
THE EROSION OF FORGOTTEN COMMUNITIES: THE CHALLENGES FACED BY WORKING-CLASS COMMUNITIES IN THE NORTHERN SEASIDE TOWN OF BLACKPOOL

Author:

DAVID LEWIS SINFIELD

Affiliation:

AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, NEW ZEALAND

INTRODUCTION

Blackpool, a seaside town in Lancashire, UK, has a rich working-class heritage and a community that has experienced significant deprivation and transformation over the years. One prominent concern is the combination of unemployment and gentrification, which has had a particularly profound effect on the working-class community of Blackpool. The changing dynamics of the area, often exacerbating existing socioeconomic inequalities creating significant challenges specifically when it comes to housing affordability. This often leads to rising property prices and rents as wealthier residents move into these areas with the demand for housing increases driving up costs. This makes it increasingly difficult for working-class individuals and families to afford housing in their own communities, as the gentrification process forces the established working-class families to abandon their communities with local businesses having to close their doors creating ghetto like areas.



Figure 1. Abandoned shops in Blackpool. Photography by David Sinfield. July 2023

This displacement and lack of affordable housing options can force them to relocate to less desirable areas away from their families, communities and employment with limited resources and opportunities disrupting the established social networks and support systems. This can be seen as one of the most significant impacts of gentrification on the working-class is displacement. Displacement disrupts established communities, erodes social cohesion, and undermines residents' sense of belonging and stability. Displaced individuals are often faced with challenges in finding alternative housing options that are affordable and within close proximity to their workplaces, schools, and social networks.



*Figure 2. Abandoned hotels on the front of Blackpool promenade. Photography by David Sinfield.
July 2023*

Emergency housing initiatives such as temporary housing in local hotels has also been a subject to closure further forcing the working classes away from the area. This not only has a significant impact for housing of families, but it also has a significant impact on the local communities and visitors to the area. Figure 2.

A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BLACKPOOL

Blackpool, a popular seaside town in Lancashire, UK, has a rich Victorian history that played a significant role in shaping its character and establishing its reputation as a prominent holiday destination. During the Victorian era, Blackpool experienced rapid growth and transformation, driven by the rise of the railway, advancements in transportation, and the increasing popularity of seaside tourism especially with the working classes. Figure 3.



Figure 3. This photograph from 1894 shows holiday makers strolling along Blackpool's promenade with tall electric lights in the background. Historic England Archive. CC7900487.

Blackpool's development as a tourist destination began in the early 19th century. Prior to this period, it was a small and relatively obscure fishing village. However, the arrival of the railway in 1846, with the opening of the Preston and Wyre Railway, brought a wave of visitors from nearby industrial towns. The improved accessibility and affordable transportation options allowed the working classes to experience the pleasures of the seaside, kickstarting Blackpool's transformation.

In the mid 19th century, Blackpool underwent significant development to cater to the growing number of visitors. The construction of the Promenade, stretching along the coast, provided a scenic walkway and a focal point for leisure activities. Additionally, Blackpool Tower, inspired by the Eiffel Tower in Paris, was built in 1894. The tower quickly became an iconic symbol of Blackpool, offering panoramic views, ballrooms, and various entertainment attractions.



Figure 4. Blackpool Tower and Tramway electrical cables. Photography by David Sinfield. July 2023

Another significant development during the Victorian era was the establishment of Blackpool Pleasure Beach. In 1896, entrepreneur William George Bean opened the Pleasure Beach, which started as a simple collection of rides and attractions on a sandy beach. It gradually expanded and evolved into one of the largest and most renowned amusement parks in the world, offering a wide range of thrilling rides and entertainment options.

