

**SOCIAL DRINKING IN THE THIRD PLACE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
OF PERSPECTIVES OF NEIGHBOURHOOD DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS IN
HALIFAX'S NORTH END**

by

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ABSTRACT

North End Halifax, a mixed-use neighbourhood, is home to an increasing number of drinking establishments. Drinking establishments may function as highly sociable ‘third places’ (Oldenburg, 1999) and leisure contexts that foster belonging. Nevertheless, the social and leisure functions of drinking establishments may be influenced by gentrification. This study employed critical discourse analysis methods (Fairclough, 2005; Gee, 2011) to explore written and oral discourses related to drinking establishments in the North End. Findings illustrate rapid neighbourhood change processes can manifest by way of drinking establishments that are inherently embedded in discourses of gentrification and place-belongingness. In addition to offering new insights drinking as a sociable leisure experience in the absence of problematized biases, this study emphasizes the growing relevance of gentrification to leisure scholars, emphasizing the need for further inquiry into the ways in which leisure contexts and experiences are influenced by our changing urban landscapes.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Communities rely on gathering places to promote sociability and provide space and opportunity to organize collectively. Drinking establishments are at the heart of many communities, where social drinking promotes conversation, connects neighbours, and often constitutes a leisure experience (Karsten, Kamphuis, & Remeijnse, 2013; O'Carroll, 2005; Oldenburg, 1999). The availability and characteristics of community gathering places, including drinking establishments such as pubs and beergardens, are dynamic in communities undergoing gentrification. As residents come to hold place-based connections with drinking establishments in their community (Oldenburg, 1999), changes to drinking establishments may result in a decreased sense of belonging for community members. As gentrification is known to influence leisure contexts (Mullenbach & Baker, 2018), drinking establishments provide a valuable context to study both (a) gentrification and (b) social drinking in place, as a leisure experience in and of itself.

Gentrification refers broadly to processes through which historic residents of a community are displaced as in-migration of newer residents, often with increased socioeconomic status, reshapes neighbourhood demographics toward social and cultural homogeneity (e.g., Rose, 1984; Shaw, 2008). In the context of gentrification, original residents may experience displacement both materially (i.e., through physical displacement from their community), as well as “discursive displacement”, a decreased sense of belonging (Mullenbach & Baker, 2018). In tandem, residents may also experience decreased sense of place (i.e., the internal and identifiable meaning ascribed to a location, such as a community centre or natural feature) (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983; Stokowski, 2002). Because place is considered an important dimension

of leisure (Henderson & Frelke, 2000), drinking establishments can be considered valuable sites for the study of social drinking (i.e., drinking that plays a sociable function). While drinking can be an important experience contributing to a sense of place (e.g., Brown & Obenour, 2008; Mair, 2009), recent research is scarcely available to describe social drinking in the context of place, nor how social drinking may be shaped by influences of gentrification. This study heeds the call for leisure scholars to emphasize place as constructed through social and political means (Henderson & Frelke, 2000; Stokowski, 2002), emphasizing the processes through which gentrification may influence sense of place and belonging as manifested in drinking establishments.

1.1 Study Setting: North End Halifax

North End Halifax is a mixed residential, commercial, and industrial district with somewhat loose boundaries adjacent to downtown Halifax on the peninsula that serves as the commercial core of Halifax and its densest residential neighbourhoods. One common geographic description of the North End bounds the neighbourhood on the south by Cogswell Street, and north by the Bedford Basin, as illustrated in Appendix A (“Defining the Old North End”, 2010; Roth & Grant, 2014).

There is increasing evidence that North End Halifax is experiencing forces of uneven, rapid development, with resistance to change evidenced in myriad ways, ranging from community meetings to street art (i.e., the visceral words “Don’t be pushed out” spray painted on a billboard advertising a new condo development) (Beaumont, 2013; Gragg & Pankhurst, 2014).

The looming fear of displacement in the North End serves as a reminder of the long history of oppression and displacement that have impacted its traditionally African

Nova Scotian residents (Silver, 2013). Many of the first residents of the North End were displaced residents of Africville, an African Nova Scotian community on the Halifax peninsula along the shores of the Bedford Basin. In the mid-1960s, the land they occupied was deemed a 'slum' by city officials and identified as prime space for transportation infrastructure. Consequently, Africville residents were forced from their close-knit, self-sustaining community (Silver, 2013). The mid-1960s saw subsequent construction of public subsidized housing at Uniacke Square within the North End and the relocation of many Africville residents to this housing complex. The North End took on a unique identity as a neighbourhood known for its affordable housing and commercial services that served the everyday needs of its inhabitants until the early 1980s. At one point the North End housed a thriving commercial district, including shops, banks, a grocery store, theatre, and taverns (Roth & Grant, 2014). Social services and non-government organizations offering supports to individuals living on the margins were often located there (Roth & Grant, 2014). As investment in suburbanization shifted government priorities away from the North End, a long period of divestment in the mid-1980s and 1990s saw many of the original shops and services close, as well as a decrease in the condition of properties (Roth & Grant, 2014). Though many properties in the North End became neglected, it was in this context that the North End came to be socially desirable to artists and students, many of whom earned meager incomes. The North End was also a desirable and common site for arts and cultural centres and programming, such as the Roberts Street Social Centre, a neighbourhood gathering place and zinemaking collective (Lypny, 2012). Claims of gentrification in the North End arose prominently since the early 2000s, as the social desirability of the neighbourhood increased. Loft-style

condominium buildings have been built alongside and across from subsidized and affordable housing. Along commercial streets such as Agricola and Gottingen, numerous bars, pubs, galleries and coffee shops line the sidewalks, along with social services such as drop-in centres providing hot meals and clothing, a methadone clinic, community health clinic, and multiple shelters. Huffington Post lists the North End alongside Kensington Market, Montreal's Plateau, and Downtown Victoria as some of the "hottest neighbourhoods to call home" (Huffington Post, 2015).

The North End gradually became home to several drinking establishments (Roth & Grant, 2014). Though few of these historic pubs and taverns remain, North End Halifax houses an increasing number of trendy bars, pubs, beergardens, breweries, thus providing a rich study context given the rapid neighbourhood change processes in tandem with numerous drinking establishments located therein (DeWolf, 2016; English, 2016; Erwin, 2016).

1.2 Study Rationale

In addition to the specific sociopolitical context of Halifax's North End, this study was novel in its intention to integrate multiple perspectives (i.e., through interviews with heterogeneous key informants and analyses of news media), to weave a rich understanding of leisurely social drinking rooted in place. In addition, an emphasis on place and neighbourhood change heeded calls to consider the discursive construction of place (Stokowski, 2002), and, more specifically, drinking establishments in the context of geographic locale (Jayne, Valentine, & Holloway, 2008). This study offers an enriched understanding of discourses of drinking establishments in North End Halifax, an area

considered by many to be increasingly gentrified, where drinking establishments themselves appear to be functioning as agents of gentrification.

