial livelihood, rather than a static object representative of an industry and an era of work. My understanding draws parallels to Linkon's 'half-life of deindustrialisation', in presenting the body as a physical legacy of industrial decline, integrating individual and collective experiences of embodiment within cultural and social narratives of deindustrialisation.

Health has proved central in the study of coal mining and embodiment. Of those diseases associated with the coal mining industry, Coal Workers' Pneumoconiosis (CWP) and silicosis remain the most enduring legacy (see for example Perchard and Gildart, 2015; McIvor, 2015; McIvor and Johnston, 2007; Derickson, 1998). Moreover, mechanisation from the late 1950s and early 1960s has brought to the forefront other kinds of injury associated with coal production relating to joints, eyes and skin conditions; osteoarthritis, 'beat Knee', vibration white-finger, nystagmus and dermatitis among the most common (see for example Borsay and Knight, 2007; McMillan and Nichols, 2005; Ross and Murray, 2004). It is not surprising

when we consider the extent of ill-health present in the coal mining industry that in the immediate years following colliery closure, coalfield areas became associated with high numbers of individuals receiving sickness related benefits or being encouraged to take early-retirement (see for example Beatty and Fothergill, 1996; Fieldhouse and Hollywood, 1999).

In establishing the concept of the deindustrial body I am concerned with the legacy of industrial labour past, present and future. Former industrial workers make sense of deindustrial society through reference to their body and embodiment in several ways. This in turn may shape approaches to health and post-industrial livelihood, such as community support and the 'normalisation' of ill-health. In focusing on the body within deindustrialisation, I illustrate the value of the half-life as a concept for understanding the legacy of decline, through the former workers' continued self-identification as a miner and the health repercussions of industrial labour. More directly, the deindustrial body in examining the half-life of industry past, present and future takes account of the cultural and social implication of post-industrial livelihood with reference to individual and collective embodiment. This thesis sets out to establish what a study of the deindustrial body might look like and what the value of the body and embodiment is in analysing deindustrialisation as a process of change.

Chapter one establishes a methodological approach to the study of the deindustrial body. The chapter presents ethnography and oral history as key in understanding firstly narratives of work and secondly accounts of community life. I identify narratives of occupational health and work in pre and post-industrial livelihood as essential in present constructs of the body and embodiment. In reviewing both ethnographic and oral history approaches to the coal

industry and deindustrialisation, I highlight the potential of these two methods in examining the oblique implications of work and deindustrialisation upon the individual and collective body. It suggests that in the removal of the social and cultural layers placed upon the body, the concept reveals the implications of emotion, craft skill and habits upon former workers' identity.

Chapter two reviews literature relating to industrial employment, deindustrialisation, combining sociological and historiological research. It considers Sherry Linkon's term the 'half-life of deindustrialisation' in relation to the legacy of industry and duality of past and present, evident within post-industrial society. Moreover, the chapter is concerned with illustrations of craft skill and emotion within work, alongside memory and community, with a focus on the miners' lived experience in relation to occupational health and illness. The chapter offers an insight into the value of the deindustrial body as a concept within research relating to work and post-industrial society.

Chapter three examines the relationship between industrial labour and masculine identity. The chapter traces work culture and craft skill, fostered through an emotional attachment to work that is evident in generational embodied social practices. In particular, the chapter examines humour as an expression of emotion in relation to health and injury in the coalmining industry - as an expression of identity, camaraderie and vulnerability. Through participant narratives and ethnographic interaction involving humour, I expose the 'layers' of bodily identity and explore how individuals attempt to make sense of their deindustrial body through past narratives of work life. Chapter four builds on the ideas explored in the previous chapter, to explore craft skill and sensory knowledge as seen in the deindustrial body. The

chapter explores sociological interest in body pedagogics, as seen through cultural embodied changes associated with health and safety practices and training in the industry. With a focus on work life, the chapter is pivotal in recognising the mechanisms through which work served to shape the individual body and embodiment. This proves essential as we deconstruct the deindustrial body in proceeding chapters of the thesis.

Chapter five acts as a transitionary chapter from the previous two that examined the worker's body within industry to explore contemporary experiences of deindustrialisation. I review studies of memory and nostalgia within work and deindustrialisation, before going on to consider identity more generally in relation to communal experiences of closure, unemployment and non-industrial work. My original contribution lies in the final section of this chapter, exploring collective identity, expressed in the haunting effects of industrial labour and embodiment of ruination.

Chapter six discusses occupational health and illness as expressed within the contemporary deindustrial society. It explores accounts of pre-socialisation as expressed within family and childhood memories. Occupational health is remarkable and traumatic, yet at the same time unremarkable and normalised. There is a moral order, which dictates a body of social norms and conventions that sustain an industrial way of life. The chapter then considers occupational health within the domestic space, with reference to gendered experiences of industry. Disability and illness affect the performance of gender and whilst normalised remains difficult for individuals to come to terms with. It argues that injury and disability remain an important part of people's lives post-closure. Yet despite closure of the colliery, ill-health remains 'normalised' within coalfield communities.

In the conclusion to the thesis, I show what the body and embodiment adds to our understanding of industrial employment and deindustrialisation. In order to stress the value of the deindustrial body as a concept, I refer to recent events that have taken place at national and local level around the status of the coal industry in Britain and the imagery of the miner more generally, within the context of climate change and heritage regeneration.

Figure 1.0: Sydney William Padfield outside Buckingham Palace after receiving the Edward Medal for Gallantry from King George V in 1931. The Author's Great-Great-Grandfather *(Courtesy of author's family collection)*.

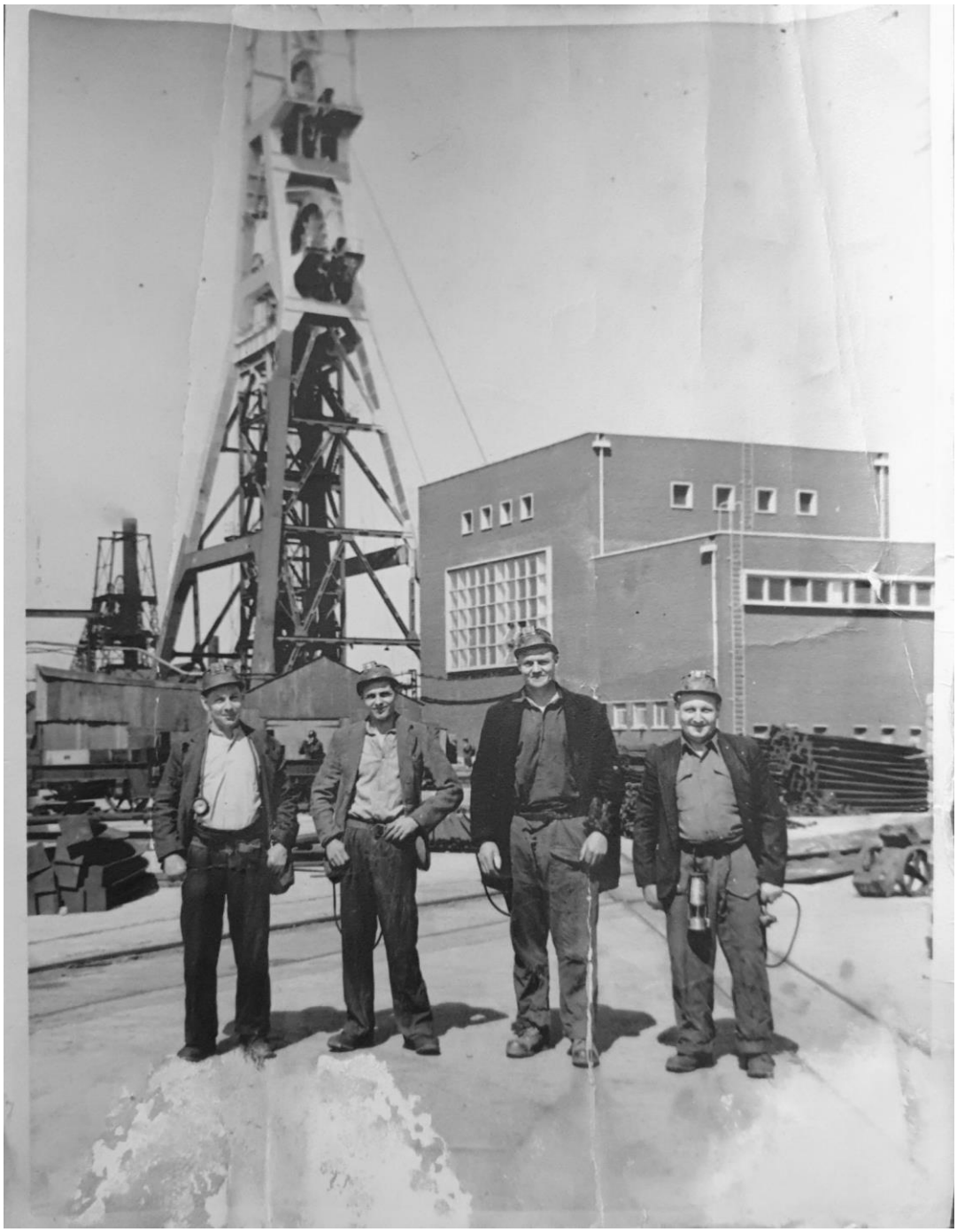
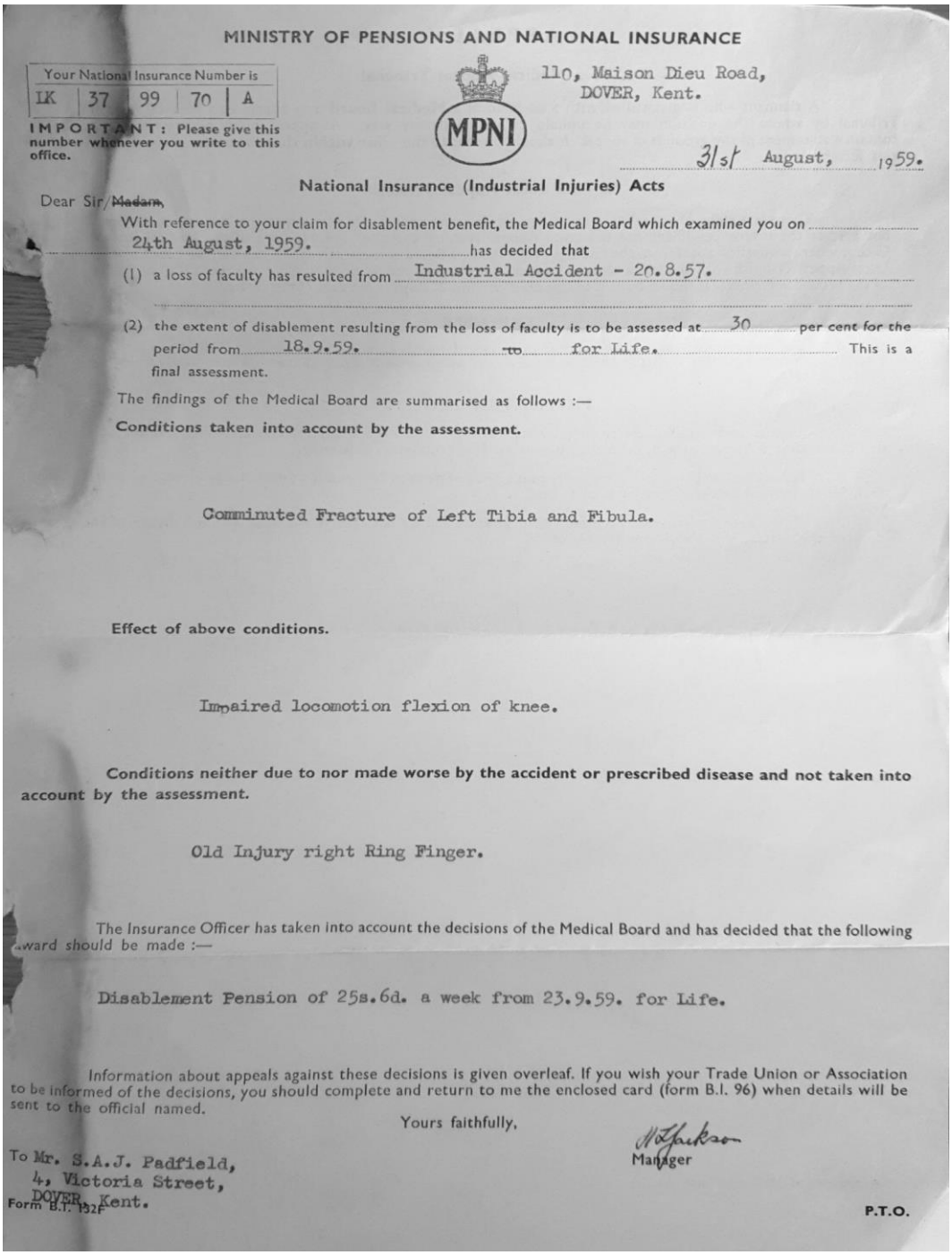


Figure 2.0: Tilmanstone colliery 1957 Millyard Seam Development. The author's Great-Great-Uncle Lou Padfield, far left of picture and Great-Grandfather Sidney Arthur J Padfield far right of picture (*Courtesy of author's family collection)*.



MINISTRY OF PENSIONS AND NATIONAL INSURANCE

Your National Insurance Number is
LK | 37 | 99 | 70 | A

IMPORTANT: Please give this number whenever you write to this office.

MPNI

110, Maison Dieu Road,
DOVER, Kent.

31st August, 1959.

National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Acts

Dear Sir/~~Madam~~,

With reference to your claim for disablement benefit, the Medical Board which examined you on 24th August, 1959. has decided that

(1) a loss of faculty has resulted from Industrial Accident - 20.8.57.

(2) the extent of disablement resulting from the loss of faculty is to be assessed at 30 per cent for the period from 18.9.59. to for Life. This is a final assessment.

The findings of the Medical Board are summarised as follows :—

Conditions taken into account by the assessment.

Comminuted Fracture of Left Tibia and Fibula.

Effect of above conditions.

Impaired locomotion flexion of knee.

Conditions neither due to nor made worse by the accident or prescribed disease and not taken into account by the assessment.

Old Injury right Ring Finger.

The Insurance Officer has taken into account the decisions of the Medical Board and has decided that the following award should be made :—

Disablement Pension of 25s.6d. a week from 23.9.59. for Life.

Information about appeals against these decisions is given overleaf. If you wish your Trade Union or Association to be informed of the decisions, you should complete and return to me the enclosed card (form B.I. 96) when details will be sent to the official named.

Yours faithfully,

Manager

To Mr. S.A.J. Padfield,
4, Victoria Street,
DOVER, Kent.

Form B.I. 132F

P.T.O.

Figure 3.0: Claim for disablement benefit, 31st August 1959, for industrial accident 20th August 1957. Disablement pension for Great-Grandfather Sidney Arthur J Padfield (*Courtesy of author's family collection)*.

Chapter One: Methodology

The Introduction considered the value of the body and embodiment in the study of deindustrialisation. This chapter establishes a methodological approach to the thesis for which I conducted over thirty oral history interviews between the period of early 2016 and 2018. These consisted of twenty nine men and five women, all of whom were from white caucasian background, in the form of semi-structured interviews, that covered topics of working life, occupational health, closure and post-industrial socialisation (see appendix two and three). In addition, I conducted participant observations in my regular visits to Elvington and Eythorne Heritage Group and Betteshanger Social Welfare Scheme. This ethnographic research is secondary in the thesis to oral history interviews, serving to supplement and enhance understanding of the individual and collective body's absorption of the coal mining industry.

This chapter offers a review of ethnography and interviews in the study of the coal mining industry and wider industrial sector and considers the benefits of these methods in analysing the deindustrial body as a concept. Firstly, I explore ethnography as a discourse long associated with the coal industry and the influence of the second wave of community studies in the period following nationalisation, such *Coal is Our Life* by Dennis *et al*. (1956). Secondly, I consider oral history, in narratives of occupational health as leading to more comprehensive understanding of the importance of the body in research on deindustrialisation. The body is paramount in personal narratives as an expression of identity and in presenting the miners themselves as the embodiment of the coal mining industry. The chapter then assesses my role as a researcher in the Kent Coalfield. Here I consider how my heritage shaped my approach in

the focus of my research. In the final section, I examine trust and acceptance. I draw on three examples to illustrate my successful integration into the Kent Coalfield communities and the role, which my heritage and embedded approach had in my building a relationship with my participants.

Ethnographic Research of Coalfields

Ethnography has long been a preferred method of analysis in the study of coal mining communities. Strangleman (2018) shows how sociology as a discipline has engaged with the coal industry since the mid-twentieth century. The decline of coal mining in the UK is reflective of wider industry loss that brought about deindustrialisation in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The corrosive properties of decline that emerged with post miners' strike research reflects in sociological writing in their need to 'chart, record and bear witness to the ongoing struggles to cope with this legacy' (Strangleman, 2018:33). Former workers speak of unemployment, loss of job satisfaction, ill-health and social exclusion in recounting industrial decline.

Strangleman (2018) draws on the text *Coal is our life*, Dennis *et al.* (1956) to accentuate the drastic changes which coal mining has undergone in the twentieth century. As an ethnographic piece of research, *Coal is our life* underlines the values of industrial communities – machismo, family, community and camaraderie within the work environment. At the same time, in their analysis of a North Yorkshire mining community, which they refer to as Ashton, they consider social structures and the patterns that they produce in terms of occupational habitus and identity. These habits of miners are what Zweig (1948) refers to in his book *Men in the Pits*. For Zweig, past experiences play a significant role in coalfield life, shaping intellectual thought and contemporary social patterns. Dennis *et al* (1956) and Zweig (1948) note coalfield

communities as unparalleled to other industrial communities, the miner unusual in his constitution. A miner's life is inseparable from industry; it encourages us to think of him not as an individual but as a product of the coal mine. As Zweig notes:

> Mining controls his life and habits more than any other industrial occupation controls the life of its members (Zweig, 1948:104).

In contemplating the insular nature of coalfield communities, both Dennis *et al* (1959) and Zweig (1948), sought an understanding of occupational identity and more directly social perceptions of life and the incorporation of these in individual characteristic traits. For them, coal mining underpinned personhood and social life, the disappearance of industry unimaginable for these communities. The 'unimaginable community' has dominated discussion of later ethnographies of coalfield communities. For example, Turner (1993:64) writing in the wake of large-scale closure, noted both the political and economic questions that emerged with pit closure. Their economics and social culture reliant on a single industry, coalfield communities were vulnerable to isolation. Moreover, Strangleman (2001), in his observations of the Durham coalfield post-closure, emphasised quality of life as a significant concern for redundant miners. As he notes the 'legacy of the coal industry continues to loom large, both in their expectations and experience of work' (2001:260). Turner (1993) and Strangleman (2001), highlight the vulnerability of coalfield communities in the aftermath of closure. Furthermore, with deindustrialisation comes economic, social and cultural depletion, which has profound impacts in shaping the community. The 'unimaginable community' is less about physical closure of the colliery but instead the void and sense of anguish left by that loss.

Concerned for the ineffectual state of coalfield communities; Bright (2011), studied youth precariousness among former coal mining communities in northern England. He argues, whilst regeneration has done much to eliminate the 'worst scars', coalfields remain blighted by socio-economics, unemployment, sickness and poverty (2011:67). For Bright there is an 'obvious but unacknowledged' presence of the past that defines contemporary experiences of the youth in former coal mining villages (2011:69). In another, later article, Bright (2016) articulates this 'half-life of deindustrialisation' as a kind of 'social haunting'. In using this term and in drawing on the work of Avery Gordon (1997), he is attempting to describe youth precariousness as a material product of the lingering effects from the past. In the case of the coalfields, this is a result of industry loss and the subsequent economic and cultural decline.

In conducting my fieldwork, it became increasingly clear that if we were to evaluate the body as a concept to understand the transition from industrial to deindustrial society, then we must deconstruct the body. Thereby, examining the identity of the miner and the collective body of the community living through the 'half-life of deindustrialisation'. Indeed, observing the bodies of the workers that are themselves scarred, bruised and deformed by industry, personal narratives of occupational health highlight how industry continues to haunt contemporary experience. Like scar tissue, the deindustrial body consists of multiple layers, as shown in work and deindustrial scholarship such as; emotion, identity, craft and the loss of skill, unemployment, job satisfaction, community deterioration and heritage.

Ethnography uncovers the layers of embodiment; each layer a fragment of work and post-work life experience, built up over time that has shaped the individual and collective

experience. Wacquant (2015) has developed the term 'enactive ethnography' to describe the 'immersive fieldwork through which the investigator acts out (elements of) the phenomenon in order to peel away layers of its invisible properties and to test its operative mechanisms' (Wacquant, 2015:5). In my fieldwork, I sought to immerse myself in the local community, working closely with the local heritage centres and welfare clubs. In acting out the phenomenon, I attempted to 'embed' and immerse myself into the social structure (Wacquant, 2015:7). For Wacquant 'performance' is central to enactive ethnography, as it is through 'disclosing the cognitive, conative and cathartic scheme (that is, habitus) that generate the practices and underlie the cosmos under investigation (2015:2). While I do not myself propose to have undergone any form of deindustrialisation, in my ethnographic work, I did, through my socialisation, attempt to understand the meaning of social institutions, such as the heritage centre and welfare club. More notably, the role that they played for members of the deindustrial coalfield community in their perceptions and reactions to the changing social world which surrounds them.

In workplace culture, Portelli (1991) has identified community narratives as serving a 'symbolic' function, as recognised in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*. The various individual and collective memories and retellings of the event are insightful in presenting history as layered with multiple meanings over time (1991:26). Watson and Watson (2012), in their ethnographic research on pubs, explore the role of ethnography in understanding the multiple layers of the social world. They present ethnography as a methodology that enables us to uncover these 'symbolic' layers. A technique that allows us to gain a unique insight into a 'particular sphere of social life' (2012:699). Watson and Watson (2012) are concerned with understanding culture to reflect on individual practices within that particular social setting.

Portelli (1991) and Watson and Watson (2012) recognised the multi layered existence of social life and the need to deconstruct the past to understand present consequences.

It is Portelli's (1991:59) focus on identity within the layered community, which enables insight into an individual experience, leaving us with an understanding of legacy. Coalfield communities are products of a legacy of loss, socio-economic decline and social deterioration. In other words, ethnography allows us to explore the links between body, self and society evident in personal narratives of health and illness (Bury, 2001:281). An immersive experience, in conducting ethnographic research amongst the Kent Coalfield community, we understand deindustrialisation as a layered theory in which to address the betwixt bodily state evident among its members.

Occupational Health and Oral History

The study of the deindustrial body in the Kent Coalfield considers ethnographic observations as contextualisation for oral history interviews. I draw on personal testimonies of occupational health to examine body theory, as explored in the work of both McIvor (2013) and McIvor and Johnston (2000, 2007). In *Miners Lung* (2007), McIvor and Johnston note occupational health history as a neglected field within autobiographical accounts of coal mining (2007:8). This can be understood as part of a wider focus on political activities and trade unionism, evident within oral narratives of the UK mining industry. For example, Ben Curtis (2013), in his examining of the South Wales coal industry, considers the relationship between miners and trade unionism. He maps the role played by miners, in shaping the political and economic nature of coal production during the twentieth century. Portelli (2011), on the other hand, aids in understanding the dynamics of industrial communities. He considers the politics of

migration, environment, social despair and change. These oral accounts of coal mining as seen through trade unionism, politics and culture, have much to say about the coal mining industry.

Johnston and McIvor's (2000) text *Lethal Work*, notes the intuitiveness of occupational health in recognising the social implications of impairment on individual identity. In their study of asbestos inflicted disability in Scotland, they consider the physical and emotional effects of ill-health alongside loss of dignity and companionship (2000:197). Central to their argument is that 'asbestos -disease victims were virtually powerless' as they 'feel their physical strength, breathing capability and invariably their morale, ebb away' (2000:200). Cornwell (1984:80) demonstrates the complex relationship between work and health; unlike other work relations, health appears to place great responsibility on the individual. The manner through which individuals and others around them view their health has negative and positive connotations in their ethos, identity and approach to work and life more generally. Johnston and McIvor (2000), alongside Cornwell (1984) highlight the potential that health offers for exploring embodied experiences of work and social life. It is through emphasis on social effects evident within studies of health that this methodological approach aims to utilise a body theory of post-industry society.

There has been a wide interest in narratives of deindustrialisation, with scholars noting 'living memory' as central to the understanding as 'local memories exist within the present as dynamic and changing processes' of industrial decline (Mah, 2010:403). In this thesis, I explore deindustrialisation and the loss that it entails through personal narratives of occupational health in relation to work and social effects. The research draws influence from the ideas of Parker and Terkel (2006:125), indeed their notion that 'interviewing people is discovering

people', the idea that everyone has something important to share that can bring light to a situation or event. I draw on the work of Alessandro Portelli, in Harlan county with the Appalachian coal community. Through his narratives, we gain insight not only into an individual but communal embodiment of work that is both respectful and appreciative of the area and its people (Portelli, 2011). Moreover, his idea that in manipulating time narrators not only attempt to reconstruct the past but to evaluate it (Portelli, 1991:273). Oral history can be viewed as an appraisal process, in 'articulating their transition, it reveals not only how they perceive themselves but their orientations towards individuals and institutions' (Potter 2015:15). Deindustrialisation is a process from which individuals require time to heal. It serves a 'psychological' capacity, analyses the manner through which memories are 'manipulated to heal' feelings of degradation and loss (Portelli, 1991:26). Narratives of health and injury help to construct individual lives, memories and events.

Oral history enables discussion of past events and episodes that might hold traumatic or deeply emotional memories for an individual. Thompson (1988) emphasises the therapeutic properties for individuals, allowing them to discuss issues with someone sympathetic to their plight and willing to listen. To Thompson, history 'is not just about events, or structures, or pattern of behaviour but also about how these are experienced and remembered in the imagination' (1988:162). Key to understanding these 'structures' and 'patterns' are memory studies that explore the mechanisms by which individuals, communities and cultures remember and neglect change. Memory is not only about 'telling a story', as James (2006) notes in his reflection on his experience of conducting oral history interviews in an Argentine meatpacking community. For him, it is about 'reconstructing the past in a selective way' that both 'legitimizes' and 'makes sense' (2006:85). Misztal (2003:12), whilst making a similar

argument in recognising memory as a collective experience, notes the importance of memory in creating 'shared social frameworks of individual recollection'. Moreover, she applies the term 'mnemonic communities' to describe the fusing of past and present that are evident in a present collective identity (Misztal, 2003). Memory is central to the concept of personhood and in viewing the body as a cultural artefact more broadly, as memory serves parallel functions as both a shared visualisation of the past and the society that created it (Misztal, 2003:52).

The oral history interview is a formula through which individuals talk through narratives of struggle, inter-twining relationships and events. They show their working out, to make sense of the past. Therefore, 'memory is key to our identity, without memory we have no social existence' (Abrams 2010:82). Oral history serves to break down the barriers of traditional methods of historical investigation. It aims to look beyond the facts and explore how reimagining of the past can add to understanding of the individual and collective memory within both that episode of time and contemporary society. Oral history plays a central role in our understanding of deindustrialisation, a 'recovery process' of decline as told by ordinary individuals (Dublin 1998:5). It is an act of readjustment and reconstruction that affects not only the body but a wider discourse of social groups, economy and community.

My Coal Mining Heritage and Role as a Researcher

Upon commencing my fieldwork in the Kent Coalfield, participants seemed open to talk about the heritage of the area and yet at the same time apprehensive as to the intentions of my

research. I was aware of the cynicism with which individuals saw my arrival. The interest that existed around coalfield communities among academics meant that the 'goldfish bowl' metaphor became too realistic for some members of the community. Participants proved keen to know the subject of my research and my reasoning for it. For instance, one former miner on my visit to the local heritage centre remarked, "occupational health, not heard that one before" followed by "most people tend to look at the strike". Differentiation had to be reinforced throughout fieldwork, in distinguishing my research from previous work undertaken.

At the same time, I was conscious of the research participants' self-imagery, their identity as a community that had been down trodden and cast aside by Thatcherism. Most notably, participants continually applied phrases such as 'militant' and 'close-knit', making clear the uniqueness of coalfield communities. As Liz French, a prominent member of the Kent Women Against Pit Closures Movement and lifelong resident of Mill Hill in Deal explained:

> You don't slot into Mill Hill. Because they always go "you gotta be born here" […] No you have to be born on Mill Hill to know it (Liz French, interviewed 3rd July, 2017).

I might not have been 'born' to a mining family but I did, through paternal lineage have a claim to its heritage. A mining heritage proved important to participants, a mark of distinction between those 'within the culture' and those of the 'outside groups' (Lumsden, 2013:12). My socialization to coal mining, in some aspects, can appear driven by the sense of belonging that came with coal mining heritage. Strangleman (2005) speaks of his knowledge of working-class

culture, its social norms and values, as derived from his knowledge as a railway man before becoming a sociologist (2005:138). For him, his memories as a signal operator on the London Underground shaped his sociological perceptions. I do not entertain the idea that my family's industrial heritage in some way made me more qualified to undertake research in the coalfields. However, it would be naive of me to presume that in twenty-four months spent working in and around the Kent Coalfield; my heritage did not somewhat make me sympathetic to the communities. It is worth noting, albeit unconsciously, my focusing on Betteshanger and Tilmanstone, the latter of the two pits where my family had worked. My heritage had in some way shaped my approach to the topic as a researcher and sociologist.

Trust and Acceptance

Since leaving the field, I have had time to reflect on my experiences and have been lucky to retain a friendship with my participants. These considerations have proved important in assessing outsider syndrome, trust and gender roles within my research. The first instance to which I wish to refer emerged while listening to the poem 'Coal Not Dole', in preparation for my interview with Philip and Kay Sutcliffe in 2017. Written by Kay Sutcliffe during the 1984/85 miners' strike, the piece explores the future uncertainty of coalfield communities, the fate of the colliery and its men subject to industry decline and closure. The poem offers an all too realistic view into the destiny of the Kent Coalfield, with themes of unemployment and sustainment through heritage regeneration. The poem is important for several reasons, namely here the changing value of the colliery in the landscape of deindustrialisation, as the verse reads:

Will it become a sacred ground?
Foreign tourists gazing round.
Asking if men once worked here,
way beneath this pithead gear

(Sutcliffe, 1984).

The Kent Coalfield is a 'post-industrial laboratory'[1], in which to unpack the process of deindustrialisation (as cited in Strangleman, 2017:55). In the poem, heritage sustains the area as seen in the 'foreign tourists' who visit the site. There is a sense of alienation between the colliery and the men who once worked there, the people in the area vulnerable and the effects of time serving to distort the community. When speaking to Kay and Philip Sutcliffe in an interview about the poem, Philip reminded me of the foresight with which this poem was written:

> I say now there's, like yourself, people are still interested now thirty years on after the pit had shut about what happened to the pits. It's just a fantastic story that people are still interested enough like yourself, to come and find out and see why things are like they are (Philip Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

This narrative is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, evident from the account, is the desire not to be forgotten. This has dominated the narratives of the coalfield community, heritage

[1] Term used Ray Pahl (1984), *Divisions of Labour,* in reference to the Sheppey Project.

and culture important for future generations. Secondly, in forcing me to consider my position as a researcher, to what extent had I become the 'foreign tourist' and how could I propose to move beyond this? I felt that this reflection enabled me the opportunity to re-consider my position as an 'outsider'. My attempts to integrate into community life via events such as my weekly visits to the local heritage and welfare groups, alongside 'snap and humour night', helped to aid my acceptance into the community. Pertinent to this was my desire to communicate a narrative of industry to which the individuals could relate and identify with, as being representative of their embodied experience. As such I had to move beyond the stance of the 'foreign tourist'.

In *They Say in Harlan County*, Portelli (2011) speaks of his community socialisation, he highlights the suspicion that often surrounds researchers entering the field. More importantly, he recalls his integration into the local community, in which he notes the moment that got him wondering 'what he was doing right' as an academic (2011:7). In interviewing participants in the Kent Coalfield, there were numerous times when I was acutely aware of my heritage and gender as playing a role in shaping my research. This research was by no means a piece of family history, yet in interviews participants often asked or, if they knew, referred to my heritage. As David Knight states in his interview:

> A lot of people that work down there were old village people you know, probably like your Grandad and things like that, well when they all left, they never replaced them. Then what they done they put a recruitment drive, I think it was the late 70s […] and they opened the floodgates, well everyone that was working outside i.e. butchers, bakers and candlestick makers, they all

> went down the pit because the money wasn't too bad. Well really, they were all the ones, as soon as they all joined the pit, then the camaraderie and the loyalty down there then started to break up. Because they weren't born into mining, they were just people that just came down for the money (David Knight, interviewed August 9th 2017).

In this narrative, David Knight highlights the changing cultural dynamics of the colliery from the mid-70s, as a precursor to the events that occurred post-closure in 1986. Furthermore, he makes a distinction in outlining his and my family as pertaining to a 'born' mining heritage. This opposed to individuals, who arrived at Tilmanstone colliery after the mid-70s, drawn to the industry because of monetary incentive. Cornwell (1984:17) states 'the interviewer cannot simply be a recording instrument because who she is, what she is like and the relationships she has with the interviewee affects the content of the interview'. For David, my family connection to Tilmanstone colliery made me sympathetic to the important cultural changes undertaken during this period. Moreover, it served to reduce evident differences in gender, age and career paths, this creating of a shared identity and heritage.

In my interviews with male participants, I asked them to consider occupational health within the context of work and community, with a focus on past and present experience. Interviews with female participants followed a similar pattern of questions but in these, emphasis was placed on occupational health in relation to family and community. Upon reflection of interview data, I began to identify differences in responses given by male and female participants. Abrams (2010:91) states that 'women are better able to talk about their feelings and emotions than men'. In interviews with female participants, emotion appeared strongest

within the context of memories of relatives. Although male participants expressed emotion in their interviews, material objects appeared to play an important part in evoking an emotional response. For example, in my interview with Tim Austen, a former coal face worker at Betteshanger, he stated:

> I still have my pay check, do you want to see it? I have never taken it off my keyring, so that's been on my keyring since 1979 (Tim Austen, interviewed 22nd January 2017).

Tim Austen in the same interview talked about the importance of his pay check stating:

> I am proud of it, I am proud of being a miner. It's never been away from me. If I ever lost my keys, which I have done a few times, that's the only thing I care about. I don't mind losing the keys but I don't want to lose my pay check (Tim Austen, interviewed 22nd January 2017).

The triangular metal pay check, with collier's number stamped across, proved for Tim Austen an emotional stimulus. There is of course a plethora of data on the use of objects in qualitative research, such as Pink (2015) and Lyon (2012). For Tim, the pay check is an illustration of his attachment to the industry, as seen in the 'lost keys'. Moreover, it served to reaffirm his identity as a miner, the pay check having been on his keys since he first started at the colliery in 1979. Buse and Twigg (2016), recognise the importance of objects, moreover clothing, in their discussion of dementia. For them, clothing plays a role firstly in the 'retaining aspect of the self' (2016:1122). Secondly, 'material objects can be used to maintain personal histories

and construct identity in the present' (2016:1131). The emphasis on sensory in object led narratives, highlights the potential of materiality to convey ideas surrounding emotion as an intrinsic part of identity.

High levels of emotion were evident in all interviews, with men often using humour or anecdotes in conveying health problems (see chapter two). This is similar to Sallee and Harris, who in their analysis of two separate qualitative research studies of masculinity, note participants 'performed gender according to what they believed the researcher expected of them' (2011:424). This in part I see as linked to the reluctance with which some male respondents revealed details of ill-health or injury, often pausing, or hesitating before either stating "actually I won't tell" or followed by an apology for having revealed the story to me. In these situations, there appeared what Sallee and Harris described as heightened 'sensitivity toward gender issues' (2011:425). Overall, male participants were, after some jovial conversation, followed by prompting and reassurance of a strong stomach for gory detail, more willing to describe their experiences in detail.

In his book *Footwork: Urban Outreach and Hidden Lives*, Tom Hall (2016) discusses the concept of 'learning to see' in the field, through his work with outreach workers in the city of Cardiff:

> 'We make our way back past the museum [no one there, nor any sign] and then the Crown Court [remains only – a sodden blanket, cigarette ends and crumbs], then along King Edward VII Avenue past the Glamorgan Building where I glimpse some sheets of cardboard stacked along one side of the building,

behind a pillar. “Well done”, says Jeff as we walk over to take a closer look. “You see? You’ve got outreach worker’s eyes now, Tom” (Hall 2016:204).

Considering the outreach work, Hall begins to develop a specific set of skills for viewing the city, searching for traces of where homeless and vulnerable individuals may be located. Through the process, we recognise his integration into the outreach worker team and his acceptance into that world, with Jeff’s response of him having gained ‘outreach worker’s eyes’. Portelli (2011), emphasises knowledge of success in fieldwork as important, stating; ‘it was the lesson in the methodology of fieldwork: the most important things I had to offer were my ignorance and my desire to learn’ (Portelli 2011:7). It is difficult to put a date or time on the moment in which I turned the corner from the ‘foreign tourist gazing round’ in my fieldwork. Nevertheless, it was “my interest in the heritage but also in them sustaining a future”, as one former miner remarked, that meant I was welcomed into the coalfield community, with the warmth and love of a family.

Conclusion

The central focus of this chapter has been to show how ethnography and oral history aid in deepening discussion of the body as a concept within deindustrialisation. In the first section, ethnography is shown as a traditional methodology in the study of the coal mining industry. More directly, ethnography allows us to ‘get under the skin’, serving as a ‘device’ through which to explore the indirect implications of workplace and deindustrialisation upon the body. In this chapter, I show how ethnography as applied in the work of Wacquant (2015), can be used as a method to peel away layers of invisible properties to reveal often overlooked

mechanisms of the body. In the case of the deindustrial body, emotion, craft skill and habitus are revealed, as workers maintain and incorporate this into their identity.

In oral history, the body is paramount in constructing identity from the workplace through to deindustrialisation. Here, the body was important in understanding not only the miner's self-imagery but also in recognising how deindustrialisation incorporated into the body through physical deterioration. The personal narratives of occupational health, illness and loss, all highlight deindustrialisation as an embodied process of change. There is a wide range of deindustrial literature that has considered the body within narratives of industrial closure and decline. Therefore, the following chapter will consider how the body is materialised within work and post-industrial literature and why the body as a concept is insightful in understanding deindustrialisation. The body represented the worker's identity as a miner, however with industrial decline, this was de-valued, lost and humiliated. But through the concept of the deindustrial body, workers and their families sought to resist and retain their industrial identity.