Blackpool became known for its vibrant entertainment scene during the Victorian era. The town boasted numerous theatres, music halls, and venues that hosted a variety of performances, including plays, concerts, and variety shows. The Winter Gardens complex, opened in 1878, became a hub for entertainment and cultural events, attracting famous acts and artists. Blackpool Illuminations, a dazzling display of lights along the Promenade, have become synonymous with the town. The tradition of illuminating Blackpool's streets started in 1879 when the Promenade was lit with eight arc lamps. Over the years, the illuminations grew in scale and complexity, featuring elaborate light displays, sculptures, and themed sections. The Blackpool Illuminations continue to be a major attraction, drawing visitors from far and wide. The Victorian era saw the emergence of a distinct social class divide in Blackpool. The working-class predominantly visited the town for day trips and short breaks, enjoying the affordable attractions and entertainment options. On the other hand, the wealthier middle and upper classes often stayed in the more luxurious accommodations and enjoyed a more exclusive experience.

The Victorian era played a pivotal role in establishing Blackpool's reputation as a thriving seaside resort. The developments, attractions, and entertainment options created during this period laid the foundation for the town's continued growth as a popular holiday destination. Today, the Victorian heritage is still evident in Blackpool's architecture, entertainment venues, and the enduring traditions such as the Illuminations, making it a unique and historically significant place to visit.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC - UNEMPLOYMENT IN NORTHERN SEASIDE TOWNS

Northern Seaside towns such as Blackpool have historically relied on industries such as tourism, manufacturing, and mining. However, with changing economic landscapes, these industries have declined, resulting in a high rate of unemployment. The decline of traditional industries has left many working-class families in these towns struggling to find stable employment opportunities. The loss of

jobs not only affects individuals' financial stability but also undermines their sense of purpose and wellbeing. Unemployment also leads to a range of interconnected social and economic problems. The lack of income and job prospects can contribute to increased poverty levels, limited access to healthcare and education, and a rise in crime rates. The effects of unemployment extend beyond individuals and impact the overall community, creating a cycle of economic decline and social challenges.

Blackpool has undergone significant changes over the years. These changes have shaped the town's economy, infrastructure, and overall character and it continues to reinvent itself with the challenges of the financial crises and the gentrification of the surrounding areas. Its economy has witnessed significant shifts. In the past, the town relied heavily on industries such as manufacturing and tourism, but like many other industrial towns Blackpool has experienced a decline in these sectors, leading to higher unemployment rates and economic challenges for the working-class population. Efforts have been made to diversify the economy focusing on sectors like technology, education, and health services to create new job opportunities. In recent years, Blackpool has embarked on various regeneration initiatives to revitalise the town and attract investment. The aim is to enhance the town's infrastructure, improve public spaces, and create new leisure and entertainment facilities. These efforts include the redevelopment of the Blackpool Central area, plans for a new conference centre, and the ongoing revitalisation of the iconic Blackpool Tower with a heavy bias on the gentrification of the area.

The Gentrification of Blackpool has had an impact in certain areas and especially in working-class area. As property values rise, particularly in desirable areas close to the seafront, some working-class residents have been displaced due to increasing housing costs. This has led to changes in the social fabric of the place, with wealthier residents moving in and altering the demographics and character of these areas.



*Figure 5. Closed and boarded up post office, Central Blackpool. Photography by David Sinfield.
July 2023*

Blackpool's cultural landscape has also evolved over the years. The town has diversified its offerings to cater to a broader audience, expanding beyond traditional seaside attractions and now hosts a range of festivals, exhibitions, and cultural events, promoting arts, music, and theatre. The Winter Gardens complex, for instance, continues to be a venue for various cultural and entertainment activities.

Improvements in transportation and connectivity have contributed to Blackpool's transformation. The town is well connected by road and rail networks, making it easily accessible for tourists and residents. Blackpool has also embraced environmental initiatives in recent years. Efforts have been made to promote sustainability, reduce carbon emissions, and enhance the town's green spaces. Initiatives such as the solar farm and the promotion of eco-friendly tourism practices aim to position Blackpool as a responsible and sustainable destination.



Figure 6. Solar panel farm, Blackpool.