Extensive media coverage of both neighbourhood change processes and drinking establishments in the North End reinforces that these topics are timely and significant. This coverage suggests that drinking establishments are controversial in the context of rapid development, as well as for their proximity to homes in the context of a mixed-use, albeit principally residential neighbourhood.

1.3 Significance to Leisure Studies

Drinking is scarcely discussed in the leisure literature apart from the study of harms and consequences to individual health (e.g., Crabbe, 2006; McDonald, Wagner, & Minor, 2008; Shiness et al., 2005). In addition to studies of drinking with a focus on adherence to discourses of health, some studies have explored drinking in the context of leisure experiences that may be enhanced through drinking (Brown & Obenour, 2008; Karsten, Kamphuis, & Remeijnse, 2013; Mair, 2009). However, outside of the leisure literature there is considerable evidence that drinking establishments, such as the idyllic British Pub or the bar featured in the fictional 90s sitcom *Cheers!*, play important roles in communities and offer opportunities for cultivating sociability and sense of place and (McDonald, 2008; O'Carroll, 2005).

While there are significant gaps in the leisure literature with respect to our understanding of drinking as a leisure experience in and of itself (Burns & Gallant, 2018), for many, drinking is a leisure experience embedded in place (i.e., in drinking establishments). Where gentrification has the potential to influence the extent to which individuals belong in community both materially (i.e., by means of residency or

displacement) and discursively (i.e., feeling a sense of belonging or not), there is a need to consider how feelings of belonging are cultivated (or not) in leisure contexts (Mullenbach & Baker, 2018). Moreover, our feelings of place-belongingness are essential components of community (Portes, 1998). This study thus heeds the call for research that considers drinking establishments in the context of place (Jayne et al., 2008), recognizing that these drinking establishments are sites for drinking, as an understudied leisure experience, and for leisure scholars to consider how sense of place is discursively constructed (Stokowski, 2002).

1.4 Purpose & Research Question

The purpose of this study was to critically explore how discourse was employed to describe how and where drinking establishments fit in Halifax's North End, as well as their functions as sociable leisure spaces. The study design sought and emphasized discourses embedded in 'place', including both (a) potential third place characteristics and (b) influence of neighbourhood change processes. The purpose of this study was to critically explore discourses about drinking establishments in Halifax's North End through the following research questions:

- How did key informants construct stories of neighbourhood drinking establishments in the North End, and potential controversy?
- How did the news media describe construct stories of neighbourhood drinking establishments in the North End, and potential controversy?
- What was similar and different among the constructions of North End drinking establishments in the news media and key informant interviews?

1.5 A Note on the Constructive Effects of Language

Van Dijk (2006) argues that discourses are simultaneously constructed and constructive in our social contexts. In recognition that my language choices can shape the way we think about issues relevant to this thesis, I have tried to be reflective and intentional in choosing language that aligns with my views as these are inherent to the purpose and design of this study.

Most notably, you will find the word “alcohol” is seldom used in the thesis. Indeed, when it appears it is for purposes of paraphrasing or quoting from other sources to remain true to the ways in which they invoke discourse of drinking. While alcohol refers to a drug, chemical compound, and/or psychoactive substance (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2016), I refer to social drinking as a leisure experience involving drinking (alcohol) in the company of others. Consequentially, I refer to drinking establishments as contexts where social drinking may occur, and “neighbourhood” drinking establishments as drinking establishments built to serve a geographic neighbourhood.

1.6 Summary of Chapter 1: Background

This study explored how news media and key informants construct discourse related to drinking and drinking establishments, as leisure experiences, spaces, and/or places in the context of a rapidly changing community. The use of critical discourse analysis allowed for exploration of the underlying personal and political factors that inform discourse related to drinking establishments.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This study of the role of neighbourhood drinking establishments occurred against the backdrop of the Halifax's North End, a historically significant, diverse, and changing neighbourhood under immense pressures related to gentrification. As the nature of the neighbourhood as in a state of flux is foundational to this study, the literature review begins with discussion of gentrification) and its impact on sense of place and belonging. As sense of place is a fundamental aspect of community, this chapter describes drinking establishments as potential third places and sites of leisure and sociability. Finally, context for studying drinking and drinking establishments as leisure experiences and leisure spaces is provided through a review of the (scant) literature related to drinking as a leisure experience.

2.1 Gentrification

Gentrification characteristically results in displacement of original residents (oftentimes those who are marginalized or oppressed by way of race and socioeconomic status) with increasing in-migration of individuals attracted to the bohemian or 'artsy' flare of the neighbourhood. These qualities and characteristics can become reified in the characteristics of new residents and community places alike (Lund, 2008; Shaw, 2008), including leisure contexts (e.g., a once divested main street may become reinvigorated with shops and boutiques) (Crouch, 2009). While gentrification may influence leisure contexts, to date there has been little study of gentrification within the leisure literature. Indeed, while there is recognition that gentrification extends beyond residential contexts to shape the ways in which we engage with and in our communities in other fields (e.g., planning, urban geography, sociology), the relevance of studying gentrification in leisure

contexts seems to have received explicit attention only recently (e.g., Gibson, 2015; Mullenbach & Baker, 2018). Similar to Mullenbach & Baker's (2018) systematic review of gentrification in environmental contexts, Gibson (2015) found that modifications to the built environment that are relevant to leisure pursuits, such as the installation of bike lanes, can be fraught processes bound up in the politics of gentrification. In their systematic review on environmental gentrification, Mullenbach and Baker argue that despite leisure scholars' orientation towards social justice issues in research practice, ". . . it is surprising to note how few leisure scholars have conducted research on gentrification" (2018, p. 13). As exemplified by Gibson (2015) and Mullenbach & Baker (2018), leisure researchers' studies of gentrification have primarily focused on outdoor recreation settings. An exception is the work of Calvo, Nofre, & Geraldles (2016), which describes...which describes gentrification as having a "sanitising" effect on a rundown, albeit vibrant nightlife area in Portugal (p. 788). These recent, albeit sporadic, descriptions of gentrification in the leisure literature suggest that our field may becoming more attuned to the relevance of gentrification to leisure contexts.