Chapter Two: The Deindustrial Body

As highlighted in the previous chapter, research on working life and post-industrial society has shown the body to be of central importance in shaping individual and collective experiences of deindustrialisation. A close reading of the body both stimulates and encourages research on deindustrialisation as a process and therefore this chapter aims to establish the deindustrial body as a concept. The chapter offers a review of literature relating to employment and deindustrialisation combining sociological and historiological research to analyse the relationship between the body and deindustrialisation. It is organised into four sections. Firstly, I discuss the relationship between the body and identity aligning these with contemporary experiences of deindustrialisation. Secondly, I consider the concept of the 'half-life of deindustrialisation', as a mechanism for understanding the continued impact and legacy of decay left by industry closure. The third section is concerned with craft skill and emotional embodiment of work. Here the thesis is concerned with the incorporation of industry practices into the workers' body and what this offers in understanding deindustrialisation as an embodied process. The final section examines memory and ruination. The discussion centres on collective and contemporary experiences of living with occupational health problems in a deindustrialised community.

From Industrial to Deindustrial Embodiment

In 1957 Jim Davies went to work at Betteshanger colliery and would eventually climb the ranks to overman, before he finished in 1990, one of the last mining employees in Kent. Now retired, Jim played an active part in maintaining the local heritage of the area, regularly attending talks and presenting at events. After reflection on his years spent working at the

colliery, Jim in his interview went on to speak about the health problems he had suffered since leaving. As he states:

> I mean my knees are shattered, completely shattered, I'm trying to do exercise. I'm playing bowls but I have to have a chair at either end where I play, then go and have a minute, that sort of thing. I had the normal thing, like the vibration white finger, where you, 'cos of tools, where you get that certain thing. But what happened, I had to go to the doctors, hospital, for chest x-ray and it came back that I'd lost half a lung. So, anyway when they sent this […] whatever they call them to check you and they come back "no, everything's alright" but I've been told I've lost half a lung. "No, no everything's alright". So fair enough, 'cos it showed up on the x-rays that I'd lost it and I was asked to sign a form to say that they would give me compensation providing, If I signed the form. I said no, I'm not signing the form, I said I know that every miner, when he dies, he has to have a post-mortem. I said what I'll do, 'cos I realised, I had a chest problem, I said the kids can have it if there's anything, so that's what I left it at that. So, I know I've got the problem with the chest but I'm, as I say, I'm quite happy to plod along now but it is the knees that are really, really, giving me gyp, big time (Jim Davies, interviewed 25th April 2017).

For Jim Davies, his career at the colliery had proved significant in shaping his social experience of his retirement. It seems that despite the closure of the colliery almost thirty years ago, Jim through the 'shattering of his knees' and 'loss of half a lung' retains through his body an attachment to industrial life. As Jim illustrates, his body is part of a much wider discourse of

ill-health evident throughout deindustrial coalfield communities and the changing landscape of industrial employment since the late 1970s. This thesis is concerned with the embodiment of deindustrialisation, as understood and expressed by former miners in their identity as individuals and subsequently through occupational health and illness. I examine workplace practices, community narratives and post-industrial livelihood to build a picture of deindustrialisation as experienced by former Kent miners. Whilst this coalfield never produced as much as one percent of the UK's coal, reaching peak employment in 1936 (Booth, 2001:31), their experience is representative of the deindustrialisation that occurred throughout industrial communities. Through narrating their experiences of occupational health and illness, workers examine their changing social status in Britain's post-industrial landscape, in which they are archaic. They resent the disruption to their social mores and conventions brought about by industry closure, as the social structure of their communities deteriorate. Yet at the same time, through their bodies they maintain a (un)decayed attachment to the industry and their identity as a miner.

The Kent miners, like other industrial workers that have undergone substantial upheaval, 'feel rejected', 'isolated from the society in which they live' and as 'outsiders looking in' (Kideckel, 2008:6). This frustration is conveyed through tales of heroism and camaraderie within working life, as compared to contemporary hardships of social and economic suffering. Through their bodies the men formulate a narrative of industrial decline, the memories of each blue scar, cut or knock, a testament to his life as a miner. The ill-health that they face, like Jim Davies, because of their work in the coal industry, leaves them with life limiting effects and facing social isolation living with an occupational disease once an industry has ceased to exist. The body is a site in which the industrial worker most readily expresses his identity, his

attachment to the industry and the changes that he has undergone because of worksite closure and decline.

The body has undergone multiple framings within the study of the changing nature of work and deindustrialisation. Analysis of deindustrialisation has highlighted the transition that workers undertake as they move from industrial to post-industrial society. This imagery of the worker's body broken physically and socially, is representative of his changed industrial identity and status (Kideckel, 2008). Such a view of the relationship between industry and embodiment, presents the deindustrial body as a concept for examining industry decline as a process of change. For McIvor (2017) and Storey (2017), the body is an inherent method of analysis, as we endeavour to understand the legacy of industry decline. Storey's argument is that, despite increasing calls from deindustrial theorists to 'move beyond the body count' (Cowie and Heathcott, 2003), injured workers and their family members cannot look beyond the body, for these individuals their bodies define their deindustrial experience (Storey, 2017:60). The nature of industrial employment was such that health and social inequality looms large over once industrial communities. There is an overwhelming sense of loss that permeates from the narrative of former workers and their communities. This loss appears to have become embodied within the workers themselves or, rather; there is a sense that their identity has somehow become lost within deindustrialisation.

The display of masculinity amongst men was an important part of the embodied uniformity within the coal industry, becoming associated with acts of induction and camaraderie within the workplace. The coal industry 'forged the male body and incubated many identities that have been associated with a hardman hegemonic' mode of masculinity (McIvor and Johnston

2007:39). In observing the masculinity within the context of the coal industry, McIvor and Johnson (2007:39) noted that the industry proved effective in moulding individuals that were 'immune to danger, whilst the hard, physical graft of pit work honed miners' bodies into fit and supple machines'. Reflecting on the construction of masculinity within industry, there appeared at its centre the desire to construct a 'useful body' (Wolkowitz 2006:55). For these workers, the body was an extension of individual identity and wellbeing, not just class. Competing interests between occupational health and masculinity, evident within industrial culture, are a product of the stigmas attached to illness and poor health. More notably, 'at the centre of ideologies of masculinity was an acknowledgement that the male body could be rendered unsightly' (Bourke, 1996:77). A strong machismo work environment and ideology of ill-health as a weakness, was necessary in creating a culture that ensured the continual uptake of men in a highly dangerous and life-threatening occupation.

There are thought-provoking parallels between the established relationship between work and identity, in relation to the embodiment of industry. For industrial workers and working classes alike, the body was an artefact, which permeated meaning. There are two distinctive rhetorics to the deindustrial body, as an expression of individual and collective identity. The body is a concept through which to understand work culture, habitus and most importantly the significance of industry loss. The loss of manual labour, because of industry closure, meant work supposedly became detached from identity. Industrial occupations celebrated worker identity and the masculine image that it imposed. Slavishak (2008), in his discussion of the steel industry of Pittsburgh, focuses on masculine strength as representative of 'respectable manhood' in which 'desire for change' in status and respectability is inscribed. Faludi (1999) too recognises the male body as symbolic. She notes that working at the shipyard promoted

a ‘vintage American masculinity’, built on ‘usefulness’ and ‘productivity’ (Faludi, 1999:55). However, unlike Slavishak, she emphasises ‘skill’ and ‘value’ as important in representations of industrial masculinity. Industrial occupations sought to celebrate the male body, instilling a sense of pride and accomplishment among its workers. Deindustrialisation rejected this imagery, making the blue collar work a nostalgic object, invisible within contemporary society.

Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012), in their study of a deindustrial South Wales steel town, apply a psychoanalytical approach, describing the works as both a ‘physical object’ and ‘object of fantasy’ (Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012:56). The latter idea is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, it recognises the importance of the male body within industry as an idealised and iconographic figure of status. Secondly, it is illustrative of what McDowell terms the ‘collective social practise’ of masculinity (2011:12). The body is an indicator of identity but more importantly a communal object of ‘class’ and ‘status’. The suggestion is that notions of industrial masculinity are illustrative of the body as an ‘object of fantasy’ or more directly, the body is an artefact of industry, incorporated through workers’ physicality and emotion.

Deindustrialisation as a discourse raises important questions about the changing status of the masculine body over the course of the twentieth century. The increasing displays of the masculine body as ‘admirable’ and ‘beautiful’, is for Bordo (2000), evidence of the feminisation of the male body. The decline of industry from the late 1970s onwards, coincided with the rise of the service sector. During this period, relationship between work and embodiment shifted focus away from identity to the commercialisation of emotion (see Hochschild, 2012 [1979]; McDowell, 2011). For former employees of the industrial work sector, the rise of neo-liberalism in approach to work signalled a ‘crisis of masculinity’. The

relationship between industrial employment and identity proved a complex negotiation between skill, health and machismo to shape the worker's body. The decline of manufacturing jobs has meant that in deindustrialisation 'masculinity must be forged through relationships as much as through work. Fatherhood plays a role again but now it involves caretaking as well as bread winning' (Linkon, 2014:161). Industry loss and decline of social and cultural practices made the worker's identity in his deindustrial body vulnerable to change.

Deindustrial society highlights the significance of the body in terms of the emphasis placed on the male body within industry and the subsequent identity deconstruction that workers' undertake post-closure. In reassessing their future, former industrial workers are stripped of their status and re-evaluate their skills and social relations. For individuals pertaining to the region, it requires an acknowledgement that 'our bodies and not just our psyches have histories' (Walley 2013:119). For Walley, industrial communities through their body, continue to hold a 'material' attachment to the past, as seen in the environmental and health impacts from which they suffer. Kideckel (2008), making a similar point as to the parallels between deindustrial society and material attachment noted that with post-socialism comes erosion of industry and therefore, sense of 'belonging, agency and physical integrity' (Kideckel 2008:68). Walley (2013) and Kideckel (2008) through the body, demonstrate the wider social and cultural implications of industry decline. More directly, deindustrialisation plays a role in the characterisation of the body. What emerges is a 'materiality to class', defined as a mutually determined existence, as with industrialisation, deindustrialisation remains with us, 'our class backgrounds remain part of who we are' (Walley 2013:152). For former industrial workers, industrial embodiment manifests in identity and displays in the imagery of the body

as a ‘cultural artefact’, which has recognised attachment to previous cultural and social practices.

The focus on physical manifestation of industrial identity within deindustrial literature links to romanticised representations of post-industrial society. McIvor (2017), in his assessment of the shifting focus within deindustrialisation, notes such representations as key in the overlooking of the body, as he states:

> Overly sentimentalized and nostalgic representations of deindustrialised workplaces have perhaps contributed to a neglect of the multifaceted impacts industrial work and its loss had upon workers’ bodies’ (McIvor 2017:40).

A strong work ethic meant plant closings and consequential job loss, greatly impacted bodies as a profound and traumatic experience (2017:41). Deindustrialisation is as profound as industrialisation, in shaping workers understanding of masculinity, emotion and skill. Embodiment of industry can at times appear invisible within deindustrialisation, indistinguishable and obscured from social gaze. In examining the worker’s body as a cultural artefact, it highlights the importance of materiality as an important tool of ‘cultural remembering’. For DeSilvey this process is not the ‘reflection on a static memorial remnant’ but a ‘process’ that reveals the remnants in ecologies and expressions of value – accommodating for death, rebirth, loss and renewal (DeSilvey, 2006:328). This discussion of materiality within deindustrialisation has engaged writers. High (2013) spoke of the application of the term ‘ruination’ to highlight the aesthetic focused approach to industrial heritage. Mah (2012), whilst too recognising the importance of ruination, emphasised

memories of once industrial landscapes, as essential in reducing the invisibility of the deindustrial body. High (2013) and Mah (2012), recognise 'ruins' or 'ruination' as an important application in recognising the physical properties of deindustrial society. Furthermore, it is Edensor's (2005a) focus on the 'refashioning' or 're-evaluating' of ruins to find value, that enables insight as to the benefits that such material associations might hold for the body as a collective symbol of change. In deindustrial culture, physical displays of identity play an important role in the continuance of an industry's legacy.

Deindustrialisation highlights the significance of the body, not only recognising the importance of craft skill, habits and emotion but also by ensuring the continual existence of these bodily characterisations. This imagery of the worker's body as a 'relic' has made it difficult for individuals to negotiate a space in a landscape where their 'value' and 'sense of self' denote a bygone era. This imagery of the body as a relic of industry, has proved quintessential in how deindustrialisation frames the body. For example, Storey (2017) describes the injured worker's body politic as 'fractured in deindustrialisation' (48), 'artefacts of an industrial age' (62). Instead, Portelli (2011) explores the personalised nature of deindustrialisation, the worker's body is symbolic but at the same time, childhood and communal memories ensure a legacy of industry. For Walley (2013), she highlights the embodiment of work as not only representative of the individual but a culture and community. The conceptualisation of the body as seen through politics, memory and community has much to say about deindustrialisation but has overlooked the personalised experiences as seen through health.

In ‘Exit Zero’, Walley (2013) examines deindustrialisation through the environment and resulting health conditions. Her account of post-industrial Chicago found that the environment offered a framework to understand the links between ill-health, the body and industry. The battles with health experienced by Walley in her diagnosis with uterine cancer and later her Father with lung cancer, served to place them within an industrial community, in the uncertainty of a changing deindustrial landscape. As such, she highlights the body as it plays a central role in understanding how individuals perceive and understand change, evident with industrial decline. It is important to account for the significance of body as an object through which we can measure and comprehend social and cultural change.

In the provocative phrase ‘postsocialism hurts’, Kideckel denotes the way in which the social and cultural change is ‘inscribed on the bodies, in the minds and in the speech of many living through these uncertain times’ (2008:6). Pain seems an essential feature of deindustrialisation, as with the loss of social structure of support, former workers are forced to make sense of their occupational health and changed social status within contemporary society. The changes that the blue-collar worker has undergone, from industrial virility to deteriorating social status and nostalgic imagery, all shape the individual and collective body. Work is displayed as ‘complex, variable, unstable and uncertain for many and yet crucial to our everyday lives and arguably our sense of selves (Pettinger and Lyon 2012:1.1) More notably, this discussion shows there is more to the body within deindustrialisation than simply a physical object, which makes the concept of deindustrialisation as an embodied process all the more relevant. For Walley, ‘our identities are like patchwork quilts forged of many pieces’, ‘we are forced to choose from the scraps made available to us, we choose how to arrange them and create a larger pattern and meaning’ (Walley 2013:115). Walley echoes many of

the same sentiments as McIvor (2013) alongside McIvor and Johnston (2000, 2007) who discuss in their examination of the relationship between work and identity - emotion, health and industry.

This thesis is not just concerned with identity; it also aims to show the experience of the Kent miners is symbolic of wider social and cultural deterioration that has taken place elsewhere. Clearly, despite attempts to make the industrial worker invisible, through their body they retain a relevance to contemporary society. Their bodily attachment to industry, be it through craft skill or habits, means that they retain a sense of purpose and although suffering from social isolation, through nostalgic representations they maintain an attachment to the past. The maintaining of this industry's identity through personal, social and cultural practices ensures not only their own survival but that of their communities for future generations.

The 'Half-Life of Deindustrialisation'

The hand of a miner is laden with blue scars, set against the translucent tips of fingers; their movement radiates pain, joints stiff with evidence of swelling. Each cough or splutter is met with the rhetoric of 'silicosis' or 'pneumoconiosis', with a pat of the chest or mouth, serving to place them as an embodiment of the mining industry. They wear their injuries and the men share their stories, each one more heroic and intrepid than the last. A worker's craft is etched into the skin, pores and joints; the body traces his work life, prompting memories and emotion of an industry that closed in the 1980s. We shift through cycles; Mah argues that uncertainty defines the lives of those living between motions of 'destruction' and 'recreation' (2012:126). Her description of a 'temporal existence' presents the body as a site of cultural loss and change. The interplay between the miner and his health recognises the body as a

mezzanine, an intermediate between past and present. 'The body represented a site that displayed aspects of working-class history that could be recalled through physical attributes, body art and injury' (Gildart, 2009:152), through which the emotional, social and psychological implications of deindustrialisation are discernible.

The term 'duality' in the context of past and present experiences, is essential in deindustrialisation to understanding the consciousness of former workers. Deindustrialisation literature has sought to obtain a dualistic understanding of decline; 'breadwinner' and 'homemaker', 'sustained' and 'speculative' community to comprehend the physical, psychological and overtly emotional ties to the past, evident within once industrial communities. Individuals undergoing deindustrialisation exist in a state of limbo, caught between past and present, unclear what will happen next. Linkon, has developed the concept of the 'half-life of deindustrialisation' to capture the cultural legacy of industry closure. The 'half-life of deindustrialisation' articulates the disorientated and bemused state expressed within the duality process of deindustrialisation. Linkon defines deindustrialisation as like the fallout effects from radioactive decay, influences lessen over time but the damage inflicted by industry closure remains in the health problems, anti-social behaviour and economic deprivation (2018:6). The idea of deindustrialisation as like radioactive decay is evident within the former Kent Coalfields, as resident of Aylesham and once active member of Women Against Pit Closure Janice Bartolo described:

> We used to have a couple of Working Men's Clubs, well that one closed which was the welfare club which belonged to the miners obviously. The other one was down where the Burgess Road that's closed now. I think because people's

> whole life changed, because they were more or less kept running on the men being on shift work but when people started having to travel so far out of the community and for twelve or fourteen hours a day, they're not going to have time or the inclination to go and socialise. They started it, killed our community, by closing the pit it killed the community because it just did, because the whole of our lives and the structure of our village changed drastically (Janice Bartolo, interviewed 19th September 2017).

Within the account given by Janice, we can see evidence of economic deprivation, as the colliery shutdown and the unsustainable job market in the area forced the closure of both the working men's and welfare club in Aylesham. At the time of the interview, I was taken aback by the rawness of anger with which Janice spoke of the closing through the evocative phrase of 'killing of the community', despite it being over thirty years since Snowdown colliery had shut. In Janice, I saw for the first time the 'half-life of deindustrialisation', the duality of past and present of which Linkon had spoken. This would prove a turning point in my research, as I began to comprehend the personal impact of loss for former workers and the implications that this had on individual identity. Linkon (2018) mirrors the anguish expressed within Janice's account, through her analysis of deindustrial fiction, Jim Daniels's *Digger Poems* and Lynn Nottage's play *Sweat,* both reflecting the complexity of emotion and uncertainty felt with loss of industry. The accounts demonstrate the prolonged suffering with the gradual deterioration of economic stability and community degradation. Moreover, through Nottage's play *Sweat,* Linkon introduces us to the idea of deindustrialisation as multigenerational. She notes Tracey, one of the main protagonists of the play, as presenting 'industrial labour as a family tradition', 'having inherited a working-class identity' from her

‘steelworker father’, ‘German immigrant woodworker grandfather’ and her son as the ‘third generation to work in the steel mill’ (2018:80). In the text, industrial labour is an inheritance, a tradition of passing on practices, skills and obligations, the essence of personhood.

To capture the inter-generational legacy of industry, Geoff Bright (2016) analysed the impact that industrial decline has had on communities through youth precariousness in the former pit villages of South Yorkshire and the northern part of Derbyshire. Memories of the past hold a significant place in contemporary formation of these communities, with Bright referring to the term ‘social haunting’ to capture the ‘socio-political-psychological state’ that exists within these communities (2016:148). The shift from industrial to non-industrial is not clear-cut, as Bright has stressed deindustrialisation is a long and drawn out process of liminality. His studies coinciding with the death of Margaret Thatcher, demonstrate how visual and social interactions still play an active role in fostering a class-consciousness and political rawness among young individuals in those areas (2016:153). Avery Gordon informs Bright’s understanding of social haunting, anthropologically defining the term as a way of comprehending ‘what has’ and ‘is happening’ (Gordon, 1997:8). Bright presents the youth of coalfield communities as hungry ghosts as they experience an unrelenting attachment to the past because of the untimely demise placed upon the community. The preservation of memories and heritage are essential in the makeup of these former industrial communities. In communities, like the one described by Bright, former workers and their proceeding generations appear to face the same problems in trying to make sense of their embodied identity against the backdrop of social and economic change, far removed from industry.

Bright (2016:154) refers to one participant Angelika in particular, as holding a 'half person' status. Bright states that in her interview, she draws on memories of the miners' strike to explain her feelings of discontent and disappointment in the lack of government assistance for young people (2016:154). Through the words of Angelika, Bright echoes many of the same sentiments expressed within Linkon's term 'the half-life'. For Bright, like Linkon, the deindustrial body is characterised by memory of past experiences, which proves important in individuals determining relationships to community and moreover, the alienation felt with industrial closure.

The notion of loss and 'half-person' status is indicative within narratives of occupational health within former industrial communities. In an existence both past and present, the miner is in a betwixt state and between bodies of transition. This thesis explores the liminal existence, focusing on how industrial workers experience and embody the process of industrial decline. It examines deindustrialisation as a uniquely individual and personal event that as the layers peel back can prove insightful in comprehending wider social and cultural change.

Strangleman in his (2004:41) book, *Work Identity at the end of the line?* Focuses on the distinctive generational identity that the railway industry fostered amongst its workers. The text's key aim is to explore the impact of the transition from nationalisation to privatisation in the 1990s on identity and social groups. Through Strangleman's analysis of railway culture, it emerges that the loss of 'corporate memory' is a key factor in this transformation, a result of 'the removal of a critical mass of experienced workers' (2004:161). He goes on further to state, 'that both formal skill and informal tacit knowledge about the organisation may be

destroyed or seriously damaged' (2004:161). Strangleman's observations of a hankering for knowledge and skill that had been lost resonated with Bright's account of Angelika, as holding a 'half-person', 'half-life' status. This is made evident by Strangleman who notes that - before nationalisation of the railway 'linkage is made between the organisation and type of worker it bred with phrases such as 'special', 'craft' and 'fine art' regularly employed in order to mark out the calibre of the former workers from those who followed them (2004:88).

This 'half-person' is most evident in Mick Rosser's narrative, who began work at Betteshanger colliery at just sixteen years old in 1975. Part of a mining family, in his interview he spoke of the intergenerational disparity in approaches and work reputation:

> It didn't suit me either being tall, because most of our faces were quite low and it was dirty, smelly, dusty, I mean I won't kid you, we all had a reputation that our generation were considered like 'lazy' compared to the miners of the 60s, you know my Dad's generation. You know we were, you know, "you'll never be as good as us" and to be honest we didn't try to be (Mick Rosser, interviewed 19th July, 2017).

Mick goes on further to comment on the importance of reputation. Here he describes the esteem with which older workers were held within the colliery environment:

> My Dad was a bit old fashioned but some of my Dad's friends weren't, they would have comments that "oh he's a result of a drunken night", that's trying to put it mildly [laughs]. You know, there was quite a few of us like that, your

> parents had a reputation and you were told, “it took a life time to make a good’, you know a good reputation but it took minutes, weeks, or days to get a bad one. So some of us sort of took the short cut and thought well, let’s not try, you know. You're going to get branded anyway, so you know. I mean everyone did their bit, I mean back in them days, it was more about having a giggle you know, there was no incentive. There was no one on our backs to work hard, like there was, I mean you hear stories back then of, about them and some of them were beaten you know, money was that important. I mean back in our day there was no sort of anyone really leaning on you or anyone watching over you but you did get on and do it, you had to, especially near the end (Mick Rosser, interviewed 19th July, 2017).

For Mick, ‘reputation’ defined his relation to the coal industry. In his employment at the colliery, he worked in the shadow of his father’s prestige; he led a dual existence caught between his own ‘lazy’ body and that of his fathers’ ‘good’ body. Such experiences served to shape Mick’s seemingly distant relationship to the industry. In his identity as a miner, he appeared haunted by the closure and his father’s identity, as displayed through his embodiment of industry as somehow inferior to those of previous generations of coal workers. His ‘tall stature’ and ‘humorous’ work activities serving to further accentuate this.

In the deindustrial world, the industrial worker finds it difficult to develop a bodily schema, surrounded by past social and economic ambivalence. The miner’s body schema, is a set of institutional practices that he embodied through individual functioning and processes, which represents his own body and is inter-generationally embedded in the experiences of men

before him. The term melancholia is employed to understand this state of the half-life evident within the body schema. Described as 'mourning without end', it is the individual inability that 'cannot "get over" this loss—cannot work out this loss to invest in new objects' (Eng and Hans, 2003:670-71). This inability to overcome loss, is evident in Roberts' accounts of redundancy from the shipbuilding industry in Wearside in the 1980s. Central to the text's argument is the sense of social and cultural betrayal, brought about by mass layoffs. Roberts (1993:181) notes the Regional Organiser of the General and Municipal Work's Union upon his resignation proclaiming young workers as 'betraying their fore-fathers'. He notes the organiser as going further to state 'throwing away – for short-sighted and selfish reasons – job opportunities for the young' (1993:181). Roberts' analysis of redundancy provides insight into a body schema in which both the future and past experiences of an industry are embodied. Closure of industry dominates the despair and insecurity defining the embodied experience of this younger generation like Mick, who compares his identity as a miner to that of his father's, as inferior.

Remorse is prevalent in both Janice and Mick's accounts as within their lifetime they have witnessed the total depletion of the workforce in Kent, with the closure of the last coalfield colliery in 1989, as compared to 1955 when the UK Coal Industry workforce consisted of seven hundred and four thousand people (Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy, 2013). Finally, in 2015, the closure of Hatfield colliery in June, alongside Thorsby and Kellingley in December, the last deep coalmines in Britain[2]. The prevalence of remorse for an industry in these accounts is understood with a wider context of complex alienation and imagined

[2] April 2017 also marked an historic moment for the industry, as for the first time since the early 1800s the national grid reported Britain had gone without using coal to generate electricity (Bodkin, 2017).

futures. The feelings of regret and guilt Janice and Mick express are part of a capitalist system of redemption, the marginalisation of trades unions, with power given to central government and privatisation of key national industries.

Nettleingham (2017) examines the role of generations in the construction of political and historical narratives. The aim of the piece is to explore the alienation and destruction of the far-left through the decline of the coal mining industry in the UK following the 1984-85 strike. Through Nettleingham's reading, we draw connections to the miner as an 'embodiment of a time and place, as a group whose defeat marks a fork in the history of a movement' (2017:862). This defeat is part of the alienation experienced under the growth of capitalism in the 1980s, in which the Thatcher Conservative government sought to alienate industrial workers through privatisation and a laissez-faire economics.

Theories of alienation as linked to 'half-life' and 'half-person' status resonated within the accounts of Janice and Mick, as economics imposed the closure of the Kent Coalfield, loss of employment and community. This made evident by Janice and Mick as they discuss the 'killing of the community' and 'reputation' of a generation of workers. The accounts note the disparity in the coalfield community and work practices of the past compared to now, exploring the term 'killing' in the form of social and cultural change, to highlight the anxiety within the present.

Past scholarship has sought to apply melancholia within the fields of post-coloniality (see Fanon [1952]2008; Eng, D. and Han S. 2003; Cheng, 2001) but it has a lot to offer to our understanding of deindustrialisation and its lingering effects as expressed through terms such

as the ‘half-life’, alongside ‘social haunting’. In assessing the ‘duality’ of deindustrialisation, the ‘half-life of deindustrialisation’ offers a communal and inter-generational algorithm to the persistent effects of industry decline, presenting it as a shared experience. The ‘deindustrial body’ lies alongside these two frameworks, it offers a window into comprehending loss and work life experiences as expressed within individuals. The term presents industrial decline as deeply personal, with each experience unique. It is an embodied process of change expressed not only in former coalfield communities but in the individuals themselves.

Situating the Body with Industry: Emotions and Craft Skill

While trying to understand the deindustrial body in relation to the Kent Coalfield, I have drawn influence from Kideckel’s (2008) work on transition, alongside McIvor (2017, 2013) and Walleys’ (2013) work on the relationship between industry and identity. I have at the same time found myself exploring the concept of *habitus* to better understand the former miner’s relationship to his body. ‘Miners’ are simply addicted to habits’ as Zweig (1948:8) noted, in his ethnographic observations of Britain’s coalfields. Here my understanding of *habitus* is based on that of Bourdieu’s as ‘the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification of these practices’ (1979:170). As this thesis is not the work of a Bourdieusian social theorist, my understanding of habitus is informed by the work of Loïc Wacquant (2004).

Within my observations of the miner there appeared two central components to the miner’s disposition. The first within the context of body pedagogics, in which Shilling (2007:13) views the theory as central in understanding the techniques, skills and disposition, the acquiring of attributes that bring about bodily change. The second with the understanding that the body

is an expression of emotional attachment to work. As Hochschild states, 'like the sense of hearing, emotion communicates information' (2012 [1979]:17). Identity is key here to this relationship, the formation of skills and the resulting emotional attachment to work, the embodiment of these dispositions serving to imprint, shape and form the embodied experience of deindustrialisation.

In focusing on the sport of boxing, sociologist and social anthropologist Wacquant (2004) in *Body and Soul*, offers an understanding of how work, or rather sporting practices, become incorporated in the body. This 'pugilistic habitus' as he describes, is formed through reproduction, internalised through the socialisation of individuals to a set of skills and dispositions. One of the over-riding questions that emerges from his study is how might habitus help us to better understand embodied relationships? For Wacquant, to learn how to box is to 'modify one's body schema, one's relationship to one's body' (2004:95). Wacquant is attempting to identify the different roles of the body, how pugilism is transmitted and more importantly understood. 'Pugilistic knowledge' as a concept highlights concerns as to the spatial properties of the body, the relationship between personhood and environment. Wacquant sees the invisible properties of the body as important as the visible, in shaping individual perception and response to the social world. More directly, he considers how through transmission of pugilism in the form of visual, gestural and mimicked body movement, reveals an understanding of identity. As such, knowledge of *habitus* is necessary if we are to understand deindustrialisation as an embodied concept.

This idea, put forward by Wacquant, highlights the insight that 'pugilistic habitus can offer into sporting or moreover, occupational embodiment. He introduces the concept of

'pugilistic pedagogy', aimed at not only transmitting a technique but a social hierarchy (Wacquant, 2004:111). Of course, what Wacquant is saying about body pedagogics is not unique to boxing. Indeed, it can be understood as part of a much wider discourse of bodily changes, brought about by sporting and occupational practices. More notable though, within Wacquant's reading of 'pugilistic pedagogy', there is an emotional connection. As he states, 'pugilistic pedagogy is thus incapably a pedagogy of humility and honour whose goal is to inculcate in each the sense of limits' (Wacquant, 2004:111). To be effective within an occupation, individuals are required to convert their body to a form of unconscious habitual techniques and sensory orientation (Shilling, 2012:15). It is this emphasis on the relationship between emotion and pedagogy that has tended to dominate sensory studies of employment and craft. For example, O'Connor (2007) like Wacquant, is concerned with an innate, tacit knowledge that comes with craft learning. On the other hand, Crawford (2009:25) notes dirt as important, these 'sensible traces' a sign of personal investment in craft. Lastly, Thurnell-Reid (2014:52) considers sensory knowledge of processes and materials as a display of skill and knowledge that establishes occupational identity. These sensible traces of craft skill, as bodily expression of habitus, reflect to and arise from the affective states of employment.

These ideas of body pedagogy are linked to efforts to formulate an understanding of habitus that is bodily intuitive – not simply a state of mind but also a bodily state of being (Wainwright *et al.* 2006:537). Bodily techniques offer an opportunity to observe and classify habitual cultural practices, as Andersson *et al.* (2015:738) note in their observations of sailing - movement reflects judgement towards directions of wind, boat

and course. These observations of habitual embodied interconnections, show skill and emotion at play in the construction of identity.

In recognising the importance of craft skill, Ackers (2014), in his study of skilled workers at Chatham Dockyard, refers to a 'craft outlook', to acknowledge the personal rewards individuals gained from work (2014:506). Whilst in some ways we might argue that this refers to an 'elite' set of skilled Dockyard workers, the term does reflect something of the emotional attachment to skill evident within deindustrial society. Wolkowitz suggests that a 'Bourdieusian concept of the habitus is better able to capture the complexity of the shaping of industrial workers, in doing so 'explaining the logic of their practices in terms of their social situation' (2006:69). This relationship between 'habitus' and 'practices' I view as central to the emotion evident within the deindustrial body. The two terms recognise the importance of memory and experience in the construction of contemporary personhood. Craft habitus is an expression of the half-life of industry, a distinctive set of skills, expressions and practices, a mechanism through which to consider the meaning of work within the socialisation of decline.

Unremarkable Memories of a Collective Body

Having explored the body within the context of the individual and habits of industry, this section considers the collective experience. Scholars have long noted the association between coal mining and ill-health, as having an impact on community life. This is evident within narratives of community, in the extent that ill-health is remarkable and yet at the same time unremarkable and normal. For Small *et al.* (2012:1401) the 'common place' nature of breathing difficulties meant health expectations amongst these communities was lower than

expected. They go on in their research into pulmonary disease in Barnsley UK, to note that the familiarity with 'bad lungs' served as both a source of unity and anxiety within the community.

Cornwell (1984), in her study of health and illness among residents in East London, notes the importance of poor health in shaping attitudes and approaches to daily life. The narratives to which this book refers, is important in recognising the complex relationships between home, work and family that sufferers of ill-heath experience. She states that 'one of the most basic ways in which people define illness is as an occurrence that disrupts normality and is itself abnormal' (1984:55). This definition of ill-heath as 'disruptive of normality' and 'abnormal' is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, it recognises the sense of othering or social exclusion that comes with ill-health. Secondly, in circumstances of illness, the past experiences become important in defining stages of deterioration, it presents the individual as a 'half-person' of their former selves.

Ill-health as an unremarkable reality of the coalfield community, is firmly fixed within memory and nostalgia. The appeal of memory in researching deindustrialisation is how the past seems to have a continuing presence in contemporary livelihood. Linkon and Russo (2003) speak of 'communities of memory', where storytelling is essential in overcoming decay and vulnerability imposed by closure. Moreover, Walkerdine (2010:111) notes that with the death of the steel industry in South Wales, came the erosion of the 'community matrix' that was replaced by a social body of nostalgia. Dudley (1997) echoes many of the sentiments expressed by Linkon and Russo and Walkerdine. In her study of closure of the Chrysler assembly plant in Kenosha, Wisconsin in the late 1980s, through a singular site she explores

the impact of deindustrialisation upon an area of people. She notes the subsequent despair, hardship and unemployment that former workers experience with industry closure. More notably, Dudley reflects that the symbolism of plant closing is about the meaning of change itself (1997:175). Industry closure is visualised as a catalyst for change. Indeed, it is this emphasis on transition that has dominated community studies within deindustrialisation literature.

Having explored how unremarkable ill-health within the coalfield community has been, where does this leave the deindustrial body? For Mah (2012) ill-health is a symbol of 'ruin', traces of which remain in deindustrial communities. In her analysis she follows three case studies of deindustrial communities across Europe and the United States of America. Central to her argument is that ruination is a lived process (Mah, 2012). In this, Mah refers to the uncertainty that defines the lives of those living in once industrial areas, as they shift through 'cycles of decay, reuse, demolition and redevelopment' (2012:132). To understand the parallel destruction and recreation evident within post-industrial society, she draws on the example of the Cyanamid plant closing in Niagara Falls. Here, she notes the high levels of dust emitted by the factory and the effects, which this had on the health of the community. More significantly, Mah recognises the legacy of health problems that this has left upon the region, with high youth cancer rates. Yet, despite the health problems, she notes a sense of sadness in the loss of a plant that provided steady employment and education (Mah, 2012:52-56). Ill-health is once again normalised within a framework of social and economic loss.

The idea of a collective embodiment of deindustrialisation is evident in Walley's (2013) book *Exit Zero*, in which she offers a communal account of environmental and health impacts. She

explores the concept of industrial identity through her own body and that of her family. Kideckel (2008) also has much to say about industrial change as a collective experience, as workers in Romania adapt to post-socialist life. As under socialism, labour proved an essential source of identity, linking individual to community and society (2008:64). Deindustrial communities have sought to sustain their identity in the wake of large-scale closure and this has proved essential to how people have approached and understood their work-related ill-health.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to highlight the value of the deindustrial body as a concept, through discussion of historical and sociological approaches to work and deindustrialisation. In the first section, through reference to the work of Kideckel (2008) and McIvor (2013), I explored how the body is a source of identity within work and deindustrial culture. Although the body is a symbol of transition, in this instance the body is a malleable object, in which the past and social change are imprinted. In the following chapter, I set to explore how this is incorporated into the body through expression of emotion within the coal industry.

In the second section, the deindustrial body develops within the context of Sherry Linkon's (2018) 'half-life of deindustrialisation'. In her analysis of deindustrial society, she presents members of once industrial communities as caught between past and present. Within this the body is in a betwixt state, as the repercussions of industry continue to haunt the lives of those living in the community. Here the deindustrial body offers an opportunity to explore the embodied experience of industry loss as expressed by individuals and their communities.

The embodied practices of former miners and their families as seen in habits, emotional practices and memories, all highlight the body as significant in the process of deindustrialisation. Walley (2013) recognises the body as an object of change, on to which the environmental and health effects of industry and subsequent deindustrialisation imprint. The arguments discussed in this chapter clearly highlight and support my aims to establish the body as a concept within deindustrial theory. The deindustrial body offers a physical representation of a half-life and what it means to have undergone deindustrialisation.

Chapter Three: Humour: An Expression of Workers Emotional Attachment to the Coal Mining Industry

In Chapter two I considered the concept of the body and its application within the field of work and deindustrialisation. More directly, I critically explored the deindustrial body as a process of change exemplified in Linkon's (2018) term the 'half-life of deindustrialisation'; where the body is presented as in a betwixt state between past, present and future. This chapter considers in greater depth how individuals, through expression of emotion, maintain an attachment to their mining identity. Exploring the early stages of initiation and the adaption to colliery life, this chapter will examine how coal miners maintain their identity through humour, as an expression of camaraderie and resistance to ill-health and disability. Humour as an expression of emotion serves to construct the miner's identity as a sign of his embodied masculinity.

The first section explores the relationship between emotion and identity in relation to the 'crisis of masculinity' exposed in the wake of industrial decline, with the rise of the service sector. From here, emotion is considered centrally within the coal industry, with humour applied as a tool for understanding work culture, camaraderie and initiation into industry. The body reflects work culture, in which emotion registers through strong attachment to industrial imagery. The central focus of this chapter is in understanding humour as an expression of emotion and it's role in the construction of identity, to understanding perceptions of occupational health within the workplace and subsequently deindustrialisation.

Humour and Identity

It is April 2017; I sit in the Elvington and Tilmanstone Colliery Welfare Community Club in Kent. I am here to interview former colliery electrician Joe Clayton. He pauses for a moment, as he equates loss in terms of not only the closure of Tilmanstone Colliery in 1986 but also the continual haunting he has experienced over the last thirty years:

> People find it odd that I used to enjoy going to work for the camaraderie and the crack, the mickey-taking, all of that […] It was bloody hard work and the conditions horrendous and the effects on your health but you had a laugh. Even now, you've seen perhaps a small bit of it this morning. You get a few lads together and that same sort of banter goes on even to this day and you don't, I've worked in other places now, you don't get that same sort of closeness and banter as I experienced at the pit. That's one of the real things I miss (Joseph Clayton, interviewed 1st April 2017).