Overall, Blackpool has undergone substantial changes over the years. While it has faced economic challenges and experienced shifts in its social fabric, the town continues to evolve and adapt to the changing dynamics of its community. Through regeneration efforts, a focus on diversifying the economy, and embracing cultural and environmental initiatives, Blackpool aims to maintain its status as a vibrant and appealing destination for residents and visitors alike.

CULTURAL CHALLENGES - GENTRIFICATION AND ITS EFFECTS

In addition to unemployment, Blackpool and other Northern Seaside towns are facing the challenges of gentrification. Gentrification refers to the process of renovating or revitalising neighbourhoods, often accompanied by an influx of wealthier residents and businesses. While this process may bring some benefits, such as improved infrastructure and increased economic activity, it also has significant drawbacks for working-class communities.¹

Gentrification can lead to rising property prices and rents, making it increasingly difficult for working-class individuals and families to afford housing. Moreover, the arrival of wealthier residents can disrupt the social fabric of the community, eroding the sense of identity and cohesion that working-class communities have long cherished. Gentrification not only affects housing costs but also leads to an overall increase in the cost of living in these areas. As new businesses, shops, and services cater to higher income residents, prices for goods and services rise, making it more difficult for the working-class to afford basic necessities. This can put a strain on the financial stability of the working classes, leading to increased economic stress and potential hardships.



Figure 7. Abandoned and eroding trams that were synonymous to Blackpool. Photography by David Sinfield. July 2023

It also impacts on the job market for the working-class in several ways. As neighbourhoods gentrify, there is often a shift in the types of businesses and services available.² Higher end establishments and boutique businesses catering to wealthier residents may replace the locally owned shops and services that previously provided employment opportunities for the working-class. This can result in a decrease in available jobs and a mismatch between the skillsets of the existing workforce and the demands of the changing economy. This can exacerbate social divisions and widen the gap between different socioeconomic groups with the arrival of wealthier residents often leading to the creation of exclusive social spaces and amenities that are inaccessible or unaffordable for the working-class. As the areas character changes, the working-class may feel marginalised and excluded, leading to feelings of powerlessness, social isolation, and a loss of community identity.³

Further disruption of the social fabric of working-class communities, often breaking up existing social networks and support systems. As long-time residents are displaced or priced out of their homes, the bonds and relationships they have developed over the years are strained or lost. This loss of social connections can have detrimental effects on mental health and wellbeing, further exacerbating the challenges faced by the working-class.⁴ It is important to recognise and address the negative consequences of gentrification on the working-class. Efforts should be made to prioritise affordable housing, protect the rights of existing residents, and foster inclusive development that considers the needs and aspirations of all members of the community.⁵ Additionally, measures such as community engagement, affordable housing programs, and equitable economic development can help mitigate the negative impacts of gentrification and promote more inclusive and sustainable neighbourhoods.

PALIMPSEST AND AN ARTIST RESPONSE TO COMMUNITY

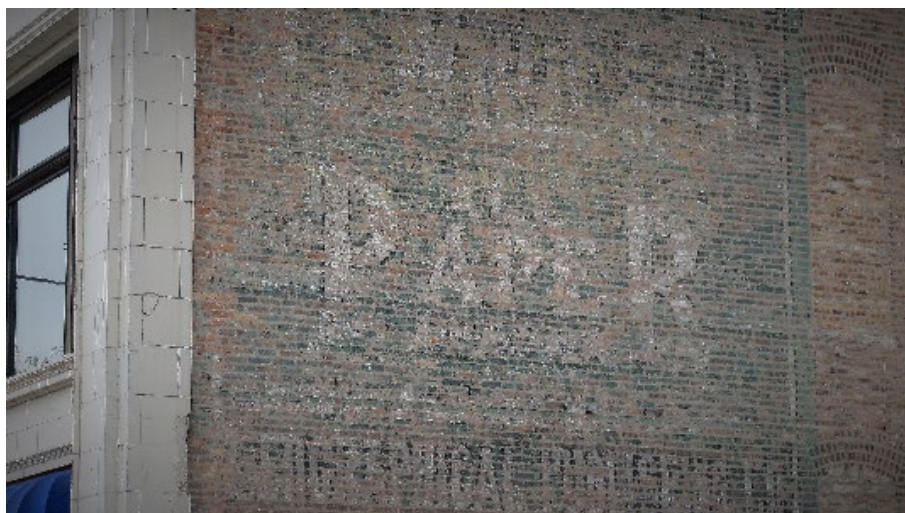
The concept of a palimpsest can be applied to an artist's response to a community, highlighting the layers of history, culture, and experiences that shape the creative process. Just as a palimpsest reveals the traces of previous writings and meanings, an artist's engagement with a community can uncover and interpret the diverse narratives and perspectives that exist within it.