Lund (2008) emphasizes that gentrification includes processes of "creation and destruction [...] transformation and dislocation" (p. 2340). While the destructive aspects of gentrification are not to be ignored (i.e., displacement, weakened social ties, disproportionate impact on marginalized groups), Lund (2008) explains that gentrification can revitalize communities. This description of gentrification as encompassing both creative and destructive processes is important as the reinvestment in new or existing businesses and leisure settings may offer desirable and needed opportunities. However, opportunities to benefit from the processes of "creation" and

“transformation” may not be equitably distributed. Thus, the complexities of gentrification are thus extensive. While it most often occurs in established neighbourhoods where cultural and socioeconomic diversity offers a sense of vibrancy, gentrification may function to create more homogeneous communities and over time lessens the very diversity that may have originally attracted new residents (Rose, 1984). As the social desirability of a community is promoted, businesses may also capitalize on the construction of the community as a socially desirable place, and this promotion may commodify aspects of the community’s history or ways of being (Shaw, 2008). As Rose (1984) explains, “The end result, after property values have increased rapidly, is a new equilibrium of socioeconomic and cultural homogeneity” (p. 195). In addition to the out migration of original and historic residents, gentrification also contributes to the erosion of place-attachments held by original residents who continue to live in the community, resulting in a decreased sense of belonging. Experiences of both material (i.e., out migration) and discursive displacement (Mullenbach & Baker, 2018) may result in decreased availability (real or perceived) of familiar recreation and leisure spaces (Hickman, 2013; Jacobs, 1961; Putnam, 2000). Nevertheless, cultural and social homogeneity may be appealing to some residents and many gentrified communities are celebrated for being rich in culture despite the extensive out-migration of original residents and loss of diversity (Makagon, 2010).

2.2 Place as a Fundamental Characteristic of Community

Portes (1998) explains that ‘locus’ (i.e., internal and identifiable sense of place) is a fundamental characteristic of community, influencing one’s ability to benefit from informal social connections that build a sense of belonging (e.g., MacQueen et al., 2001;

Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000). Place is highly relevant to the study of leisure, where our sense of 'locus' contributes to the "constitution of what leisure means, and the significance of leisure enacted in distinctive spaces, in [resident's] identities" (Crouch, 2009, p. 136). Importantly, 'places' are socially constructed, influenced by social practices and power, where social actors discursively shape places both physically and semiotically (Stokowski, 2002, p. 380). For example, the area surrounding two prominent trees in a park may become a gathering place for community members, with the trees becoming imbued with physical characteristics (e.g., desire lines through the park indicating paths to the trees, yarn bombing of branches) as well as semiotic characteristics (e.g., in-group language surrounding the trees, or a reputation surrounding those who gather there).

Where there are processes of gentrification, there is the possibility of eroded sense of place among residents (i.e., changes to their ascribed meanings, identities and emotional attachments to physical locations, such as centre squares, monuments, and natural features such as the trees described above) (Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Proshansky et al., 1983). Moreover, the processes through which places change in the context of rapid development are inherently influenced by the power held by social actors in a community (Stokowski, 2002). As Stokowski (2002) explains, "what is visible 'on the ground' at any given time is only the working out of one version of reality, promoted by a set of social actors who have succeeded in using their power and position to advance their own ideals" (p. 380). Therefore, while place contributes to our sense of belonging, it is also subject to external influence and vulnerable to the impacts of powerful social actors and their agendas.

2.3 Third Place

Where place refers broadly to physical locations that become individually imbued with value (Portes, 1998), third place is a quasi-theoretical lens through which to consider the distinct characteristics of informal gathering places that provide opportunities for sociability for community members (Oldenburg, 1999). Oldenburg (1999) argues that while much of our time is spent at home (first place) or work (second place), third places are “inclusively sociable, offering both the basis of community and the celebration of it” (p. 14).

In his seminal text, *The Great Good Place*, Oldenburg (1999) provides a detailed explanation of the characteristics, functions, and benefits of the third place, noting that these characteristics have been observed in a variety of community meeting places, including hair salons and barber shops, town squares, coffee shops, and bars. Oldenburg (1999) describes notable characteristics of the third place as including: (a) neutral ground (i.e., neutral space where people feel comfortable to freely come and go as desired); (b) ‘levelling’ function, in reference to the inclusive nature of the space, as well as the notion that people come together for the purpose of socializing, rather than for a pre-established alternate purpose; (c) conversation as the central activity, including conversation between strangers, and where opportunities to participate in conversation are natural and available to everyone; (d) space available to the general public at almost all times of the day; (e) the presence of ‘regulars’, and an informal process through which newcomers can be welcomed as regulars; (f) space that is not ostentatious in design, and which may “fall short of the middle class preference for cleanliness and modernity” that offers psychological comfort and support, (p. 36); and (g) a playful atmosphere and palpable

sense of good spirit, joy, and social inclusion or acceptance. Importantly, Oldenburg (1999) notes that these characteristics are often found in beergardens and corner pubs.

Since publishing *The Great Good Place*, Oldenburg has remained influential in the study of community gathering places. Recognizing the potential for drinking establishments to serve third place functions, Oldenburg is currently writing *The Joy of Tippling* (Newton, 2016). In Newton's (2016) interview with Oldenburg about the upcoming book, which celebrates "moderate" social drinking, Oldenburg describes the relevance of informal places where one can drink in the company of neighbours in a changing urban landscape:

Not long ago, some friends bought a little house, and they selected it because every evening they could walk to the pub and have one or two beers and talk to people, meet their neighbors. If you choose your own friends all the time, they'll be too much like you. But if you go to another place, you have no control over who's around you, and that's the beauty of it—that's the charm (Newton, 2016).

Third place drinking establishments play significant roles in communities. Drinking establishments, such as the British Pub, evoke many third place characteristics, providing space where community members get together and enjoy good-spirited conversation. Along the same vein, Jeffres et al. (2009) explain that the fictional televised drinking establishment of the 1990s, *Cheers*, exemplifies important third place characteristics and opportunities for sociability in drinking establishments:

The setting was a perfect example of Oldenburg's third place. The regulars were a racially homogeneous but socio-economically diverse group who laughed, told stories, confided problems, drank moderately, and blew off steam from the

pressures of home and work. The theme song summed up both the series and the ideal third place as where you can go and everybody knows your name.

The functions of third place drinking establishments extend beyond sociability. For example, third places offer community hubs where people can gather to address common urgent and more long-term challenges. Oldenburg explains that after Hurricane Andrew, a Category 5 Hurricane that caused unprecedented damage in Southern Florida, the repair of the community pub was not prioritized by city officials (Newton, 2016). Inability to access this pub, as an important gathering place, made it difficult for impacted community members to collectively organize and respond to the damage in their community (Conley, 2017). The consideration for important third place characteristics in the context of drinking establishments heeds Henderson and Frelke's argument for the increased consideration of place in community-oriented leisure research (2000).

2.3.1 Critiquing the Third Place

While the literature suggests that third place is a concept relevant to the study of drinking establishments as leisure spaces within changing communities, the concept of third place has been subject to a variety of critiques within and outside the leisure literature. Notably, there is concern for how the consumptive nature of some third places may exist in opposition to values that Oldenburg (1999) proposed (e.g., low cost, affordability, socially leveling) (Jacke, 2009). For example, some farmers' markets have been studied and consequently described as third places, although their principal function is consumptive (Johnson, 2013). Some criticism of consumptive-focused third places is centered around the conscious cultivation of third place characteristics within businesses such as Starbucks (Lin, 2011; Tatsak, 2006). Despite Starbucks' deliberate efforts to

market their coffee shops as third places (see: Starbucks website, *Our Heritage*), Tatsak (2006) argues that the consumptive nature of Starbucks produces exclusivity through price and location in ways that are not reflective of third place characteristics. However, others have argued that the consumptive nature of third places need not preclude them from serving their social functions (Johnson, 2013; Lin, 2011; Yuen & Johnson, 2017).