For Joe, the essence of a collier's work appeared in the humour and camaraderie between men. More directly, this account informs us about the nature of industrial work and the individuals that worked in it, most notable that it was 'hard work', 'horrendous conditions' with significant effects on health. The quote illustrates how industrial workers, despite becoming alienated from their industrial craft, retain cultural and social aspects of their work. Joe's account is insightful into the desire and conviction of coal miners to retain a blue-collar identity in deindustrialisation. In attempting to sustain a humour or camaraderie surrounding

industry and between former workers, it serves to replicate the emotional mechanisms applied as coping strategies in the workplace.

A central theme in work and deindustrial literature is the relationship between identity and machismo. I argue that key to understanding this correlation is the 'crisis of masculinity' linked to loss of industry. The notion of a 'crisis of masculinity' addresses the wider concerns within the changing nature of industrial work, growth of service sector and high unemployment that emerge post-closure. McDowell (2011) saw the 'crisis' as essentially linked to employment, as she states 'labour in the construction of self has been replaced by the rise of new urban identities increasingly rooted in neighbourhood rather than in the workplace and in a conservative attachment to locality' (2011:44). She states that, in contemporary society there is a detachment from work in the construction of identity. Nayak (2003), whilst making a similar point on the eroded relationship between work and identity noted the absence of 'real labour'. Work place acts of consumption and habits were 'refashioned' and 'recuperated' and enacted through signs, symbols and motifs in out of work spaces (Nayak 2003:22). McDowell (2009, 2011) and Nayak (2003) show industrial work identity as increasingly under threat in deindustrial society. Moreover, with the disembodiment of hegemonic modes of masculinity, comes a notion that respectable working-class manhood is redundant in modern service sector (McDowell 2011:238). The 'crisis of masculinity' is less about the physical loss of industry and manhood, rather the desire to sustain and retain a cultural identity.

The focus on cultural identity within deindustrialisation is part of this shift within discussion of the 'crisis of masculinity'. For Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012) in their study of deindustrialisation through a steel community in South Wales, they argue masculinity is a

necessity to understand, if we are to appreciate the destruction of deindustrialisation. Walkerdine and Jimenez show masculinity as a 'psychic object' and 'object of fantasy', to show the centrality of the steel works in the town and the effects of this on community (2012:56). They present conceptualisation of masculinity in these areas as a metaphor for the economic, social and cultural changes brought about by industry decline. Masculinity is lost in deindustrialisation, in need of preservation and protection like the ruins of the machine shops, collieries and factories. This discussion of preservation of masculinity has intrigued writers in the field of sociology and deindustrialisation. Connell (1995) spoke of a 'protest masculinity' built on a notion to resist capitalist conditions brought about in the wake of economic down turn. Nayak (2003), on the other hand, notes the emphasis of 'skilled physical labour over mental agility' and 'a collective sharing of heaving, often sexual adult humour' (2003:13). Connell (1995), Nayak (2013), Walkerdine and Jimenez (2012), highlight the continued importance of masculinity in shaping the identity of the deindustrial body. Moreover, it is Nayak's (2003) focus on representations of masculinity among 'Geordie' youth and their use of humour that enables insight into the liminality that occurs with post industry closure. In deindustrial society emotions play an important role in the continued existence of an industrial identity.

The chapter has so far explored how the 'redundancy of masculinity' from contemporary work practices, more notably the service sector, has meant emotion has been overlooked within the context of industry. For example, Hochschild's (2012 [1979]) focuses on capitalisms control of emotions among workers in the airline industry, whilst Tyler and Abbott (1998) aid in understanding the gendered nature of emotional labour and control among air hostesses. On the other hand, Warhurst and Nickson (2007) examine the idea of the aesthetics of labour

as seen in retail and hospitality industries. Instead Swan (2008) explores the concept 'therapeutic cultures', a set of meanings and values attached to the 'psychological self', that are expressed in the 'soft capitalism' of contemporary workplaces. These concepts of emotion as seen through commercialisation, aesthetics and therapeutic cultures, have much to say about the changing nature of work. However, more directly, have ignored the overtly gendered application of emotion within the industrial setting.

Hochschild's (2012 [1979]:17) text *The Managed Heart,* recognises the insight that emotions can offer into a workplace culture, as she notes 'like the sense of hearing', emotion communicates information'. Despite there being evidence of an emotional connection between the craft worker and the product he creates, her work is concerned with emotional demands created by personal contact and engagement. Hochschild in her study of employment noted that 'emotional labour only occurs in jobs that require personal contact with the public, the production of a state of mind in others' (2012 [1979]:156). Whilst Hochschild's work has much to say about the role of emotion within the workplace, she is referring to a particular type of commercialised emotional work, whose main intention is to affection emotions of customers.

On the other hand, Hochschild too recognised that there was more to emotion within the workplace than simply capitalist commercialisation. She spoke of 'something like an ethnic language', a 'sensitivity to non-verbal communications' and to 'micro-political significance of feeling' among women, such as those who she studied working in the airline industry. Of course, what Hochschild was writing about was not unique to women but part of wider discourse of workplace camaraderie, community and culture, like the one identified by Joe

Clayton. Most importantly, Hochschild was encouraging us to become more attuned to the role of emotion within the workplace setting. As 'emotions are important signs in what is happening in the social worlds we enter as researchers' (McQueeney and Lavelle, 2017:88).

Emotion fosters important ideologies around the body as a site of change and in the construction of individual identities within the workplace. It exposes the complexities of the value attached to industrial labour and in individuals responding to changes within the employment sector. More notably, personal narratives of emotion as expressed through narratives of humour, reveal the dramaturgical nature of work, which helps to understand the social interactions of everyday life (McQueeney and Lavelle, 2017:100). For example, through understanding the emotion that individuals attach to the coal industry, I was better able to understand 'the half-life' at work within deindustrialisation, as in contemporary understanding of occupational health, workers remain connected to their identity as a miner.

Coal Mining Humour and the Culture of Nicknaming

John Kemp began his coal mining career at Tilmanstone colliery in 1977, on the man riding train. After working through the various stages of training, John progressed further away from pit bottom to become a coal face worker. John's memories of his training in the colliery proved significant in shaping his experiences of work life at the colliery and employment thereafter. For John, the training which he underwent proved important in his indoctrination into the industry and in shaping his identity as a coal miner. In his interview he spoke at length about his early years working in the industry, having initially only intended to stay a short while. As he stated:

> My next-door neighbour who was a unionist at Tilmanstone colliery […] Said to me why don't I go for a job at the pit and I said I didn't really fancy going underground, in fact, I was quite scared [...] He said “well it's thirty-six pounds a week”, which was quite a bit of money because I was only on thirteen pounds a week apprenticeship. He said “just go for the week’s induction training at Betteshanger”. I said how does that work then? And he said “well you go there and you’ll get a week’s training before they take you underground, then leave, at least you got thirty-six pounds” […] So, I got the start date and they said report to Betteshanger training room […] So, I got all this kit and they went “it’s your lucky day today, We got a place to take you underground, give you a tour.” (John Kemp, interviewed 22nd November 2016).

It would be safe to say that this first trip underground did not deter John from mining, as he was to stay at the colliery for seven years. John was one of the youngest miners that I interviewed, his passion and commitment to the preservation of the area’s coal heritage apparent in his retelling of experiences from years spent working at the colliery. It is to one of those accounts that I now refer, in the hope to give an understanding of what it meant to be a miner in 1977. In this section of the chapter, John speaks about one of his earliest memories of working on the coal face:

> I was in the pack hole shovelling and I said to this guy, I needed a shovel, so I said, ‘excuse me can you pass me a shovel?’ And they just took the mickey out of me all shift. They were going, “oh excuse me can you pass me a shovel?” In the end you learn to say ‘pass me an f'in shovel’, because you didn't speak

> proper there, as such [laughs] because they all had their own language and everything and any weaknesses [...] I wear glasses, when I take my glasses off to clean them, I've got a turn in one of my eyes and it's before your time, there was programme on TV called Daktari […] And it was about a boss-eyed lion in Africa and it had this theme music and they used to start singing it and kept calling me Clarence and I was going 'why are you calling me Clarence?' 'Because my name's Swan Vesta'. They said "well, when you took your glasses off ,your eyes went like that [crosses eyes], so we are calling you Clarence tonight."(John Kemp, interviewed 22nd November 2016).

From the events described by John, it appeared that the early years of working at the colliery had been as much about learning the trade as they had social work practices. John's perceived weakness or rather inexperience amongst the men saying 'excuse me' when asking for a shovel and the 'turn in his eye' made him the source of the group's humour in these early days. Dennis *et al*. notes 'If you did everything you were told without demur, then life would soon be hell for you. You had to make it quite plain that you could swear as well as the next man, give as good as you got-and if you didn't, they'd put on you viciously' (1956:59). The young men built a bravado, as John reflects 'you soon learn to say pass me an f'in shovel'. It demonstrated that they could hold their place within the team and become part of the camaraderie. 'New miner's incorporation into the team came by way of jokes and rituals that tested gender or familiarity with the job, it's environment, it's language' (Portelli, 2011:143). John notes language as particularly important stating 'you didn't speak proper', in doing so he is highlighting the strangeness and unnaturalness of the work environment. Moreover, through reference to 'their own language' he highlights the cosmopolitan nature of the Kent

Coalfield, made up of miners from Wales, Scotland, Yorkshire, Somerset and Newcastle, among other areas of the UK. This proved complicated within the working environment, as former Shift Charge Engineer Robert Cook explained:

> I first came across the word Chippel[3] and I thought what the bloody hell's a Chippel? Anyway, I went up to this chap who was talking, because you had Welsh, Scots, Brummies, Geordies, some of the accents […] but what's a Chippel? "How long you worked in the colliery?" 'Well I've come over from Betteshanger'. "Oh, that's not a colliery", you know that type of thing, "this is a Chippel", different terminology that's all (Robert Cook, interviewed 26th January 2017).

Both Robert and John's accounts help to illustrate the complex identity of the Kent Coalfield and the cultural diversity evident in the different terminologies used between pits. Made up of miners whose families had migrated to the area in the early twentieth century, either because of blacklisting or alternatively, in the promise of high wages and improved housing conditions. The Kent Coalfield identified as fostering strong union membership and militancy among its men. Moreover, the regionalism between pits resulted in a jovial competitiveness between collieries within the area. This is evident in phrases such as, 'that's not a colliery' or 'he didn't work at a pit', still being used between the men as a reminder of their loyalty to their home collieries and workmates. It proved for John as it did for Robert and other men alike, a quick learning process. The overtly masculine environment with joking used as a way

[3] A Chippel or a Whitburn, are small blocks like Jenga bars used as support in the gap between the last face support and the gate support.

of displaying strength and ability to undertake teasing and meet levels of control and discipline required by the team (Collinson, 1988:193). One way through which the team kept control of its men was through the process of nicknaming. In calling John 'Clarence', the men assert a level of control over him. It endears him to the team, yet at the same time reminding him of his position as a lower ranked member. Vaught and Smith argue, that a 'nickname is most often given as the result of some "greenhorn" gaffe or mistake, a peculiar observed personal trait, something unique in a person's background, or some "stunt" he is involved in after hiring in' (1980:168). Bert Coombes (2013 [1939]) reflects this element of industrial life in his autobiographical account of working as a miner in South Wales, he recalls how his colleague come to obtain his nickname:

> Will Nosey- decided to go and see how this new starter was getting on. I was alone and pretty nervous, when he arrived. His nickname came partly from his interest in the concerns for people and partly because of his long nose, which curved downward as if it meant to get inside his mouth (Bert Coombes, 2013 [1939]:21)

As in the case of 'Will Nosey', John's nickname was because of an observed trait, his pre-existing poor eyesight. Such humour based on physical appearance or disability served to establish boundaries between 'cultural groups' and 'communities', acting as a 'social glue' in holding them together (Albrecht, 1999:67). This can be viewed within a wider context of the relationship between humour and disability, where ability to laugh at oneself is seen as a mechanism through which to overcome stigma (Shakespeare 1999:50). Weakness was not to be tolerated within the colliery environment and so humour fostered a culture that aimed at

honing the ‘association between manual labour, getting your hands dirty and manliness’ (McIvor 2013:85). During interviews, the men were keen to relay to me this quintessential part of pit culture, as former coal face worker Tim Austen stated:

> Anyone will tell you miners are piss takers, we've got a weird sense of humour. If you had a fault, either about yourself or whatever it would come out and you'd have the piss taken out of you. Your nickname may come from it […] There was never any trouble underground because we all had to look after each other (Tim Austen, interviewed 22nd January 2017).

Tim describes humour as an embodied expression of identity, like the coal face itself - black, dark and not for the faint hearted. Defects or weakness of character or the body were addressed through humour, serving as a way in which to test, toughen and conform individuals to colliery work. We see traces of this culture evident in previous accounts with the process of mickey taking and nicknaming, as John’s identity conformed to one that fits with the desires of the team. In an interview conducted with former colliery Mechanical Engineer Stuart Elgar, he further sought to consolidate the relationship between colliery employment and humour, which he emphasised through reference to working conditions:

> You just made a joke of just about everything really, because a lot of it in retrospect was so shitty, to make a joke of it was just a way of coping with it I think, just a coping mechanism. I don't want to make that too dramatic but I mean you know, I think that's what a lot of it was.’ (Stuart Elgar, interviewed 22nd November 2016).

The instability of the environment meant that for several miners like Stuart, humour proved an important part in enabling individuals to confront and adapt to the appalling and dangerous working conditions. We can draw parallels here with precarious work sectors, where 'professions that deal with sensitive issues such as death, trauma and health use humour as a coping strategy' (Sanders, 2004:274). There is a notable linkage between miners' and precarious workers use of humour to deal with dangerous and traumatic work place experiences. As miners were issued with hard hats, boots and lamps to protect the physical body, humour served an important role as emotional protection, alleviating the effects of the industry caused from working in often inhospitable terrain. Today, with the colliery gone, there is little to distinguish the men as miners, therefore the application of humour are ways in which they self-identify with the industry.

Newbie Status and Training

For the purposes of this section, I want to explore identity and humour within the context of initiation into industry or newbie status. In my visits to the welfare clubs and heritage centres, I bore witness to this humour first hand, myself sometimes the source. For example, when I wore what I thought were rather stylish black dungarees, only to be asked by one former miner, 'you ready to start your shift at the pit?' Apart from never looking at my dungarees in quite the same way, I now see these early interactions as like those experienced by every new miner, serving as a test of character and trust. As I slowly integrated into community life the importance of humour became prominent in recognising the significance of work as a 'site for incubation, reinforcement and reproduction of macho values' (Johnston and McIvor 2004:36). This integrity, maintained

through the retaining of nicknames from the colliery and humorous activity, as evident in my fieldwork.

Humour itself highlights generational differences of work practice, as older miners often teased younger men when they recounted a story about the industry 'what do you mean worked there? I know you went there but don't know about worked there!' This would inevitably result in a rupture of laughter and over time, I found myself too becoming part of this teasing process. Many of those I interviewed were keen to convey elements of playfulness, particularly in creating an intergenerational dialogue to learning the work environment:

> So, you would be sat down at snap [food break] time and most miners wore their helmets with their light facing up, so that when you were talking to someone you weren't blinding them with your light. You'd be eating your snap there and you're about eighteen or nineteen years of age and you've just joined this team and everybody's light would start going on you as if you were on stage and you would think what's going on here. Then the next thing you'd be jumped and they would whip your helmet off, whip your battery off, bang you into the massive tool box which was a about three feet long by about two feet deep, all metal with a great big handle on top. They'd whip the tools out of it put you in the tool box, hoist it up to the top and then spin it round with fourteen pound hammers and you were inside this box and it was like bang, bang, bang. Or they would say…here's another one, the lights would come on you again right, it's first day training, we need a volunteer and they would get

> you onto the stretcher, tie you to the stretcher so that you didn't fall off and then hang you in the heading and then go because it was the end of the shift. You would be hanging there until the next shift came in, they'd have to take you down. (Tim Austen, interviewed 22nd January 2017).

In the removal of helmet and battery, the men stripped the apprentice of his mining identity, initiation proved a baptism to adulthood, symbolic of the shift from haulage boy to coal face worker. Initiation games involved 'stripping away the individuals' old self-image and pride and underscoring the fact that he is helpless in the face of the encapsulated group's will' (Vaught and Smith, 1980:172). Acts like this were not meant to be romanticised or viewed with nostalgia, as Tim Austen himself noted, 'some of them things were horrendous but you knew that once you'd been done someone else was going to get it' (Tim Austen, interviewed 22nd January 2017). For men like Tim, it not only instructed new members on how to act and react but also constituted a test of the willingness of initiates to be part of the male group and to accept its rules.

These apparent humorous acts represented in training practices and induction proved important within industry. The emphasis on such acts must be read within the context of the desire to find job satisfaction in a harsh and hostile environment. Donald Roy's (1959), *Banana Time* provides a general sense of informal acts of buffoonery with factory manufacturing operations. Roy in his time spent working at the factory, observes the daily practise of Ike stealing a banana from his colleague Sammy's lunch box that became known as 'banana time'. This essential part of the daily routine in the factory operation, is important when fractions within the small team of men means the daily routine disappears. Here 'banana time' acts as

a metaphor for the camaraderie that existed between men within industry and how this linked to a culture of high production rates and hard work.

These interactions in training proved important as a demonstration of character, serving to draw out weakness and testing trust and reliance. The colliers undertaking training were taught by older and more experienced workers. Former deputy at Tilmanstone colliery and member of the mines rescue team Robert Pettman, recalled his training for the coal face:

> So, I was working with my cousin […] and he said "right you're training with me sit there and just bloody well watch, don't touch nothing" […] He'd be working, because it was a working coal face, we had to train on it. And then he come over and he'd show me how to put these rollers in and how you drop one girder and pull it in the safe way […] But I'd seen him doing it another way, a quicker way […] So, when I'd been there a little while, I think I'd only done a couple of weeks, I done what he done but he went wrong […] I had this big girder on my shoulder and I was bent double like this [leans forward mimicking crouching]. 'I'm saying Bob, Bob' and he just come up and he knew I was in pain […] So, I'm doubled up, I can hardly breathe and he says "Robert what on earth are you doing?" And he thumped me really hard, "what on earth", I said 'Bob get this girder off me', "What on earth are you doing?" And he hit me again. He said "you do not" I said 'just get it off, just get it off, I won't do it again'. "You will not do it that way". In the end he got it off me and had a big mark in here [points to shoulder] where the girder was but I learnt, I learnt that that's not the right way he taught me, and I'm to leave it, they're doing it

> the right way. What I done later on in life, well that's a bit different but he has to train me […] right (Robert Pettman, interviewed June 16th 2017).

This narrative is interesting in several ways. Firstly, the jovial manner through which Robert describes the event, tells us something about the application of humour within the industrial environment. Secondly, it shows the body as possessing a cultural value, as shown in the way 'correct' and 'incorrect' method through which to remove a girder. The trainer as the older and more experienced collier, has a level of prestige and honour bestowed upon him. Wacquant (2004) in his discussion of the embodiment of boxing, discusses how every time a boxer steps into the ring, 'he puts a fraction of his symbolic capital at stake: the slightest failing or slip-up, such as a knockdown or a sloppy performance, brings immediate embarrassment to the fighter, as well as to his gym-mates ' (Wacquant, 2004:79). Robert in performing the task 'a quicker way' and in it 'going wrong' is echoing the views of Wacquant in putting trainer Bob's 'symbolic capital at stake'. The refusal from Bob to respond to Robert's immediate calls to get 'the girder off' and in 'thumping him', is part of Bob's attempts to correct the embarrassment brought to him and the industry training programme. Such actions are necessary 'to re-stabilise the fuzzy and liable status order' (Wacquant, 2004:79). The overriding notion is that training served to shape and formulate the body into the occupation of coal mining. Moreover, as chapter four will show, it established a set of pedagogics and habitus that were unique to the coal industry.

Humour shown through acts such as training and initiation tests, helped to construct a culture of solidarity, camaraderie and respect, each with its own distinct and unique practices of fun (see Holmes and Marra, 2002; Holmes, 2000). Through Tim and Robert's insight, we gain an

understanding of the practices that formulated characteristics and personas within individuals. The deindustrial process echoes the scenes of these sentiments, reflected in the initiation tests, as the values miners attach to their bodies are removed to expose a vulnerability. This is to be re-born in a post-industrial era in which their identity as a miner appears lost or increasingly resigned to the past.

Minimising Ill-Health

The accounts from former miners read like Aesop's fables, they are a learning source that contain moral messages relating to health and safety, resilience and camaraderie. In the next two sections of the chapter, I consider Wolkowitz's argument surrounding cultural practices in which 'the male working-class body developed as an artefact, through self-practice' (Wolkowitz, 2006: 66). The body, is a material object onto which the work ethic of industry was transcribed. When conditions of work are diminutive, when danger is a constant concern, the body becomes apprehensive. Yet within this risk develops a culture for minimising ill-health, built on notions of camaraderie, space, resistance and rationality. Wolkowitz (2006) through the concept of 'body work', explores the role of the body within employment. More importantly she recognises the role of habitus, moreover cultural capital, in the construction of a 'useful worker'. Before I go on to explore this argument further, in terms of skill and sensory knowledge in chapter four, I first want to explore habitus within the context of identity.

Shilling (2012), like Wolkowitz, suggested that there is an intrinsic value attached to the body. He however, notes class rather than work as exerting a 'profound influence on bodily development and on the symbolic values attached to particular body forms' (Shilling, 2012:

144), identity formed through ‘symbolic value’, that serve to shape the body. Wolkowitz and Shilling draw on the social fields outlined by Bourdieu to understand the value placed on the body and the actions it performs, as the authors respectively show, creating both cultural and physical capital. In exploring the relationship between the body, cultural and psychical capital, I examine the patterns of industry, work and the spaces in which risk to health was acceptable to access. Buse and Twigg (2016) explore the relationship between clothing, memories and identity among people with dementia. The article proves important in examining the influence of the past in the construction of identity in the present. This is evident in Douglas’s story, now suffering with dementia, ‘the suits in his wardrobe are part of his biography and significant to his identity construction in the present (Buse and Twigg, 2016:17). While I do not propose in this chapter to explore the body as a material object the text is important in highlighting the liminality of work in the construction of personhood. In this section of the chapter, I examine memories of work accidents and injuries and how these can help to understand the construction of identity within the deindustrial body.

The working environment of the colliery endorsed a negotiated order, with money often used as a bargaining tool for working in rough conditions (Roberts, 1993:131). The proceeding case study, explores a system of longwall mining. Mechanisation at its simplest form, it relays the relationships formed within production, each man holding a specialised role and responsibility for a section of the face that contributed to overall team production (Allsop and Wray, 2012:221). A competitive system, it fostered a ‘competitive machismo work culture underground and also contributed to a culture of high-risk acceptance and stoicism’ (McIvor and Johnston, 2007:267). This in turn forced ‘workers to rationalise risk and very importantly how they balanced their own health and safety against the pressures of productivity, as well

as pressures from their peers' (McIvor and Johnston, 2007:49). As coal face worker and union representative, John Baldwin recalled one incident that resulted in the loss of his finger, because of working conditions during his employment at the colliery:

> 'When the strain come on the chain pulling the plough up and down the face, remember the men are all on contract, it would shear, the shearing pin would go[…] that was on top of the motor with the revolving inner bit and the outer bit and the pin went in there, the shearer pin went in there. Steel shearer pins to take the twenty tons and it had gone and I couldn't find a Podger bar, what we call a Podger bar, to clean it out. Everybody shouting out because they want to get the face going, because they're on contract, you know, "we're gonna lose money here", screaming at you to hurry up. No Podger bar, done it with my finger, felt it go, I knew what happened. I pulled it out and the stable men are working in front of you I was a bit embarrassed by it really, I went oh! "Oh for god's sake what have you done!" (John Baldwin, interviewed 10th March 2017).

The account that John provides relating to the loss of his finger proves insightful in the understanding of early mechanisation of the face, alongside the nature of contract work or piece work prior to the National Power Loading Agreement (NPLA) in 1966. This form of payment system proved of advantage to the hard hitters who could negotiate collective changes in the piece rate according to the varying conditions. A complex payment system, it varied widely between occupational tasks, local areas and wage rates. Moreover, as the 'screaming to hurry up' and the imminent tension or panic that this creates within John to use

his finger rather than the Podger bar to release the steel pin, gives a sense of pressures experienced by men working on the face. For a young man like John, who was only nineteen at the time, these pressures would have been even greater. As the failure to meet standards set by the group could result in placement on the market, [no regular job, collier employed as and where required] which if constant, saw men gain a reputation as poor workers (Allsop and Wray, 2012: 223). The introduction of the NPLA agreement brought about greater security in set wage payment. Moreover, 'fixed rate meant miners were less likely to take short-cuts with safety and would foster a more 'team conscious' spirit' (Curtis, 2013:64). The NPLA through guaranteed wages, allowed men to take greater time and care in ensuring safety. However, the emerging crisis of economic viability in the 1970s and 1980s meant that pressures to maximise coal production counteracted such progress.

In his reflections on the accident during his interview, John expressed no apprehensiveness in returning to the job after the event as one might expect. When I questioned John as to why this was and if humour has to some extent played a part in this, he responded:

> Oh yeah! One of the lads working in the heading, he brought it out the pit, my finger. They found it and he had it in a matchbox in the canteen. Oh dear, they called me twitch after that, because it needs to keep twitching and yeah there were a lot of fun days. (John Baldwin, interviewed 10th March 2017).

In her analysis of humour within the sex industry, Sanders argues, professionals 'engage in humour as emotion work to turn a disgusting situation into something more bearable' (Sanders, 2004:282). The nicknaming of 'twitch' and collection of the finger from the pit as a

source for teasing, helped to make light of the situation. It normalised the event, in exposure to danger within the work environment, it 'taught him the need to overcome or suppress instinctual fears and apprehension' (Walker, 2011:57). This proved particularly important among younger workers like John. Stuart Elgar recalled a similar situation when he lost his nail:

> 'Big shears in the Blacksmith's shop, about half the size of this room this thing and chomping big lumps of metal and I hadn't got the clamp right and I got the long end and it went chink, broke the end of my finger and pulled my nail out. When I went back to work, they said "what have you done?", I said I've broken the end of my finger and lost my nail, they said "no you haven't", I said I have, lost my nail. They said "no you haven't", they said "here it is" and they had got it in a matchbox and they do all sorts of things like that, keep people's toes and bits and bobs.' (Stuart Elgar, interviewed 22nd November 2016).

Miners' are far from unusual in such humorous acts as Abrecht (1999:73) notes, there is of course within the disabled community a 'crip humour' based on a system of inside jokes that serve to provide bond between minority and marginalised groups – such jovial antics are accepted from peers but not from others. Moreover, the presentation of both John's finger and Stuart's nail as curios, demonstrates how workers displayed fragments of their bodies as a reminder and symbol of the dangers of the working environment. The museum-like display of the dismembered elements of the body as objects of cultural interest worthy of exhibit, offers an intriguing insight into how workers bodies in their beauty and pulchritude were themselves walking exhibits, public displays of industries abilities and failures of the working environment (Slavishak, 2008:119). Moreover, I could not help but feel a sense of nostalgia

in activities highlighted by John and Stuart, as like the objects held in the local heritage centres, this macabre cultural practice had provided workers with a sense of belonging and identity to industry.

This laughter surrounding the events, Adams notes, as indicative of work experience, with nurses regularly expressing such emotion to convey understanding of the difficulties they encounter daily (2007:20). Moreover, the application of humour in the re-telling of the account draws on Goffman's (1956) work on the relationship between social function and social organisation, with laughter serving to conceal or even downplay the social and economic unease and discomfort imposed by the situation. There is a wealth of evidence of miners applying humour to deal with the unease of a situation. Bert Coombes for instance in *These Poor Hands,* refers to his colleague Dai Jones, or as he became known after his accident, Dai Peg's, request for redeployment in which the manager requests he ask properly and so the two swap roles, with Dai taking on the role of the manager:

> Dai went inside and sat down gradually in the easy-chair, laying his injured leg on the low table with the wooden part pointing like a rifle towards the door. He enjoyed the position and took a cigarette from the box on the table to complete the illusion (Coombes 2013 [1939]:34).

Dai goes on in the account to respond to the manager's performance, by mimicking him stating:

> ‘No’[…] ‘There’s nothing here for you. There’s too many idling about here as it is. Clear off’ (Coombes 2013 [1939]:34).

This role swap is a ‘rebellion life behaviour’ with employees setting to disrupt the daily order of the workplace as ‘a sort of non-intended organisational fun’ (Rhodes and Pullen 2007:107). The natural order of the work environment disrupted, with such acts serving to challenge authority, as in the case with Dai here. Thiel notes that, such humorous acts were important in the work environment serving to break-up the monotonous daily tasks and create an adhesive workforce (2012:74). Camaraderie was a key factor in the mining industry, as the environment and working pattern drew men together. McDowell argues that the workplace is a space of differing relationships not only in the exchange of labour or economics but also in an outlet for emotions for friendships (McDowell, 2009:7). The emotional bond to which McDowell refers can be seen in the kinship of the men. In her study of Bolivian tin mines, Nash notes that the ‘workers call each other brother (Nana) including Mayordomo of the shift [….] easy acceptance of authority based on experience rather than privilege’ (Nash, 1993:199). In calling each other ‘brother’ the team becomes co-existent of each other, a unit of security, respect and responsibility. In an interview conducted with former coal face worker Robert Taylor he relayed to me the companionship between the men:

> Sophie: So when you say about cuts what were they from?
>
> Robert: Rock falls all sorts of things really, boring machines, if they get caught in boring machines, I could tell you, one bloke, I won't.
>
> Sophie: Was it quite serious?
>
> Robert: It was because his penis went down into the air leg.

> Sophie: My god, sounds painful!
>
> Robert: But the sense of humour when people had accidents […] He's screaming because it's gone down into this air leg and he said "how are we going to get it out?" I pulled a Stanley knife out and went [raises eyebrows] and he said "no you're not!" So, we had to take the air leg apart and get it out and about six months later I said to him, how are you now? He said "I'm alright, I had twelve stitches inch apart!" (Robert Taylor, interviewed, 12th September 2017).

Upon hearing the account, I understood why Robert had been so reluctant to relay this rather intimate injury. Furthermore, the incident made me reflect on my place as a researcher within the community and his application of humour to communicate information that might have otherwise have been too difficult or awkward to explain (Sanders, 2004:286). The subsequent readings of the account making me shudder and immediately cross my legs, an inherent bodily response to the extreme pain experienced by his workmate. Bert Coombes examines the coal industry's reliance on such jovial practices, once again here:

> David was a loud talker, so we clearly heard his opinion on things. 'This blasted hole!' he complained – 'the damned stones here do fall like lead. They do hit a chap so hard he could think his foot was off-aye indeed.' Dai turned to look at his right foot, then gave a loud shout of 'I go to hell. It is off, too.' I remember them placing his right foot alongside Dai on the stretcher and his complaint that they had brought a new pair of shoes only the week before' (Coombes 2013 [1939]:33).

There are important similarities in Robert and Dai's application of humour in these situations. In Robert's brandishing of the 'Stanley knife' and Dai's rhetoric of 'having just brought a pair of new shoes' both sought to alleviate the tension of the situation, serving as a distraction to the intense pain experienced. Robert's ability to joke served to assert his control over the situation as a competent first aider, with years of experience as part of the Betteshanger mine's rescue team. Sosteric, in his analysis of staff relations within a night club in Canada, states 'the ability to become part of a 'family' that protected each other and looked out for mutual interests was one of the more powerful reasons for the success of the social network in the club' (Sosteric, 2011:306). The competency of the team's handling of the situation reflected in his colleague's ability to, in later months joke about having had 'twelve stitches inch apart'. A symbol of the machismo culture of the collier, it highlights a resilient element indoctrinated into the miner's body in their ability to overcome ill-health through companionship. We see this reflected in the deindustrial body with the continual presence of former miners at the welfare clubs, museums and heritage centres, that offers them a chance still to connect with their team for support.

The Miners Blue Scar

The key to understanding the deindustrial body lies in the way individuals approached risks and justification for them, in relation to their health. As in 'an overriding need to earn income the workers learned to deal pragmatically with risk and danger' (Walker, 2011:55). Through coal face worker Philip Sutcliffe's account, we explore the colliery environment, the contestation that this imposed upon the body and the application of logic within the practice

of risk. In the narrative, Philip and his wife Kay allude to a sentimental attachment to injury, when I asked about the injuries he had experienced whilst working at Snowdown Colliery:

> Sophie: So, you still remember getting your first blue scar?
>
> Philip: I think it was on my back somewhere and I said oh look Dad, "oh your're a miner now son, you got a blue scar" [laughs]. It's silly things, like I remember when, you did get black obviously you'd have a shower but you couldn't get the dust out your eyes, so you'd come home with coal dust. My Dad would have Vaseline and clean it and I used to think oh no I don't want to clean mine; I want to show people that I'm a miner. You know, silly eighteen-year-old lad, I want to keep it there. So, you're coming home with black coal dust in your eyes, I'm not cleaning that out I want people to know that I've been on the coal face, I'm a miner.
>
> Kay: That's one thing I remember about my Dad, is his dark eyes.
>
> Sophie: So, you actually remember wanting to keep it on?
>
> Philip: Yeah, a lot of the older blokes, best thing to get it out was Vaseline, so after you had a shower, you'd rub some Vaseline and it came off. You'd think I'm not cleaning mine out for a little while before they'd say, "alright Philip, we know you're a bloody miner don't keep on about it, go away and clean it" [laughs] (Philip Sutcliffe and Kay Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

The boyish tone with which Philip recounted these memories, conveyed the sense of excitement that he must have gained in his youth with the retaining of his first blue scar. In 'The Pugilistic Point of View', Wacquant (1995) speaks of the body as a 'project of ontological

transcendence' in referring to its physical manipulating to boxing (Wacquant, 1995:501). By this Wacquant is referring to the refashioning of the body from a position of invisibility to visibility, through the modifications imposed by sport. Philip too undergoes a similar process, the blue scar resulting in his father commenting 'oh you're a miner now son' and the coal dust around the eyes a symbol which both Philip and Kay both memorialise as inherent to being a coal miner.

Orwell relates to these distinguishable inherent features of miners' bodies that accentuate a collective and liminal identity. His observations capture the physical nature of the work, the otherness of the environment, the way the cramped conditions of the mine mould the body:

> They have a very upright square-shouldered walk, a reaction from the constant bending underground but most of them are shortish men and their thick ill-fitting clothes hide the splendour of their bodies. The most definitely distinctive thing about them is the blue scars on their noses. Every miner has blue scars on his nose and forehead and will carry them to his death. The coal dust of which the air underground is full enters every cut and then the skin grows over it and forms a blue stain like tattooing, which in fact it is. Some of the older men have their foreheads veined like Roquefort cheeses from this cause (Orwell, 1937:32).

For Orwell the miner's body is a site of contradictions, he speaks of 'splendour of their bodies' but describes the miners as shying away from this beneath their 'ill-fitting clothes'. He contrasts the modesty in the beauty of the physical body, with the distinctiveness of

the blue scars that he describes as like ‘tattooing’ or ‘Roquefort cheese’. This illustrative description of the body serves to undermine the constant presence of danger in which the mining identity and resulting industrial pride attached to the injury. Yet within his description, we can draw parallels with the work of Wainwright and Turner, who in their analysis of ballet describe how the heritage of a profession becomes sedimented in the worker’s body (Wainwright and Turner, 2006:243). Orwell notes that the blue scar is a mark that the miner carries with him from cradle to the grave; it is part of the DNA of his identity in the industry.

However, whilst Wacquant (1995) agrees that embodiment can be distinctive of a profession, he notes the bodily adjustments of a boxer are a form of escape from their social conditions and determinants that bear upon the individual (Wacquant, 1995:501). In Philip’s case, these marks and scars on the body were a sign of acceptance into coal mining, rather than escape from it, a symbol of the bond between him and his father’s service to the industry and a transitionary process to manhood.

For Wacquant (1995) and Philip, the transitionary process undertaken through boxing and mining translates into the identity of the individual, as they gain a position of social significance and value to their bodies. Colliery mechanic Les Davies conveys the symbolic attachment to the blue scar describing it as ‘the miners’ medal’ (Les Davies, interviewed 9th May 2017). This use of terminology by Les intrigued me for several reasons. Firstly, it appeared to reinforce this ideology of Kent miners as militant. A term strongly associated with the coalfield’s origins, it had been both a blessing and a curse, some miners rejecting the statement. Secondly, the blue scars, moreover the attachment to them, are suggestive

of a body schema. The coal miners are through training embodying a set of emotions and values that are not only unique to the industry but representative of its traditions. Wacquant (2004), in his discussion of learning how to box talks about 'modifying one's body schema', as to 'internalise a set of dispositions that are inseparably mental and physical' (2004:95). The implication is that the coal miners' blue scars are representative of the importance of the body within the industry and the emotional attachment to it.

In *Getting by in Post socialist Romania*, Kideckel (2008) argues how workers continually invoke bodily images and metaphors to define national politics and their alienation from those politics (2008:101). In the self-distinguishing of the blue scar as a mark of distinction or cultural value, I gained a sense of both the pride in belonging to that industry and a sense of the lack of recognition received. One miner describing it as going from a 'valued member of society in World War Two, to enemy within by the time of the UK miners' strike' in 1984/85. In this description of the scar as a 'medal' or 'body schema', I gained a sense of the emotional bruising that not only job loss and disappearance of industry had left on the miners' bodies but also the impact of the industry's historical depreciation.

Memory, Industry and Humour

We, in this section, return to my interview with former Tilmanstone collier John Kemp, who you met earlier in the chapter. After three years of working at the colliery, John Kemp had suffered a serious injury to his leg when a Dowty Prop (hydraulic power support) under the weight of the roof sprang out and hit him across the kneecap. Since that time, he had endured continuous problems with his knees, undergoing several operations. The extent to which

these had proved successful were made questionable by his self-description when asked if his family had noted any changes in his health since leaving the colliery:

> They know I hobble around like Mr Magoo. As I say my fingers are bad sometimes and my knees. But I'm not the only one, I think I am quite healthy to see a lot of miners. (John Kemp, interviewed 22nd November 2016).

This humorous expression given by John displays what Rhodes and Pullen describe as 'carnival humour', that determines the body, the male body, as a source of laughter because of its incompleteness (Rhodes and Pullen, 2007:164). John makes light of the seriousness of his knee problems through affiliation to the popular animation character of the 60s 'Mr Magoo', whose near-sightedness often causes him to experience humorous situations. This is not the first time John had referred to his body in this humorous manner, as we recall, the turn in his eye earning him the nickname 'Clarence' after the cross-eyed lion from the programme Daktari, whilst working at the colliery. From 'Clarence' to 'Mr Magoo' we therefore see a continuation of cultural practices through retaining of bodily self-mockery to overcome any weakness felt because of ill-health in deindustrialisation. John deflects the despair and discomfort brought by the injury, downplaying the significance through comparison of his own health conditions with that of other coalminers.