An artist's response to a community can be influenced by the historical context of the place.⁶ By delving into the community's history, traditions, and cultural heritage, artists can draw inspiration and incorporate elements from the past into their work. This historical layer adds depth and resonance to the artistic response, allowing for a dialogue between the present and the past. These dialogues can also be present in fading billboards, company advertising and shop hoardings etc., and can be seen as evocative representatives of our lived lives⁷ and a social construct to the community they are living in.⁸



*Figure 8. Abandoned shops showing the previous years of different business occupation.
Photography by David Sinfield. July 2023*

Billings argues that advertising such as these can have a deeper meaning and can transmit further experiences.⁹ Olney suggests that these are rich tapestries and historic narratives of communities that surround the community and can also be seen a palimpsestic art in its own right and indeed artistic interpretations into new artworks.¹⁰



*Figure 9. The fading painted advertisement on the side of a building. Photography by David Sinfield.
October 2023*

An Artist's Voice

Engaging with the community allows artists to collaborate with local residents, organisations, and institutions.¹¹ This collaboration enables the artist to uncover the stories and perspectives of community members, giving voice to their experiences. The community's input becomes an integral layer in the artistic response, enriching the artwork with diverse viewpoints and fostering a sense of ownership and inclusivity. Artists often explore and express the cultural identity of a community through their work by immersing themselves in the community's customs, traditions, and artistic practices. Artists can weave these elements into their artistic response. This layer of cultural identity celebrates the uniqueness of the community and affirms its place within a broader cultural tapestry. Artists have the ability to respond to social issues and challenges within a community. Through their artwork, they can raise awareness, provoke critical thinking, and initiate dialogue. This layer of social commentary within the artistic response addresses the contemporary concerns and struggles faced by the community, reflecting the current socio-political climate. By addressing the community's aspirations, hopes, and dreams, artists contribute to a layer of inspiration and possibility within their response, signifying the potential for change and growth, breathing new life into the community's narrative.



Figure 10. Artistic work painted on the side of a building. Artist unknown. Photography by David Sinfield. July 2023

An artistic response to a community is a dynamic and ongoing process. It involves interaction with the community, which shapes the artistic practice and interpretation. Each interaction adds a layer to the palimpsest, contributing to the evolving narrative and allowing for multiple perspectives to be explored

and understood. By embracing the palimpsestic nature of their response, artists can create multi-layered artworks that honour the past, engage with the present, and envision the future of a community. Through their creative exploration and interaction with the community, artists bring to the surface the hidden stories and complexities, fostering connection, understanding, and a sense of shared identity.

Blackpool has a vibrant arts scene with a diverse community of local artists who contribute to the cultural landscape of the town. Liam Spencer is a renowned local artist known for his distinctive style of painting. His work often captures the essence of Blackpool, depicting its iconic landmarks, landscapes, and people. Spencer's paintings reflect his deep connection to the town and have garnered national and international recognition.

David Jacques is a contemporary artist based in Blackpool. He works across various mediums, including installation, photography, and drawing. Jacques' art explores themes of history, memory, and social commentary, often using Blackpool's unique identity as a backdrop for his thought-provoking work.