Yuen and Johnson draw attention to the potentially exclusive nature of consumptive third places, emphasizing that third places “. . . carry both the possibility to create community and potential to normalize and exacerbate the oppression and marginalization of others.” (Yuen & Johnson, 2017, p. 300). Yuen and Johnson bring to light the importance of considering power in relation to place, including those places that have third place characteristics (2017). As third place may evoke an idyllic sense of community, it is important to consider the potential for community to be “romanticized in a way that can obscure real and important power inequities” (Labonte, Polanyi, Muhajarine, McIntosh, & Williams, 2005, p. 85). Leisure scholars have thus called for consideration of power and the politics of place, arguing consideration for postmodern aspects of place (i.e., beyond physical location and characteristics) toward greater concern for “which spokespersons are allowed to define place boundaries, or tell the histories of place, or interpret the meanings of place? How do different conceptions of place exert influence on people and groups? How is place manipulated for social good or evil?” (Stokowski, 2002, p. 380). These questions draw attention to power and its ability to shape third place (Yuen & Johnson, 2017).

In addition to criticisms regarding the consumptive and inherently political nature of third places, other scholars have drawn attention to turfism, where regulars may come

to see third places as their own (Alix & Koo, 2010; Oldenburg, 1999). Goode and Anderson (2015) suggest that while some pubs may function as third places to certain regulars, there are inevitable risks for conflict and exclusion. For instance, the introduction of new patrons not familiar with social norms caused significant conflict in the pub dynamic explored by Goode and Anderson (2015). Goode and Anderson (2015) found that while British pubs are often celebrated community gathering places, changes to the makeup of the community may result in patrons unfamiliar with social customs and norms, thereby creating tension and conflict. Goode and Anderson (2015) suggest that third places are ultimately vulnerable to change, which can reduce or obstruct their social function and availability to 'regulars'. Furthermore, as the space itself changes over time, such as through changed management, introduction of new systems, or changed décor, these changes can disrupt the value and meaning associated with the space for its patrons (Goode & Anderson, 2015). At the same time, new businesses resulting from gentrification processes may become imbued with third place characteristics and can serve as third places to new residents (Karsten, Kamphuis, & Remeijnse, 2013; Lund, 2008). Karsten et al. (2013) provide the example of newly-opened coffee shops and drinking establishments in gentrified neighbourhoods. These businesses often become important community places for young urban professionals and eventually serve third place functions.

Across the diversity of settings that can serve as third places, the benefits of frequenting such welcoming and sociable public places are numerous, and include an increased sense of belonging. Nevertheless, third places may be vulnerable to change

(Goode & Anderson, 2015), suggesting their availability to communities may be lost or altered in the context of gentrification.

2.4 Sociability and Belonging in Place

Prominent early sociologist, George Simmel, focused much of his career on understanding our desire to engage in social interactions (Ritzer, 2007). In his seminal text *On Individuality and Social Forms*, sociability is defined as “the free-playing, interacting interdependence of individuals” through which we come to form social groups and community (as cited in Ritzer, 2007, p. 158). Yuen and Johnson assert that sociability, “refers us back to the power of the collective, the sense of being together and obligation to get along” (2017, p. 298). Whether or not in third places, sociability is a function and outcome of many drinking establishments (Oldenburg, 1999; O’Carroll, 2005). Sociability can produce feelings of belonging, defined as both (a) the “personal, intimate, feeling of being ‘at home’ in a place (place-belongingness)”, and (b) “discursive resource that constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (politics of belonging).” (Antonsich, 2010, p. 644). The ability to feel a sense of belonging refers not just to intrinsic, psychological sense of place-belongingness, but exists in the context of power dynamics that influence and often define the availability of place-belongingness. Belonging is not only influenced by the feeling ascribed to a place, but influenced by socio-spatial practices of inclusion and/or exclusion that facilitate feelings of place-belongingness for some but not others. Socio-spatial exclusion is inherent to gentrification in the displacement of residents, while place-belongingness may result in a real or perceived sense of “isolation, alienation, and

dis-placement” (Antonsich, 2010, p. 649), thus influencing both place-belongingness and the politics of belonging.

Considering the mounting need for leisure scholars to consider place-based research, the use of third place as a lens to study drinking establishments is well founded, particularly given the potential of such venues to play beneficial roles in fostering sociability (Arai & Pedlar, 2003; Henderson & Frelke, 2000). Moreover, we must not ignore that while drinking establishments serve as lighthearted community gathering places (Oldenburg, 1999), their role in the community is inherently imbued with power dynamics (Henderson & Frelke, 2000; Mair, 2006). Similarly, gentrification involves processes of asserting power and privilege in ways that can radically redefine communities (Rose, 1984). Thus the study of drinking establishments in the context of gentrification responds to the call for place-based leisure scholarship.

2.5 Drinking and Leisure Literature

Leisure scholars conceptualize places where people engage in free-time activities, such as drinking establishments, as sites of leisure. Further, employing a leisure lens, the experience of drinking, as one imbued with choice, intrinsic motivation, relaxation, satisfaction, and related concepts, can be understood as a specific leisure experience that occurs in such settings (Shaw, 1985). Despite recognition in other fields that drinking establishments can play important social functions (Cavan, 1966; Oldenburg, 1999), this perspective is rarely represented in leisure scholarship.

Exceptions are scarce, though notable. Smith (1985) conducted a participant-observation study in British working-class pubs, concluding that they are leisure spaces governed by the constructs of gender and social class. Karsten, Kamphuis, and

Remeijnse (2013) describe bars, restaurants and cafés as places of leisure for “YUPPS”, young urban professional parents, in Amsterdam, Netherlands (p. 167). In this study, Karsten et al. (2013) espouse that the bars, cafés, and restaurants in Amsterdam provide novel opportunities for family leisure to merge with adult sociability in ‘place’. In both instances (i.e., Smith, 1985, Karsten et al., 2013), the study of bars and pubs explores individual behaviour, with little attention to collective social functions.

Outside of bars as leisure spaces, a small body of leisure literature supports the notion that drinking can be a pleasurable social pursuit (Mair, 2009), and has the potential to foster community (Brown & Obenour, 2008; Johnson & Samdahl, 2005). These articles describe drinking in the context of a specific activity (e.g., curling, shag dancing, and craft brewing). Leisure literature to date indicates that drinking, as an adjunct to a core leisure experience, can be an important component of leisure such that it helps to foster group identity (Johnson & Samdahl, 2005), and enhance the leisure experience (Brown & Obenour, 2008; Mair, 2009).