In the deindustrial body John uses humour to highlight his own body's fault, a reminder of the teasing that he would have received had he still been working at the colliery. Making light of his ill-health echoes the immunity to danger, camaraderie and friendship that was so inherent in industry life. Fincham states that when 'it comes to fun, it can be to accentuate our distance

from that stage of life, for instance, “It used to be fun but is not anymore” or to accentuate the coherence between stages of life and our sense of self’ (Fincham, 2016:188). In doing so, John formulates a coping mechanism, one that carries with it a weight of pride and identity inherent in the coalmining industry, resilient and reluctant to show the true extent of his health condition.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the relationship between the body and identity within the coal industry through discussion of humour. Expressions of emotion are a mechanism through which to observe camaraderie, machismo and workplace culture as an embodiment of industry. These narratives of occupational health and injury show humour as marking a distinction between industrial and post-industrial employment, in which the social nature of work is accentuated (Fincham, 2016:129). There remain several questions about the body’s incorporation of craft skill and habits, as a source work identity, as will be discussed further in chapter four.

Through John Kemp’s narrative of his own occupational health, he reveals the role of humour within the workplace and through this, the emotional attachment to industrial identity. Within his self-descriptions as first ‘Clarence’ and later ‘Mr Magoo’, these act as a metaphor for his own ill-health, alongside the decline of the Kent Coalfield. However, as in the case of John Kemp, such forms of humour are important in serving as a way of ‘coping’ with ‘confusion’ and ‘paradoxes’ as chance to vent ‘frustration’ and ‘anxiety’ (Plester, 2009:91). Here, humour provides a medium for perceiving and understanding embodied changes within contemporary post-industrial society.

The expressions of humour as seen in the industry inductions, nicknaming, team-work as well as mickey-taking highlight the overtly masculine nature of the coal mining environment. This association between machismo culture and humour within industrial employment is documented within studies of masculinity and embodiment (Collinson 1988; Thiel, 2012). In recent years, attention has shifted to explore the production of body pedagogics (Shilling, 2007) and the sensory embodiment of work and space (Desmond, 2006; Lande, 2007; Lyon, 2012). These arguments echo the concerns of the deindustrial body as to the extent to which work is embodied and maintained through identity. The discussion of humour in this chapter highlighted the emotional legacy of the Kent Coalfield. The deindustrial body as a concept helps to understand how individuals conceptualise their bodies and approach their occupational health problems within contemporary society.

Chapter Four: Miners Pedagogics and Habits of a Craft Skill Identity

In Chapter three I considered the role of emotion in relation to industrial identity, with reference to masculinity and camaraderie. The section explored how these emotions were embodied and expressed through the miner's body. This chapter builds on this discussion and considers the pedagogic processes of the coal mining industry. First, I outline practices and approaches to the topic drawing on the work of Shilling (2017, 2007) and Wacquant (2004). I then move on to discuss habits of a craft skill identity, with reference to the introduction of mechanisation. This section further examines the embodiment of industry and how this might inform our understanding of the deindustrial body. The final section examines sensory knowledge within the work environment. The primary focus of this chapter is on working life and reflects on how this has shaped the miner's body. This discussion will prove central in the following chapters as I piece the deindustrial body together.

Body Pedagogics, Habitus and Sensory Knowledge

Body pedagogics in this chapter explores the relationship between the body and habitus in approaches to health and safety alongside sensory knowledge. In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the study of pedagogics within body theory, to consider learning and interactional processes of the body within the context of employment and the social world more widely. In *Retrospect, Progress and Prospects*, Shilling (2007) introduces body pedagogics as a:

> Central pedagogic means through which a culture seeks to transmit its main corporeal techniques, skills and dispositions, the embodied experience

> associated with acquiring or failing to acquire these attributes and actual body changes resulting from this process (Shilling 2007:13).

Shilling (2007), highlights the properties of body pedagogics in understanding the relationship between work and embodiment. He defines pedagogics as formed of three distinctive elements, corporeal technique, skill and disposition. In referring to the term corporeal technique, Shilling denotes a Bourdieusian understanding of *habitus*. The aim is to not simply reproduce a culture but to understand the way in which it is unconsciously adopted into bodily practices. In another text, Shilling outlines the most basic feature of embodiment as enabling individuals to gain information about their environment and the boundaries of their bodies (2017:13). These perceptions are expressed through set skills and dispositions, obtained in socialisation, they convey elements of class and occupation, which in turn serves to shape individual and collective practices.

It is difficult to separate embodiment in relation to skills and habits, as Wolkowitz (2006) has found in seeking to consider the relationship between the body and work through notions of social agency and relationships to work. She notes that the decline of heavy industry eroded the culture in which the working class male body developed the habitus that earned cultural capital (Wolkowitz 2006:66). For Wolkowitz, Bourdieu's concept of habitus and by virtue body hexis lies at the centre of knowledge and behavioural patterns expressed in a deindustrial body. The implications of this are expressed in Bourdieu's example of the 'cabinetmaker's world view' his craftsmanship and pride in his work aesthetics illustrated in his mannerisms, culture and body (1984:173-4). Like the cabinet maker, the coal industry vernacular in which the collier speaks, his inverted triangular body shape and mannerisms are representative of a

miner's geological understanding and skill. A collier's craftsmanship is exhibited in his body's manifestation of the industrial occupation.

Wacquant (2004) presents a 'pugilistic pedagogy' that is attuned to identifying causality. Pugilistic pedagogy focuses on sensory knowledge, the 'scope of visual field' – 'beyond the gloves' (2004:87) and in another text Wacquant refers to this as the 'enjoyment of strenuous exertion' from workouts (1995:71) as evidence of an invisible cultivation of technique. For Wacquant 'pugilistic knowledge' transmits by mimeticism or counter-mimeticism (2004:117). Pugilistic pedagogy is the acknowledgement of the desire to attain craft skill and the impact that this has in shaping the body. Consequently, the embodiment of these practices is out of a desire to conform to a social identity.

So far in this section, we have examined how Bourdieusian readings of industry have sought to address social identity and cultural capacity. However, this 'ignores the multiple levels from which individuals may reflect on their own practice in relation to the body in employment' (Gimlin 2007:366). It is this reflection on occupational practices that has tended to dominate sensory studies of embodiment. In *Listening to the Dancer's Body,* Aalten (2007) highlights the importance of pain as a form of escapism, through which the body expresses a material presence (2007:112). Andersson *et al.* (2015), in their case study of sailing, recognises the embodiment of the sport through judgement and body technique incorporated into the body through a tacit knowledge (2013:738). Moreover, Thiel (2012), in his ethnographic observation of the building trade, notes implicit messages of craft as expressed through work cultures, temporal positions, rhythms of work and timings (2012:69). These levels of sensory

attachment to work are important in construction of occupational identity, stressing the material composition of the industrial body.

Here, I focus on the relationship between pedagogics and habitus as expressed within Wacquant's (2004) *Body and Soul*. I argue that pedagogics, as an expression of corporeal technique, has much to add to the understanding of the deindustrial body as seen in the physical and sensible traces of the half-life that work leaves on the body. For Wacquant in his study of habitus and embodiment, argues pedagogics is necessary if we are to understand the formations of the body. Wacquant argues that corporeal technique requires the incorporation of a schemata that allows for the reproduction of movements and sensory knowledge (2004:117). Schemata here refers to a system of work based on bodily movements that over time unconsciously become part of a miner's habitus. This is evident in the worker's embodiment of craft skill and orientation of the mine gained through sensory knowledge.

Mechanisation, Craft and Skill

In January 1956, Terry Harrison started work at Betteshanger colliery on the screens, sorting the coal from the rock. Labour intensive and dirty work, it proved an important process in his initiation into coal mining. The social observations and encounters that he experienced during this period in regards to obtaining a living wage, pension scheme and work provisions, proved important in shaping his career within the industry. This later led him to become Betteshanger Branch, National Union of Mineworkers Secretary. For Terry, the period of the late 1950s and 1960s, with the shift from hand-got to mechanisation proved significant for the coal industry. As he astutely recalled how technical and mechanical changes within the mining industry mimicked the embodied transformation of the collier and his craft skills during this period:

The old collier, his place of work […] was measured out by his charge hand who was elected, they called him the Puffler[4] and having been given that area, whether it was nine/ten yards, it was his. He was self-supervised, he would use his skills and his technique to win that coal and some of them were better than others […] Some of them, there was music to see them using a shovel, it seemed effortless for some workers. Some of us [laughs], it was a bloody battlefield [...] You could see an absolutely immaculate line of supports, as against the kind of YTS [Youth Training Scheme] colliers that would come but that portion of the coal face was theirs, they was their own gaffer and they applied their own skills into doing that and for almost all, they would take great satisfaction […]I think that's endemic of people you know, especially in heavy industry […] for the outsider looking they'd say "for God's sake why did you do this bloody job?" and they'd look at you incredible "what do you mean?" They take great pride in a job well done, some of you can't do enough for a good gaffer kind of thing, some of them, they worked like bloody hell for a bad'un never mind a good'un. But that changed with mechanisation, the team become more fluid […] I say most of the geology was hidden from them and very rarely did they come across, although its true where they had bad falls and that, they did have to get above the self-contained areas of power supports […] We didn't encounter as much as we did in the hand gotten days, where it was quite common (Terry Harrison, interviewed 10th January 2018).

[4]Term used to refer to man in charge of coal face or sometimes used as another word for Deputy.

The collier gradually cultivated his skill, the industry based on each collier applying his craft and technique to 'win coal'. For Terry, the pride and satisfaction experienced by the men in performing these tasks, formed part of deep-rooted disposition of industrial workers. Terry draws parallels between the 'immaculate line of supports' and 'music to shovelling' in the hand-got era, to 'team fluidity' with mechanisation, to convey the habits of the collier. The narrative illustrates how for workers to be effective, it relied on industries fostering a culture of habitual techniques and sensory orientation to successfully operate within the industrial environment (Shilling, 2017:15). Consequently, the shift to mechanisation brought a renewed emphasis on the importance of work ethic and craftsmanship.

Of those individuals who worked at the colliery, electricians and mechanics appeared to make most readily evident their satisfaction and sense of achievement when speaking about the daily operations of their trade. As Les Davies, a former mechanic at Betteshanger colliery recalled, in discussing his decision to undertake an apprenticeship:

> I suppose heavy industry, getting dirty and greasy and all this lot. Because they used to call me the "Grease Monster" down the pit, because I was always greasing my machines that I was looking after. I'd be covered in Galic oil and god knows what and honestly sometimes you were that dirty, where they'd be using the machine, the water would be warm because it's running through to keep it cool, they'd be hosing me down (Les Davies, interviewed 9th May 2017).

The apprenticeship scheme founded pride and prestige, at the time of mechanisation within the coal industry, work-based training schemes were at their peak. A central ethos of the

scheme was that workers should learn to 'navigate the vagaries of the adult world of work and to participate in constructing their own skilled identities' (Vickerstaff, 2003:279). For Les, his relationship to his artistry skill, was built on dirt and grease, illustrated in the prestige with which he held the nickname of "Grease Monster". Dirt proved an important symbol of craftsmanship, as illustrated in Terkel's interview with strip miner Bob Sanders, who states, 'you have to know how to handle dirt to get the best advantage of your machinery' (1974:19). In the grime and filth workers learnt their trade. As Lyon and Back (2012), in their analysis of craft among fishmongers in Billingsgate Fish Market show the dirt on the workers clothing and body as symbolic of labour in preparing and cleaning the fish to sell (Lyon and Back 2012:5.11). Les echoes these sentiments when he speaks of the maintenance of machines through greasing and his subsequent bodily coating of Galic oil. The 'sensible traces' which this leaves on his body in the filth and odours (Crawford 2009:25), not only serving to place him within the coal industry but more importantly as a mechanical engineer. Robert Hornsey a former electrician at Snowdown Colliery, who in reflecting on the difficult conditions in which he worked, discusses the body as an illustration of craft skill:

> It was quite an achievement when I talked about some of the conditions, when it was wet […] that you can actually still keep the electrics on. So, it's a challenge and when you have breakdowns, especially like the Shearer which cuts the coal, the main machine. If that stops, it's got to be fixed as soon as possible. So actually, fault finding and getting machinery going as quickly as possible I liked, it was an achievement (Robert Hornsey, interviewed 5th April 2017).

In producing the ‘finished article’ and in seeing the products of their labour, it endorsed workers with a sense of ‘mastery’ over their work (Thiel 2012:61). The electrician was an important part of the colliery team, the sense of challenge and accomplishment in overcoming tough conditions fostering pride. Moreover, ‘difficult working conditions were used to show how capable they were of meeting even the most rigorous physical challenges’ (Kideckel 2008:152). Andrew Thatcher, who worked as a mechanical fitter at Tilmanstone colliery, noted the importance of such training in his later working life:

> You used to do stuff you wouldn't think was possible and when you left the coalmine and you went to do other jobs, if you were given a job to do, you'd do it the easiest way. ‘Cos it was natural, cause you had to work out how to do it down there that way (Andrew Thatcher, interviewed 17th January 2017).

These skills were an important part of the apprentices craft, as training in a trade or occupation gave them ‘problem-solving and analytical skills, which they could apply not only to their work but also other aspects of their lives’ (Vickerstaff 2005:41). For both Andrew and Robert, it served as a representation of their abilities as a mechanic and an electrician to read his working environment. Ocejo, describes this sense of pride evident within the application of craft as an ‘emotional tip’ (2017:41), as Andrew and Robert illustrate in the aspects of skill within their jobs from which he took satisfaction. Joe Clayton, who had worked as an electrician at Tilmanstone colliery elaborated further on the notion of pride in application of craft:

> The role I was doing was becoming, the fun if you like was being taken out of being an electrician […] you weren't then fault finding, what you would do if something broke down, if a piece of equipment broke down, you would simply get another part and replace the whole unit. There was none of the old fashioned, you know, delving into it and testing things out and checking them and finding the fault. You would just remove a unit and replace it with something else (Joseph Clayton, interviewed 1st April 2017).

In the accounts of Les, Robert and Joe, we see how the notion of craft is deployed to demonstrate instrumental skill and knowledge, an expression of an occupational identity (Thurnell-Reid, 2014:47). In contrast to Les, Andrew and Robert, Joe focused on the loss of skill in the later years of the colliery, prior to closure. In his account, we gain an appreciation for the 'involvement with machinery' as an encompassing agency that gave Joe enjoyment in his work. The shifting culture of 'replace' rather than 'fix and repair' resulted in Joe becoming disillusioned and aloof from his occupational identity. In Joe's interview there appeared a sense of mourning for not only a lost industry and culture but also a lost craft (Bamberger and Davidson, 1998:17). In tracing the changes in industry practice from Terry in 1956 to Joe in 1986, we gain an understanding of the 'great satisfaction' and 'pride in a job well done' that workers' at the colliery received from the application of their craft. We see how this notion was embodied in every day work culture, techniques and skill and it is to these other factors that the chapter now turns.

Production, Health and Safety

The changes brought about by mechanisation within the industry were monumental in shaping the miner's pedagogics. Prior to 1960, a miner's tacit knowledge had been based almost exclusively on extensive experience of mining in a range of geological conditions (Allsop and Wray, 2012:221). Terry Harrison provides valuable insight into the impact of mechanisation within coal mining, in his description of changing techniques, technological skill and work environment:

> You could see during that period of the late 50s, 60s, 70s they were adapting their skills without training and they were making this new technology work for them. Especially in Kent, because Kent could never rely on, see in the Midlands and Yorkshire and that where they've got a consistent depth of coal, in Kent no, you could be three, four, six foot of coal and then it would disappear and you'd get pea shoots or have only two foot. So therefore, you'd have to be cutting a lot more rock and it did bring problems because of the dust. Records were rocketing and by that time we had statutory levels of dust that we had to meet and at times because the dust was so bad […] Lads would go in there early to get a cut first off before the men come on there […] Only one problem with that, you could detect the dust levels in the return shaft, in number two pit bottom when they were really cutting, you could detect it and so you did the best you could to keep yourselves in work and within the prescribed limits and that weren't always easy. But by that time the miners had dust protectors, dust masks and self-rescuers. In fact, they looked more like a Policeman, you see a Policeman going to work now with all the protective stuff on, you think

> Jesus Christ, you wonder how they can move. But it was the same for the miner, by the time he finished he's got his self-rescuer, a lamp, a blooming snap tin[5], he most likely had to take some powder in a bag, he might have a lamp. But for all that he didn't encounter the conditions that we're talking about now in my period, his father and his father before him had (Terry Harrison, interviewed 10th January 2018).

For colliery employees, one of the most notable challenges during this period were the 'rocketing dust levels' brought about by mechanisation. This highlights the tension that existed within the coal industry between health, safety and production, as Terry found 'keeping yourselves in work' and 'prescribed limits' proved difficult. Colliery workers were forced to navigate between pragmatism versus text book procedure (McIvor and Johnston, 2007:49). As coal face worker Andrew Wilkie, a Tilmanstone collier describes in his interview the practical implications for dealing with dust:

> It was horrendous at times, especially like you know, when you go through a fault, the face machine was cutting stone as opposed to coal, so all the tailgate men were taken off that job and we got into the fresh air because the dust was so bad. We used to do dust sampling but they used to fiddle it […] because the dust sampling had been done when the machine wasn't cutting and all that […] they wouldn't have passed the inspectorate; he'd have shut the place down (Andrew Wilkie, interviewed 19th June 2017).

[5] A snap tin was a metal container (lunch box), used by coal miners to take their food underground. Sometimes miners used the abbreviation 'snap' to refer to lunch.

A fine line existed between health, safety and production. An influencing factor in coal authorities' approach to health and safety related to the demand for coal during the oil crisis of 1973 and 1974. This led the NCB to produce a plan for coal in 1974 set on increasing coal production, followed in 1975 by the introduction of a national production bonus scheme. Moreover, it encouraged a culture of risk taking, ignoring health and safety in order to achieve bonuses and records (Kesküla, 2013:244). The pressure to produce undermined the safety improvements brought about by mechanisation, instead reducing safety and in creating hostility among the workforce (Curtis 2013:147). Dust proved a significant safety factor, David Knight, a coal face worker at Tilmanstone colliery like Terry and Andrew, recalled the difficulties that miners faced in dealing with dust:

> Really dusty, you couldn't see, you had your lamp didn't you but I mean if they were cutting coal or, it was so difficult lots and lots of dust, all depends what conditions you were working in. Sometimes they'd be cutting sandstone, well that used to fire off loads of dust (David Knight, interviewed August 9th 2017).

David also comments on the effects of working in dusty conditions. Here he describes the physical consequences of inhaling dust after shifts:

> It was with you, it was coming off your chest, anyway it stuck with you yeah. That's what we used to call a 'black half-crown' because loads of miners used to be coughing up (David Knight, interviewed August 9th 2017).

An account of the use of dust masks within the colliery environment by Snowdown miner Philip Sutcliffe, offers another illustrative picture of dust inhalation:

> It were sort of fascinating to look at the end of the shift, it was like a mask with layers of cotton wool, you could open it up and then see how far the dust, the black, had gone into a cotton wool. Full of black dust that you would have been swallowing had it not been for the mask (Philip Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

The extent to which miners were exposed to dust greatly depended on the conditions in which they worked. The variations were considerable, with likelihood of workers developing respiratory disease dependent on hazard levels, length of exposure, environment, grade of rock and illness history (Ross and Murray, 2004:304-6). Dust was present in the environment and in the miners themselves. The 'black half-crown' serving as a measure for the size and/or weight of coal dusts that the miner in coughing removed from his chest. Industrial workers adopted such metaphors to define their conditions and the oversight of this within industry and wider society. In considering respiratory disease, colliers noted variable causes with dust listed alongside smoke and diesel as contributing to their current health problems. Ross Llewellyn, who worked as a ripper first at Chislet and later Tilmanstone colliery, now with asthma and Jim Davies an overman at Betteshanger, who noted the loss of half a lung, reflect on the causes of their respiratory health problems:

> Ross Llewellyn: Yeah without a doubt, especially, I was on the ripping, as a ripper and a deputy and all the time I was using explosives. So, you're in that

> atmosphere all the time, breathing in dust and smoke and stuff like that, you know. No doubt it's caused my asthma (Ross Llewellyn, interviewed 15th March 2017).

> Jim Davies: Well, I did work in very, very dusty conditions, right from the very start. I mean in what we call the Southwest Cross Co, where we were digging coal there that was, it was quite hot and we used to drink eight pints of water and we used to have to take salt tablets because of the boils and things. But it was very dusty and then when I was on the face it was dusty but the thing that I felt personally really contributed to it was that we had diesel locomotives underground and they were called it the Beckett system […] I worked with them from the very start, because they used to bring all our supplies and all that in and I was always working on them and personally I felt it were those (Jim Davies, interviewed 25th April 2017).

The nature of the occupation required men to work in a toxic environment with dust, smoke and machinery fumes. These adverse conditions were addressed with increased health and safety provision throughout the period. The Health and Safety at Work Act in 1974 prescribed the duties of the employer, outlining provision of both safety wear and equipment in relation to occupation and varying work conditions. Miners welcomed the changes and the improvements to their health that it brought. Here, Graham Godfrey explains the use of dust masks within the colliery environment.

> When I was at Chislet, they introduced, they said "oh right all got to wear a mask now" and they gave us all these masks and they were rubber. Rubber on your face like that [holds hand over mouth and nose] which you had to breathe through, well it was turning your lungs inside out. It was that hard to breathe through and when there's dust in the air there's bits in the air and it's all getting round here and in here [points to area on face where mask would have been], you're sweating, it's sticking to your face and it's rubbing you raw. Plus, as men was walking in they were taking them and throwing them, 'cos they were just too hard, it really made you breathe heavily, they were not good. So they went, then they introduced, we had paper ones, lasted five minutes [laughs]. We had all sorts before they finally settled on a decent mask but the damage is done by then (Graham Godfrey, interviewed February 16th 2017).

Central to the slow uptake in the use of safety equipment, was the 'tendency for workers at this time to be more aware of the immediate threats to their safety at work and less aware of occupational health problems which incubated over long periods of time' (Johnston and McIvor, 2000:72). We see evidence of this in the risk to health of excessive noise within the colliery environment, recognised in a pamphlet composed by London research department in 1989. The publication notes that 'more than four out of five coal miners are at risk of having their hearing damaged' (London Research Department 1989:4). Through first-hand accounts, we gain an understanding as to the extent to which geology and machinery noise dominated the work environment of the colliery. The effects of excessive noise were felt not only by those working underground, indeed surface worker Derek Flower in his interview demonstrates the effects, which his work at the colliery had on his hearing:

> I drove cranes all the time since I left school but it was noisy. I used to have the ear pieces as well but scary great big diesel engine all the time. The louder it got, heavier things […] louder the engine got (Derek Flower, interviewed 10th April 2017).

Despite evidence of protection at work, this appears to have been insufficient at times in protecting men from the environment in which they worked. In another interview with Tilmanstone colliery deputy Rob Pettman, he reflected on the safety equipment available for those working underground and vividly recounted the impact of noise.

> The biggest thing that I don't think they done enough on, was ear protection. That's my biggest gripe, I put cotton wool in my ears to start off, when I was on the boring machines, on the air legs, I used to come home and my ears were ringing. But they did eventually fetch out proper ear defenders but that was later on, about the end of the 70s (Robert Pettman, interviewed June 16th 2017).

Rob proved a very safety conscious individual, working as part of the Mines Rescue and serving as a volunteer firefighter. During the period of the 1960s, Terry recorded 'the drilling noise levels were going over 130 decibels 140' (Terry Harrison, interviewed 10th January 2018).

With levels far exceeding regulation[6], it is perhaps not surprising that loss of hearing proved one of the most significant health impacts among my participants. Rob stated that he would often place cotton wool in his ears as a way of dampening or rather reducing noise levels. Such practices of home-made safety equipment were common among industrial workers, as Rob observed:

> Something I picked up, because I knew it would reduce it. I heard that some blokes, the filters of cigarettes, they fetch them down and poke them in there but I never seen that, because cigarettes weren't allowed underground anyway but I heard they put the filters in their ears. But that was my only gripe and it's my gripe now, that my hearing is not very good (Robert Pettman, interviewed June 16th 2017).

Rob himself, through excessive noise exposure at the colliery, had developed tinnitus, which in turn encouraged him after closure to pursue a career in tunnelling health and safety. The habitual practices of miners in the use of cotton wool, alongside other ingenious methods such tying silk stockings, underwear, or wet cloth around the mouth, prove common in occupations where workers were exposed to dust inhalation or excesses of dangers, the purpose to 'neutralise risk' (McIvor and Johnston, 2007:245). Such practices

[6]Regulations set at 'the first action level means a daily personal noise exposure of 85 dB(A)' and 'the second action level means a daily personal noise exposure of 90 dB(A).' See The noise at work regulations (1989) No, 1790 [Online] available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1989/1790/contents/made.

were encouraged amongst men, as Tilmanstone coal face worker John Kemp recalled in his observation of senior miners, he adopted the use of chewing tobacco, to limit the effects of dust inhalation:

> I ended up chewing tobacco, 'cos it keeps your mouth moist and all the time your mouth's wet you wouldn't breathe the coal dust in and be constantly spitting (John Kemp, interviewed 22nd November 2016).

The younger workers' mimicking of health and safety precautions taken by older and more experienced miners was common within the mining industry. Nash, in her study of Bolivian tin miners, observes the use of coca when working in dusty conditions. The miners believing that chewing coca prevents silicosis, which they proved by pointing out that if you are chewing coca when the charge's fired, afterwards you can taste the acrid smoke from it (Nash, 1993:199). The incorporation of such practices into the miners' pedagogy aids understanding of how work culture shaped approaches to health, which remain present in the deindustrial body with emphasis on ill-health as unremarkable rather than tragic.

The men with their dust mask, self-rescuer and snap tin, a display of the industry's improvement of worker safety, with the increase in protective equipment. Terry describes them as looking more like 'policeman' than a miner by the time mechanisation had been fully implemented. These improvements set at tackling the long association between coal mining and disease, most notably respiratory - silicosis, pneumoconiosis and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). The inclusion of pneumoconiosis in the Workmen's Compensation Act in 1943 and subsequent nationalisation of the coal industry in 1947 saw

an increase in momentum for understanding and assisting those suffering from coal inflicted respiratory health problems (see Perchard and Gildart,2015 and McIvor, 2015). In 1951 Mr John Arbuthnot (MP for Dover) noted:

> As Member for the Dover division of Kent, I represent the mining district, which has the highest incidents of silicosis outside South Wales (Parliament Document 1951).

Speaking on this, Terry Harrison, Betteshanger Branch NUM Secretary, who along with Frank Redman, had been responsible for assisting the processing of the areas Coal Health Claims stated:

> I got the impression because of the make of the Betteshanger, with men coming from so many areas, that the Welsh miners, the old miners, served for several years in Wales, as a group of figures for them exposures suffering from industrial disease. It appeared to me that the Welsh miners, some degree Yorkshire miners, may have been more exposed in those coalfields than they were at Betteshanger. Betteshanger, obviously the figures would prove it, we did have people that suffered with dust and have since been found to have died of dust on death, even though they didn't claim during their lifetime […]the workforce didn't suffer heavily from it (Terry Harrison, interviewed 10th January 2018).

It is suggested that high figures in this early period, may have been a result of the unique make-up of Kent, the Cinderella of the coalfields (Booth 2001:379). In the early 20th century drawing miners to the area on the promise of high wages and improved conditions (see chapter one). Moreover, Terry noted that heavy use of sprays (water) and dust masks from the 1970s onwards may have also contributed to the lowering numbers. Gardener *et al.* (2011) in accounting for mortality distribution of pneumoconiosis in the period of 1968-1978, stated that whilst mortality rates for coal worker's pneumoconiosis appear high, in Kent, deaths from silicosis appeared almost untraceable. Terry provides further evidence of improvement for the miner during this period stating:

> We did manage to expose the fact that the employer did know for many years the effect of dust, the effect of noise, the effects of these vibration tools and otherwise sticking stuff in their libraries it was difficult to get them [...] I mean what you were looking for, I mean, I used to put these claims into the solicitor and during my period and Frank's period common law claims escalated to a degree where we understood that the employer had a responsibility. You know, this lad, it wasn't kind of a no blame, no fault scheme, we had to find somebody to blame, the employer […] We thought we'll give them all a run. Where the union used to be selective about the success or failure, we used to say no the lad suffered an injury let's get the bloody claim in and if somebody wants to determine, he's not entitled to compensation then let them make the decision and we were quite successful in that. Whereas before our time, the chances of you having a common law claim and blaming the fault on the employer was nearly bloody impossible, it was very difficult and it was costly

> […] For the miners our problem was, especially for the older miners it was getting them to support. If you think about the older miners you're saying to him, we need a super annuated pension scheme and we're going to pay up to five/six/seven percent of our income you know on a super annuated scheme the old miners saying to you wait a minute you mean after I'm sixty five? Yeah but yeah but I ain't going to live more than a couple of years until I'm after sixty five if I'm lucky. That was their experience so the idea of pensions schemes and the like, to them it was alien. So, I got Pneumoconiosis, you want me to go onto light work, I can't afford to go onto light work cause the Pneumoconiosis Compensation Scheme was very minimal. So you can imagine for some of them they didn't want to get declared pneumoconiosis because that meant they were referred to the pit doctor, who's then putting them on light work (Terry Harrison, interviewed 10th January 2018).

The exposure of occupational ill-health caused through dust, noise and vibration tools, proved important insofar as it created an awareness within the workforce as to the responsibilities of the employer towards their health and safety. As Frank Redman, who had been Kent area President of the Association for NACODS, illustrated in his interview, referring to an accident that he had had whilst working at the colliery:

> We were working on Two's Woodroad, which was straight up from pit bottom into the 1900's seam and we didn't have a rip on that day and we were putting in the middle of the face and we'd been stood up to about just after snap time. And as it's true to form, they had this habit, of keep pushing the ends and

> putting a big bend on, so where we were there was about five foot high and it was plough face and I said right we're going to send the plough down a few times, get it out. Okay fine, just started up and I went to put a drawing off chain into one of the supports behind and the next thing I knew I was in midair thrown against the conveyor and what had happened was somebody had set steel to steel and because the props normally have friction caps on. This one that had been set hadn't and it had been set steel to steel and when weight had come on, it had sprung this prop and it hit me there [tapped forehead]. I yelled out, couldn't see for blood coming down the face, walked out, they bandaged it up, walked out with […] .and we were living in Ramsgate at the time and Ramsgate hospital was opened [...] "I can't understand how you're not dead", he said "you must be really thick boned' and they couldn't understand at Ramsgate either because a blow like that and it was a blow, my face is out here, literally out here and I was off a fortnight and then started back again (Frank Redman, interviewed 17th January 2018).

Whatever the mistakes of men, there could be little doubt that the Coal Board had a role to play in ensuring that its workers were protected and looked after and that they received fair compensation. As Frank went on to state in his interview:

> The scar is still there, 21st of April 1965, so it's common law claim. The Union didn't get as much as they should have done but about eighty five quid at the time I think. Mind you eighty five quid was worth a lot more then, than what

> eighty five quid is now but I suppose roughly about three weeks' wages (Frank Redman, interviewed 17th January 2018).

The application of the common law claim set to erode the 'blame culture' that existed around accidents' (Nichols, 1997:29). As a leading figure in the understanding of the relationship between working life and health, Nichols' criticism of the occupational health and safety practices, as illustrated by the Robens Report in 1972, was that workers were 'unconsciously' responsible for their injuries through indifference or lack of concern. Once the industry had been dominated by notions of 'corporeal' or 'bodily' absence; the physical body, as an automated vessel without thought, is a 'living process' that 'constantly transforms its sensorimotor repertoire by acquiring novel skills and habits' (Leder, 1990:30). Cultural shifts in attitudes towards health and safety, saw the body brought into central prominence, the realities of the 'telic demand' of pain bringing about legislation and compensation schemes to combat occupational ill-health (Leder 1990:77). Prior to this era, outside of the union, colliers received minimal recognition as to the severity of ill-health; chest complaints being expected among miners after years of service. As former coal face worker Graham Godfrey noted, having been diagnosed with COPD:

> I was getting a lot of colds and they were going to my chest and I had pneumonia […] I'd already had a payout for my chest because there was dust on it but a limited amount but we all had that. You all got some 'cos your breathing it in it's going to stay in there, 'cos they used to have x-rays at the pit periodically. An x-ray van would come and you'd all go and get yourself x-rayed and they used to have them in the town as well, mass x-rays for everybody.

> One of the blokes had his chest x-rayed at the pit, yeah you're alright and then when the mass x-ray came to the town he went to that as well and they said to him "what's your living, what's your occupation?" he said "I'm a bus driver and they had him back, oh my god it's shocking. He said "I'm not really a bus driver, I'm a miner", "oh you're alright then" because they wouldn't expect to see any dust on a bus drivers' lungs. See that's an acceptable amount of dust on a miner's lungs but you wouldn't expect to see that on somebody else's lungs. So if they got it on somebody else's lungs, there is a problem. That's how we were treated, "oh because your a miner, you'd expect to see some dust, so that's nothing to worry about" (Graham Godfrey, interviewed 16th February 2017).

In telling this account of his own problems and that of his colleague's experience, Graham sought to highlight in his interview the assumption as to the development of respiratory disease, that expectant dust levels on the lung of a miner were higher than other industries. It proved difficult to separate coal mining and disease, as McIvor and Johnston (2007) recognised, such was the acceptance within coalfield communities of ill-health, it became normalised, bound in local work culture and customs (see chapter six). To be a miner was to accept exposure to risk, to acknowledge the changes that working conditions might bring to your health with dust and respiratory disease.

The longer an individual spent working in the pit, the more likely he was to be exposed. Memories of 'dust on the lung' and 'ill-health' would become important in the lived history of the Kent Coalfield and deindustrial bodily experience. Martin Reed, who worked for a short

time at Snowdown Colliery in the late 1950s, talked about his impressions of the colliery as a young lad training:

> They were old ex-colliers, which made you really, really think about, seeing the looks of them and the state of them I used to think God! I always thought it casually, thinking when I went down the pit, I don't want to end up like these old boys. But then, that made you really aware when you saw the state of some of them on the face (Martin Reed, interviewed 23rd January 2017).

Martin goes on later in his interview to talk further about his experience of training with the 'old ex-colliers':

> They look pasty and they're breathing and used to think Jesus Christ, I don't want to end up like that and some of them were only in their 50s and they looked old men they did (Martin Reed, interviewed 23rd January 2017).

The impact that this experience had in shaping Martin's decisions to leave the industry proved profound. The scenes of 'pasty', 'breathless' and 'fast ageing' men as described, were common within the mining industry. These scenes offer an insight into the dynamics of 'ill-health' and 'masculinity' within the coal industry. It identifies with concepts of 'bodily objectification' as seen in conflict and thus 'at the centre of ideologies of masculinity was an acknowledgement that the male body could be rendered unsightly' (Bourke, 1996:77). Furthermore, it demonstrates a 'material' relationship to the body, the consequences of which are seen in physical deterioration. Nevertheless, it recognises the instrumental relationship with the body

as an ‘object of industry’, that is reproduced in deindustrial society through heritage and nostalgia. John Page, a surface worker at Tilmanstone colliery offers an insight into the ‘objective’ and ‘material’ relationship to the body within industry:

> He worked in the repair shop and he walked about on his toes well no on the fronts of his feet he used to slouch his way along […] because he was doing a job down the pit and “you know I said about the boring machine?” Well it had gear box on the back of it and this gear box had packed, so they were lifting it with a block and tackle which is all metal with this chain with a hook on the end. To lift this gear box which weighed about a tonne and as it lifted it away, it’s a bit like this joint in the table, it lifted it out so that they could move it out the way and put another one in. Putting the other one in when the hook slipped off the chain and this come down and his toes were over the edge like that and it took both sets of toes off both feet. So they had to come and give him a job on the surface but he used to slouch his way about, shuffle because he got no balance, because of his toes (John Page, interviewed 13th February 2017).

Ill-health and injury dominated John’s memories of work on the surface as a young man. In the removal of the miner’s toes, he was forced to take a job on the surface. Through such accounts we gain an understanding as the norms of social existence within the coalfield. The ‘objective’ and ‘material’ relationship to the body resulting in severe consequences in working life experiences but also social economics. Derickson, in his tracing of the public health disaster of ‘black lung’ among miners in America, states how victims of disease tried to

'retrace their steps on the job ladder', taking less arduous assignments (1998:30). Many men were reluctant to declare their ill-health, Terry Harrison previously noting 'pension schemes as alien' to these men and 'the pneumoconiosis compensation scheme so minimal' many men could not afford a decrease in pay. In their observation of Welsh mining communities in the early twentieth century, Curtis and Thompson (2015) argue that without realistic alternatives, elderly miners simply worked until their strength failed or disability prevented them (Curtis and Thompson 2015:588). In the period of pre-welfare state and formal recognition of CWP, Curtis and Thompson show, how industrial workers saw ill-health as something to resist rather than embrace, the body essential in maintaining economic, social and cultural status in the industry.

In embodied terms, the mining industry with its ingrained skills and habits, established a miners' pedagogic that was attuned to production, safety and risk. These practices, mannerisms and attitudes as shown in dealing with dust and noise within the colliery environment, highlight the uniqueness of the individuals that work in the coal industry. Through understanding the 'craft skills' that they developed through working in the industry, it helps to understand how individuals perceive work as having shaped their body and in doing so, recognising occupation as playing an important role in the physical and intrinsic element of the deindustrial body.

A Sensory Knowledge of Coal Mining

Central to body pedagogics within coal mining was an awareness of danger and reduction of risk. The relationship between the practise of teaching and environment relied on workers acquiring a sensory knowledge. Hockney, in his analysis of sensory studies as seen through

the armed services, describes this process as a 'switching on' or enhancing of sensory skills within an occupational fashion (2009:481). Miners in the development of their coal industry skills, simultaneously developed a heightened sensory awareness. This saw the men negotiate new sounds, sights and smells, learning through these how to protect and preserve their own bodies and that of their colleagues from potential hazards. This was a distinctive set of skills learned through observation of peers and geology. Here Matthew Desmond recalled his experience, based on an in-depth ethnographic study spent working as a wildland firefighter for the US Forest Service:

> We knew how to observe the forest because our eyes had been searching the tips of pines and the trunks of oaks for years. Our ears knew what to listen for; our noses knew what the forest was supposed to smell like. Our footing and balance, posture and hiking style, sense of touch and movement were attuned to the forest and this heightened sense of awareness, this woodsy know how inscribed in our histories and in our very bodies, allowed us quickly to adapt to the challenges of the fire (Desmond, 2006:407).

Such reliance proved an important component for wildland firefighters, as in attuning their bodies to the forest it created a workforce that was efficient and perceptive to dealing with forest fires. As he analyses the sensory knowledge of the firefighter, it becomes clear that 'masculinity' is central in these engrained skills and dispositions. This display of 'masculinity' linked to area and cultural habitus (2006:411). Therefore, it proves difficult to distinguish between the forest and firefighter's body, the forest presented as 'inscribed in personal histories' and 'their bodies', as Desmond presents the forest and the firefighter as one

interchangeable entity. Joe Clayton, who worked as an electrician at Tilmanstone pit, observed a similar characteristic within the mining industry, noting within the work environment men developed extrasensory perception:

> A 'sixth sense […] always looking ahead to think what could happen and you try and avoid situations as much as you can (Joseph Clayton, interviewed 1st April 2017).