John Marc Allen is a contemporary Pop artist based in Blackpool, whose work reflects the influence of films, music, television, comic books, street art, pin-ups and more. John explores the way we look at and are inspired by the things created to keep us entertained while tapping into themes of nostalgia and elements of humour. His work covers a range of techniques including painting, screen printing, digital work, photography, and he has been working as The Tangerine Art Company in Blackpool since 2012.

Robin Ross is a photographer who captures the essence of Blackpool through his lens. His photography showcases the town's landmarks, landscapes, and people, with a keen eye for detail and a focus on capturing authentic moments. Ross' work has been exhibited locally and has gained recognition for its ability to capture the spirit of Blackpool.

The Blackpool Art Society is a collective of local artists who come together to share their passion for art. The society hosts regular exhibitions and events, providing a platform for local artists to showcase their work and connect with the community. It is an inclusive and supportive network that fosters creativity and artistic expression. These are just a few examples of the many talented artists who contribute to the arts scene in Blackpool. The town's creative community is diverse and continually evolving, with artists working across various mediums and styles. Their contributions enrich the cultural fabric of Blackpool and provide opportunities for residents and visitors to engage with the arts.

PALIMPSEST OF COMMUNITY

The origins of palimpsest refer to a manuscript or piece of writing where the original text has been partially erased or obscured, allowing subsequent layers of writing to be added on top. Applied to communities, the term palimpsest suggests that the physical, social, and cultural landscape of a place carries multiple layers of history and experiences that can be uncovered and interpreted. It can often be used in understanding forgotten communities, particularly in the context of urban development and the layers of history and memory embedded within a place and helps to reveal and appreciate the complexities and richness of their past. Further studies of the complexities of urban communities observed through the lens of a palimpsest concept by anthropologists such as Lukas¹² and Bender¹³ have explained this as a form of cultural erosion within communities. The erosion or forgotten communities often have a deep history that may have been overlooked or overshadowed over time.

By viewing these communities as palimpsests, researchers, and historians such as Harrison & Knight¹⁴ and Coboz¹⁵ can have a better understanding and can delve into the various historical layers and uncover the stories, traditions, and events that have shaped these communities. This approach helps to understand the historical narratives and highlight the significance of forgotten or marginalised communities. It can also be used to understand the collective memory and narratives within the communities. Through oral histories, personal stories, and community engagement, the layers of

memory embedded within the community can be revealed. These memories might highlight significant events, challenges, and triumphs that have shaped the community's identity and offer insights into the social fabric and resilience of its residents. Recognising and valuing the layers of the community's past can empower residents to shape their future, fostering a sense of ownership, pride, and collective action in revitalising and preserving their community.

These communities often have diverse cultural and social identities that may have been obscured or diluted over time. Viewing these communities as palimpsests allows for the exploration of cultural practices, traditions, and heritage that may have been marginalised or erased.¹⁶ By uncovering and valuing these layers of cultural identity, it becomes possible to foster a sense of pride and reclaim forgotten narratives, contributing to community empowerment and revitalisation of a demoralised community. In summary, it offers a valuable framework for understanding forgotten communities by revealing the layers of history, memory, and identity that contribute to their complexity. By recognising and appreciating these layers, it becomes possible to empower communities and work towards inclusive and sustainable approaches to their revitalisation and development.

CONCLUSION

Working-class communities in Blackpool face a range of challenges and opportunities that shape their identity and dynamics. Socioeconomic issues, community resilience, cultural identity, and the impacts of urban regeneration and gentrification are crucial aspects to consider when understanding and addressing the needs of these communities. By fostering inclusive and sustainable development, preserving cultural heritage, and empowering residents, Blackpool's working-class communities can thrive and contribute to the overall well-being and vibrancy of the town.