In Brown and Obenour's description (2008) of the shag dancing community in Myrtle Beach, drinking is central to the leisure experience. Though similar to swing dancing, the shag scene in Myrtle Beach is unique in its large-scale, informal, outdoor gatherings characterized by drinking and dancing (Brown & Obenour, 2008). While, for many, drinking is central to shag culture, the sense of belonging, play, and enjoyment would seemingly not exist if not for the dance. Brown and Obenour (2008) thus provide an excellent description of some of the benefits potentially associated with social drinking, though these cannot be disentangled from the benefits of being part of a close-knit, highly specified dance community. Nevertheless, alcohol plays a central and pivotal

role in the interactions of shag dancers, particularly in the place-specific context of the Myrtle beach environment.

Mair's (2009) ethnography of a curling club in rural Canada explores place-based connections that may be associated with the experience of gathering for a drink with friends. The primary focus of Mair's (2009) article is on the third place characteristics of curling clubs, including the social ties fostered among members. While not specific to the drinking establishment, Oldenburg's (1999) concept of third place is used to describe the curling club as a place where locals gather and foster connections. In this context, Mair (2009) describes the bar and drinking as important adjuncts to the sport and membership itself. The bars at the curling clubs she studies function as places for casual conversation, and provide a means of prolonging the experience beyond time on the ice. Mair (2009) espouses the importance of considering place as it relates to leisure, evidenced using Oldenburg's (1999) concept of third place.

These examples aside, leisure scholars often depict drinking as aligned with health discourses (Burns & Gallant, in press). Leisure literature offers few descriptions of the social ties and social support that may be cultivated over a drink with friends. More often, leisure scholars engage in research related to binge drinking (e.g., Crabbe, 2006), and the consequences of college students' drinking behaviour (Shinew & Parry, 2005; McDonald, Wagner, & Minor, 2008). These sources draw on a litany of recognized health consequences (e.g., accidents and injury, organ damage, cancers, poor mental health) of drinking, citing sources such as the World Health Organization's *Global Status Report on Alcohol and Health* (Finlay, Ram, Maggs, & Caldwell, 2012). In the *Routledge Handbook of Leisure Studies*, Yeomans and Critcher (2013) write, "Drink is troublesome for authority. The US government famously concluded in 1919 that the problems connected with

alcohol far outweighed any individual or collective pleasure which might be derived from it” (p. 305).

There may be value in considering perspectives on drinking that explore the pleasurable social opportunities that arise from it (Brown & Obenour, 2008; Jayne et al., 2008; Yeomans & Critcher, 2013). Leisure scholars may have neglected this area of potential study through what Shinew and Parry (2005) describe as the “benefits of leisure campaign” (p. 365). They assert that establishing leisure as a legitimate field may have required scholars to focus on leisure practices offering tangible benefits to individuals and society as a whole (Franklin-Reible, 2006). The need to study leisure without focusing on health benefits is particularly important as Fox and Lashua (2010) explain that leisure constitutes one of the few “relatively safe, playful and joyful spaces and times for people and societies to explore, come to know, and engage in all aspects of what it means to be human, including violence, ‘harmful and risky’ choices, challenging norms, creating alternatives, and foolishness” (p. 236). Fox and Lashua (2010) advocate for attention to the pleasurable and playful aspects of leisure, such as those that might occur over a drink with friends at a neighbourhood pub or patio.

2.6 Summary of Literature Review

This literature review illustrates the relevance of studying drinking establishments as places of leisure in the context of gentrification (Mullenbach & Baker, 2018; Rose, 2008). Over time, gentrification results in sociocultural homogeneity among both residents and businesses, leaving original residents with a decreased sense of belonging. The shift toward social and cultural homogeneity in gentrification, in turn, may

simultaneously provide newer residents with an increased sense of belonging, often inadvertently at the cost of original residents.

Henderson and Frelke (2000) suggest applying a place-based lens to leisure research as a means of avoiding simplistic, activity-based descriptions of leisure. Further, a place-based lens promotes consideration of the manifestations of processes through which individuals come to feel they belong in leisure contexts. Where gentrification of a community involves change to leisure places and residences alike, the study of drinking establishments offers a relevant lens through which leisure scholars are able to observe both (a) the place-based associations of leisure spaces in the context of neighbourhood change processes, and (b) social drinking as a leisure experience in and of itself.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODS

In this project critical discourse analysis methods (Fairclough, 2010; Gee, 2011) of written local news media and oral discourse were used to explore diverse and varying perspectives (i.e., ways of constructing discourse) of the roles, characteristics, and social functions of drinking establishments, built and proposed, located in Halifax's rapidly developing North End. This study was particularly focused on discourses embedded in 'place', including the potential third place characteristics and influence of neighbourhood change or gentrification processes.

3.1 Research Purpose & Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to critically explore how discourse was employed to describe how and where drinking establishments fit in Halifax's North End, as well as their functions as sociable leisure spaces. The following research questions were addressed:

- How did key informants construct stories of neighbourhood drinking establishments in the North End, and potential controversy?
- How did the news media describe construct stories of neighbourhood drinking establishments in the North End, and potential controversy?
- What was similar and different among the constructions of North End drinking establishments in the news media and key informant interviews?

3.2 Methodology

Gergen (2009) writes of the transformative experience of adopting a social constructionist lens. The decision to approach this research from a social constructionist vantage was largely informed by my prior experiences studying and working in Health

Promotion, and my uncritical undergraduate acceptance of the “truth”, “knowledge” and “reason” that work to create and reinforce powerful discourses pertaining to the harms of drinking. I experienced an ethical dilemma one evening when out for a drink with friends: How do I advocate for the increased regulation of alcohol by day, and that same evening, gather over drinks with friends? I had constructed a rigid dichotomy, and at the bottom of the glass, found that things were much more complex than my supposed “truths” and “knowledge.”

To that end, social constructionism was appropriate to this study, given the ongoing debate and diverse perspectives that surround drinking establishments in the North End, and resultant research questions. Social constructionism theories afford the opportunity to examine conceptualizations of drinking places as more than just their physical spaces, but rather, as social constructs to which people can ascribe meaning (Taylor, 1999). The appropriateness of social constructionism espouses an inherent interest in the processes through which people arrive at diverse perspectives and how discourses construct and are constructed by the social world in which we live (Gergen, 2009). Critical discourse analysis, as both methodology and method, is underpinned by the notion that our ideologies and associated narratives are, themselves, socially constructed whilst simultaneously *constructive* (Van Dijk, 2006). Fairclough (2005) describes that these notions can also be *constructive*, that is, have a “constructive effect” in situ (p.5). Nevertheless, not all that is *constructed* is *constructive*; Fairclough (2005) explains that it is the influence between these “construals” and the social world that determines their constructive effect (p. 5). Discourse can thus be seen as a “way of constructing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 230).