An immersive experience, workers attempted to synchronise their bodies to that of their working environment, enabling them to gain increased awareness, sensory work assisting their endurance (Hockney 2009:491). This 'sixth sense' is transmitted through a form of tacit and codified knowledge. For Gordon, in her analysis of past and haunting social matters, she examined how in conflict, militaries used sensory knowledge or 'sixth sense', to gain commitment and ownership over individuals' bodies (Gordon 1997:125). Sensory knowledge, as demonstrated by Hockney (2009) and Gordon (1997), allowed colliers a sense of control over their environment and in doing so, reduced fear and doubt as to the dangers of the environment in which they worked. Tilmanstone mechanical engineer, Stuart Elgar, emphasised the association between sensory, homeliness and employment in his interview:

> Sophie: Did it become more isolating as you went up then through the ranks of the colliery?
> Stuart: Yes, obviously you don't spend so much time underground as you would like to. In fact I was off work for eleven weeks, they discovered a childhood defect with my heart that had never been picked up in all the

medicals and that was a hole in the heart and I had that repaired and went back to work and I went underground on a Saturday morning, an unusual thing to go underground but I went and sat in the middle of the coal face,weird ain't it? Seems weird now but I did just sat there, turned my light off.

Sophie: Was it just the darkness of it down there, or just the feeling of being back?

Stuart: I don't know what it was, I just liked being in a bit of a confined space I suppose, I don't know it's weird.

Sophie: It must be dead quiet down there or not?

Stuart: With nothing running it is extremely quiet. You just hear little trickles of rock falling and very quiet, very dark. Back to the womb I suppose (Stuart Elgar, interviewed 22nd November 2016).

There is in this narrative a clear merger between the body of the miner and the colliery environment. Stuart's decision upon returning to work after his heart defect 'to go and sit in the middle of coal face, his head lamp light off' is evidence of his wish to return to the colliery environment. A process that Stuart describes as going 'back to the womb', his choice of language is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, in returning to the womb that is the coal face, the miner retains his occupational identity. Secondly, it recognises the sense of solace and safety attached to the colliery, the machismo culture and camaraderie serving as a source of protection, like that of a mother's love. From training, young men developed their own sensory skill set to read the environment, with onus placed on an individual's skill and knowledge to protect their bodies. John Kemp, a former coal face worker at Tilmanstone, describes his experience of aroma in working underground:

> It’s just this damp smell. It’s quite nice, you quite like it, it's quite homely for a miner. But it's just this smell that you can't describe. It’s just this damp basement type smell, dampness and the coal, its just got this smell, this odour to it and it smells all round the pit like that. But if anybody peeled an orange you could smell citrus everywhere. Some people didn't like the smell of oranges and some people would say “oh someone’s eating an orange” and it could be mile, mile and a half away. Someone’s had an orange for their snap and it smells, ‘cos the smell’s completely different ‘cos the air’s being drawn round (John Kemp, interviewed 22nd November 2016).

This form of sensory knowledge proved more than atmospheric but also imparted practical and professional knowledge. Through sense of smell it ensured that the miner understood work systems and situations within the underground environment. The ‘eating of an orange’ created an ‘olfactory map’ that allowed men to gain an understanding of the ventilation system as air drew round (Classen *et al.* 2002:18). Moreover, for John, smell served to align him to the coal industry, his use of terms such as ‘nice’ and ‘homely’ representative of the positive experiences which he had of work. From this, Billy Leonard, a former coal face worker at Betteshanger colliery, further illustrates the association between smell and memory in his interview, stating:

> I went home once not long ago […] I found a little book, a little notebook and when I opened it up, you could smell the coalmine. It’s been there for years this little thing but you could smell it straight away. It’s not a bad smell, just

> smell it straight away and then it sort of disappears (Billy Leonard, interviewed 3rd May 2017).

Smell serves as an expression of 'attachment of knowledge and life' (Classen *et al*. 2002:50). Memory of smell served to place John and Billy in the industry. This is made evident by Lyon in her ethnographic observations of the construction industry. In her study, Mike, an apprentice glazier, notes the smell when cutting through the original timber joist, which he identifies with 'real craft', the 'building's invisible inhabitants' (Lyon 2012:27). Like Mike, smell or rather the memory of it, places men in a history of craft, it provides a connection to that industry that it lost. Hockney states that 'while smells are physical sensations, they also carry with them moral evaluations (Hockney 2009:487). For John and Billy smell is synonymous with survival, providing them with industrial knowledge and in keeping the legacy of the colliery alive. Mick Rosser, a former Betteshanger coal face worker provides insight into the way a sensory awareness formed and adapted the miner's body:

> I don't know if anyone has explained to you the ventilation in a mine, the air was drawn out. So it went down one shaft but it was actually drawn up by fans in another shaft. What happened was on the number two shaft, where all the people, ninety of the people rode the air, there was like a a tunnel come off the top of the shaft and it went up round there and that's why the number two shaft was encased in concrete and had air doors, so that the air went out the mine and out that shaft, rather than straight from the top. So when you got on there, the air was normal and everything and it was quite chilly 'cos it was quite a bit of pressure and it was drawing but then you go about twenty five foot say

> fifty foot and then you'd go past this shaft and then you'd hit the exhaust and everything that's in that pit's coming up that shaft and that's oil, rotten wood, there's old mines that are still open and it's the decay of that and it's just, I don't know if anyone could describe that smell. Have you ever sort of been in a wood and like […] in the leaves and the rotten wooden underneath all that, it's not a horrible smell but it's not pleasant […] It's damp, damp rotten wood and plus you got a mixture of oil and god knows what else. The smell of all the rock in the air, I don't know if that gave off any smell but after a few years you learn to ignore the smell, you start, I don't know if anyone else has got the habit, I've got so used to breathing through my mouth that I seldom breathe through my nose, so when there's a horrible smell about because of that, you ignore it because you not actually, I probably only notice twenty-five percent of smell, not that I can't smell anything, it's just that I've got so used to breathing through my mouth. When we had the dust masks down the pit because of the dust, we'd go [holds nose] because the mask was on your nose it would push down on your nose because of the extra breath you'd need to pull through that mask (Mick Rosser, interviewed 7th July 2017).

A void of rotten wood, engine oil and decay, through Mick's recounting of scent, we understand habitus and how this cultivates bodywork within coal mining. Most notably within Mick's account is the adaption to his breathing through his mouth rather than his nose in 'learning to ignore the smell'. Alteration to breathing practices has also been recognised within other occupations, as Lande notes: 'to breathe like a soldier means not breathing at his/her own pace but breathing in through the nose and out through the mouth in the time with the

major. Learning to breathe is a social activity that demands active participation openness to the conduct of others' (2007:101-102). In coal mining, the motion of breathing through the mouth was set by the rhythm of the work, the body according to Lyon is as a 'metronomic device' sensing the rhythm of practise and performance within an industrial setting (Lyon 2018). The severity of dusty conditions encouraged the men to wear masks, which as Mick describes pushed down on the nose forcing 'extra breath' to pull air through the mask. In a hot and dusty environment, the masks proved difficult for dealing with. Miners adapted to this method of breathing to ensure they maintained the tempo at which the team extracted coal, whilst at the same time ensuring they remained adequately protected.

From this aspect we can view the relationship between 'the body' and 'sensory knowledge' as evidence that 'their bodies are quite literally the building material for their art' (Aalten 2007:122). Within his body, the miner embedded the practices of industry, as expressed through his sense of smell, breathing patterns and work rhythm. Tilmanstone colliery electrician, Joe Clayton, further noted the measures taken by workers to deal with the complications, as exposed through excessive noise:

> You just cannot escape the noise, you can't communicate at times. You know when the shearer is right by you within touching distance, going up and down the face you just can't, you had to really shout or wait until it had gone by and then have your conversation […] Such a noise and the other significant machine was something called a Dosco, which cut out the profile into solid rock and you can imagine that this machine with forty odd picks on it cutting through solid rock, the noise is absoultely unbearable. So unfortunately

> someone had to drive the machine (Joseph Clayton, interviewed 1st April 2017).

Joe's account serves to convey the severity of the noise, in impacting on the team's ability to work and communicate within this environment. Communication proved a difficulty for workers, as Joe remembered having to 'really shout' or 'wait until it had gone by and then have your conversation'. To overcome these difficulties, miners developed their own system of communication, based on signals from the lamp on their helmet. Electrician Les Davies in his interview, re-counted the use of this communication system within the colliery environment:

> Lights […] obviously signals and that if you're on the haulage and that but if you were a sort of, so few yards away and you can't hear what he was saying you would, if you're slacking it out you'd would wave your light [...] slacking off or something after to pull it up, stop and all this lot. You got used to what the signal was to your light sort of thing (Les Davies, interviewed 9th May 2017).

The sensory experience suggests an awareness among workers of the body and the vulnerabilities of exposure. Moreover, via the creation of an industry specific sign language, we gain an understanding of how individuals sought to overcome and naturalise the work environment. As Betteshanger colliery overman Jim Davies notes:

> It just seemed to come naturally. I know the crane banksman's chaps… when they want the crane lowered, they do certain things, it's just a carrying on from

> that sort of thing, so you would get, it's something you don't think about but it is there (Jim Davies, interviewed 25th April 2017).

Both Les and Jim's accounts demonstrate how routinised sensory work practices enhanced production though reinforced teamwork. Through the system of cap light signals, workers learned to rely on each other to adapt and survive the noisy conditions of their work environment. Such practices were common in industrial occupations, as workers often spoke of learning a work-based sign language. Here Kathi Wellington Dukes describes what this meant for her when she went to work at Bethlehem Steel mill:

> We started picking up sign language that was used to convey our thoughts. We quickly learned to distinguish "white hat," which was indicated tapping our helmet on top, from "crane overhead," which was pointing at the eye and then upward' (Baca and James, 2001:24)

Importantly this initiation into industrial work life was not just a necessity but saw the individual develop a visualised understanding of the work environment. In his study of auto-workers and job satisfaction, Form recognises the importance of such practices, as noise and reduced space imposed by the machinery fostered friendships and increased job satisfaction (Form 1973:13). Bodily pedagogics within the coal industry built on the sensory ability of the individual, as well as a team's ability to communicate within a precarious and dangerous environment.

In interviews, colliers recalled advice or techniques they received from family members or colleagues upon their decision to enter the coal industry. For Betteshanger coal face worker Robert Taylor, his most memorable advice came from his Father informing him 'Keep your ears open, your mouth closed and do as you're told' (Robert Taylor, interviewed 12th September 2017). The industry required individuals to be attentive to their surroundings. Billy Leonard was one of the youngest participants, having begun work at Betteshanger colliery at the age of 16 in 1981. In his interview, he recalled the advice that he gained from colleagues in his early workdays:

> When you stood down the coal mine if you leant against something, you never put your fingers across the top of a surface because if a rock falls down, if you leant against something you had your hands flat against it, so if something fell down it would knock your arm down […] It was just little things you picked up […] Or people told you to do and you just did it (Billy Leonard, interviewed 3rd May 2017).

Training in the coal industry relied on not only paper-based methods but also a system of oral and tacit knowledge passed down through generations. Thurnell-Reid (2014) focusses on sensory studies as expressed though brewer's narratives. His central aim is to explore 'tacit knowledge' as seen and understood through the process of fermentation and smell (2014:53). Much like Billy learning to keep his 'hand flat' against the wall, the brewer's knowledge is exhibited through his 'skill and knowledge both in the process and product is used to establish occupational identity' (Thurnell – Reid 2014:52). Just as wildland firefighters learn to think and act in a sense-orientated way, so too are coal miners trained to listen and respond to their

work environment (Desmond 2006). Listening proved a quintessential pedagogic within the industry, as illustrated in the following interview extract with Snowdown coal face worker and NUM branch secretary Philip Sutcliffe:

> Phillip: You could wear ear defenders if you wanted but it was just too much to have a mask and ear things […] Especially with hearing, you find you need to know what is going on around you. You need to hear the roof creaking […] All this stuff was taking away your basic instincts of knowing what was going on around you.
>
> Sophie: Was it important to listen down there then?
>
> Phillip: Oh yeah, because you could tell you know, could hear noises, could hear the rocks cracking and moving, so you needed your hearing.
>
> Sophie: Was that something you were taught or naturally learned?
>
> Phillip: They do tell you, like the older miners will tell you, "oh you know when something's going to happen because Kent starts to move" that's how they put it. Then sometimes, on a new face particularly, you could hear it then the props and the weight and supports moving sort of coming down gradually and you could hear this big cracking […] When it got really bad, you'd come off the face. Just in case, then go and stand in the roadway where it was more firm […] Safe (Philip Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

Even in the provision of safety equipment, it proved at times impractical within the environment. In removing the miner of the most 'basic instinct' of listening, the risks enhanced rather than reduced. An embodied knowledge of his surrounding geology proved

an essential part of the miners' sensory tool kit. In learning to listen to 'Kent's movement' alongside the creaking and cracking of weights and props, the ground served as an instrument, enhancing the collier's capacity to acknowledge and react to danger (Ingold 2002:135). We see evidence of this in the anthropometric qualities prescribed to environment by Robert Taylor as he recalled:

> The ground itself […] it used to groan and you knew when it was starting to come because the props in those days, if they yielded certain weights certain tonnes twenty tonnes, they would click […] Then you'd hear it click, click, click and you know it's time to move out the way because coming on weight (Robert Taylor, interviewed, 12th September 2017).

Sarah Maslen, in her study of sensory knowledge within the medical profession, states in learning how to hear the heart medically, it creates a dialogue between biomedical understanding and clinical indicators. Doctors create an onomatopoeic language such as 'lub' and 'dub' to understand a healthy heart and variations of this (Maslen 2015:61). The collier in shifting geological conditions learned to hear mechanically, the 'click, click, click' mimicking the variations used by medical professionals, to recognise stable and un-stable geology of the coal face. We see evidence of the incorporation of such techniques into the body through the work of Norman Harrison. In his account of working as a miner at Snowdown in the late 1940s, he highlights sensory orientation as part of his stint assessment technique:

> 'I'd examine it as you examine a bicycle tube for a puncture but I'd just go from one end to the other, almost unconsciously noting how and where the coal

> would work, what the roof was like pulling pieces of it down here, or tapping at it there (Norman Harrison, 1954:144).

For Philip and Robert, the 'cracking' and 'groans' of the earth, like the 'pulling' and 'tapping' of pieces for Norman became ingrained in their disposition to reading and analysing their work environment. Andersson et al. in their assessment of sailing practices, notes how such physical movements reflect judgement or rather a 'body technique' based on a cultivation of experience and understanding of environment (Andersson et al. 2015). The emphasis on the senses in participants reading of their work environment, suggest a miner's pedagogy, with reference to workers' habits of 'breathing through the mouth' and the recognition of clicking made when 'Kent started to move'. This reference to the senses in the formation of workers' habits echoes what Wacquant (2004) refers to as a 'pugilistic pedagogy'; the established embodiment of craft skill. The acknowledgement of such skills are important in recognising learned practices and adaption of the body to the coal mining industry, alongside the indirect repercussion that this has in shaping collective identity and embodiment.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how pedagogics might be understood within the colliery environment and how this served to shape the miner's habits. Whilst 'work no longer functions as a primary means of identity' (McIvor 2013:68), this chapter recognises how work served to shape the body. It has outlined how we might understand the deindustrial body as a complication of work practices and sensory knowledge from a past spent working industry. The piece has shown firstly how we might read the body through examination of habitual

practices of craft skill and secondly, recognises the importance of this in the construction of work identity.

For Wacquant, to learn a profession is to 'modify one's body schema', it is a process of bodily reflection, with the process leading to the internalisation of an inseparable set of dispositions (2004:95). In exploring the relationship between body pedagogics and habitus, Wacquant asked that we look to the learned and, albeit inviable, properties of the body. These are expressed through the transmission of pugilism, as observed in visual gesture and mimetic manners (Wacquant, 2004:100). It is in observing these practices that we can begin to understand the half-life fallout framework used in narratives of deindustrialisation and the extent to which industry continues to reside in the body.

In these narratives of work, health and the body take centre stage. In their observations of mechanisation and health and safety practices, the miners demonstrate how industry was embodied into an innate predisposition. As such, for these industrial workers 'their time at the company still defines them and their lives' (Juravich, 2009:181). In studying the work environment of the colliery it displays the training and body modification required by men to adapt, that would establish a miner's pedagogic to meet the demands of mechanisation.

Sensory knowledge highlights the pedagogic and habitual practices of the miner. The role of the sense has been widely explored in relation to craft skill, with noted effects on the body such as a heightened sensory awareness of smell, sound and imagery. Despite increasing interest in body pedagogics and sensory knowledge within the field of body studies, research has remained, in occupational terms, confined to the military (Hockney, 2009; Lande, 2007)

glass blowing (O'Connor, 2007) and sport (Aalten, 2007; Wainwright and Turner, 2006; Wacquant, 2004). These insights prove important in shaping understanding of sensory knowledge in industry, hinting towards a collective embodiment of work. However, questions remain regarding to what extent former miners retain an industrial identity in post-industrial society and to what networks do they turn to for support now industry has closed.

Chapter Five: Memory, Ruination and Collective Identity

In chapters three and four I explored the body within the industrial workplace. Central to the discussion of these two chapters was to understand the relationship between the coal mining industry and worker identity; as shown through expressions of emotion, masculinity, pedagogic practices and camaraderie. This is illustrated in the work of Arthur McIvor (2013) where the body is an essential device for understanding expressions of identity. It is these settled tendencies and practices, as seen in the habits and embodied practices of individuals, as reflected upon in Wacquant's (2004) analysis of boxing, that makes the body a central concept within analysis of work culture and subsequently, in the case of this thesis, in deindustrialisation.

I begin this chapter by discussing the relationship between memory and identity in studies of culture, heritage, memory, work and deindustrialisation. In the following section, I consider the contemporary identity of coalmining communities today, with reference to experiences of closure, unemployment and work outside the coal industry. Having established how coal miners and their families understand their identity within contemporary society, in the final section, I examine the body in relation to the collective identity expressed in the conceptualisation of ruination as a collective narrative of embodied experiences.

Memory and Identity

Memory has proved vital in the identity of once industrial communities' ability to adapt to post-industrial society. Linkon and Russo (2002) are part of a wave of post-industrial community studies. Their work offers a decisive mechanism for thinking about the process of

deindustrialisation. Through the concept of memory, they explore notions of identity and culture to understand how these have eroded with the loss of industry. In examining aspects of deindustrialisation, Linkon and Russo are drawing on a heritage, stories of a lost society and culture evident in an industrial landscape. The concept of 'communities of memory' speaks to a wider loss of work, culture and future. In their writing on the concept of memory, Linkon and Russo (2002) were attempting to highlight the vulnerable nature of post-industrial society:

> Deindustrialised communities are vulnerable to all kinds of loss – not just job loss or economic security, as outsiders interpret the meaning of deindustrialisation for their own purpose (Linkon and Russo, 2002:217).

Linkon and Russo see memory as a mechanism drawn from uncertainty which saw people lose their hopes, ambitions and identity. They make the argument that work signified 'virtue, expertise, power and conflict (2002:133). Moreover, they note that with loss of work comes memory and storytelling, 'this process creates a sense of shared history and identity, out of which they develop vision and hope for the future' (2002:3). It is this discussion of 'shared history and identity' that has proved prevalent in writing on memory. For example, Savage (2008:26) spoke about the need for nostalgia in allowing a fixed identity in an environment where local identities are fickle and mobile. Haukanas and Tinka (2013:4) consider memory and nostalgia as an expression of 'mourning' for more predictable and stable conditions. Edensor (2005b:830) in his article is concerned with 'memoryscapes' mediated spaces of heritage and social remembering. Such focuses are insightful as to the role of memory in

deindustrialisation, drawing attention to the collective nature of memory, highlighting the embodiment of experience.

Communal memory meanwhile, is often perceived of alongside nostalgia. In several communities this emerges from a state of haunting and the manifestation of the past in the present. The figure of 'the ghost' has resonated through much deindustrial literature but questions remain as to why the ghost is so important in post-industrial society? Bright's (2016) concept of 'social haunting' offers one of the most salient analyses of the haunting effects of the past upon deindustrial society.

Bright's ideas on ghostliness drew on a wider discussion of haunting recorded in Gordon's (1997) *Ghostly Matters*. She saw the ghost as an anthropological tool, a way of comprehending 'what has' and 'is happening' (Gordon, 1997:8). As she states:

> The ghost is not living in the spirit world. It is living and not too graciously at that in the real world of day job, burnt toast, sibling rivalry, sought after love and companionship, adjudging neighbours and something will have to be done about that (Gordon, 1997:168).

Gordon suggests that the ghost actively shapes present day emotions and experiences. Crucially the ghost provides a space in which to view traces of the past in contemporary embodied practices. The ghost is recalled to 'recall that which has been forgotten, whether through deliberate political strategies or because the horrors of the recent past are too painful to confront' (Edensor, 2005b:836). The ghost serves two functions in the study of

deindustrialisation, first to conserve lost memories of a past. Secondly, as Bright recognises, the importance of 'social haunting' as an expression of the active presence or as he refers to it, a 'stuck melancholia' of the past within the society environment and communities of post-industrial society (2016:149). As he explains in his field notes relating to the Goldthorpe Thatcher funeral:

> What took place at Goldthorpe was extraordinary – a spectacular, improvised re-embodiment of the resistant, sometimes riotous, energy of the 84–85 strike. The pillocking twelve slogans on home-made banners – 'The Lady's not Returning!', 'Iron Lady, Rust in Peace' and so on – the rows of blackened, boarded-up terraced pit houses strung with bunting; a 'miner' in black-face; a Thatcher effigy leaning against the wall of the Comrades Club prior to being loaded onto a horse-drawn hearse and carried in procession by a crowd of men, women, kids and old folks through the village to waste land where it was set alight to cheers and cries of 'Scab! Scab! Scab!' (Bright, 2016:148)

The physical presence of anger in the emotional taunting and procession made the past so present in the mind, that might have been thought lost in the thirty years since the miners' strike. 'Social haunting' offered a window into that past with identities and values serving to formulate memories and defining present day experiences for young and old. This haunting offered a space through which to consider the legacy of decline and inter-generational implications.

In considering the relationship between past and materiality Macdonald (2013) and later Bright (2016) see the body as a vehicle of memory. They present an understanding of memory that is generationally influential and active in shaping contemporary experience of culture, work and community. They recognise the significance of memory in the formation of identity, with Macdonald (2013) describing it in terms of heritage, Bright (2016) through reference to youth precarity.

In his discussion of socialist characteristics of memory, community and locality, Nettleingham states that 'community is both localised in its treatment and existential in its implication' (2018:5). I argue that this understanding of community as 'localised' and 'existential' can aid in our understanding of memory within the context of embodied experience of deindustrialisation. The concept of memory highlights notions of collective identity and work value evident in post-industrial society. Nettleingham is attempting to comprehend the role of community within the life of the individual. Abrams (2010:82) notes 'memory is key to our identity, without our memory we have no social existence'. For her, memory is essential to our social consciousness, our sense of self-awareness and social unity. It is this discussion of memory within the context of identity that has dominated writings on community studies. For example, Pahl (1984) notes in his study of communities on the Isle of Sheppey, individuals apply memory to contextualise their life experiences. He notes that whilst for most people life is a struggle this is viewed within a memory framework of their parent's life choices. May and Morrison (2003:268) focus on the mechanisms through which 'we construct stories to reflect on the past, to comprehend the present and to anticipate the future'. Memory is a tool by which to understand constructions of identity, it stresses the localised nature of post-industrial community erosion.

The focus on collective identity and memory within post-industrial communities can be viewed as part of a wider discourse of 'existentialism' evident within deindustrialisation. Walkerdine (2010), in her article of *communal being and affect* in an ex-industrial community discusses the contrasting expression of emotion between nostalgia and overwhelming loss in the present (2010:92). She speaks of a 'psychic skin', this is as important in construction of a person as 'the physical skin because it provides us with an effective sense of our boundaries' (Walkerdine, 2010:97). By psychic skin, Walkerdine refers to a collective memory of industry – the legacy of industrial decline. Memory is seen as embodied and visceral and as having a material presence in the lives of industrial workers and their communities, in sites of heritage and the domestic space. We look to the material nature of memory to better understand collective identity and embodiment, through examining the relationship between work, heritage and the body. As Macdonald argues:

> If memory is understood as not only cognitive but as embodied or emplaced, such traces may be transmitted through say sedimented bodily movements or sculptural and architectural forms (Macdonald, 2013:94).

In recognising the materialised nature of memory Macdonald is inviting us to consider the relationship between embodiment and deindustrialisation. Moreover, she was also inviting us to consider the significance of heritage in post-industry society (see Smith, 2006 and Dicks, 2000). Macdonald presents heritage 'not only a marker of having an identity but it is in a sense another materialisation – an embodiment even – of one's (collective) self' (2013:223). The collective body has proved central in the materialisation of deindustrial society. Degnen

(2006) in her discussion of mining commemoration within the domestic space suggests that materialisation reveals something of the emotion and sense of detachment that emerges with industrial decline. As she states:

> The commemorative plates I examine here encapsulate this discomfort and mourning for what was and is no longer but also increasingly provide a space within which to state a claim of association with a way of life which is remembered as being better than today (Degnen, 2006).

Materialisation is presented as a link between the body and memory evident in deindustrial society. Materialisation is a space in which to contemplate and confront the past through nostalgia and social remembering. Memory takes a number of forms in deindustrial society, revealing different aspects of the past but do so within a framework of collective identity and embodiment. Communities evoke memory through nostalgia and haunting in their inescapable attachment to the past as it continues to manifest in contemporary life. Therefore, 'societies justify current attitudes and future aspirations by linking them to past traditions which helps bond and unify factionalism' (McDowell, 2007:43).

Identity of Coal Mining Areas Today

The end of the Kent Coalfield with the closure of Betteshanger colliery in 1989 meant the community was to undergo significant cultural and social change. Strangleman in his 2018 article 'mining a productive seam? The coal industry, community and sociology', directs attention to the uniqueness of coalfield communities, as a focus of acute and sustained scholarly interest. He explores how mining communities have been framed throughout the

course of the twentieth century through to present day deindustrialisation. For Strangleman, Norman Dennis, Fernando Henriques and Clifford Slaughter's, (1956) publication 'coal is our life', can be viewed as part of the 'second wave of community studies after the end of the war' (2018:19). This text is viewed as key in analysing how coal mining communities have been perceived, their discussion of class, work and social life shaping understanding of culture within the industry (2018:19). As such, Strangleman in his analysis, reinforces my own fieldwork findings, in presenting industrial communities as necessary as former workers themselves in understanding embodied experiences of industry. In the text, he discusses how lifestyle, customs and patterns of labour served to define such areas:

> Coal miners and their communities were being set up as ideal typical examples of working-class traditionalists, whilst simultaneously seen to being made marginal with modernisation of the economy and industry (Strangleman 2018:20).

Wray (2011) has argued, the social relationships in mining communities are unique, standing their inhabitants apart from the general population in terms of a cultural identity forged by the nature of the industry (107). There are some who argue that this 'uniqueness' has been somewhat eroded, with the advent of deindustrialisation distorting the cultural identity of industrial communities. As Walkerdine and Jimenez in their study of deindustrialisation amongst a steel community in South Wales state:

> The closure of the works represents a potential break in the social link, that is, that which held the community together, which we can also understand as the community matrix (Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012:86).

Although the establishment of the Coalfield Task Force under the new Labour government in 1997 emphasised a heavy programme of regeneration, which did much to alleviate the break in social links among the UK coalfield. It would be naive to say that these industrial communities were not exposed to contention, disorder and a state of indifference brought about by the economic and social loss of the colliery. David Knight, a former coal face worker at Tilmanstone colliery, who began his career as a collier in the early 1970s, noted the drastic changes that the villages of Elvington and Eythorne had undergone with the closure of Tilmanstone colliery. The present-day villages appearing drastically different to his childhood memories of the community:

> You know they never used to lock doors; it was such a good atmosphere in the village. Of course, when they shut the pit…because where you got no industry you've got nothing round pit and then the village is just going to die! And that's what happened (David Knight, interviewed August 9th 2017).

The seeming death and decay that emerged in the village with the closure of the colliery prove a resurgent theme in accounts from the Kent Coalfield community. Patricia Sutcliffe a resident of Aylesham and former member of the women against pit closure recalled her account as to the changing nature of the village:

> The village has changed drastically over the years. You know all the Working Men's Clubs apart from one is not closed. I mean at one time there was the new club and then you'd come from the new club to the pub that got knocked down and then at the end of this road there was a club. Then you cross the field and there was The Legion and then you'd walk down the road and there was The Rattling and then you'd walk down the road and there was one in Snowdown that way, there was another Working Men's Club. Now the village has got nothing you know? Apart from The Rattling and we've got now the Sports Social Club up there, that's got a bar (Patricia Sutcliffe, interviewed 30th June, 2017).

Within coalfield communities the closure of Working Men's Clubs and pubs proved symbolic of community erosion. For many residents this was yet another repercussion from the 1984/85 miner's strike and subsequent colliery closures. Ross Llewellyn, a Ripper at both Chislet and later Tilmanstone colliery, who had begun work in the coal industry in 1959, in his interview highlighted the repercussions of Chislet colliery closure in 1969 in the village of Hersden:

> I think up until about the middle of the 1970s things weren't too bad and then they started to slow down a lot. The club almost closed but managed to keep that going. But the village here now, now the clubs going, the neighbourhoods going, the centres going, I doubt if there more than twenty-five men in the village now that worked at the pit (Ross Llewellyn, interviewed 15th March 2017).

These accounts provide a sense of the temperament and understanding of change. Deindustrialisation is considered here within the context of gender and materiality. For those who grew up in the Kent Coalfield communities, the present state of decline rendered a period of mourning, the haunting effects of closure evident in the decline of 'neighbourhood', 'clubs', centres and small proportion of miners left in the village. Most crucially, the loss of symbolic institutions in coalfield areas disrupted 'the rhythms and patterns of everyday life both materially and emotionally, that held the community in place and provided what is looked back on as a place of safety and security (Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012:77). Billy Leonard who worked as a coal face worker at Betteshanger colliery, provides an insightful narrative into what it meant to grow up in the 'safety and security' of a coalfield community:

> 'I mean the whole village everybody knew everybody; you even knew the pet's names. Yeah, I mean every house you knew who was in there, what pets they had. And you could go around the village on your little cycle, meet someone, just drop your cycle where you were, go out all day. Playing in the pit yard or round the back of the pit or something like that, come back and get your cycle. You'd end up eating at each other's houses as kids. If you didn't come home for dinner, they weren't worried because they knew someone would have fed you. Round the club, it's still there the club around the village, obviously that was a sort of a meeting point, the social beer side of things, yeah, we used to go around there sometimes. We weren't allowed in but stand outside and people would come out, used to go around closing time was the best time on a Friday afternoon, after miners had been paid because they used to come out

> drunk and give you five pence or something [laughs] (Billy Leonard, interviewed 3rd May 2017).

For Billy Leonard, growing up in the Kent Coalfield proved a sanctuary of protection. The sense of security illustrated in the knowledge of neighbours 'pet's names' and dining practices. This strong connection between colliery and community with children 'playing in the pit yard' and 'five pence on a Friday' made the closure of the colliery all the more significant. Thus, for a number of my participants, the loss of community was as impactful as the loss of employment itself. The sense of mourning that came with social change is recorded in further interviews. Mick Rosser who worked at Betteshanger colliery compared in his interview the community of his childhood to the contemporary makeup:

> They started selling off the houses and obviously, people change, like when you get a council estate and people buy the houses, then they start to take care of them. And they start to accustom them and that starts to change and that changed a lot in the village. In the sense that people bought, sold them and moved out. Then when I was a kid in that village you could go round and name every single person in that village, I could probably go back to who lived in most of them but not now. I know hardly anyone, we was all big families and that, you got to remember there was no computers or anything like that. So, when you laid in bed with your brother, I know that sounds odd now, you know, they were the sort of things, that might have been a competition. Name who lived in one to thirty up the outside something like that, it became

> something. I don't know, some sort of general knowledge question, thing you made up you know (Mick Rosser, interviewed 7th July 2017).

The significant change to community life that Mick's 'general knowledge question' illustrated for Betteshanger village needs to be understood within the context of collective memory. The 'accustomisation' and 'change in people' in the area, is representative of community deterioration. This resulted in a detachment from the community, with many people moving out of the area or appearing aloof from social activities. Deindustrialisation further enhanced this sense of bewilderment. The notion of social haunting highlights the wider concerns within the erosion of social infrastructure, networks and community. Bright (2016) developed the term 'social haunting' to understand the legacy of industry closure, as he states 'local communities were mired in a kind of compulsive, melancholic attachment to un-mourned trauma and that any sense of futurity had been abandoned' (2016:145). Within deindustrial society there appears an unrelenting attachment to the past, which Bright notes as most evident in youth activities during the Goldthorpe Thatcher funeral and in narratives of precarity. Linkon and Russo (2002), recognise the sense of disillusionment within communities having undergone deindustrialisation, as reflective of wider changes in attitudes to work as a source of pride and success (Linkon and Russo, 2002:143). Bright (2016), Linkon and Russo (2002) show the lack of futurity in the present as resulting in emphasis being placed on memory and nostalgia in deindustrial society. More notably this emphasis on memory can be viewed as 'bringing the past under control in some small way' (Roseman, 2006:331). Social haunting is less about the impact of past events but rather the lack of control over future loss, deterioration and destruction of society.

This emphasis on futurity evident within deindustrial communities can be viewed as part of wider discussion as to the 'haunting' effects of industry closure. Mah (2012), In her study of ruination in Newcastle upon Tyne, argues the sense of loss, injury and despair is no longer deeply connected with memories of ruins. Instead, it has been transferred to the present concern for community infrastructure (2012:407). Mah presents ruined plants and factories as a site of contestation between 'memory' and 'futurity'. In considering the dilemmas evident in deindustrialisation the very nature of isolated mass, with which many pit towns are associated has created a form of imprisonment for men and women formerly earning their living from coal production. (Burrell, 2017:464). Each member of the Kent Coalfield recognised the centrality of coal mining in formulating wellbeing and social structure. It is appreciation of industry in the construction of identity that enables insight into an individual and collective body, where culture is a shield from the corrosive properties of deindustrialisation. The body is a symbol of change, both within industrial communities both past and present.

Collective Identity and industrial livelihood

For the former coal miners that I interviewed in Kent, the majority now retired, in reflecting on their working-life, redundancy from the coal industry had proved a pivotal moment. This is evident in the BBC 2016 documentary *The Last Miners* that followed the lives of colliers at Kellingley Colliery in Yorkshire, as it prepared to close in 2015, which saw an end to deep coal mining in the UK. The post-closure experience of these workers, echoes miners' narrative of seeking re-employment in the 1980s, with men migrating in search of work and undertaking skilled re-training as seen in the programme in the form of optical fibre technology. In the programme, Shelden a miner, now fifty-four, with over thirty years' experience in the mining

industry, highlights the sense of anguish and uncertainty stating: 'just cause Kellingley colliery's gone and it's shut and its history, all the people that work there aren't' (*The Last Miners*, 2016, 00:43:47-00:43:53). Redundancy signalled loss of occupation but also mode of living and status. In Walley's personal account of the closure of Wisconsin Steel industry in the 1980s, she notes, 'In my own life, I have associated the destruction of the steel mills with my own Father's destruction' (Walley, 2013:58). In these accounts, loss is presented as an embodied process, not only in terms of economic and physical landscape but echoed in the individual's identity and work relations. As coal face worker and Snowdown colliery NUM Branch Secretary Philip Sutcliffe noted:

> It was really heart wrenching shutting that locker. I could get emotional about it now, shutting my locker door. I took my pit helmet home, I've still got it in my shed and my boots, cause by that time, over the months, when people were leaving we could see people shaking hands and all good luck all this that and the other. By the time it come for me to leave there was nobody left. So I sort of went on my own sort of thing, I know it's sad and silly sort of thing [aughs] (Philip Sutcliffe, interviewed September 21st 2017).

He went on in his interview to convey the emotional implication of the act:

> It was a real hard gut-wrenching thing, because I did have the opportunity to transfer to Betteshanger, my Brother did and he wanted me to go with him and I said "alright we'll have a look". So, I went over twice Betteshanger surface visit and underground visit to try and see if there was something that could keep me

> there […] When it come to having a redundancy meeting at the pit I said look I'll transfer to Betteshanger if you promise me that I'll work there for another 20 years or whatever and I'll retire at sixty […] They said "well, we can't do that" […] So, I said I'm not going, I just couldn't go, I can't leave this pit and then transfer to Betteshanger and go through all that again in another couple of years (Philip Sutcliffe, interviewed September 21st 2017).

The physical act of 'shutting the locker door', reveals much about Philip's attachment and gratification towards his profession. The effects of losing work indicate much about the persistence of a deeply ingrained work ethic and the significance and meaning of employment in modern society (McIvor, 2013:269). Physical interaction with objects can reveal as much about individuals experience of an event, as the sequence of events themselves. Pink (2015), in her ethnographic study of senses in the domestic space, highlights the relationship between the 'sensorial quality' of handling of laundry and identity. She notes how 'dirt' and 'freshness' of laundry enables us to assess individual 'construction of self-identities' as seen through sensory response to laundry practices. (Pink, 2015:87). Philip Sutcliffe invites us to engage in the material and emotional aspects of industry closure, as he speaks about his locker and the removal of his 'pit helmet' and 'boots' for the last time. In shutting the locker door Philip was not simply performing a necessary act of security, he was 'shutting the door' on an industry, a part of himself and his heritage that he would never be able to re-open.

The evident contemporary attachment to cultural objects suggests that the past had an active presence in 'social haunting', with individuals speaking about work life objects, as an embodiment of reality. Such strong attachments to work culture and therefore identity, were

expected among blue collar workers and thus losses were felt deeply when redundancy occurred, both socially and economically (McIvor, 2013:256). Job loss had a destabilizing impact, at its core issues of work value and identity. I argue that central to this relationship between work value and identity is the collective embodiment. The notion of collective embodiment addresses wider concerns within deindustrialisation literature for community, loss and emotion. 'Just as our relationship to work informs our identities and self-understanding, so too do work displacements shape the construction and maintenance of the self' (Potter, 2015:24). For Phillip especially, his locker can be interpreted as a metaphor for the declining status and identity of the Kent miner.

Memories of Colliery Closure

It was the process of closure that interview participants recalled in their discussion of their present identity, noting the loss of the miner strike in 1984/85 as signalling the end of the Kent Coalfield. As one former Tilmanstone miner David Knight explained:

> I remember the day going back after strike, I overlaid I didn't want to go in, I went to a party. I thought nah, I don't want to be marching down there, give them that, we hadn't won nothing. We knew what was going to happen, why walk back with my head held high. They were only going to shut the pit, last day I didn't even go in to remember the pit, I didn't want to do that because the pit was gone, finished, as far as I was concerned (David Knight, interviewed August 9th 2017).