The combined challenges of unemployment and gentrification create a multi-faceted crisis in Northern Seaside towns in the UK. The loss of job opportunities exacerbates economic inequality, perpetuates social division, and undermines the wellbeing of working-class individuals. Unemployment not only affects financial stability but also has detrimental effects on mental health, self-esteem, and overall quality of life. Simultaneously, gentrification amplifies these issues by pushing out long-time residents and eroding the sense of community that is vital for social support and cohesion. The displacement of working-class individuals disrupts social networks and exacerbates feelings of marginalisation and powerlessness. This process further widens the gap between different socioeconomic groups and perpetuates a cycle of inequality.

To address these challenges, a comprehensive approach is required. Governments should focus on investing in diversifying local economies, supporting small businesses, and providing training and educational opportunities that align with emerging industries. Efforts should be made to protect affordable housing and ensure that housing policies consider the needs of working-class communities. Community organisations and residents should also play an active role in shaping the future of their communities. By fostering a sense of unity and collaboration, working-class communities can amplify their voices, advocate for their rights, and actively participate in decision making processes that impact their lives. Unemployment and gentrification pose significant challenges to working-class communities, particularly in Northern Seaside towns like Blackpool. These issues have far reaching consequences that extend beyond financial stability, impacting the social fabric and overall well-being of individuals and communities. By adopting a holistic approach that combines government intervention, community engagement, and social support systems, it is possible to address these challenges and promote inclusive, thriving communities for all.

Engaging residents and community organisations in the regeneration process is crucial. Community members should have a voice in decision making processes and be actively involved in shaping the future of their communities. Empowering local residents builds a sense of ownership, strengthens social

cohesion, and ensures that regeneration efforts reflect the needs and aspirations of the community. Regeneration should also prioritise cultural and social revitalisation. Preserving and celebrating a community's heritage, traditions, and diverse cultural expressions fosters a sense of identity and pride. Promoting cultural events, festivals, and creative activities not only enhances community cohesion but also attracts visitors and boosts the local economy.

Despite facing adversity, working-class communities in Blackpool demonstrate remarkable resilience. They foster strong social networks, mutual support systems, and a sense of community cohesion. These aspects contribute to their ability to overcome challenges and maintain a strong community identity, providing a foundation for community driven initiatives and development.

The next stage

As an artist working closely with communities, I intend to continue to document the surrounding area of Blackpool as a means of gathering images and narratives that will provide material to create further artworks that will speak of the area.

Through a combination of photographic images and short poem films, this research project aims to explore and express the feeling of community within Blackpool's working-class community. By documenting and creatively interpreting the narratives and aesthetics of the community, the artworks will celebrate the strength, resilience, and unique identity of its members. Furthermore, this project seeks to engage the community, evoke emotional connections, and contribute to a deeper understanding and appreciation of the working-class community in Blackpool.