“Discourse” herein refers to “(a) meaning-making as an element of the social process, (b) the language associated with a particular social field or practice, and (c) a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 230). Fairclough’s (2010) definition aligns “discourse” with social constructionism, and differentiates the term from other conceptualizations of discourse, including those that are more linguistic in nature (i.e., analyses exploring how language is used, rather than its functions in sociopolitical contexts). Moreover, definitions of discourse focused on the role of language in social constructionism are in keeping with critical discourse analysis, research traditions distinct from discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2010). In addition to a shift away from linguistic analyses, critical discourse analysis differentiates from discourse analysis by its inherent consideration for power and politics and their influence on the ways in which discourse is socially *constructive* and *constructed* (Fairclough, 2010; van Dijk, 2006).

Social constructionism was used in this study for its suitability to investigating the varying and subjective accounts of key informants, as well as positioning these perspectives within historical, and social contexts (Berger & Luekmann, 1966; Creswell, 2014). Two units of analysis were used: written text (analysis of local, text-based news media) and dialogue (semi-structured key informant interviews). The application of critical discourse analysis methods to the study of news media and key informant interviews allowed for the analysis of historical and social contexts, including identifying the diverse actors and complex social relationships inherent to the study area (Fischer, 1991; Gee, 2011; Phillips & Hardy, 2003).

3.3 Data Collection Methods: Text-Based Local News Media

Fairclough (1995, 2005) provided an analytic framework for discourse analysis of news media, as a distinct textual genre and a discursive practice. Fairclough's description of news media as a discursive practice explains that news articles are textual documents, that are constructed, disseminated, and consumed. Text-based news media consists of a variety discursive practices and elements, and plays a significant role in disseminating specific information to the general public (Fischer, 1991; Phillips & Hardy, 2003). As a source of data, news media were included in the study for their descriptions of the actors and competing interests relevant to the research questions (Fischer, 1991; Fairclough, 1995). The decision to include news media as a unit of analysis was further based on a preliminary search of local news media sites and familiarity with the topic, which indicated that there was considerable local news media coverage related to licensure and drinking establishments within Halifax's North End, including considerable reporting on the (then) proposed Stillwell Beergarden as well as operating drinking establishments such as Lion & Bright, the Agricola Street Brasserie, and Good Robot (e.g., Berman, 2016; Erwin, 2016; Saunders & Buote, 2016; Zaccagna, 2013).

To promote rigour in the search process, inclusion criteria for article selection were developed. Inclusion criteria are particularly important when searching for coverage of contentious topics, such as the regulation of drinking (McGinty et al., 2016). News articles (i.e., text-based, published news stories and editorials) pertinent to this study were sought via electronic search from the following online sources: (a) CBC; (b) The Chronicle Herald; (c) The Coast; (d) Halifax Examiner, (e) Global News (in print); (e) Metro News. However, no articles were found in either The Halifax Examiner or Metro

News. Searches relied on each publication's internal search engine (as opposed to a more broad Google search). This list was developed based on the aforementioned preliminary search of news media, and is a near comprehensive list of open source local news media (i.e., pay-per-view and subscription-based news media, such as AllNovaScotia.com were not included). This strategy was in keeping with Linder's (2013) requirements for the targeted sampling of documents for critical discourse analysis of textual data. A timeframe of January 2013 to June 2017 was set to emphasize most recent developments in Halifax's North End. Text-based news articles were identified using keyword searches, which included: ("Stillwell"); ("Beergarden" and "Beer garden"); ("Good Robot"); ("Gus' Pub"); ("Charlie's Club"); ("Lion and Bright"); ("Alcohol policy"); ("Liquor Laws"); ("Neighbourhood Pub"); ("Pub") and ("Alcohol Regulation").

This list of keywords was developed iteratively and was not inclusive of all drinking establishments in peninsular Halifax that have been the subject of news coverage (i.e., only North End drinking establishments were included). This method of searching and inclusion is consistent with a similar study by McGinty et al. (2016), that involved a large-scale critical discourse analysis of news media relating to marijuana legalization. The sampling process was consistent with recommendations for conducting critical discourse analysis of news media put forth by Phillips and Hardy (2003) to include texts that (a) reach wide, relevant audiences; (b) are transmitted through accessible channels; and (c) have the potential to impact or influence opinions.

3.4 Data Collection Methods: Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews provide rich data source, addressing what Gee (2011) refers to as an accompaniment to language, including personal experience, political

stance, lifestyle, and social place. Semi-structured qualitative interviews were used for their conversational nature and reliance on open-ended questioning (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Two interview guides were iteratively developed, with separate guides for community members (i.e., individuals who live within the boundaries of the North End and who do not have a formal, publicly identifiable stake) and formal stakeholders (i.e., individuals who do not necessarily live within the boundaries of the North End, but have a publicly identifiable role or position). Key informant interviews were chosen as a complement to the news media analysis as they offered variability and heterogeneity of interviewee responses (discourse). With an interest in heterogeneity, each interview was regarded as subjective discourses in relation to the research question as expressed in the interview guides.

3.4.1 Recruitment Strategy

Multiple methods were used to recruit key informants including (a) direct contact with formal stakeholders, and (b) public advertising by way of posters and social media to recruit community members. The analysis of news media facilitated identification of potential formal stakeholders as key informants (i.e., those who hold formal roles within the community, such as elected officials and bar owners). Publicly available contact information for potential key informants was obtained through online searches, and they were invited by email (Appendix B), using predeveloped scripts (Appendix C) to gauge their interest, as well as to informally screen them to ensure diversity of opinion on the topic of interest. The first two participants were accepted on a first-come basis, and subsequent participants were informally screened by asking for some description as to why they were interested in participating. This screening process was informal: Because

the majority of participants inquired to participate by email, each potential community member participant was contacted to ask what made them interested in participating. Beyond the first two participants described above, participants were selected by indicating they had views that were divergent from those who had participated previously, and the remaining potential participants were later contacted to thank for their interest. The purpose of this screening for diversity of opinion was not to produce a generalizable or representative sample, rather, to avoid having an overly homogeneous sample and promote diversity of opinion..

For the purpose of engaging community members and further capturing diverse opinions, convenience and purposeful sampling were used (Creswell, 2013). Participants were recruited through convenience sampling by displaying posters (Appendix D) on community boards throughout the study area. Verbal permission from the appropriate authority at each location was requested prior to putting up posters. Prior to placing posters, a list of potential sites was identified, including a subset of priority sites that were selected for the first wave of postering, geographically dispersed throughout the North End at a variety of community spaces (Appendix E). Electronic strategies for recruitment included the creation of a WordPress website to host the information letter and poster (Appendix F). Following the distribution of physical posters and distribution of the call for participation on Twitter, there were 31 enquiries in a 72-hour period.

Given the small number of interviews that were feasible for this project, and the interest in a variety of roles and opinions, key informants were screened prior to selection per the description above. To allow for a diversity of opinion, screening ensured a mix of formal stakeholders with business or organizational interests (n=2), and government (e.g.,

planners, councillors) (n=2), as well as community members (i.e., residents) (n=4). As critical discourse analysis does not aim to reach thematic saturation nor yield population-level generalizable findings, this number of participants was sufficient to provide a rich data source with varying perspectives and was in keeping with the scope of a master's thesis, particularly given the detailed transcription and analysis processes inherent to critical discourse analysis.