A compelling trait of closure was the sense of animosity with which miners re-lived the event. Although many of the men had gone to work in other industries, the memories of the event appeared ingrained with emotions still raw thirty years later. Robert Cook, Shift Charge Engineer, was working at Snowdown colliery and recalled the sense of anguish that came with the announcement of closure:

> Everybody thought they had a job for life. When it was first announced it was worrying. Although not so much worrying because first of all it was Chislet closed, so they got transferred and then you though well that alright, yeah, they'll back off a bit. Then Tilmanstone, when they got transferred, because people took voluntary redundancy, so that made other people available to come in. And you heard all the different stories and everybody had different ideas of what was happening and so it wasn't quite on your door step. When its on your door step and I made a conscious decision that I would stick right to the end and then accept one careers gone, another career has got to take place. Because I had two boys which were coming to the latter part of their secondary education and hoping to go to university, so they need some funding (Robert Cook, interviewed 26th January, 2017).

Trevor Rodgers, a coal face worker at Tilmanstone colliery, experienced similar emotions when closure was announced:

> I was worried sick because that's all I had ever known and I thought I'd never get a job anyhow my Brother in Law, who is married to my Sister. He worked

> over a place called Amberor Zetty, which was opposite Richborough power station and they used to, they imported Yugo Cars…I worked over there for about six months but it was poverty, the pay was awful (Trevor Rodgers, interviewed 16th February 2017).

Ross Llewellyn, who worked as a ripper at Tilmanstone colliery had been transferred from Chislet colliery in 1969 and was all too familiar with closure procedures. In his interview, he recalled one incident in particular that signalled to him the collieries inevitable closure:

> I knew what was happening. One incident in particular made me think what was going to happen. We had a man rider that we used to ride to the districts and one day we had the orders to take the man rider to the top of the heavy which was the hill that goes all the way down to the inside, cut the rope and let them go. So, I thought that's it, they haven't got use for that anymore, something's happening (Ross Llewellyn, interviewed 15th March 2017).

I would be wrong to suggest that the emotionally charged nature of these narratives is in some way unique to the Kent Coalfield. Indeed, this is, I am sure, reflective of a much wider experience of industrial workforces that underwent closure. Moreover, it might also be that my personal connection to the Kent Coalfield and its communities, has made me sensitive to its plight. More interesting is the fact that its closure was deemed unjustifiable in it's undertaking, aftercare and sentimental attachment to the event. The experience of former coal face worker Graham Godfrey who was made redundant first from Chislet colliery in 1969 and later Tilmanstone colliery are recounted in this section in greater detail:

> Well, the mistake made at Snowdown, wasn't made at the other two pits. At the other two pits, the men at Chislet went down they were integrated straight in, you didn't stick together, you were just thrown, that's it your go there. At Snowdown, we stuck together as a face team so there's us one shift on this face, the other shift was a Snowdown team and we had different ways of working. And it became, there was conflict because "well you left it like that", well we always leave it like that, "well we don't leave it like that" and you know each pit had its own methods. Each pit had it's own language, yeah different things were called different things in different pits. I mean, coal face has got a main road going in and we call that the main gate, roads are called gates, I don't know why. Main gate, that's where the air went in and it goes along the face and it comes out the tailgate. Now we call it the tailgate, Snowdown called it the the wood road, cause that's where the timber was taken in. A lot of places call that the wood road but we didn't. Language differences between the three pits was quite funny actually (Graham Godfrey, interviewed February 16th 2017).

Chislet colliery closed in April 1969 as a consequence of annual losses running to more than one million. Men over sixty were offered early retirement and other workers transferred to the remaining Kent pits (The Times, 1969:24). This had notable consequences for the men, like Graham Godfrey who worked there. The difficulties in transfer to other sites which miners from Chislet experienced was reflected upon further in my interview with Graham Godfrey, as he stated:

> Oh no, it wasn't difficult but I think, we made the mistake. Well I believe it was a mistake at Snowdown of staying together as a team instead of being integrated into the pit. You always those 'Chislet Bastards', sorry about the language but that's what we was known as (Graham Godfrey, interviewed February 16th 2017).

Chislet closed in the August of 1969 and by the November of that year, Graham had left Snowdown colliery to work at a flour mill in Ramsgate. This decision was primarily driven by failed integration and grievance with colliery environment, with differing practices of work and language. As Graham went on further to state:

> My Father went first and it was depressing, we was still in a way, getting over the closure of Chislet, still annoyed and angry about it. There was no need, in our view and the conditions we went to were worse than the conditions that we left, so that gets your back up straight away (Graham Godfrey, interviewed February 16th 2017).

The account proves important in emphasising the distress imposed by closure of the colliery and the emotion that such an event evoked. The worsening conditions of Snowdown compared to Chislet fuelling resentment among the colliers. Ezzy (2001) discusses the role of identity and emotion within the context of work and unemployment. He provides an insight into the destabilising effects of job loss in terms of 'self-identity' and 'sense of place' (2001:68). Although Chislet colliers were not made redundant, the notion

of lost identity appeared evident among the workers and evident in the men's failure to adapt to Snowdown colliery. Thus, in a number of ways the transfer appeared as erosive as unemployment itself, with men left annoyed and disillusioned from their identity as a miner. Graham Godfrey would eventually return to work in the Kent Coalfields at Tilmanstone colliery in the April of 1970 as by this time 'the anger had gone' (Graham Godfrey, interviewed February 16th 2017). However just sixteen years later he would again be made redundant, this time no option to transfer. As he stated:

> I always remember saying when the final decision was taken, that's it you're closing and they gave us a date. I turned to the blokes in the union and I said 'look i've been through this once and I promised myself I wouldn't go through it again. I'm leaving today' and they said "fair enough" and I went (Graham Godfrey, interviewed February 16th 2017).

There are many references to 'job for life' and the loss of work as something beyond economic capital. The section highlights a different aspect to the trauma of closure and in its aftermath the impact that it had on individuals whose lives and communities the coalfield's closure tore apart.

Work identity Past and Present

For the Kent coal miners that I interviewed, there appeared a correlation between coalfield closure and loss of job satisfaction. Many expressed in their narratives a sense of apprehension, incompleteness and lack of occupational contentment. Potter (2015) saw job loss as essentially an emotional experience that had deep ramifications on self-imagery and

identity. For her, post-industrial society left workers with a feeling of insecurity, enhanced by the transition from manual to non-manual work (Potter, 2015:30). We have seen through previous chapters, how industry shapes individual identity and how deindustrialisation impacts on the self. Forced to carve out new careers, the impact of job loss from the colliery remained significant in shaping their deindustrial identity and relationship to employment.

Amidst the men, a range of emotions and connections to post-industry occupations were expressed. For men like Tilmanstone coal face worker and union representative John Baldwin, reflecting upon the process of closure he stated; 'you thought you'd retire there, never have another job' (John Baldwin, interviewed 10th March 2017). Just forty seven when the Tilmanstone colliery closed in 1986, John was a man 'caught in the middle', too young to take retirement, too old to start a new career (Bamberger and Davidson, 1998:133). Whereas under the Coal Board, they had had the assurance of a fixed work pattern and steady income, these men were now vulnerable to the effects of a changing labour market and recession of the 1980s. Terry Harrison, had a long and colourful career in the coal mining industry. Let go by the Coal Board for his political activism during the 1984/85 strike, he outlined his working life post-colliery:

> I had a part-time job at Canterbury University doing trade union courses on health and safety and industrial relations. That was a nice little earner…Our old Lecturer and that, convinced me I could do it, so I did it. I did from a more type of view a facillitator rather than a lecturer, I used the question of aids in role play which was new at that time. I knew it would, it would involve prejudice and particular things that we could do, how we could resolve these situations [...]

> Then, you know because the class room, I'm not exactly cut out for that, I realise that, that's why facilitator, my track record too on industrial relations, given I'd lost the bloody strike of a closing industry, was not all that good [laughs]. But yeah facilitator. So I did that and then, I took a job as a school janitor out at Sholden. I was only being paid about forty pounds a week something like that, forty-five pounds. The Headmistress come to me, she said "Mr Harrison, do you think you could break down that swimming pool for us?" I said no trouble love, so I dismantled this swimming pool that they had then the following week there was about twelve pounds or thirteen pounds left off my wages. So I said see to this love will you? There's something happened to my wages. "Yes, I'll do that Mr Harrison". Then she said "oh that loss of wages", she said "that's right" she said, "that swimming pool that you dismantled, you were being paid thirteen pounds for the upkeep of it", or something like that [laughs]. I'd never touched the swimming pool! (Terry Harrison, interviewed 10th January 2018).

The economic hardships imposed by the loss of industry, are a recurring feature of post-closure narratives. For many, industry closure signalled loss of middle-class incomes and decline in standard of living, with individuals either facing long-term un-employment or forced into poorly paid work (Milkman, 1997:11). For many individuals, the impact of finding re-employment held not only economic but also social disadvantages. Industrial work practices appeared outdated and albeit superfluous to demands emplaced by the rise of the service sector on potential employees. Those studies on the transition from industrial trade, note 'lack of transferable skill', as one of the main draw backs to finding work in other occupations and industries (Fieldhouse and Hollywood, 1999:494). Alan Wilson, just twenty

nine by the time Betteshanger colliery closed, noted in his interview the sense of disillusionment with work that emerged with the announcement of the closure:

> So they had little job centres and yeah you could go in and look for jobs but it was, there wasn't alot there for us. Cause that was our job and that's what we were trained at, we weren't trained at anything else. So there wasn't a lot there for us and one that really made us laugh was an apprentice hairdresser. You know coalminers, apprentice hair dresser. So I don't think that got taken on but apart from that they also did offer you training and I know a few lads went to [...] a couple of my mates went to be HGV drivers, so they got trained through that. But I was very militant and it was sort of, you know, stuff you! I was very stubborn aswell, I was only young twenty four, no twenty nine, by time it closed. Yeah and just thought stuff you! I don't want your training, I want to work down the pit sort of thing (Alan Wilson, interviewed 20th January 2017).

In recognising the sense of anger, Alan Wilson was of course identifying a legacy of dissatisfaction that emerged with the closure of industry and subsequent unemployment. Moreover, Alan Wilson in his account echoes concerns of McDowell (2011) as to an emerging 'crisis of masculinity' (as discussed in chapter three), with the loss of industrial work available, with coal miners being offered the opportunity of 'apprentice hairdresser'. The emphasis placed on the apprentice hairdresser is noteworthy for two reasons, firstly, it highlights not only the loss of work and economic stability, 'but as a loss of the men, of real men, of a strong masculinity' (Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012:54). Secondly, it shows that men who were made redundant may have declined to consider such job opportunities - alternative incomes from

redundancy, early access to pension and IBS meant they could exit the labour market (Beatty *et al.* 2009:962). What is clear is that closure of the colliery challenged traditional notions of masculinity that had proved quintessential to industrial identity. 'The negative psychological effects of unemployment can therefore, be explained as a consequence of the individual's exclusion from an institution that meets basic psychological needs' (Ezzy, 2001:11). This is evident in the sense of 'militancy' and 'stubbornness' fuelled by the prospect of closure, the 'stuff you' attitude an appeal to the social and emotional role of the Kent Coalfield in Alan Wilson's life.

Job loss seems on the one hand to bring economic instability but more notably, disillusionment from working lives. The effects of redundancy from the coal industry are expressed in employment satisfaction within post-industrial work from the point of view of the worker. Job satisfaction highlights both the emotional and personal implications of redundancy and work culture. Bamberger and Davidson (1998), through a series of photographs and narratives from six former employees, taken during the last four months before White's factory closure reveal something as to the work ethic and culture of industrial occupations. They note that employees are 'devastated not just by the lack of income but by the end of a way of life based on doing a job and doing it well' (Bamberger and Davidson, 1998:17). Bamberger and Davidson are invoking in the minds of their reader an industrial work ethic rooted in work culture and camaraderie. In my interview with former Tilmanstone coal face worker Trevor Rogers, he sought to compare his experience of working at the pit, with that of his work post-closure at the local paper mill:

> Everybody down the pit, if somebody struggled they's help you. You know what I mean, when I went to the mill, I remember one of my first shifts there, I had to get a pallet and I couldn't get it with my truck. And the fork lift driver come around and I stopped him and I said hello mate, you couldn't just get that down for me? "Not my job mate", off he went. That was the difference between the coal mines and the paper mill […] if anybody was struggling in the pit and they was walking by and they's help you, you know what I mean, I thought oh cheers! Would have took him 30 seconds (Trevor Rodgers, interviewed 16th February 2017).

Trevor Rodgers' experience at the paper mill is not unique and in many ways representative of a large number of men as they transitioned to post-industrial work lives. Strangleman (2001), in his interviews with former miners situated in the North East of England states that 'Miners in new places of work did not experience the same social comradery and support networks as in mining'. (Strangleman, 2001:60). It is necessary here to analyse Strangleman's observation, so that this might inform our understanding of the deindustrial as embodied experience. David Knight, a former coal face worker at Tilmanstone colliery, notes the ideology of the mining industry as shaping his transition to new employment. Speaking in his interview, David Knight frequently refers to work environment:

> I stayed on there until they shut, they finished Sea Link. I was working for Sea Link and then, Stena Line and I didn't want to work they wouldn't have kept me on anyway, they knew what I was up to, I was always around on there the ex-

> miner, had loads of lads behind me. Any conditions I was always kicking up against, an agitator really. I thought what's right's right and didn't like to see people being steam rollered over, which they did do on there but sometimes they didn't stick together. Yeah good job, another good job (David Knight, interviewed August 9th 2017).

John Baldwin a coal face worker at Tilmanstone and later NUM Union rep for the colliery, provides a similar account of his work at the tomato growers. It was the difficult work conditions that caused John Baldwin to establish a union:

> I worked in the Nursery and that's only seasonal but I was so happy to be working it wasn't easy far from it but I succeeded there until the November then got laid off because of the winter and I think it was about October I got laid off. Then I had a phone call from the HR and she said 'would you like to come back and do some winter work?' I said, 'When, When?' She said 'Well as soon as possible?' I said 'tomorrow?'. I was back there again I worked there till January then I was back in the pack house where they do the packing and that's all the year round then cause they brought in winter fruit and I was I had it pretty difficult in there…anyhow I see some opportunity I was talking to the area Union rep when he was down and I said well there's a 100 workers in here 'you need a union in here'. He said 'yeah but what we need more is someone to be the rep' and I said 'well you're looking at him' he said 'would you do it?' I told him my background I done it, so once I was on the union, I had a certain

> protection like because all I had to say to the management was well, I'll bring in the area, speak to him (John Baldwin, interviewed 10th March 2017).

Note the sense of injustice and sensitivity to work conditions. It is as if the trade union initiative to protect and ensure the concerns of its members in the work environment is an instinctive part of the collier's embodiment. Alessandro Portelli (2011) reflects on the assertive nature of coal mining communities, the maltreatment and inequality of the environment is compared to human rights and expectations as a citizen of America. He presents these qualities as inherent to the coal miners' personality and it appears that the residents' sense of 'fight' stems from their upbringing, a utilitarian ideology to endure and survive.

Other implications of post colliery employment were a renewed identity and status, improvement in employment seniority and education, that saw men achieve far beyond what they had ever expected working at the colliery. Strangleman (2004:1) in outlining the career path of one railway worker from cleaning steam engines to business owner, notes how such actions could be read as the flowering of the 1980s entrepreneurial spirit that successive Thatcher Governments proudly extolled, freeing up creative talent so readily squashed by the dead hand of corporate government and bureaucratic red tape (Strangleman 2004:2). The large-scale closure of coal mines meant that the aptitude of men was tested, with many forced to undergo re-training and drastic career changes to ensure an income. John Page, a surface worker at Tilmanstone colliery, spoke in his interview about his experience of finding work once the colliery has closed:

> You know, I didn't have no education and I didn't even have, trying to think what it was, a certificate of education you know and I worked all my life as just a labourer, just a thicko! When the pit closed down it didn't matter who you were, you could retrain and the National Coal Board would pay for your training, so I wanted to be an engineer, so I did an engineering course, which took three years and that's when I got educated (John Page, interviewed 13th February 2017).

John tried to make the most of the opportunity that the closure of the colliery offered him. It is interesting that the lack of education and occupation as a labourer saw John label himself as a 'thicko'. This is common within narratives of industrial communities, as 'being labelled or thought of as working class smacked of being called stupid' (Walley, 2013:100). Therefore, this would seem to suggest a sense of pride and renewed personal satisfaction that came with post-closure employment. Furthermore, it recognises the social status that came with non-industrial occupations, as Potter (2015) reflects through her participant George, as he transitions from transport engineer to IT engineer. Interestingly for George, Potter notes, 'low pay' and 'marginal status' made George reflect on his work in a taxi rank as inferior to working in the IT sector that has meant 'a level of prestige and status previously incalculable at the taxi rank' – 'wasn't in career, now is' (Potter 2015: 67). The rise in status as experienced by George, echoed John Page's experience, because of his educational training through an engineering course. This appeared to be a consequence of social status and educational perceptions that came with white collar work status, as compared to blue collar work where the focus was on manual labour skills. Several other workers chose to seek alternative

employment with the closure of the Kent Coalfield. Joe Clayton in his interview spoke about his transition from electrical engineer at Tilmanstone colliery to social work:

> I had, as I say, sort of made my mind up, of again what I wanted to do and it was to work with people. The best advice I got was from the Chair of the union branch, a very worldly wise guy, a very clever, a very interesting guy. I used to go to him for advice and he pointed me in the direction, he thought I could make a career of, a second career if you like. So I just knew I wanted to work with people so I, after the pit shut finally, I went on to, I went back to college and did social work degree. So for the next twenty five years or whatever it is I was a social worker. Well social worker in different guises yeah (Joseph Clayton, interviewed 1st April 2017).

The transition from a career in coal mining to one in social work proved one of the more drastic choices of my interview participants. In the interview with Joe, we spoke about his decision to undertake this change and my presumed perceptions of the difference of social work from the coal industry, on which Joe corrected me in the interview:

> Yeah [laughs], well it's not. I don't think it is [laughs] because the people skills that I learned in the pit, because such a diverse population, a lot of people think that a miner was just thick as two short planks, there was some really clever, skilled people that worked at the pit. They were very interesting people and the people skills that you learn, both in terms of the conditions and adapting. The sort of skills you pick up, stand you in good stead for working in, working with

> people who, you know whose life you're trying to make better, almost. You know that whole thing about making a difference, making a positive difference to people's lives. So, the skills that you learned and the hard knocks that you took at the pit and the way you had to adapt and you know just work alongside people, stood you in good stead, for working in the street sort of thing and the general population (Joseph Clayton, interviewed 1st April 2017).

For Joe, perceptions of coal mining as brutish, physical and masculine environment, deterred from the skill set which employment in the industry inspired for a large section of its workforce. In Vickerstaff's (2007) analysis of apprenticeships in post-war Britain we get a sense that part of the reason these schemes were so successful was because the sense of individual development it inspired. As she states it was about 'growing up, learning to get on with people, learning to stand up for yourself' (Vickerstaff, 2007:342). This experience of apprenticeships and the personal development that it enabled, is essential in understanding an individual's relationship to the industry. Here Graham Field, a coal face worker at Betteshanger colliery, reflects on the skills that he learned:

> It was all a learning process, for me it was a lot of social skills, I think. When I think about it now…If you heard it now you wouldn't think it was social skills but it was a lot of social skills because if you put yourself out and become a loner you're not part of the team and there's not cohesion there and that affects safety (Graham field, interviewed 6th September 2017).

Communication skills learned from working in the coal industry featured as a strong legacy amongst my interview participants. What seemed apparent within narratives of work culture was a sense of mining as being more than just a set of industrial skills. This is not to say that skill wasn't important but set to challenge traditional modes of notability associated with industry. The perceptions of blue-collar work are important, with John Page and Joe Clayton often referring to popular representations of colliers as 'thicko' or 'thick as two short planks'. To some extent this can be viewed as part of a much wider public perception of masculinity within deindustrial society. One of my interviewees, Trevor Rodgers, a coal face worker at Tilmanstone colliery, spoke about the perception of coal mining apprenticeships in the 1960s as being 'one of the best apprenticeships…apart from Chatham Dockyard at the time but the coal mining apprenticeship was a very good one fitting or electricians' (Trevor Rodgers, interviewed 2017). Many men in my interviews appeared aggrieved with the changing social status of industrial occupations during this period. This is because, 'working-class identities are depicted as directionless and abject in the aftermath of industrial closure and joblessness' (Dicks 2008:437). In the wake of large-scale industry decline, the association between work and identity proved less significant. There appeared a 'disparity between the realities of a post-industrial economy and old virtues such as loyalty or the work ethic' (Bamberger and Davidson, 1998:19). The sense of disillusionment with post-industrial work is recalled widely throughout narratives of former blue-collar workers but for my interview participants it served to relate their bodily habits and identity to a collective embodiment of industry, that seemed increasingly removed from contemporary work culture.

The Deindustrial Body and Collective Identity

We have thus far noted that industrial identity is reproduced and embodied through nostalgia and memory. Therefore, we must consider to what extent this was embodied and how this might be viewed as illustrative of a collective identity of industry. Deindustrialisation as a process can prove difficult to explain, particularly when we consider the scale and depth of devastation that industry closure had and subsequent legacy in the lives of individuals. In an attempt to articulate this process, scholarship has turned to explore the 'ruin', as a site that allows for a dialogue between devastation and future imagining. Through the concepts of memory and space, Tim Edensor (2005b: 842) highlights the importance of the ruin; he argues 'Industrial ruins are an intersection of the visible and the invisible'. This allows us to explore the cultivated nature of coal mining communities that is otherwise unrecognisable to those who reside in it.

Edensor (2005a), alongside other social scientists and historians of deindustrialisation, employs the term ruination to articulate the distortion of space and subsequently time that emerges within former industrial sites and communities. They highlight memory as a notion through which to orientate and communicate social and cultural experiences of post-industrial society. Within this is a mutual belief that ruins evoke an understanding that is both 'reflective' and 'critical', raising questions 'not only about the past but the present and future' (High, 2013). Central to the discussion of ruins, is Mah's (2012) text *Industrial ruination community and place,* in which she notes 'ruination as a lived process' with a 'temporal dimension'. She expresses the uncertainty which surrounds the lives of individuals who have undergone deindustrialisation presenting a paradoxical world. For Mah, this exists in sites of ruination in the form of 'trauma of loss' versus 'solidarity', 'community' and 'home' (Mah,

2012: 66). The idea of the ruin as an 'intersection' is exemplified further in this quote from Braae:

> The ruin is a part of the fragment of a former unit. Like the ruin, the fragment continues to exist as an aesthetic category that has been translated into an art practise, allowing us to seek design principles and conditions between form and content (Braae 2015:180).

The concept of the 'fragment' recognises the potential of the ruin as discourse through which to explore the deindustrial body. Essential within this framework is an understanding that the process of deindustrialisation is expressed through the body as a site of change, transforming a theoretical concept into a physical manifestation. In simple terms, this chapter explores the question of what ruins add to our understanding of deindustrialisation, in considering industrial processes and social structures? If we are to understand deindustrialisation as a process, rather than a 'neat event' (Strangleman, 2017:23), we must too recognise ruins are, as Mah (2012) states, social and economic artefacts of that process (134). Central to the argument here is that the deindustrial body takes on the role of the ruin, as a site through which to examine the properties through which deindustrialisation is expressed as an embodied process. In such conceptualisation of the ruin, the deindustrial body is viewed as a concept through which to explore the aesthetics and materiality of loss and decay experienced by former industrial communities. This can prove insightful in assessing the liminality of the past through to the present and how ill-health and social interactions play a significant role in fostering a class-consciousness and identity. Moreover, conceptualisation of loss and past experiences can prove important when discussing an area's regeneration and

visions of the future. The chapter now turns to discuss the deindustrial body as an artefact of change through exploring ruination as a collectively embodied experience.

The Embodiment of Ruination and Collective Identity

Up until the point of my interview with Philip and Kay Sutcliffe in September 2017, I had been grappling with the role that the 'ruin' played in the process of embodiment and deindustrialisation. At the same time, I wanted to highlight the potential capacity of 'ruins' in enabling individuals the mental capability to transcend the boundaries of time. Before we explore the 'ruin' as an expression of the 'half-life of deindustrialisation', we examine the role of the 'ruin' within Philip and Kay Sutcliffe's interview, as a composite of the deindustrial body. The following extract is taken from my interview with Philip Sutcliffe in which he contextualised the current state of Kent Coalfield within the imagery of the colliery in his memory of his childhood. Here he highlights the role of the ruin:

> You could from our side garden, you could see the pit head gear about half a mile down the road. So that was always there, as if it was calling for you, you know, "you're going to come and work here eventually", so we sort of knew, we knew about the pit and everything (Philip Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

For Philip Sutcliffe, memory of the colliery proved based upon geographical dominance and anthropomorphic qualities. The latter making clear the prominence of the colliery, not only in the landscape but in the lives of the industrial community that surrounded it. In anthropological terms, the giving of human characteristic to innate objects demonstrates a

level of intimacy between work and the body. Nash in her study of Bolivian Tin Miners, notes the uniqueness with which men spoke about the mines, as if it were a living organism (1993:170). The ruin is an exhibit of the embodied and dependent existence, evident within the coal mining industry.

Philip Sutcliffe in his account, displays the relevance of the ruin, in the aftermath of colliery closure and in deindustrial society. His comment enables a critical insight into embodied attachment to industrial work, his memories formulated in his emotion towards the colliery as an entity. In thinking of the deindustrial body as a substance of ruination, we see ruins take a 'manifold form' - shaped by time, style and industrial function (Edensor, 2005a:4). In this, Edensor was attempting to highlight the properties of ruins as a space concerned with the preservation of industry in a political and cultural climate of change. By analysing the political nature of space in post-industrial Montana, Curtis defines acts of heritage or ruins as 'material inscriptions of the story of deindustrialisation' (2003:111). Just like the landscape of once industrial areas, the body of a former industrial worker is a site in which to measure the social and cultural impact of change.

As noted previously, memory is an important aspect of the investigation into the deindustrial embodiment. It marks a contrast to pedagogics and emotion of industry as described in chapters three and four, which had inexorably shaped the collier's identity. The Kent Coalfield community and heritage centres are sites in which the consequences of such physical and psychological properties of identity are laid bare. The concept of a 'haunting' is employed to explore the past's material presence in the deindustrial body. 'Social haunting' is concerned here with the sense of apprehension, incompleteness and loss that came with colliery closure.

The concept of 'social haunting' provides insight into the application of the material and immaterial in exploring experiences of deindustrialisation and communities undergoing regeneration. Essential to this approach is the process by which this represents wider social experience of deindustrialisation and moreover how these recreate formations of identities and emotions. Gordon emphasises the therapeutic properties of haunting in enabling people to 'relive events', in order 'to overcome their pulsating and lingering effects' (Gordon, 1997:134). The figure of the 'ghost' is complex, representative of a half-life, a symbol individuals and communities regularly implore to make sense of the past. There are those individuals who have tried to make sense of this haunting within the context of social change. Geoff Bright (2016), through his study of youth in coalfield communities, made evident a 'social haunting'. While Bright did not directly engage with industrial workers themselves, there was a sense that the despair and anguish experienced in the 1980s, with the closure of the collier had had inter-generational effects.

The sense with which the past presides over sites of deindustrialisation is explored by Sherry Linkon and John Russo. In *Work and Memory in Youngstown: Steel Town USA*, Linkon and Russo (2002) examine the role of memory and heritage in the sustaining of an industrial community. They too recognise 'haunting' as significant in shaping contemporary attachment and emotion to a place. Their concept of collective identity speaks to this idea of consciousness of past, cultural and social characteristics that emerge in deindustrialisation. Linkon and Russo, emphasise memory essential in the process of decay, in preservation of life and future as they state 'Communities of memory continually retell their stories and this process creates a sense of shared history and identity, out of which they develop vision and

hope for the future' (Linkon and Russo, 2002:3). For them, story-telling, as a manifestation of a 'haunting', allows communities to bridge cultural and time divides. Moreover, the process itself is empowering for individuals, the material and immaterial values that the process manifests shaping individual and communal identity.

The notion of 'haunting' is evident too in writing on ruination. Edensor (2005b) explores the concept of the 'ghost' within the context of space and environment. He argues memory is 'imprinted on space', he recognises it as part of an identity or habitual characteristic. This is reiterated in the insightful and tangible account as to the meaning of 'haunting' within deindustrialisation as given by Peter Anderson. In his interview, Peter, a former coal face worker, explains the sense of haunting that came with the closing of Betteshanger Colliery in 1989. Here he focuses on the filming which he undertook in the final days of the collieries closure:

> The most scary, saddening, haunting for me was walking through the bathhouse […] Well when I was a young service boy, there was maybe two hundred, six hundred men and when there was a change of shift, you had the clash and you couldn't move to get in your locker, all the showers and steam's coming out and men bustling and pushing and cleaning each other's back and walking through. No men there, echoing, everything echoed because of the silence. I mean it felt horrible (Peter Anderson, interviewed 19th September 2017).

The scene of a derelict and abandoned bathhouse, offers a controlled space in which the liminality of deindustrialisation unfolds. Peter standing in the bathhouse as Betteshanger colliery set to close, in purveying the material ruins of the lockers and showers, is reminded of former colleagues and his own diminishing identity. Here the role of the 'haunting' is to highlight 'the shift in times and place', the space a 'repository of stories' that have repercussions in the present (Pinder, 2001:11). Peter in enabling us as researchers an insight into this space, its stories and memories, provides a framework through which to actualise the sense of apprehension, incompleteness and loss felt in the present. Peter goes further, he notes a half-life in the haunting effects between his identity as a fifteen-year-old boy starting in the 1950s to the point of closure and thereafter. As he states:

> Here we are at almost forty-nine, with the difference in age and I went to my own locker and videoed in and out and maybe too long on it and then into the lamp room, I videoed that and I went upstairs and videoed various departments and things. The Surveyors were in there and they were a bit horrified being filmed and went under the table and hiding and the cleaners were up there, just general […] Then the evening of when they closed the mine, the following day they switched the electric off and I was up there videoing the actual switching off and the signing off (Peter Anderson, interviewed 19th September, 2017).

The concept of 'haunting' as experienced through the ruin of the colliery is vital in understanding the role of heritage and memory in the process of deindustrialisation. As Gordon describes it 'haunting is about how to transform a shadow of a life into an

undiminished life whose shadows touch softly in the spirit of a peaceful reconciliation' (Gordon, 1997:208). There is here a clear desire to remember and maintain a connection to the boy that entered the colliery at just fifteen years old. Memories of the industry, as explored earlier in the chapter, serve to ensure that Peter's enthusiasm for the industry is not lost. Embodied identity is here perceived as rooted through the material existence of the 'ghost'. In my interview with Tilmanstone surface worker John Page, he recalled the figure of a ghost in his discussion of the colliery environment post-closure:

> Terrible. When I went back there after it was closed it was so, so many ghosts (John Page, interviewed 13th February 2017).

At this point in the interview I prompted John further to clarify what he meant by the term ghost:

> Like you could hear all the voices and all the people and you know that you worked with and it was desolate sort of haunting (John Page, interviewed 13th February 2017).

The closure of colliery sites was experienced as strikingly emotional and was linked to the history of an industry and the identity of those whose erosion it was destroying. For John who had worked on the surface at Tilmanstone colliery, the ruin served as a reminder as to what had been lost, the people whose heritage had been destroyed with its closure. Many of those working on topics of deindustrialisation have noted the manner in which participants reminisce on the people who once occupied these abandoned spaces:

> He took me all through the factory and it was weird to go through the factory– and you could about hear the voices and see the men working, playing and laughing (Bamberger and Davidson, 1998:71).

There are clear similarities between this narrative and the accounts of both Peter and John, in their visiting of their respective worksites immediately following or after closure. Both feel haunted by the experience, disturbed by memories of voices and images of those who once worked there. The ghostly shadows of former colleagues are a reminder of the changing status of employment in the UK and USA, as the need for industrial and manual labour is perceived as redundant within contemporary work culture. Dicks (2000), in her discussion of the growth in heritage industry in once industrial areas notes, that miners themselves are injured or ghostly shadows. The miner represents a dying tradition, the perishable decaying, finite nature of this type of industry.

The purpose of exploring themes of haunting and the ghost is to cement the body in the half-life of industry and recognise the influence that this has in shaping present identities. Here I considered Bright's concept of social haunting, the inter-generational implications of industry decline and more broadly the value that former miners continue to attach to the industry. The deindustrial body as a concept highlights the changing nature of work, health and economics. The body is a tool through which to measure 'change' and 'class identity' through work and community imagery of masculinity. Kideckel (2008) and Slavishak (2008) show the body as increasingly important in relaying information about the individual and collective

experience of cultural change in post-industrial society. The erosion of industry is manifested in deindustrial, embodied through fear, stress, alienation and detachment from society (Kideckel, 2008: 84). The body is a site in which the impact of loss and decline on contemporary society are manifested.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined some of the conceptualisations of memory, nostalgia and identity and how key these are in understanding deindustrialisation as a collective embodied process. The coal miner was treated as an 'actor' in these narratives (High and Lewis, 2007:95), it played a significant role in shaping people's life experiences. The first section examined the work of Linkon and Russo (2002) and other scholars who had deployed memory as a tool for understanding identity within deindustrialisation. These studies present the body as a conglomerate of nostalgia and community, which directly affects how individuals experience the present. How this role of memory shapes experiences of occupational health and what this means for the deindustrial body will be discussed in chapter six.

For Linkon this emphasis on memory or moreover nostalgia for past work within deindustrial communities reflects 'attachment to the job' and 'work-based social networks' but perhaps more interestingly 'anxiety about how things are changing' (2018:36). This 'anxiety' dominates many of the narratives of present community structure. Here, the deindustrial body is considered within the deteriorating and decaying community structure alongside closure and the resulting loss of job satisfaction. In this section of the chapter it was important to gain an understanding of what had been perceived as lost with closure, in order to reconstruct the body within post-industrial society.

The ‘ruin’ draws attention to industrial closure and job loss as a collective experience (High and Lewis 2007:99). Much has been written about the figure of the ghost as representative of industrial workers (Bright 2016; Edensor 2005a) and their habitancy of the present ‘as a ghostly figure from a rapidly rendering past (Ackers 1996:160). However, this thesis turns it’s attention to examine what such focus on ruination might tell us about deindustrialisation as a collective embodied experience. Mah (2012) echoes many of my sentiments when she speaks of industrial memory as evidence of community survival and the ruins themselves as evidence of embedded processes. However, rather than exploring the landscape as a site of ruination, I explore the body as illustrative of collective experiences of change and decay. The deindustrial body is as a site of ruin itself, a means through which to examine collective experiences of change and decay.

Chapter Six: **Unremarkable: The Normalisation of Occupational Health and Illness in Coalfield Communities**

Chapter five considered the relationship between memory and identity. It then outlined how deindustrial communities as sites of ruination are illustrative of a collective bodily experience. I have chosen in this chapter to examine three areas that explicitly focus on occupational health and illness as expressed within the communal and deindustrial body.

The first section explores accounts of pre-socialisation as expressed within memories of family relatives and childhood. Here, occupational health is 'remarkable' and 'traumatic', yet at the same time 'unremarkable' and 'normalised'. The individual and their communities are subject to a moral order which dictates a body of social norms and conventions that sustain an industrial way of life. The second section builds on this framework to examine occupational health within the domestic space. Disability affects performances of gender and whilst 'unremarkable' when we consider these experiences within a collective narrative, it is none the less difficult for individuals. Moving on to the present day, the final section examines how industrial injury and ill-health remains an important part of people's lives post-closure and not just at an individual level. Once again this is 'unremarkable' and expected for people that worked in coal mining.

'Pre-socialisation' to Occupational Health and Illness

Childhood proved an important life stage in coalfield communities providing individuals with experience for a role they were yet to assume. Here men and women were introduced to norms and behavioural patterns associated with the occupation of coal mining. Perhaps one

of the best ways to understand what was taking place with regards to occupational health within coalfield communities, is to reflect on childhood and family memories themselves, alongside popular representations. These industrial communities served to maintain a moral order of unwritten social norms and conventions. Former miners and their families have with deindustrialisation, become responsible for the maintenance of this moral normality but for several individuals the collective body appears eroded with industry closure. The damages imposed upon neighbourhoods are evident throughout deindustrialised regions of Europe and the USA. Russo and Linkon (2003) note the vulnerability of industrial communities in the process of economic and social recovery. However, the Kent Coalfield is compelling in it's emphasis on childhood and family memory in the construction of contemporary understanding of industrial related illness and disability.

This relationship between health and coalfield communities is the subject of several twentieth century and twenty first century motion pictures. The specific film I focus on here is *Blue Scar,* an Outlook Films production, directed by Jill Craigie in 1949, that elegantly illustrates the relationship between community and embodiment. The film, which is overtly socialist and politically orientated, explores the ideals and ramifications of nationalisation of the coal industry in 1947. It serves as a platform in which to examine primary concerns of nationalisation, including wages, work conditions and employees' health alongside the industry's future. Set in South Wales, in a village where the local mine has undergone nationalisation in 1947, the film centres on the romance between Olwen Williams (a miner's daughter) and Tom Thomas (a miner). Olwen seeks to escape the stigmatism and impoverished mining lifestyle of her family through the winning of a music scholarship in Cardiff. Tom remains dedicated to the community, improving work conditions and eventually

rises to the rank of manager within the colliery. The two eventually drift apart, their love symbolic of the fractions and disparities within mining villages over the progression towards the coal industry's nationalisation and the prospects it holds. In this chapter, the primary concern lies in the film's portrayal of the complex relationship between work, occupational health and community.

Ted Williams (Olwen's father) is presented as a socialist man, hardworking and loyal, he welcomes nationalisation and the improved conditions and greater health recognition that it brings. Nationalisation brings a new-found hope for coalfield communities, with the government and colliery owners taking greater responsibility to ensure the welfare of their workers. Ted's death makes for one of the most dramatic scenes of the film. The camera shifts in and out of focus as he is struggling for breath before falling to the ground. Ted's demise acts as a metaphor for the period prior to nationalisation, for post 1947 colliers like Tom Thomas and Ted's sons (Thomas Williams and Owen Williams), they shall not endure the same harshness as their predecessors. The film is noteworthy for its attention to community, kinship, politics, gender, health, labour standards and provision. These are portrayed as closely tied to industrial occupations and the experience of the Williams' is presented as typical of a mining family.