NOTES

- ¹ Gary Bridge, ed. *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- ² Loretta Lees, Tom Slater and Elvin Wyly. *Gentrification*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- ³ Peter Dutton, "Outside the Metropole: Gentrification in Provincial Cities or Provincial Gentrification." In *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism*, edited by R. Atkinson and G. Bridge, 209–224. London: Routledge, 2005.
- ⁴ Sharon Zukin. "Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core." *Annual Review of Sociology* 13 (1987): 129–147.
- ⁵ Gary Bridge, "It's Not Just a Question of Taste: Gentrification, the Neighbourhood, and Cultural Capital." *Environment and Planning A* 38 (2006): 1965–1978.
- ⁶ David Sinfield, "Typography as Personality and Place: A Study of How Typography Can Speak of Community." Paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Communication & Media Studies, 2020.
- ⁷ Welby Ings, "Roadside Crosses: A Memorial and a Message." *New Zealand Geographic* 5, no. A (2001): 55–67.
- ⁸ David Sinfield, "Semiotics of Business Signage: How Typography Is Used in Impoverished and Deprived Areas of New Zealand." *The International Journal of the Image* 4, no. 4 (2014): 25–32.
- ⁹ Scott Billings, "The Figure on the Side of the Road: Automobility and Cinematic Causality." Accessed January 2009. http://www.scottbillings.com/pages/selected_writings/Figure-on-the-side-of-the-road-Scott_Billings_2009.pdf
- ¹⁰ James Olney, *Memory & Narrative: The Weave of Life Writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- ¹¹ David Sinfield, "Connecting Community: Artistic Echoes of a Forgotten Small-Town Community." Paper presented at the Eighteenth International Conference on Interdisciplinary Social Sciences, Agency in an Era of Displacement and Social Change, 2023. Common Ground Publishing.
- ¹² Stefan Lukas, "A Test of the Englacial Thrusting Hypothesis of 'Hummocky' Moraine Formation: Case Studies from the Northwest Highlands, Scotland." *Boreas* 34, no. 1 (2005): 287–307.
- ¹³ Barbara Bender. *Stonehenge: Making Space*. Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers, 1998.
- ¹⁴ Jonathan Knight and Stephen Harrison, "A Land History of Men: The Intersection of Geomorphology, Culture and Heritage in Cornwall, Southwest England." *Applied Geography* 42, no. 1 (2013): 186–194.
- ¹⁵ André Corboz, "The Land as Palimpsest." *Diogenes* 31, no. 121 (1983): 12–34.
- ¹⁶ Pratyusha Basu, *Narratives in a Landscape: Monuments & Memories of the Sutherland Clearances*. London, UK: University College, 1997.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Basu, Pratyusha. *Narratives in a Landscape: Monuments & Memories of the Sutherland Clearances*. London, UK: University College, 1997.
- Bender, Barbara. *Stonehenge: Making Space*. Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers, 1998.
- Billings, Scott. "The Figure on the Side of the Road: Automobility and Cinematic Causality." Accessed January 2009. http://www.scottbillings.com/pages/selected_writings/Figure-on-the-side-of-the-road-Scott_Billings_2009.pdf
- Bridge, Gary, ed. *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Bridge, Gary. "It's Not Just a Question of Taste: Gentrification, the Neighbourhood, and Cultural Capital." *Environment and Planning A* 38 (2006): 1965–1978.
- Corboz, André. "The Land as Palimpsest." *Diogenes* 31, no. 121 (1983): 12–34.
- Dutton, Peter. "Outside the Metropole: Gentrification in Provincial Cities or Provincial Gentrification." In *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism*, edited by R. Atkinson and G. Bridge, 209–224. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Ings, Welby. "Roadside Crosses: A Memorial and a Message." *New Zealand Geographic* 5, no. A (2001): 55–67.
- Knight, Jonathan, and Stephen Harrison. "A Land History of Men: The Intersection of Geomorphology, Culture and Heritage in Cornwall, Southwest England." *Applied Geography* 42, no. 1 (2013): 186–194.
- Lees, Loretta, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly. *Gentrification*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
-

-
- Lukas, Stefan. "A Test of the Englacial Thrusting Hypothesis of 'Hummocky' Moraine Formation: Case Studies from the Northwest Highlands, Scotland." *Boreas* 34, no. 1 (2005): 287–307.
- Olney, James. *Memory & Narrative: The Weave of Life Writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Sinfield, David. "Semiotics of Business Signage: How Typography Is Used in Impoverished and Deprived Areas of New Zealand." *The International Journal of the Image* 4, no. 4 (2014): 25–32.
- Sinfield, David. "Connecting Community: Artistic Echoes of a Forgotten Small-Town Community." Paper presented at the Eighteenth International Conference on Interdisciplinary Social Sciences, Agency in an Era of Displacement and Social Change, 2023. Common Ground Publishing.
- Sinfield, David. "Typography as Personality and Place: A Study of How Typography Can Speak of Community." Paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Communication & Media Studies, 2020.
- Zukin, Sharon. "Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core." *Annual Review of Sociology* 13 (1987): 129–147.
-