3.4.2 Key Informant Characteristics

Key informants were invited to participate based on their individual or collective (i.e., vocational, organizational) interest in, and personal and/or professional knowledge of drinking establishment(s) in Halifax's North End. The eight key informants were purposively selected to ensure diversity of roles or positions (e.g., resident, leadership role, business owner, etc.) within the boundaries of Halifax's North End, as well as specific knowledge of, or interest in, neighbourhood drinking establishments within the area. Individuals who volunteered as key informants had their names entered into a draw for a \$25.00 gift card to a local North End business. The random draw was held after all interviews were completed and was witnessed by a third party.

3.4.3 Research Setting and Process

The key informant interviews were conducted in settings that were comfortable and convenient for both myself and the key informant. A private room in the local library was suggested as an appropriate location, although key informants were invited to suggest locations of their choosing. Interviews took place throughout the community, including in offices, at the public library, and in a quiet café. After scheduling interviews and selecting a mutually agreeable location, interviews were confirmed by email or

phone one day in advance. The information letter and consent form were sent to the key informant in advance via email (Appendix I, Appendix J).

At the beginning of each key informant interview, I provided a description of the study purpose, described the informed consent process, provided the key informant with a paper copy of the informed consent document for their records (Appendix I, Appendix J), and ensured the key informant had time to read the document independently and ask questions. Interviews began after the consent forms were signed. All interviews lasted approximately one hour and were audiorecorded. A semi-structured interview guide was used, consisting of open-ended questions (Appendix K) and subsequent probes for detail.

3.5 Data Analysis

As this project was completed as part of my program of study, I had primary responsibility for data analysis but involved the supervisor and committee members to help ensure the credibility of the research findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), as well as for ongoing guidance related to practical use of critical discourse analysis.

The analysis drew extensively on Gee's (2011) building tools (i.e., tools of inquiry): identities, relationships, and significance, with more nuanced analysis of the relevant discursive features. The use of Gee's (2011) framework facilitated analysis about how language was used, and also encouraged critical consideration of how language (in text or talk) was used in the context of "social or political issues, problems, and controversies in the world" (p. 9). Where critical discourse analysis can explore linguistic, words, and semantic features, Fairclough (2003) makes the distinction that critical discourse analysis ought to focus at the structural level (i.e., words and

semantics), allowing the analysis to move beyond linguistics towards deeper social and political context.

In Gee's analytic framework, 'building tools' refers to a series of seven core questions that can be asked when analyzing each piece of text or transcript, towards conceptualizing how the author or speaker constructs the situation. In this sense, the word "building" refers to how words are used for construction, and considers what informs the construction of the words (Gee, 2011, p. 199). Importantly, not all of Gee's seven core questions necessitate simultaneous use; rather, those most appropriate to the text and research questions were chosen.

Identities, relationships, and significance were considered to be of particular relevance to the research question and study context for both key informant interviews and news media (textual) analysis. The analysis also carefully considered discursive features that contributed to the construction of identities, relationships, and/or significance, and at times, these were more prominent than the building task itself. The guiding analytic framework was structured around the following questions Gee puts forth:

(a) Identities: "For any communication, ask what socially recognizable identity or identities the speaker is trying to enact or to get others to recognize. Ask also how the speaker's language treats other people's identities, what sorts of identities the speakers recognize for others in relationship to his or her own. Ask, too, how the speaker is positioning others, what identities the speaker is 'inviting' them to take up." (Gee, 2011, p. 199). Relevant to this thesis, the identities tool was useful for considering how individuals (author or key informant) position themselves with respect to others on the subject of drinking establishments in Halifax's North End.

(b) Relationships: “For any communication, ask how words and various grammatical devices are used to build and sustain or change relationships of various sorts among the speaker, other people, social groups, cultures, and/or institutions” (Gee, 2011, p. 199). In combination with the identities tool, relationships allow for exploration of individual, organizational, and institutional sites of conflict and agreement. In addition, these two tools (relationships and identities) were used in tandem for the exploration of what Coupland (1999) refers to as “Othering”: “. . . the process of representing an individual or social group to render them distant, alien or deviant” (p. 5). Where the construction of the Other occurs through discourse, the exploration of discursive manifestations of identity and relationships was particularly relevant (Wodak, 1997). Gee (2011) explains that the social identities we construct and enact through discourse are intertwined with relationships. Just as we can discursively build and sustain social relationships, we can also use our identity to distance ourselves from other individuals and social groups (Gee, 2011). The interplay of identities invoked by the key informants and how these are used to construct relationships or distance allows for discursive Othering.

(c) Significance: “For any communication, ask how words and grammatical devices are being used to build up or lessen significance (importance, relevance) for certain things and not others.” (Gee, 2011, p. 198). The significance tool is thus appropriate to the exploration of the temporal nature of the data, as well as for the exploration of diverse and varying perspectives.

In addition to addressing these three principal analytic tools put forth by Gee (2011), critical discourse analysis necessitates extension beyond these larger components

(herein referred to as discursive features), in consideration for smaller, discursive elements, where a bidirectional relationship exists between discursive feature and element. For instance, Gee (2011) describes that in the context of the significance tool, a myriad of discursive and grammatical features can be employed by the speaker. Data was approached using the following questions: (a) what broad discursive features were identified?, (b) how was the broad discursive feature constructed? (i.e., what discursive elements were involved), and (c) towards what end? (i.e., implications, outcomes, consideration for broader social context). These relationship between these questions can be considered bidirectional, rather than hierarchical (i.e., you can unpack discourse starting at any of the three levels). In addition to considering discursive features, critical discourse analysis draws on a variety of fields and sources to describe the myriad types and functions of discourse. The list below describes discursive elements commonly used in this thesis. Where critical discourse analysis includes specific terminology to describe discursive elements, those terms most relevant to the analysis are in the list below, along with a brief description. This list was developed iteratively throughout the analytic process. Terms below are listed alphabetically, rather than in order of importance or frequency. Note this list is not exhaustive.

Absence

The absence of social actors or relevant events has been raised as an important consideration in critical discourse analysis, particularly in response to criticism that too often critical discourse analysis focuses on “some presences in a text while neglecting others” (O’Halloran, 2005, p. 1963). When considering exclusion (i.e., social actors who are not present in the text), Fairclough (2003) instructs for clear consideration as to whether there is foregrounding (i.e., what is discursively explicit or prominent), suppression (i.e., a social actor was not permitted to co-construct discourse, for example, by not being asked to provide comment), or backgrounding (i.e., the social actor, event, or element is alluded to

in the article, but not involved in a direct way in co-constructing the discourse and requires abstraction on the part of the reader). Thus, absence can refer to the absence of content as well as the absence of discourse by way of excluding social actors.