The film outlines the normalisation of ill-health, with Ted's continued assurance to his wife that his condition 'is nothing, nothing to worry about' (Blue Scar, 1949, 00:41:41-00:41:46). The impact of ill-health upon the household is noticeable in Ted's concern for the household's income and the reputation of the family in their absence record; with his chest complaint forcing him to miss shifts and his son Thomas 'not pulling his weight' (Blue Scar, 1949,

00:41:49-00:41:52). Ted remarks that his wife encourages their son Thomas to be lazy, to which she replies 'what other way to get him out' (Blue Scar, 1949, 00:41:25 – 00:41:28). Gwyneth Williams reflects the view of many coal mining families in their reluctance for their sons to work at the pit. Through the film *Blue Scar* (1949) we recognise the power of the coal industry as occupational health serves to orientate family relations and communal activity. With a sense of community comes the normalisation of occupational health dominated memories of family life and childhood. Ballesteros and Ramirez (2007) in their reflections on mining heritage tourism in southern Spain, highlight the importance of industry identity in community social structure. They note that 'community is perhaps, together with the individual, the main reference point for the recreation of identities' (2007:677). Communal narratives are as important as individual narratives in relaying the relationship between industry and embodiment in post-industrial society.

For deindustrial theorists, coalfield communities present a platform through which to explore the relationship between labour and the human body. Here, embodiment is explored in terms of the changes colliers undergo and the exponential decay they undertake in their working life. Within the community setting, ill-health is presented as both remarkable (and traumatic) and unremarkable (and normal). This is illustrated in Doreen Whiting's interview, now in her eighties, she had lived in the village of Eythorne her whole life. Doreen's experience of the colliery had mainly been informed by the experiences of her late husband Stan, who had worked as a miner at Tilmanstone colliery. From early on in his career, periodic screening had found traces of dust on his lung, eventually leading to his decision to change his job on the

loader end to one of a rope splicer[7] at Tilmanstone colliery. The narrative raises significant themes relating to embodiment, she does this through her discussion of the normalisation of ill-health within coal mining communities:

> It was a general thing that the miners always got something wrong with them and so today you'd go over the top wouldn't you, back then it was part of the norm. No they didn't all get it but they all had their health problems, different health problems. So I just sort of went along with it but he didn't walk as fast as what he used to, yes he could still ride a bike, because he used to ride a bike, my bike to pit. So I couldn't have my bike could I but he got himself one with an engine on it and then he got a motorbike and some years later, he learnt to drive a car and things like that. But he was never but the whole family wasn't the ones for getting up and running or playing football […] Yes he did do the garden and then he could sit down and watch his television (Doreen Whiting, interviewed 25th July 2017).

The account from Doreen suggests that social norms of coalfield communities were maintained within a common acceptance of ill-health as 'un-remarkable' or 'normal'. The pervading notion that coal mining led to occupational health problems, with rhetoric such as 'the miners always got something wrong with them', firmly fixed in the imagery of coalfield communities as unique. More notably, there is a sense of needing to justify the approach to ill-health, with post-industrial livelihood eroding common place aspects of community life.

[7] A highly skilled job for a ropeman, 'splicing' was the practise of repairing ropes or small strands of broken wire.

Deindustrialisation is as corrosive as ill-health for the individual, upsetting conventions that maintain the communities societal order. McIvor and Johnston (2007) describe occupational health within coalfield communities and the 'widespread acceptance within the mining communities of a high level of risk and this was bound up in customary work cultures and attitudes passed down from father to son' (266). Memory is key here, in comprehending the links between occupational health and community, with images from childhood and working life recalled to highlight the prominence of ill-health in social narratives. Ill-health and injury are displayed as quintessential characteristics of an industrial life. As Patricia Sutcliffe, a former member of National Women Against Pit Closure, describes in her interview:

> Again my childhood, I actually, I was nine when my Dad died and I can't actually remember him going to the pit. My memory of my Dad was him being in and out of hospital, from back as far as I can remember. So although he was a miner, my memory isn't of him going to the pit. So in later years, it became more apparent you know miners who had breathing problems, you know even if a miner was walking up the jitty[8]. Certain people that I can think of, would have to stop two or three times, because they couldn't breathe. So in later years I was more aware of it but not when I was a child, I wasn't (Patricia Sutcliffe, interviewed 30th June 2017).

We see Patricia's memories of her Father are burdened with occupational health problems. In this and in other accounts, memories of male relatives are associated with occupational

[8] Jitty is a regional word for alleyway, used in Aylesham to refer to narrow passage way between houses.

health rather than coal mining, the memories of individuals having to 'stop two or three times' when 'walking up the jitty' normalised within community culture. The theme of occupational health stirs heavy in memories of family relations that worked in the Kent Coalfield. Within these narratives from the Kent Coalfield, occupational health is interpreted by reference to a moral order, respiratory disease particularly expected among coal miners. Some, such as Portelli (2011) see this emphasis on moral order within industrial communities as stemming from 'survival', determined by the harsh conditions in which individuals grew up. In areas like 'Harlan, survival is not a metaphor -not just a word'- it is a means of economic, social and cultural sustainment (2011:331). Kideckel, discussing the lives of two groups of workers - Jiu Valley coal miners and chemical workers in the Făgăras region of Romania, notes the transition to post-socialism as disrupting this moral order. Post-socialism is seen as a failing structure in which attention to 'health and bodies is rendered useless' and disrupted by 'defective plumbing, heating, housing and diet' (Kideckel, 2008:208), which determines moral order as having been eroded.

In considering the role which moral order played in the 'normalisation' of occupational health. Liz French, in her interview discussed her late husband Terry's partial sight loss, noting the implication of occupational health within the home environment:

> He actually lost the sight of his eye, well when he was just sixteen…He was welding, something went in his eye, lost the sight in his eye. It used to wander and he used to have to go and have the muscles tightened up. If you looked at him, you'd never know but I knew. I mean, you had to think, if you left a

> cupboard door open and he's coming through. He used to swear when I done it! (Liz French, interviewed 3rd July, 2017).

Occupational health is seen in this account, as having an impact in the negotiation of space within the family home, with Liz having to be mindful when 'leaving the cupboard door open'. In another interview with Janice Bartolo she recalled the ill-health of her Father as having even further implications:

> He had them black marks on his back and a couple on his fingers, where the coal dust gets in. I think he was involved in like a fall at some time but not to the extent that he was totally injured. But he did have to finish through ill-health in 1968 or 69, I think it was with chest problems (Janice Bartolo, interviewed 19th September 2017).

The importance of occupational health in Liz and Janice's memories of their male relatives is interesting. There is a connection made to occupational health as somehow illustrative of the men's' identity as a miner, with inevitable health problems. Furthermore, occupational health proved an important part of the men's' biography shaping the two women's reconstructive memory. Liz and Janice's insights highlight the way occupational health became fixed as a widely observed and a typical feature of the image of the coal miner.

This emphasis on disability in the construction of industrial identity, is echoed broadly in discussion of blue-collar communities in the twentieth century. Slavishak (2008), has noted how the physical effects of industrial labour maintained and concentrated attention on the

body (20). The significance of disability in the construction of identity can be seen in company provisions for disabled workers, with prosthetics and amendment of work patterns representative of company employment standards (Slavishak, 2008:260-1). This emphasis on the relationship between disability and identity is further accentuated within deindustrial narratives of community. Christine Walley's *Exit Zero* is noteworthy for its recognition of disability as having an inter-generational impact. This appears a reoccurring theme in Warwick and LittleJohn's (1992) acknowledgement of the major inequalities in health amongst residents of coalfield communities. For the latter two, disability is important in the construction not only of the worker's body but also within the wider collective body of the community. Thus, the extent of ill-health amongst residents of communities in Scotland, suffering from the effects of asbestosis related disease, led Johnston and McIvor (2000:204) to state that occupational health was not only representative of an industry but moreover, a working-class identity.

The relationship between disability and identity extends to the way in which occupational health is seen as unremarkable, with personal and social consequences normalised within a framework of industry expectations. As Joe Clayton, former electrician at Tilmanstone Colliery describes in his interview about his memories of the villages of Elvington and Eythorne:

> I can always remember, a fella […] He couldn't walk more than ten yards. I can always remember, I've got this picture of him to this day, of him hanging over gasping for breath because of the effects of taking in dust and he worked there at a time when there wasn't the same emphasis on health and safety, you know. Okay they introduced sprays and all those sorts of things and ways in which you

> could cut down the dust but you can't eliminate it and it's all around you (Joseph Clayton, interviewed 1st April 2017).

In this evocative imagery, we see the relationship between memory of community and ill-health. Joe's memory of the man in his village, 'hanging over the fence', 'gasping for breath' speaks of the extent to which ill-health formed part of the imagery of the coalfield. Small *et al*. (2012:1401) highlight the advantages of living in areas where respiratory problems are common in offering collective action and support, yet simultaneously lead to a sense of anxiety among those suffering similar conditions. In all accounts from the Kent Coalfield community, occupational health is explained through work environment, gendered habits and expectant work culture. David Knight, a former coal face worker at Tilmanstone colliery, highlights the relationship between work and occupational health within his own family memories.

> Lots of people suffered from ill-health down there. You only had to see all the old boys walking round with oxygen bottles and everything else, you know my great Grandad he did, he had an oxygen bottle (David Knight, interviewed August 9th 2017).

David goes on further to talk about the implications of occupational health within the community:

> Well I've see miners going round with oxygen bottles and getting pushed about, can't breathe. So yeah, you know, it's a shame but perks of the jobs (laughs) (David Knight, interviewed August 9th 2017).

The presence of the oxygen bottle in David's memory of his Grandad and his use of the term 'perks of the job' are noteworthy. Through the use of objects, he highlights the public illustrations of occupational health as a display of work experience to aid understanding of community organisation and socialisation. 'Whilst young miners frequently exemplified the apogee of fit, sturdy manhood, the heavy toll that mining exacted upon the body could be witnessed in the large number of disabled older miners and in the graveyards of many pit communities' (McIvor and Johnston, 2007:27). In a sense, community normalisation of ill-health emphasised the sentimentalised and positive image of the colliery in individual and collective memory. In David's description, ill-health proved a benefit in kind, set in notions of habitus, identity and craft skill.

Domestic Space and Occupational Health

What is difficult to solve is the extent to which normalisation of health was indoctrinated into family life through routine and social expectation. As Curtis and Thompson have shown, industry induced 'premature ageing', 'eroding their own manly self-esteem' (2015:595). Disability could be traumatic for individuals and at the forefront of this were women and children – this section therefore explores pre-socialisation of ill-health within the domestic space. Women bore many of the responsibilities associated with illness and disability within the mining community, particularly in years prior to nationalisation (Carr, 2001:60). Women shouldered the responsibilities that came with ill-health, organising home routines alongside

economic capital – altering space within the home to meet needs of the sick (Carr, 2001:65-66). Alan Wilson as a child lived in the village of Hersden, before starting work at Tilmanstone colliery at age nineteen. The memories of his family home were derived from his Grandad's respiratory condition. As he states:

> So, I grew up with my Grandad in the house, yeah. I remember and for the last few months or something he was bed ridden and he had a bed downstairs in what is the dining room, because he couldn't get up and down stairs you know (Alan Wilson, interviewed 20th January 2017).

Growing up in a coal mining family meant that such reuse of domestic space was common. As with such high levels of ill-health, illness and disability within the community, miners were dependent on family for support, however disruption of family life was to be kept to a minimum. Here Andrew Thatcher, a face fitter at Tilmanstone colliery, recalls his Father's injury:

> Oh yeah can see him now. Sat with legs up but he still had my Sisters breakfast done for us before he went to the hospital, hobbling around and he had a broken leg (Andrew Thatcher, interviewed 17th January 2017).

In this sense, ill-health is 'remarkable' but only from the perspective of Andrew's Father's ability to continue to perform domestic tasks, despite his broken leg. Once again, such imagery sets to reinforce the masculine bravado that surrounded industry, with the miner continuing to undertake his responsibilities despite his immense pain. Analysis of ill-health

within the domestic space serves to both reinforce 'normalisation' of ill-health within deindustrialisation and sees the miner as a figure of resilience to pain. More directly, in the case of Alan, there is linkage here between the disruption of the domestic space and mirroring the personal implication of longitudinal ill-health for the worker and his family. For Cornwell, 'disruption' and 'abnormal' normality proves one of the most basic frameworks through which people define illness (1984:55). For such communities, work dominated their social existence, dictating gender roles and divisions, as recognised with ill-health and industrial closure. Blackwell and Seabrook also noted this, with one of their participants, a redundant miner recalling:

> I took redundancy, I'd had asthma and I went to the doctor and he advised me to pack up. I felt as though my life had come to a close. I'd been put out to pasture (Blackwell and Seabrook, 1996:145).

Johnston and McIvor (2000), in their study of the asbestos tragedy in Scotland, Bambra (2011) in her assessment of recession, job loss, insecurity and unemployment in relation to health and wellbeing and Fevre (2011), in his assessment of marginalisation among sick and disabled coal miners, highlight the sense of social isolation that come with occupational disability. Whilst these strains were accentuated by events such as the closure and subsequent loss of social support in once industrial areas – occupational health clearly accentuated and enhanced workers emotions and self-imagery. Doreen Whiting's husband was diagnosed with pneumoconiosis shortly before his death and had worked at Tilmanstone colliery since his teenage years. Doreen remembered how the tragic events began:

> I can't remember how long ago now it was, twelve years ago, he was walking up the stairs, he couldn't get upstairs but somehow, he kept his tobacco and he rolled his own tobacco cigarettes and kept it upstairs for some reason. But otherwise he would sleep downstairs, because he had a job walking up the stairs. But obviously this particular night he was going upstairs, I would think to get his tobacco. It was three o'clock in the morning and I thought oh the thunder was awful, the noise and I got out of bed, (wheeze noise), like it might have been the milkman with their fancy noisey cart engines or whatever it was and it wasn't. So, I went to go downstairs and there's Stan at the bottom (Doreen Whiting, interviewed 25th July, 2017).

It was at this point that the enormity of the situation became clear to Doreen, as she began to comprehend what had happened:

> What he had done, obviously he was going up stairs to get his tobacco and when eventually he was in hospital he kept rolling like you do with your fingers and pretending he was smoking. Obviously, it was on his mind, cos unfortunately that night he decided to go up the stairs and his lung collapsed because it had seventy-five percent coal in it and obviously the exertion, I don't know I'm not a doctor, it just broke up and he fell down the stairs. He broke his shoulder blade and something else on his chest, that's right, broke some ribs as well, so it was not very good (Doreen Whiting, interviewed 25th July, 2017).

The events described by Doreen offer a haunting and chilling picture as to the consequences of dust inhalation. A notable consequence of respiratory disease is the 'thunderous', 'milk cart' noise and the practical knowledge of 'noise when a lung breaks'. The collapse of Stan's lung under the weight of seventy-five percent coal dust highlights the level of disability that sufferers of respiratory disease experienced because of their ill-health. Some, such as Small *et al.* (2012:1401), see respiratory disease as associated with, in this account, 'anxiety' and in other accounts with the possibility for joint action and mutual support. McIvor (2015) discussing respiratory disease within the coal mining industry states:

> The accumulation of crippling and deadly respiratory diseases, which contributed to making coalfields in the UK (and elsewhere) the most unhealthy and disability prone of all working class communities in the twentieth century (McIvor, 2015:29).

Coal workers' Pneumoconiosis (CWP) and silicosis remain the most enduring legacy. Respiratory disease in the form of silicosis and Pneumoconiosis (CWP) occurred through the inhaling of crystalline silica (or quartz), contained within the rocks. The latter (CWP) from small dust particles, leading to scarring of the lung tissue, causing severe inflammation and fibrosis.

Perchard and Gildart state that the legacy of high levels of respiratory disease go back to both prior to and in the immediate years after nationalisation, when there were great variations between mine owners' investment in education surrounding occupational health and safety for their colliers (2015, 473). Colliery workers were largely unaware in this period as to the

risks they were taking with their health. The knowledge that did exist mainly consisted in the form of an inter-generational dialogue passed between colliers. The inclusion of silicosis in the workers' compensation act of 1943 and the nationalisation of the coal mining industry in 1947 resulted in improved health and safety practices for colliers (see McIvor and Johnston 2007; Perchard and Gildart, 2015).

In the wake of nationalisation, there appeared a political and public consciousness of the risks of working in the industry and the legacy of ill-health that it posed for its workers. Life debilitating health conditions had the most profound impact on family life. The experience of Kay Sutcliffe's Father deserves to be explored further in this chapter:

> He didn't talk about his life down the pit, I mean I think what hit home to me even more was that he had a really bad accident down there and he was fifty-nine I think he was wasn't he? (to Philip). And he was, a mine car derailed and crushed him against a wall and so it was a very serious accident, he punctured both his lungs, he broke all of his ribs except one. He ended up in intensive care for a long time at Canterbury hospital, with a trichotomy. We thought he wasn't going to make it out of it (Kay Sutcliffe, interviewed, 21st September 2017).

Accidents or injuries were expected as part of work in the coal industry. For former miners in Harlan County, a hand smashed between two cars and electrocution were amongst some of the worst incidents (Portelli, 2011:144-151). These accounts provide a sense as to the nature

of the colliery environment and the extensive consequences of work upon the body. Late in the interview, Kay Sutcliffe went on to speak about the implications of her Father's accident:

> After his accident, he didn't work again and it devastated him. He was in a really dark place - when he knew he couldn't go back to work (Kay Sutcliffe, interviewed, 21st September 2017).

The manner with which Kay's Father adjusted to his disablement identity can be interpreted within a much wider discourse of disability studies. In adjusting to their identity as disabled, Oliver (1990:63) notes individuals must undergo a period of 'grieving', 'medical treatment', 'rehabilitation' and 'psychological adjustment' before coming to terms with disability. Whatever the extent and circumstance of disability, it has implications for the way in which individuals view themselves and therefore, their identity. For Shakespeare (1996:111) disabled identity is about stories, having the space to tell them and an audience which will listen. First, it is important to speak about transformational effects of disability within narratives of coalfields, to preserve the identity of the story teller and the legacy that they leave (Portelli 1991:59). Second, it is through the sharing of narratives that allows individuals to come to terms with disability as a natural inequality of having worked in industry. However, this does not make disability any the less 'remarkable', indeed Barnes (2016) *Minority Body* highlight the problems with an identity-based theory of disability. As she states:

> There are cases where people with conditions that are paradigm cases of disability, do not self-identify as disabled (Barnes, 2016:34).

In the case of Kay's Father, his refusal to accept his disability was the result of a desire to return to work. For these individuals, the labelling of disabled could be particularly devastating, as 'strong and robust men in the prime of their lives could wither away to emaciated shadows of their former selves' (Curtis and Thompson, 2015:593). Kay Sutcliffe went on in her interview to provide further insight into the forms of assistance that were offered to coal miners and their families suffering from occupational health problems:

> I think there was one in Margate but I think the one my Dad went to was somewhere like Bournemouth or somewhere like that. It was a joint thing between the Coal Board and the union and they said it was a convalescent home but it was to get injured miners better to go back to work (Kay Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

Her husband Philip Sutcliffe continued the story:

> What Kay's Dad didn't fully understand […] he wasn't happy that they stopped him going once they realised, he wasn't ever going to work, he couldn't go to this convalescent home and he'd been every year for about two or three years. He couldn't understand why he couldn't go again but I said it was because as hard as it is, a convalescent home is to get you better so you can go back to work (Philip Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

As part of efforts to limit and control occupational health within the industry, McIvor and Johnston note 'the miners' unions were also actively involved in the rehabilitation,

convalescence and therapy for disabled miners' (2007:208). The mining industry tried to accommodate the needs of disabled workers through the use of prosthetics and amendment of working conditions to suit individual needs; with industries in the USA showing disability serving as a form of propaganda, displaying company generosity (Slavishak, 2008). The ability of the industry to take care of miners, was a testament to its economic wealth and social standing among other British industries. After the nationalisation of the mining industry in 1948, the NUM sought to ensure that those miners suffering from respiratory problems and/or registered disabled, secured alternative jobs within the industry (McIvor and Johnston, 2007:208). However, the circumstances of Kay's Father's accident meant that the coal board were unable to offer this:

> They couldn't even offer him any position on pit top, he just wasn't fit enough and psychologically it didn't help him at all. He never got over it, he never got over the fact he was constantly at home. His mood was terrible you know, he tried to be alright but he struggled didn't he, struggled with the fact (Kay Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

Philip also recalled the effects which this news had on Kay's Father, as he states:

> Oh, it was terrible because he was like the old school where you work, he's a man you got to work (Philip Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

For Kay's Father who was injured as a result of his accident at fifty-nine, disability threatened his identity as a worker and for him the sense of machismo that surrounded industrial work.

The inability to work represented a break in social order, on par with the effects of deindustrialisation itself. It was through 'bodily strength' and 'withstanding harsh conditions' that masculinity was upheld – a safe distance away from femininity (Walkerdine and Jimenez, 2012:174). However, whereas before his accident work had provided a sense of purpose and daily routine, he was now confined to the home, whilst his wife went out to work:

> He liked his garden and things like that but it only kept him, I mean he was fifty-nine when he had his accident, I think he was sixty-seven when he died. And you know, during those years the first few years convalescing wasn't too bad but it was afterwards when he realised that was sort of it. It was as if, what am I doing, what have I got to do with my life, sit at home, my wife's at work you know he really didn't get on well with it (Kay Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

Families were forced to watch their relatives' physical and psychological health deteriorate. Such experiences could prove distressing, with individuals experiencing changes in moods and personality as they adjust to their new disabled identity. Moreover, 'it is important to note how the sense of family is produced through differentiated rhythms and embodiments of masculine and feminine' (Walkerdine, 2010: 103). As in this case study, many disabled miners also struggled to come to terms with the undermining of masculine status, as they transitioned from the role of breadwinner to dependent.

Occupational Health Post-Closure

In industrial society, childhood and family life served to acclimatise men to the coal industry and expectance of ill-health. Today, the breakdown of the community's social support and culture has meant that traditional networks of support eroded. As a result, some workers face social exclusion and economic insecurity. How then do these individuals continue to normalise ill-health and illness within deindustrial society?

Terry Harrison, now in his eighties, had worked at Betteshanger colliery and later served as area National Union of Mine Workers Branch Secretary. As with so many miners, he had experienced a number of health problems since leaving the colliery and in the interview, this had led him to reflect on his current health condition:

> Oh my hearing I was certified that. I've had problems with my knees and my bloody back but, I've got chronic Bronchitis but the blessing of that is that he diagnosed me with that some twenty-years years ago now it's got to be absolutely, the progress must be ever so minimal. I've been overtaken by another health problem anyhow, cancer of the bowel, nothing to do with the pit, which again. I'm getting away with. Given that, you know there weren't much bloody expectation when we started was there, kind of touch and go, so health problems. Difficult to talk about health problems, when I'm eighty-seven in December and one of the things is, funny enough you talk about pneumoconiosis you can get a team of men that worked together, I'm talking about now they can be working together twenty-five years you know one's got pneumiconiosis his mate ain't and yet they've hardly changed their work roles….I think you need to show a bit of respect, I mean whatever bloody

> happens to me now, from now on is a bloody bonus, I mean how can I complain about my health (Terry Harrison, interview 10th January 2018).

In Terry's account we get an understanding of the sympathy which he feels for sufferers of pneumoconiosis and he quite obviously considers himself lucky to have only contracted Bronchitis. In the same interview, he went on further to consider his health:

> Not withstanding the fact I curse cause, I remind myself what's like for disabled people. But when you've got something and you can't do the simplest bloody task or something…But, I mean I'm a walking bloody miracle in mining terms, eighty-six. (Terry Harrison interview 10th January 2018).

The extent of ill-health within the community had the effect of endorsing a common-sensical and collected approach to ill-health and disability. What Terry was revealing was a 'normalisation' of ill-health within the present community, within which he was a 'miracle', when comparing his own experience to that of the legacy of health problems that the coal industry had left. Meanwhile, in other areas of the Kent Coalfield where unions had proved central in the organisation and control of work culture, this served to shape perceptions and understanding of occupational health. Here, Philip Sutcliffe, coal face worker and Snowdown colliery NUM Branch Secretary, highlights the problems that miners face with living with ill-health:

> But, like alot of them, I put in for vibration white finger, no, I first put in for arthritis for my knees but I think they come up with a figure I think I was about nine percent disabled in my knees but you couldn't claim unless you had fourteen percent. So, I didn't have any claim for that because it was still under books, now anything else you get percentage wise it accumulates, so then it come out miners could get vibration white finger and carpel tunnel syndrome so I went along for that. I think I got something like four percent Carpel Tunnel Syndrome and five percent for vibration white finger, so together with my nine percent percent on my knee that took me over my percentage (Philip Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

Importantly, we see here how the concept of occupational disability, as defined within compensation systems, shaped understanding of disability for many miners. In Philip's account, 'human performance is divided into percentiles, so that disability is conceived of in terms of missing parts' (Stone, 1986:110). Thus, the deindustrial body is disabled, at least to some percentage. Human performance in deindustrialisation is not based on ability to perform craft practices but instead is interpreted through percentage of disability.

This narrative of unions and health ran heavy through post-industrial narratives of ill-health. Terry Harrison who had served for a time as Betteshanger Branch NUM Secretary and Frank Redman who had been Kent area President of the Association for NACODS, were leading figures in the processing of coal health claims for the Kent Coalfield. For Frank in particular, post-industrial ill-health is viewed as an important mechanism for understanding the work

culture of the Kent Coalfield and the complaints from which men suffered. Here, he outlines some difficulties which Terry and himself faced in dealing with cases from the Kent Coalfield:

> Locally here, we didn't seem to have a lot of them, problem with chest claims but we had these awful problems with vibration white finger [...] The kind of arguments we had down here and nationally [...] We even had arguments about coal face trainees, where we had a training face at Betteshanger. For the whole coalfield, advisors up there, ex-overmen and mostly ex-overmen who seemed to me to be totally clueless in what they were doing, because they couldn't seem to realise that Kent operated differently to some of the pits that they worked at. Because when I went to Gypsum on a face management course like Jim Davies did, the overman wouldn't go down until about eight o'clock. We used to go down with the pre-shift deputies, when we were there but they just took it that eveyone worked in the same manner, which was utterly ridiculous and so there was that problem to overcome (Frank Redman, interviewed 17th January 2018).

The description by Frank of Kent Coalfield operations as 'different' is interesting. He suggests that the extent of ill-health evident within the Kent Coalfield is linked to the fact that distinction between workforce tiers was kept to a minimum in Kent. As overmen were expected to work in the 'same manner', there were many similarities in the conditions that they faced that had led many to suffer with a number of health problems later in life. The account highlights the need for the continued importance of activities traditionally associated within unionism and enhanced sense of justice that came with ensuring the men received

what they were entitled to. Frank illustrates the way such knowledge served to shape approaches to ill-health and the potential that this holds for understanding the deindustrial body.

The most notable change that the miner oversaw in transitioning from industrial to post-industrial life was the high uptake of permanent sickness and early retirement among workers. The incentive for this in the immediate period following closure, was firstly as an initiative to hide the extent of unemployment in coalfield areas. Secondly, workers realistically recognised that permanent sickness offered an attractive alternative to long term unemployment, as incapacity-related benefits are more generous than unemployment benefits or income support (Beatty and Fothergill, 1996:635). Such a reading of the Kent Coalfield in this period does not do justice to the extent of contemporary ill-health and disability among former workers in deindustrialised communities. Even though it had been over thirty years since the men had worked at the colliery, symptoms of ill-health from the coal industry remained present in their bodies. For Gary Cox, the interview offered him a period in which to reflect on the impact of coal industry on his own bodily health, as he noted:

> Arthritis is setting in my hands now, I can't go fishing. At the moment I'm waiting for cortisone injections to happen. So, I've got a lot of, yeah, I've got a lot of illnesses on top of my vibration white finger and carpal tunnel syndrome and the neck injuries and my knees. I need two new knees but I'm too frightened to go to hospital to have them done, middle of the night you could chop them off for me but when I get up and get moving and that, a lot of miners have had new

> knees and it's just not worked and the percentage doesn't weigh up the reasons for having it. I'm getting it in my feet now, my left foot's bad. But most miners are like that, it is part and parcel of the job that you did (Gary Cox, Interview 7th February 2017).

Notable amongst coal mining related health conditions is the conglomerate of problems which workers face. Despite leaving the pit some thirty years ago, symptoms of occupational health remained present in the body, with resulting physical impairment and varying levels of social exclusion. Men were heavily dependent on the colliery and the surrounding community for support. With the closure of the colliery, there is 'a strong sense of something terminal' (Blackwell and Seabrook, 1996:140). A face electrician, Robert Hornsey who had worked at Snowdown colliery, noted the health problems that he now was facing because of working at the pit:

> I've got hearing problems but only slight that's not a problem. But my knees are shot, in fact I've just had keyhole surgery on Monday, probably got to have some more done on the other knee and that is basically through crawling about for thirteen years in a coalmine (Robert Hornsey, interviewed 5th April 2017).

Another electrician, now retired, also sought to highlight the extremities in the pain that he was experiencing with his knees:

> It might sound odd but, you can't, I can't kneel for any length of time and at other times you get pain in them for no good reason. This one particularly swells up, for no apparent reason, other times they feel like just two blocks of wood, they're just almost solid but again there's not rhyme or reason to it. I'm just conscious I can't kneel, you just get pain for no apparent reason (Joseph Clayton, interviewed 1st April 2017).

John Baldwin, who had worked at Tilmanstone colliery, had long had problems with his fingers since he had suffered an accident which had removed one of the tops of them (see chapter three). Since then he had gone on to experience further health problems after leaving the colliery, with the effects becoming more noticeable with age:

> Well certainly the old fingers, I knew I had problems there, I still in the cold weathers the tops of them are just finished, can't use them. When I went for my medical board with them, he said "this is one of the worst cases I've seen", I thought well that's a good start then [laughs]. All joking apart, they were bad and knees were bad, you notice that, you don't notice it in your younger days, it probably was happening then because you always knelt on the face mostly and in the early days you didn't have knee pads, for you're kneeling straight on the hard floor […] so you were suffering with your knees definitely and back was always a problem (John Baldwin, interviewed 10th March 2017).

Many individuals saw their current health problems as stemming from injuries that they had received whilst working at the pit.

The situation in which many miners found themselves was recorded widely by my interview participants. However, it was the social effects as experienced in work post colliery life, that affected people the most. The experience of Les Davies, a former mechanical engineer at Betteshanger colliery, is particularly noteworthy:

> No, not until afterwards, because you were doing it every day and you got used to it. It wasn't till I was working at, I'd done three years at Puma as a fitter over Ash and sort of kneeling down on the floor, checkered floor drilling, that I thought Christ, I better get sorted out here. And I went to the doctor's and he said "I'm sending you to a specialist", went to a specialist he said "you're gonna need a new knee but I don't want to do anything yet because you're too young" (Les Davies, interviewed 9th May 2017).

After closure of the colliery, Les's knees worsened, forcing him at the age of forty to seek medical advice on his condition. This degeneration of the knees was reflected within a number of interviews, with many of the men noting the shallow nature of the Kent seams as a contributing factor. Les's account shows the impact which the condition had not only on his work but his social life too:

> Let's see, must have been forty. Yes, it was around forty [ish] because I was still playing rugby then and I had to finish in the end playing, because you really just play for the enjoyment of it in the third or fourth team. And you go in for a scrum or ruck or whatever it is and you'll wander off and they'll say "ref you got

> to stop the game", "why?", "he's down again, we got to go and pick him up". And when a game finished that's it, can't take no more (Les Davies, interviewed 9th May 2017).

The social effects of ill-health, as seen through Les's account, could be particularly disheartening, especially for those still of working age. Johnston and McIvor (2000:197) highlight the problems that individuals faced with social exclusion as a result of occupational disability, in terms of changed financial circumstances, alongside the physical and emotional effects. At the same time, transitions within industrial employment brought new health problems in the form of stress-related disease and emotional illness evident within this sector (Kideckel 2008:209). Whilst none of my interviewees directly addressed this matter in their interviews, it was clear that ill-health as a result of work at the colliery did present social problems.

Former miners experience a complex problem of social exclusion and economic difficulties. Strangleman (2001) reflects on the nature of life post-industry. He notes the complex choices that individual workers face in balancing their wellbeing, with the strains and frustrations of their new employment. Tim Austen, a former coal face worker at Betteshanger colliery, notes his own experiences:

> I mean it's like now, I am suffering with my knees and my shoulder, I have got ligament damage in my shoulder. They reckon the cure to that is an operation but I'm self -employed and I can't afford to take the time off (Tim Austen, interviewed 22nd January 2017).

There is a sense of frustration and yet at the same time resignation amongst the men towards their ill-health. The indication was that 'right attitude' fostered 'good health' or 'at least that is tolerable' – a 'cheerful stoicism evident in the refusal to worry, or to complain, or to be morbid' (Cornwell, 1984:129). The extent to which individuals suffered with their health varied widely between participants. Occupation related health problems are seen as expected and representative of a hard and arduous work culture. Even with the closure of the Kent Coalfield, the industry continued to shape livelihood with industry identity inherent in approaches and understanding of the worker's body.

Health and Heritage

One of the best ways to understand how ill-health has remained 'unremarkable' within the community, is perhaps through the growth of the heritage sector in once industrial areas. Central to the role of heritage in post-industrial life is to foster 'community identity and purpose, in which not only coal miners themselves invest but also their families (Scott, 2009). Heritage becomes responsible for the regeneration of the community, as part of this process, projects include sites clearances and re-landscaping to alleviate some of the most distressing effects of closure, however despite this, socio-economic problems still remain within relative unemployment, long term sickness and poverty (Bright, 2011:67). Again, part of the obstacles that individuals face is the loss and erosion of traditional social institutions of support within the community. Traditionally, coal mining communities had been largely self-sufficient, with strong affiliation to trade union values. For men who socialised within these circles, regeneration projects offered an attractive alternative, compensating miners and their families for the losses they had experienced. Such a move attempted to alleviate social and

economic suffering. As Doreen Whiting, former miner's wife and active member of the Elvington and Eythorne Heritage group explained:

> Coming up here, because five years ago I suddenly was on my own and had animals all my life, brought up with them and things like that…I used to take other people's dogs out but I wouldn't have one myself, so I was useful to other people. Suddenly I'm on my own and I thought oh I'm going to move. It's companionship, being on my own I didn't like it because although I'm an active person and craft, I am still on my own and so I got myself together to come to the NHS walk and the heritage centre here. It serves me for another day and I have other people come to me and I go here and there. And so, heritage Tuesdays is useful to me. I talk to other people and hopefully I am also passing on like bits I've been telling you and all the photographs. I've got them all produced, so nothing is going to get lost. 'Cos when the likes of us older ones is gone, history can get lost can't it? So I am hopefully passing it on to you youngsters (Doreen Whiting, interviewed 25th July 2017).

This narrative from Doreen suggests that the values of the heritage centre lie in the fellowship that it offers to members of the coalfield community. The emphasis on companionship is notable firstly, in linking the sense of camaraderie that the coal mining industry endorsed and the sense of being useful in work, with the 'passing on' of information and the ensuring that 'nothing is going to get lost'. Secondly, heritage emphasises the loss of moral order, with the centre serving to replace traditional support and conventions lost with the closure of the coalfield. More directly there is a sense of a half-life at play in this narrative, with the 'act of

communication' and 'act of making meaning' important in the construction of the present (Smith, 2006:1). In another interview with former Tilmanstone miner John Kemp, he describes the benefits that the Eythorne and Elvington Heritage group has brought to him:

> At the moment, it's given me a sense of purpose. I feel like I'm putting something back into our local community, so I feel a bit proud that I've been involved with it and say to people I helped do a bit of this. I don't want a plaque or a bench with my name on it but it's been fun to be involved and I'm trying to get other miners that don't know really what's going on. 'Cos a lot of miners' live in different towns like Ramsgate and don't live so close to the coal mines, they need to get involved and I've managed to get two this week that have nowsaid "oh I'm going to come here again, I would like to get involved". So it's good, as they are retiring or finishing work, it gives them something to talk about as well and to tell their grandchildren (John Kemp, interviewed 22nd November 2016).

Here we are made aware of how heritage sets to reinforce the sense of pride that came with working at the coal industry. In accounts of post-industrial life 'working-class identities are depicted as directionless and object in the aftermath of industrial closure and joblessness' (Dicks, 2008:437). Heritage is seen to instil a sense of 'purpose', providing John with the opportunity to 'put something back to the local community'. The 'plaque or the bench with the name on it' is interpreted as diverting from the true purpose of the movement, in providing the necessary support for former miners that was thought lost with the closure of the colliery.

The relationship between heritage and purpose drives contemporary narratives of former miners. In these accounts, note the way that heritage involvement is linked to the desire to 'preserve', 'intergenerational interest' and 'fear of being forgotten'. Those such as Dicks (2000:154), see this memorialism evident within the heritage of former coalfield communities, as a 'vernacular heritage', which has an albeit detached but strong preservation urge. Stuart Elgar, now chairman of the Eythorne and Elvington Heritage group, noted preservation as a central motive for his involvement:

> I mean I'm sort of on a nostalgia trip if you like but a lot of my generation are not interested. What I'm doing in my own mind is preserving it for my Grandchildren and my kids. My children aren't that interested but I think one day the Grandchildren will be interested, so that's what I'm working towards. Cause we're all going to die anyway (Stuart Elgar, interviewed 22nd November 2016).

In the interview Stuart went on to consider further, the sense of purpose that heritage has brought for him:

> It's sort of turned into a mini job, still working really. I think its an outlet yeah (Stuart Elgar, interviewed 22nd November 2016).

In this account and other accounts, heritage work is reflected on as a form of employment. These men have returned to work for the mining industry but this time metaphorically, in the

preservation of its heritage, rather than a physical work site. Smith (2006:236) reflects on the way in which heritage is used as a 'cultural tool'. In referring to this term, she forces us to consider how the past meaning of work shapes approaches to employment, community and family in contemporary society. For Stuart, his 'nostalgia trip' as he frames it, is driven by a desire to 'work' on the heritage of the coalfield to maintain it for future generations too, so that they might also benefit from its values.

Another implication of heritage work is the personal benefits that this work has brought for former miners. In many ways, the sense of purpose that comes with heritage contributes in maintaining the moral order, the maintaining of social norms and conventions that in the past served to 'normalise' ill-health within coalfield communities. In interviews, miners and their families were keen to articulate the benefits which the heritage regeneration had brought to them. Here, Ross Llewellyn gives his own experience of working on preserving the heritage of the Kent Coalfield and more importantly Chislet colliery:

> Well, I've enjoyed doing it, I really enjoy doing it you know. It's really giving me something to do, I mean it's taught me computers and things like that [...] You know, something people don't realise about this thing. I must have spent thousands of pounds whilst I've been doing that never had grants, no money or anything I've not looked for them, even the move the miner, all the travelling and meetings and things the same with this, this project now, we don't get any money for it, none of us we just do it because we want something to do (Ross Llewellyn, interviewed 15th March 2017).

The importance of heritage is also reflected on by Jim Davies and again the commitment to preservation and personal benefits are noted:

> Well, it's my hobby and I'm enjoying what I'm doing, it would be like a train spotter, or something like this they're anoraks and I got that, because I've got a lock up in the middle of those houses over there, that's costing me thirty-seven a month. I want to get rid of all that, then I can stop the payment on that but people just bring stuff to me all the time, you know. Because, when you're in a community like this, word gets around and so it's everyone knows your business, what you're doing and this that and the other, so you're first in line, when they're clearing houses out, even some of the house clearers. Just recently, I had two of them come with bits and pieces, they know I won't pay for it but they, god bless them, they're quite loyal and they bring the bits and pieces to me (Jim Davies, interviewed 25th April 2017).

Philip's account as to the role of Aylesham Heritage Centre in his life also mirrors these accounts, of the importance of heritage in his approach to retirement:

> Oh yeah definitly, it's given me somewhere to go on a Wednesday and like Saturday, obviously we go to the Miners Gala whenever they have it and have a stall. This Saturday it's the Aylesham Carnival and it will all take place in the Market Square and we'll set up a stall and bring, not everything but we'll bring books down for people to have a look at there before the carnival sets off and that's always of interest. You know people like looking at the old photographs,

> how Aylesham was and how it was set up and different things like that (Philip Sutcliffe, interviewed 21st September 2017).

What all these accounts show is that heritage of the coal industry has served to replace and in some ways rebuild, elements of community that were lost with the closure of industry. More directly, heritage has served to restore control over town identity that communities lost with the closure of the industry which they relied upon for their survival (O'Hara, 2003:221). At a most basic level, this sense of control is experience in the 'enjoyment' that comes with participating in nostalgic and heritage related activities. Secondly, heritage offers space in which memories of working-life in the coalfield and industry culture can be re-told and evoked in the ephemera and apparel left behind. Heritage offers one of the few ways to connect to something so recently lost (Strangleman, 2017:14). The deindustrial body in this sense is connected with a desire to restore a community identity in which they feel secure and supported.

Therefore, in areas where deindustrialisation has occurred through loss of industry, community is 'constructed around symbols that are converted into heritage' (Ballesteros and Ramirez 2007:681). This communal construction of heritage is important. In my ethnographic work, I was struck by the way the heritage movement centred on specific community structure within the villages, such as the welfare clubs and heritage centres. This was in part because the few physical infrastructures that remained of the collieries after closure and those that did exist, were restricted in access. Much of the local community that had worked in the coal industry were involved in maintaining the heritage of the area. Such involvement

might be read as providing these individuals with a 'temporal identity' – like a 'spirit moving through history', it provides them with a contemporary purpose (Dicks, 2000:116). Gary Cox, who is now actively involved in the heritage of the Kent Coalfield, reminds us of the importance of heritage work in these areas:

> It's the heart of, you know, when we lost the collieries, we thought that our hearts had been ripped out, that's why we walked away and we'd lost. We tried to keep the pit open and at the end of the day we lost it, and we thought our hearts had been ripped out. That the colliery had gone and everything was gone but we realised that the heart of our community is the people living in them and they're the important ones and we know they still need our help. We wanted and we fought hard, my Grandad fought hard, my Dad fought hard to keep it going and why should we stop now because we haven't got a colliery, no our communities are still there. So, there is still a need to fight for them and still a need to help them and they need our help, you know. What we've got to do is get to the youth, to get them involved now, so that they can continue when we're gone. Because there is going to be a time when there aren't any miners left and is that the end of us? No, it can't be, because our communities will still be here whatever happens (Gary Cox, Interview 7th February 2017).

Heritage as a confluence of industrial and deindustrial impact, makes for a most intriguing insight as to the effects of past and present on the deindustrial body. Mah suggests that 'the sense of sadness, loss, injury and despair was no longer deeply connected with the memory',

instead it has been 'transferred to the present concern to the community infrastructure which was at stake' (Mah, 2012:407). Heritage serves two functions; first, it highlights a resistance from individuals to sustain the community after the colliery had closed. Secondly, Gary recognises the need for inter-generational engagement to sustain the coalfield community for future generations. Heritage offers a space in which to encourage youth to engage with the construct of their community.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the 'un-remarkable' and 'normalised' nature of ill-health in coal mining communities, from pre-socialisation in childhood to post-industrial livelihood. In the first two sections, I explored 'normalisation' with reference to childhood memory and illness and disability within the domestic space, considering how these shaped gendered experiences of coal mining life. In the concluding chapter, I examine how such 'normalisations' are challenged within contemporary deindustrial society.

In the third section, I considered how ill-health was understood and normalised within the present day. In analysing narratives of ill-health, former miners sought to contextualise their embodied experiences in relation to other workers. They are aware of the repercussions that working in the coal industry has had on them but are thankful for the health which they do have compared to those colleagues which have been less fortunate. Once again ill-health is 'normalised' within the context of shared and collective experience.

Heritage has proved important in limiting the effects of social exclusion brought about with the closure of industry. Heritage plays a vital role as a substitute for traditional modes of

support dispensed by the coal industry. In particular, heritage leaves deindustrial communities with a sense of purpose, from which individuals can draw satisfaction and pride. The deindustrial body as a concept recognises the high levels of acceptance of ill-health that exist among industrial workers and the importance of this in enabling communities to overcome the effects imposed by decline.

Conclusion

This thesis has presented a framework for understanding deindustrialisation as an embodied experience, to which there are four distinctive but sequential responses to industry decline. The first and most important to the argument is that in deindustrialisation the body is central in an individual's understanding of their working life and occupational health. In the post-closure period, habitual practices and communal memory ensured the body remained grounded within the coal mining industry. The concept of the deindustrial body recognises this as a unique state of being. However, the body has been under-represented within the study of deindustrialisation, secondary to discussion of political and environmental change: The desire to understand the legacy of industry closure and the changing landscape of once industrialised areas is instead expressed through notions of memory, culture and ruination.

The effects of industry decline are far-reaching beyond the closure of the colliery and not just for the individuals that worked there – as Sherry Linkon (2018:6) recognises in her literary analysis of deindustrialisation 'as with radiation disease, many who survived the unnatural disaster of deindustrialisation are damaged and those damages are often passed down to their children and grandchildren'. Linkon highlights the longitudinal effects of industry decline, further cementing her argument by noting the half-life as ever present in the twenty-first century (2018:6). The term half-life recognises the liminality expressed within the deindustrial body, as individuals evoke the past as a mechanism for understanding the present.

Concern for the past in contemporary understanding of embodiment was evident in accounts of former miners and their families. Former workers often referred to themselves as 'lucky' or

'fortunate' compared to colleagues or relatives when reflecting on their health. Here, the labouring body represented not only the hardships and stresses of working life, but also the progression of industry and its ability to take care of its workers. Conducting thirty-four oral history interviews alongside an in-depth ethnographic study of the Kent coalfield, allowed me to examine the distinct social fabric of the Kent coalfield community and those individuals whose lives it still dominates. The influence of former employment is evident in how individuals articulate coal mining as shaping their own life alongside that of their families, with the social fabric of industry woven into their speech and identity.

Secondly, this thesis synthesised both historical and sociological literature to explore embodiment within the context of deindustrialisation. Emotion, sensory orientation and embodied pedagogic practices shaped understanding of the individual and communal body. The insight that this literature adds is outlined in chapter two and draws attention to depth and understanding that studies of sensory and emotional expressions add to our grasp of the deindustrial body as a concept. In reflecting on their working life there appeared a series a pedagogic practices that underpinned the miner's characteristics. Identity was linked to skill and the embodied traits displayed in a sensory knowledge of the work environment. Former miners spoke of themselves as inextricably linked to industry through their industrial identity, further accentuated by childhood memories and narratives from women who spoke of the colliery as a significant figure in community livelihood. To live and work in a coalfield community was to accept industry would shape the body through a culture of machismo, craft skill, camaraderie and distinct moral order.

Thirdly, this experience of community gave people a shared moral order, connecting individuals to industry and underpinning social values. Narratives within the thesis revealed occupational health as 'remarkable' and 'traumatic', yet 'unremarkable' and 'normalised', representing a moral order that maintained social norms and conventions. This 'normalisation' of ill-health served to embed individuals into industry from childhood, accustoming them to their shared industrial livelihood. These common understandings proved essential when entering work at the colliery, as workers and their families were forced to face the harsh realities of working life in the form of disability, illness and inevitable deterioration in health. This moral order proved powerful in shaping community life, the half-life of which existed in deindustrialisation to such a degree that whether conscious or unconscious, shaped present individual embodiment and identity.

With deindustrialisation many former industrial workers felt that the very notion of community had been eroded. Walkerdine (2010:97) states, 'the fantasy of a body provides an organising principle and a nostalgic dream of symbiosis between its members'. Colliery closure had severe ramifications for workers, their families and communities, yet the moral order represented in the half-life of industry is evident in shared embodied experiences within deindustrialisation. Here, heritage has been critical in serving as a replacement to the social institutions and welfare initiatives that once underpinned industrial communities. The deindustrial body allows individuals to preserve their industrial identity, pedagogic and machismo practices. Mining communities embrace the past as a way of the dealing with the complexities of the present, the deindustrial body illustrative of the physical half-life ramifications of industry closure.

Lastly, the study of the deindustrial body also reveals something about the marginalised Kent Coalfield. Whilst this thesis primarily focused on how narratives of occupational health and illness may reflect an embodied deindustrialisation, it is important to note that this is part of a much wider narrative of industrial community in Kent - a UK region traditionally perceived as a non-industrial space. The Kent Coalfield is critical to the study of the coal mining industry and most notably deindustrialisation, adding to our understanding of work practices and community social fabric. Moreover, through narratives of embodiment we gain new insight into the liminal existence the individual and collective body over time.

The Half-life of Deindustrialisation; Thirty Years Since the End of the Kent Coalfield

In the concluding months of writing this thesis, Hadlow College - owners of the site of the Kent Mining heritage museum, were placed into educational administration. Just a few weeks later as of 15:12 pm on Friday 31st May 2019, the National Grid Electricity System Operator announced that the power system that supplies electricity for England, Scotland and Wales had run for two weeks without coal. The significance of the event was that, for the first time since the industrial revolution, coal power had not been used to generate electricity in the UK. The Conservative government framed this as a momentous achievement for the phasing out of coal by 2025, to become the first country to meet net zero emissions by 2050. At the same time, however, this positive imagery is overshadowed by a legacy of decline, social exclusion and decay, linked to the closure of Kellingley colliery in 2015 and the thirtieth anniversary of the closure of the last Kent Coalfield's colliery, Betteshanger in 1989. For the Kent coalfield community, these events presented complex problems with the resurfacing of disillusionment and disappointment linked to the closure of the coalfield. Once again, these emotions were

brought to the surface within the deindustrial body, enabling insight into reoccurring repercussions of industrial decline evident in the half-life of deindustrialisation.

The elimination of coal from the UK's power supplies is symbolic of the wider issues that are at stake in thinking about the deindustrial body. The decline and elimination of miners and their collieries examined here revealed the role that the coal industry played in the construction of individual and collective identity. The events and the media phenomenon that followed the announcement on the 31st May, with greater calls for action on climate change, tells us something about the decline of the British coal industry and the social legacy it has left behind. Under a Conservative government, the miners were again defeated. In foregrounding this recent development in the UK's power supply, I investigate the half-life of industry closure and how miners confronted with their occupational health and illness, ponder on the significance of such an event and their reduced status over the twentieth and twenty-first century. The historic archetype of industrial identity, often seen in heritage displays and in the men, who through their bodies maintain an industrial identity are brought to prominence. The phasing out of coal from UK power supplies was but another stage in the 'coal countdown', part of the Large Combustion Plant Directive (LCPD) implemented in 2001 that aimed at reducing carbon emissions throughout Europe. At present, just seven coal fire power stations remain in Britain, with Cottam and Fiddlers Ferry set to close in September 2019 and March 2020 respectively. The government have had to seek alternative fuel sources through biomass, oil, gas and nuclear energy, to meet their 2025 target to terminate coal usage.

Whilst climate change made the elimination of coal from energy operations necessary, one could not help but feel that the event served as another reminder of the miners' decreasing moral value. The haunting and desolate effects of industry closure disrupted the moral order of social mores and conventions that had maintained the individual and collective body. The preservation of Kent's mining heritage had been a concern for several years, with Dover District Council in 2001 launching the Coalfields Heritage Initiative Kent (CHIK) project. In 2013, further investment in the Kent Coalfields was announced, as Hadlow College unveiled plans to redevelop and produce green energy on the former Betteshanger colliery site in Deal. This was followed by the announcement of further investment from the National Lottery Fund for a Kent mining heritage museum on the site in 2015. It was hoped that with investment and the opening of a central heritage site, this regeneration would preserve the Kent Coalfield for the individuals that worked there and future generations. The sense of individual and collective fragmentation brought about with closure was once again restored, as heritage sought to reunite the community with the area's industrial identity.

The announcement with regards to Hadlow College and subsequent events as of the 31st May, highlighted the coal industry's continued countdown to extinction and the implications of this with former miners' decreasing social status and identity based on a heritage ideal. In Kent, local media reports raised questions over the future of the sustainable energy park and mining museum after it emerged that Betteshanger Sustainable Park would need to be sold by the end of July 2019 (Perkins, 2019). The concept of the deindustrial body highlighted the vulnerability of the miner, exposed through the countdown to coal elimination. Britain no longer relied on coal for its main source of energy, meaning that the coal industry was devalued along with the men who, through their bodies, maintained an un-relenting

attachment to industrial labour. These events show how conceptually the deindustrial body highlights the continuing repercussions of decline and the consistent failures to implement successful regeneration of these once industrial areas.

Since the notice on the 31st of May, reflection on the event has focused on the announcement that Britain's first deep coal mine in more than thirty years had been approved for West Cumbria. On the 20th June, the BBC News released a short documentary entitled 'Cumbria coal mine'. This centred on a discussion between both James, twenty-one, an environmental activist and Kenny, twenty-one, an amateur miner considering employment in the coal industry. Kenny reflected on the opportunities that the coal mine might bring for him and the local area:

> When you leave school, you've got Sellafield to go to, which is a local power plant. Without Sellafield, you've got just your local takeaways and minimum wage jobs really. So, it's kind of hard to get a job as you leave education in West Cumbria (Lakhani and Brownstone, 2019, 00:01:56-00:02:12).

There was a keen emphasis on the work opportunities that the industry would bring to Cumbria, as an area that had until the 1980's been a coal mining region since the 1600s. The generation of five hundred jobs, with further opportunities for employment was perceived as a great opportunity for the area, as resistance to deindustrialisation. However, this prioritising productivity over sustainability was viewed as foolhardy. The *Independent* (19th March, 2019), reflecting on the decision, noted one energy campaigner as stating 'It's time to consign coal to the history books where it now belongs' (Embury-Dennis, 2019). This and other accounts

of the opening of Woodhouse colliery, presented the industry and the miner as archaic. Within the documentary, James went on to express a similar view, as he stated:

> The UK has been running power, coal free, for the last two weeks. We're definitely taking the right steps forward and then something like this, is taking us three steps back (Lakhani and Brownstone, 2019, 00:02:29-00:02:38).

Much of the criticism of the approval of Woodhouse colliery after and immediately before 31st May focused on the impact that it would have to the target of zero net emissions by 2050. Both journalists and campaigners rightly had much to say about the government's approval of such a development, however failed to call into question why so many people like Kenny living in deindustrialised areas, welcomed the return of the coal industry.

The Embodied Half-Life of the Kent Coalfield

The body emerges as prominent within the accounts of former miners and their families, helping us to understand the complexities of industry and community. Through such insight we gain an understanding of the changing status of industry, the loss of craft-skill and the decline of industry through the UK more broadly. This allows exploration into not only the individual but collective embodied experiences of deindustrialisation. Interviewee Gary Cox, revealed himself to embody the half-life of the Kent coalfield that had implications not only for himself but intergenerationally for his family:

> My Dad had pneumonconiosis and for two years, the last part of his life, he was in a wheelchair, on oxygen and is that going to happen to me? Probably. I

> can remember pushing him round on the pier and is my son going to do that for me? Probably, that's the legacy that we had through working down the pit. Is it one that we wanted? No, it's just part of the job that we had! (Gary Cox, interview 7th February 2017).

Reflecting on the narratives from the Kent Coalfield, health features prominently. A tale of extreme pressures and failures in health and safety and in deindustrialisation, occupational ailments make health prominent once again. The body offers a common theme through which to think about work and deindustrialisation, especially in relation to health. Accounts reminds us of the centrality of the body in narratives of post-industrial livelihood. Gary's prediction of his own health in later years as mirroring his Father's illustrates the half-life; the legacy of industry shaping Gary's perceptions of his body. Gary accepts that his son will one day replicate the role that he had in his own Father's care. The legacy of pneumoconiosis is an unpleasant one, yet there is a sense of pride that comes with health effects that distinguish men as having worked in the coal industry.

Gary's account poses further conflict upon the body of the miner and the collective embodiment of industry. The industry diminished, therefore the miner embodies a half-life through a desire to retain the cultural values of work but there is a sense of relief that comes in knowing his son's generation will not experience the same extent of ill-health, an unwanted legacy of coal mining. Gary went on to reflect on the regeneration taking place in the area at the time of the interview:

> They’re building us a museum to keep our heritage going and everything but more importantly they’re bringing you know, a business centre, education and eventually its going to be like, they’re going to be our new colliery, where jobs were kept for our sons and that, and other people that’s what they will do. Would I prefer my son to go down the pit or go to over there and get a job where he doesn't get pneumoconiosis? Yeah, I would, I'm quite, yeah but I would go back down the pit tomorrow, so it's very contradictory, but I think that's a better life for the next generation than going down the coal mine (Gary Cox, interview 7th February 2017).

This narrative echoes other literature on industrial decline that examines the body, in recognising the inconsistences in stable employment and resulting legacy of pollution (Walley, 2013; Mah, 2012) or the stability of socialism as compared to the instability of post-socialist society (Kideckel, 2008). The body is an emblem of these cultural and social contradictions that define and shape deindustrial society.

This thesis illustrated the body as a useful mechanism for understanding individual and community experiences of deindustrialisation. The body offers insight into the complexities of industry decline and how individuals adapt to the stresses and strains in negotiating the deindustrial landscape. Furthermore, what is apparent is the scope which the body offers for understanding deindustrialisation as a lived experience. How might scholars of deindustrialisation interpret and understand the body in future work? In concluding this thesis, I explore this question highlighting four themes to pursue in future work. Firstly, greater consideration is needed as to the psychological (mental health) effects of industrial livelihood

and subsequent decline. Secondly, more exploration is needed into the unique insights that gender can offer in deindustrialisation as an individual and collective embodied experience. Thirdly in terms of methodology, photography and film could offer new perspectives in how as sociologist and historians we understand and record embodied narratives of change.

Lastly, there is also a need for greater work on the inter-generational embodiment of deindustrialisation to deepen understanding of Sherry Linkon's term 'half-life of deindustrialisation' and the legacy of loss. In writing this thesis, I hope to have shown that Kent can no longer be overlooked in the study of deindustrialisation as a peripheral coalfield, as the effects of industrial livelihood and decline are still very much evident amongst former workers and their communities. More broadly, in responding to the need for greater consideration of the body, the thesis adds to understanding of industrial working-life and most prominently, the process of deindustrialisation.

Appendices

Appendix one: Participant Biographies

Peter Anderson (interviewed 19th September 2017): Peter started at Betteshanger colliery as a trainee, having grown up in Mill Hill, before leaving the colliery at the age of eighteen to join the army. He would eventually return to the colliery a few years later to complete his coal face training before becoming a sentry for shot firing. In 1972, Peter once again left the colliery to join the Ambulance Service for five years, before his return to the colliery once more, eventually leaving in 1989 with the closure of the colliery. Since leaving the colliery, Peter noted in his interview that he suffered with his knees and arthritis in his hands and carpel tunnel syndrome most notably, because of his work in the coal industry. Peter regularly helped and attended the Betteshanger Welfare Sports and Social Club on Tuesday mornings.

Tim Austen (interviewed 22nd January 2017): Tim started at Betteshanger colliery on June 7th 1979 and was there until the 28th November 1988. Upon leaving school in 1979, Tim noted there were three jobs going for young men boats (the ferries), Wispy shoe factory or the pits – As his friends already worked at the colliery, it appeared the most appealing. After an initial period of training, he would eventually move to work on the coal face. Tim left the colliery in 1988, shortly after the closure of the colliery was announced. Since leaving the colliery, he noted that he suffered a number of health problems because of extensive use of vibratory tooling and work environment. Tim acknowledged that due to work commitments he was unable to be as involved with the area's heritage work as he might have liked. Yet still, even to this day he kept his miners check on his keys.

John Baldwin (interviewed 10th March 2017: John started at Tilmanstone colliery in 1955, in the haulage, he would eventual become a coal face worker and later a union representative, before being made redundant with the closure of the colliery. John noted several health problems as a result of having worked at the colliery, most notable were those relating to his knees, back, hands and fingers, the problem with the latter linked to an accident which he had had whilst working at the pit as a young man. John played an active role in helping to maintain the Tilmanstone Miners Welfare Institute and Recreation Ground and as a member of the Elvington and Eythorne Heritage centre.

Janice Bartolo (interviewed 19th September 2017): Janice had lived in the village of Aylesham her whole life. Janice had strong family connections to Snowdown colliery, her Father had worked as a miner until he was forced to retire early through ill-health. During the strike Janice had been an active member of the Women Against Pit Closures movement. In her interview, Janice spoke extensively about her childhood and the changes that the community had undergone since closure.

Joe Clayton (interviewed 1st April 2017): Joe started at Tilmanstone colliery in 1970, following this commenced training as an apprentice electrician. Joe followed a family tradition in choosing to work in the coal industry, after completing his apprenticeship he would work as a face electrician until the closure of the colliery in 1986. After leaving the colliery, Joe went on to have a successful career as a social worker. Joe noted that he had suffered a number of health problems since leaving the colliery; in particular, he had difficulties with his knees. Joe still maintained an active role in retirement helping to maintain the Tilmanstone Miners Welfare Institute and Recreation Ground.

Robert Cook (interviewed 26th January 2017): Robert after leaving school at the age of fifteen, in 1965 joined the Coal Board as an apprentice electrician at Betteshanger Colliery. As he went up through the ranks to become Shift Charge Engineer, this saw him work at Snowdown colliery. Here he served as part of the salvaging team prior to closure, before transferring back to Betteshanger colliery, where he remained until he was made redundant because of closure of the Kent Coalfield in 1989. After leaving the colliery Robert went on to a career in health and safety, however Robert noted that years spent working in the coal industry had left him with tinnitus.

Gary Cox (interview 7th February 2017): Gary grew up in the coal mining community of Mill Hill in Deal, both his Father and Grandfather working at Betteshanger Colliery. Gary did not rush into a career in coal mining joining in 1978/79, he would follow in his Father's footsteps working as part of the development team at the colliery. Gary was forced to leave the coal industry early because of a neck injury and since had gone on to suffer multiple health problems because of having worked at the pits. Gary had since played a vital role in the heritage regeneration of the area with work such as the 'Move the Miner' campaign and the Kent Miners Festival.

Les Davies (interviewed 9th May 2017): Les worked at Betteshanger colliery for approximately nineteen years from the age of fifteen in 1971, until in 1990 when he was made redundant after salvaging finished. After completing his mechanical craft apprenticeship, he went on to work as a fitter on the coal face. Whilst working at the colliery Les served as part of the coal rescue team for nine years. Since leaving the colliery Les noted that he had suffered problems

with his health, noting hearing loss and problems with his knees in particular. Les regularly helped and attended the Betteshanger Welfare Sports and Social Club on Tuesday mornings.

Jim Davies (interviewed 25th April 2017): Jim started at Betteshanger colliery in 1957 and after staying on for salvaging finished at the colliery in 1990, as one of the last mining employees in Kent. Rising through the ranks of the colliery, he would eventually progress to become an overman. After leaving the colliery, Jim had gone on to set up his own engraving business in Dover. He noted that since leaving the colliery he had several health problems, most notable were knees and the loss of half a lung. Now retired, Jim had become heavily involved in the heritage of the Kent Coalfield, working on several projects over the years. Jim regularly helped and attended the Betteshanger Welfare Sports and Social Club as well as at Aylesham Heritage Centre.

Stuart Elgar (interviewed 22nd November 2016): Stuart began work at Tilmanstone colliery at the age of fifteen after leaving school. He joined the colliery as an apprentice fitter completing a four-year apprenticeship, before rising through the ranks to become a colliery mechanical engineer. Stuart was unusual in his experience as a skilled craftsman, of having spent some time either in training or in working at Betteshanger, Snowdown and Tilmanstone. He eventually left the coal industry after the closure of Tilmanstone. He reported limited health issues since leaving the industry apart from quite severe hearing loss. In 2013, he became involved with the local heritage group and now retired; he acted as Chairman for the Elvington and Eythorne Heritage centre.

Graham Field (interviewed 6th September 2017): Graham started at Betteshanger Colliery on the 13th June 1977 , after initial training, he would at eighteen undertake coal face training eventually becoming a coal face worker, before being made redundant with the closure of the colliery in 1989. In the interview, Graham noted that in term of health he most notably suffered from carpel tunnel syndrome because of working with vibrational tools at the colliery.

Derek Flower (interviewed 10th April 2017): Derek worked at Betteshanger colliery for sixteen years, staying on six months even after it closed to undertake salvaging work. Derek spent his career working on the surface, first as a crane driver and later as a winder. Since leaving the coal industry Derek noted that although his health problems were minimal compared to other miners, he had suffered some hearing loss because of his consistent working in a noisy environment whilst at the colliery.

Liz French (interviewed 3rd July, 2017): Liz had lived in Mill Hill, Deal her whole life. She had strong family connections to Snowdown colliery, her Father and late husband Terry both working as miners at Betteshanger colliery. Liz had been an active member of the Women Against Pit Closures movement, regularly speaking at public events and travelling throughout the country to support strike efforts. In her interview, Liz spoke extensively of community life and the changes with the community had undergone over the last thirty years. Liz proved active in the heritage of the area, regularly asked to attend to talks to share her memories about the strike in particular.

Graham Godfrey (interviewed 6th September 2017): Graham started at Chislet colliery in 1965. After closing in 1969, Graham for a short time transferred to Snowdown colliery with his Father. After leaving the coal industry for several months, he returned to Tilmanstone colliery. For much of his career Graham had worked as a coal face worker and was elected to the union whilst working at Tilmanstone. Since leaving the coal industry in 1986, Graham had suffered several health problems, in the interview he mentioned COPD as well as he noting hearing loss and problems with his hands.

Terry Harrison (interviewed 10th January 2018): Terry started at Betteshanger colliery in 1956 after being in the Marines for seven years. Before this he was employed in several industries in Birmingham, drop stamping, works and lead coatings on different kinds of products. Terry worked as a coal face worker eventually becoming Betteshanger Branch, National Union of Mineworkers Secretary. Since leaving the colliery Terry had gone on to process coal health claims for the area. He also noted in his interview that he himself had suffered with health problems because of working at the pit including bronchitis and more notably hearing loss. Terry regularly attended the Betteshanger Welfare Sports and Social Club on a Tuesday morning.

Robert Hornsey (interviewed 5th April 2017): Robert began work at Snowdown colliery in 1974 where he worked for thirteen years until the colliery shut. In entering work at the colliery, Robert was following in a long family tradition. He joined the colliery as an apprentice electrician completing a four-year apprenticeship, before going on to work on the coal face. Since leaving the colliery Robert noted that he suffered problems with his health as a result of his work at the colliery, including hearing loss and problems with his knees. Whilst due to

work commitments Robert was unable to take an active role in the heritage of the area, he believed it important to pass on the values that he had learnt whilst working at the colliery.

John Kemp (interviewed 22nd November 2016): John started at Tilmanstone colliery in 1977, after the company with which he was undertaking a turner and fitter apprenticeship went into liquidation. John's career as a miner saw him travelling all over the colliery but the majority of his career was spent working on the coal face. After the 1984/1985 strike, John chose not to return to the industry, seeking alternative employment in the local area. Since leaving the colliery John had gone on to suffer a number of health problems but most notably was the effects, which repeated injuries and harsh work conditions had on his knees. With a strong interest in the areas heritage, John was an active member of the Elvington and Eythorne Heritage centre and regularly attended the Betteshanger Welfare Sports and Social Club on Tuesday mornings.

David Knight (interviewed August 9th 2017): David worked at Tilmanstone colliery for fourteen years; he described himself as born to mining with all his family working at the pit. From childhood the colliery had played a major role in David's life, he remembered his Grandfather as suffering from respiratory problems which he contracted from working at the pit. David had spent the majority of his career working on the coal face and as result had suffered multiple health problems since leaving the colliery, noting in the interview his back and hearing problems.

Billy Leonard (interviewed 3rd May 2017): Billy had grown up in the village of Betteshanger and so it seemed a natural progression for him to once finishing school, to go and work at

Betteshanger colliery. Billy after completing his training went on to work on the coal face and worked as part of the first aid team at the colliery. Upon leaving the colliery in 1989, he joined the army medical core. Since leaving the colliery, in the interview Billy noted that the coal industry had contributed to his current back problems.

Ross Llewellyn (interviewed 15th March 2017): Ross had grown up in the village of Hersden, after leaving school he began his working life at the local colliery, Chislet. After leaving the colliery for four years to go to sea, he returned to colliery in 1959. He was to remain there until 1969 when the pit shut, after which he transferred to Tilmanstone colliery, where he remained until 1986. Ross spent most of his career working as part of a ripping gang, which had subsequently left him with chest problems. Ross played an active role in the Kent Coalfield heritage movement, having been involved with several projects over the years. He has also written a book about Hersden as a colliery village.

John Page (interviewed 13th February 2017): John worked at Tilmanstone colliery from 1974 – 1986, as part of the surface workforce. After leaving the colliery through the help of the National Coal Board, John was able to train as an Engineer. Whilst John himself did note having experienced any health problems beyond injuries whilst working at the pit, health proved a key component of his memories of colleagues.

Robert Pettman (interviewed June 16th 2017): Robert worked at Tilmanstone colliery from 1974 untill 1986/7. Progressing through the colliery, he would eventually become a deputy and active member of the mines rescue team. After leaving the coal industry Robert went on

to have a successful career in tunnelling health and safety. In the interview, he noted that because of his work in the coal industry he had been left with tinnitus.

Frank Redman (interviewed 17th January 2018): Frank started at Betteshanger colliery in 1957 after having been at an army apprentice school for a short time. When he returned to Deal, Frank went to work at the pit, he would rise through the ranks eventually becoming an overman and later became National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers (NACODS) secretary at Bettshanger and also area president. He was president during the 1984/85 strike and then subsequently when the redundancy programme went through for Snowdown. Since leaving the colliery Frank had gone on to process coal health claims for the area. Frank regularly attended the Betteshanger Welfare Sports and Social Club on a Tuesday morning.

Martin Reed (interviewed 23rd January 2017): Martin started at Snowdown colliery in 1955, however, he had only completed six months of his coal face training before being signed on by Gillingham football club. Martin decided to leave the colliery in 1960, in order to seek better work opportunities and avoid the same fate that older colliers faced in ill-health. He then went on to work at the Gas Works and Ferries from which he was subsequently made redundant.

Trevor Rodgers (interviewed 16th February 2017): Rodger worked at Tilmanstone from 1976-1986, then transferred to Betteshanger from 1986-1989. As a child, Trevor had grown up in the coal mining village of Elvington, his Father working at the colliery. From 1978, Trevor spent the majority of his career working on the coal face and for a short time working as part of the

development team. After the closure of the colliery, Trevor went on to work at Buckland Paper Mill from which he was subsequently made redundant. Despite work commitments Trevor maintained an active interest in the heritage of the area.

Mick Rosser (interviewed 19th July, 2017): Mick had grown up in the coal mining community of Betteshanger village in Deal. In 1975 he started work at Betteshanger colliery, following in his Father's footsteps in working at the colliery. After starting on the haulage, Mick eventually progressed on the coal face and from there later in his career to become a winder. Mick eventually left the colliery in 1990 after staying on for salvaging. Whilst Mick noted relatively little health complaints in his interview, he maintained an active interest in the local area.

Kay Sutcliffe (interviewed 21st September 2017): Kay had lived in the village of Aylesham her whole life, with both her Father and husband Philip both working at Snowdown colliery. In the interview she noted her childhood memories of growing up in the community and the health problems that her Father had suffered in later life, because of working at the colliery. During the strike Kay had proved an active leader in the Women Against Pit Closures movement. Kay recalled the changes that the community had undergone since the closure of the colliery and remained an active member in the area. She wrote several poems during the strike including *Coal Not Dole*.

Patricia Sutcliffe (interviewed 30th June, 2017): Patricia had lived in the village of Aylesham for most of her life. Patricia grew up in a mining family, her Father working at the pit until his respiratory health problems worsened. During the 1984/85 strike, Patricia had been an active member of the Women Against Pit Closures movement. In her interview, Patricia spoke

extensively in her interview about her childhood, the changes that the community had undergone since closure and the heritage of the area today.

Philip Sutcliffe (interviewed 21st September 2017): Philip had lived in Aylesham most of his life, then when he was two years old, he moved from Aylesham to live in a little place called Woolage Village or White City, before moving back to Aylesham when he got married. He left school at fifteen and started work at the Snowdown colliery following the family tradition. After completing his coal face training at eighteen, he spent the most of his career working on the coal face and eventually became Branch Chairman of the union at Snowdown before leaving the colliery because of closure in 1987. Now retired, Philip noted that he suffered several health problems since leaving the colliery, in his interview he mentioned vibration white finger, arthritis in his knees and carpel tunnel syndrome as some of the more common miner's health problems from which he suffered. Phillip played an active role in the heritage of Aylesham village and Snowdown colliery as a member of the Aylesham Heritage Centre.

Robert Taylor (interviewed, 12th September 2017): Robert worked at Betteshanger Colliery from 1964 to 1989. As a child, Robert had grown up in the coal mining community of Mill Hill, Deal, his Grandfather, Father and Brother all working at the colliery. After completing his training, Robert eventually went to work on the coal face taking on various roles. In 1969, Robert joined the mines rescue team, where he served for twenty years. Since leaving the colliery, Robert noted that he had sufferd health problems because of his work in the coal industry, most notable white finger and problems with his knees. Robert regularly attended the Betteshanger Welfare Sports and Social Club on Tuesday mornings.

Andrew Thatcher (interviewed 17th January 2017): Andrew started at Tilmanstone colliery in 1971. A natural progression for a man whose family had for generations worked in the coal industry. After completing his mechanical apprenticeship, he would eventually become a coal face fitter. Since leaving the colliery after it closed. Andrew noted that he had experienced several health problems because of his work in the coal industry, most notably deafness and beat knee. Andrew still maintained an active role in the local villages of Eythorne and Elvington, helping to maintain the Tilmanstone Miners Welfare Institute and Recreation Ground.

Doreen Whiting (interviewed 25th July 2017): Doreen had lived in the village of Eythorne her whole life. Doreen's husband Stan had worked at Tilmanstone colliery; however, in later life this had led him to suffer from pneumoconiosis. In her interview Doreen, documented the changes that the community had undergone since closure and proved an active member of the Elvington and Eythorne Heritage centre.

Andrew Wilkie (interviewed 19th June 2017): Andrew started work at Tilmanstone colliery in 1973, after training Andrew would eventually go on to work on the coal face. He left Tilmanstone colliery in 1980 to pursue a career in coal mining elsewhere in the UK before eventually being made redundant from the industry in 1997. Since leaving the coal industry, Andrew noted that he had been pretty lucky compared to a number of others with his health, but In the interview spoke of the loss of hearing which he suffered as a result of excessive noise when working underground.

Alan Wilson (interviewed 20th January 2017): Alan completed ten years in total at the pits, working eight years at Tilmanstone until that closed, before transferring over to Betteshangher. Having grown up in the village of Hersden, the adjacent village to Chislet colliery, Alan had strong family connections to the Kent Coalfield. By the time Alan had started working at the pit, the Coal Board were no longer taking anyone on for coal face training. So instead he explored other avenues of colliery work, first on the haulage before going to work as assistant to the safety officer. Whilst Alan himself did not report any health problems, he did note his Grandfather as having suffered from silicosis.

Appendix Two: Interview Questions asked to former Kent coal miners

1. Can you tell me about how you came to work in coal mining?

2. What was your job at the mine and what did this involve?

3. How did you come to leave the mine?

4. What jobs have you had since the mine?

5. Did you experience any health problems whilst working at the colliery?

6. And/or have you experienced any since leaving the mine?

7. What affect do these health problems have on your life?

8. How did you/have you become involved with the heritage of the Kent Coalfields?

Note: The interview questions are structured so as to explore the longitudinal nature of the miners identity through examining health within the work place through to deindustrialisation.

Appendix Three: Interview Questions asked to Kent Coalfield community residents

1. Can you begin by telling me how you came to live in the Kent Coalfield?

2. What was it like to live in a mining community?

3. How did the colliery influence your life and/or the lives of your family?

4. To what extent do you remember/experience ill-health or disability within the community?

5. What effect has the closure of the colliery had on the community? How has it changed?

6. How did you become involved with the heritage of the Kent Coalfield?

Appendix Four: Participant Consent Form

November 2016

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study as part of my PhD research. I would be grateful if you could read through the following information carefully, which explains why the research is being done and what it would involve, before you decide whether or not you wish to participate in the project. Please feel free to talk to others about the study if you wish. **The most important thing to remember is that participating is voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.**

My project looks at the legacy of occupational health problems within the Kent Coalfields. The interview will consist of a single session lasting around 2-3 hours and should you choose to take part a group interview however, both interviews will take place at a time and location convenient to you. The interview will consist of structured questions moving to more natural conversation as the session progresses. As part of the interview you may choose to show me photographs, objects or medical documents etc. to prompt your thoughts, these will be viewed as part of the interview process and I may ask to take photos or copies of these to include as part of my research. Everyone who takes part will be sent a transcript of their interview and given the option of seeing the final thesis. It is up to you to decide whether or not you wish to remain anonymous within the project (as seen overleaf) but please note, particularly if you choose not to remain anonymous, that you only tell me information that you are happy to share and have publicised. The results from the interviews will be used as part of my PhD thesis and possibly in academic publication and as a teaching resource. During the project your recordings, personal details and written version of the interview, will be kept in secure storage as hard copy and electronically on a password – protected computer. After the PhD is completed, if you choose to consent (see overleaf) I plan to donate the interviews to be archived.

If you have any questions or queries about any part of the research, then please do not hesitate to get in touch with me, either by **email (sdr32@kent.ac.uk)** or by **phone (07760668393).** In the unlikely event that you would like to complain about any part of the research, then you would be able to do this through emailing *c.e.smith@kent.ac.uk*

I would like to take this opportunity to say thank you for taking the time to consider helping me with my research project. I truly appreciate and value your input to the research.

Kind Regards,
Sophie Rowland,
University of Kent

[*Please see overleaf…*]

Consent Form

1	I confirm that I have read and understood the Research Project information sheet and agree to take part in the project.	
2a.	I understand that the things I say may be quoted directly and I consent to my name being used within the study.	
	OR	
2b.	I understand that the things I say may be quoted directly but wish to remain anonymous, through the use of a pseudonym (i.e. change of name).	
3.	*Please Only Answer the following Question if you selected YES to Question 2a*. I consent to my recordings being donated and archived once the PhD is completed.	

Name of participant	**Date**	**Signature**
Researcher Name	**Date**	**Signature**

(When completed, 1 for participant ; 1 for researcher site file)

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