<i>Argumentation</i>	Argumentation can be understood using van Emmeren, Grootendorst, and Emmeren's systematic theory of argumentation (2004), whereby "argumentation is a verbal, social, and relational activity aimed at convincing a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint by putting forward a constellation of propositions justifying or refuting the proposition expressed in the standpoint" (p. 12).
<i>Intertextuality</i>	Intertextuality refers to what other people have written or said embedded within our own speech or writing (Gee, 2011). This can be in reference to direct or indirect quotes, references, or allusion (Gee, 2011).
<i>Othering</i>	Othering is embedded in socially constructed identities, often relying on binaries (Wodak, 1997) where the Other is constructed as socially undesirable or alien and potentially threatening.
<i>Rhetoric</i>	Reisigl (2008) defines rhetoric as "the science and art of persuasive language use" (p. 97). Rhetoric is often political in nature, and includes elements of conviction, argumentation, portrayal of facts and evidence, attitude or emotion, whilst often intended to provoke response or reaction (Reisigl, 2008). Rhetoric can also include hyperbole, euphemisms, and denial (van Dijk, 1993).
<i>Social actor</i>	In critical discourse analysis, it is important to be attuned to how individuals with stake or relevance are discursively represented in events (Fairclough, 2003). How a social actor is represented, particularly with respect to whether they are activated or passivated is important in relation to agency, social location, and power (Fairclough, 2003).
<i>Value assumptions</i>	One type of assumption related to how texts have implicit meanings (Fairclough, 2003). Value assumptions refer to what is constructed as desirable or undesirable (Blakemore, 1992).

3.5.1 Organization of Data for Analysis

Unique to the analysis of key informant interviews, Gee (2011) describes the concern that must be taken in the detailed transcription of audio files for the purpose of

critical discourse analysis. After conducting each interview, I listened to the recording multiple times, both for the purposes of accurate transcription, and for the partial inclusion of what Hill (2005) describes as important transcription conventions for analysis of narrative, including, lengthening, laughter and other paralinguistic features, and pauses.

Table 3.1 List of transcription conventions used in this study

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS	
<u>underline</u>	emphasis
:	elongation of syllable
,	pause
.	stop with falling intonation
?	stop with rising or question intonation
[]	paralinguistic feature
\\	start/finish of paralinguistic feature described in []

(Jefferson, 2004 as cited in Kiepek, 2012)

For the purposes of answering the research questions, it was not necessary to consider specific linguistic functions, what Phillips and Hardy (2003) refer to as the “microanalyses of individual utterances” (i.e., linguistic functions of individual words were not analyzed) (p. 9). Instead, transcripts were approached by clause, a strategy put forth by Halliday (1968) in recognition of the fact that human speech does not necessarily translate to succinct, cohesive paragraphs (as cited in Martin, 2002). Unlike transcripts, news media texts, as data, did consist of cohesive paragraphs, and thus, analysis occurred at the paragraph level, rather than at the level of individual clauses. In both instances, transcripts and news articles were analyzed on paper (by marking up news articles on what is observed within each clause or paragraph) and then scanned and approached

electronically, using the annotations feature in NVivo. Data sets were initially coded individually, using memos and annotations to provide interpretations of the data, and to link these interpretations together. News analysis occurred first, followed by key informant interviews. Consequentially, during analysis of the key informant interviews, additional annotations were made to indicate areas of potential overlap and notable distinctions between the two datasets. Thus, the majority of analysis for the similarities and differences between the two data sets occurred during the second phase of analysis. During the process of analysing the key informant interviews (i.e., the second phase of analysis), insight into the third research was generated. This analysis lent itself well to the discussion, rather than as a section of the findings, given the scope of the findings and the nature of the analysis (i.e., similarities and differences were predominately considered from a content perspective, rather than an exploration of their distinct discursive constructions). Final structural organization of all data overall were conducted in NVivo including organizing potential quotes relevant to the structure of the thesis. The use of NVivo made it feasible to import and organize multiple sources of data (transcripts and news articles, scanned with original markup), and to link these sources individually and collectively to a reflexive journal. The journal documented my evolving understanding of the tools used in the analysis with consideration for how they were being applied to the data sets, comparing results within and across data sources. The reflexive journal was valuable as a means of documenting how I applied the analytical framework and tools of inquiry used in critical discourse analysis to the datasets, as well as early musings for the discussion. However, my reflexive journal was not analysed as a data set in and of itself.

3.6 Ethical Considerations: News Media

For the purpose of analyzing written news media, it is important to note that Article 2.2 of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* states that ethics review by a University ethics review board is not required when the information source is publicly available and exists without the reasonable expectation of privacy. This was the case for the published print media articles that constituted one source of data in this research.

3.7 Ethical Review: Key Informant Interviews

Like other qualitative data collection strategies, key informant interviews are carried out with voluntary key informants, thereby requiring an application to the Dalhousie University Research Ethics Board (REB). The ethics protocol for this thesis was reviewed by Dalhousie University's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board, and permission to conduct research was granted in June 2017 (REB # 2017-4176).

3.7.1 Informed Consent Process

People who volunteered for this study were asked to provide written consent. A separate version of the consent form was prepared for each group of key informants (community members and public stakeholders) (see Appendix I and J). Upon initial contact, the appropriate letter and consent form was sent by email to the interested key informant. At the beginning of the interview, I provided a brief oral introduction to the research project, an overview of what participants would be asked to do and a brief description of all aspects of the consent form. The key informant was given opportunity to read the information letter and consent form independently and encouraged to ask questions. After reading the consent form and addressing any questions they might have,

the research key informant was asked to sign the consent form before the interview began. The information letter was given to the key informant in hard copy, while the signature pages were detached and retained.

3.7.2 Anonymity and Confidentiality

This study contains specific information about a small geographic area and specific establishments and people that could not be described in a way that does not identify these establishments and people without diluting the data to the extent that research questions would be rendered unanswerable. In other words, due to the specific nature of the study, it was not possible to present data as fully de-identified.

Consequently, transcripts were often not de-identified. Prior to collecting data it was also determined that it would likely not be possible to sufficiently de-identify the transcripts of key informants who hold formal leadership roles in the small geographic area, without the data becoming overly dilute. Thus, formal stakeholders were informed during the consent process that it was likely their data could not be de-identified, and were required to agree that they could be identified in research products in order to participate in the research. Community residents, more numerous in number, were provided a choice as to whether they would like to be identified in research products, as their role in the community was anticipated to be more easily redacted.

The processes for identification and quoting were as follows: As part of the consent process, formal stakeholders were required consent to the use of quotes that are not identifiable, acknowledging that these would not be sent to them prior to use. However, because it was expected that de-identifying formal stakeholders' quotes would not be possible while retaining useful data, as an inclusion criteria for this group, formal

stakeholders were required to consent to potential identification (direct or indirect) in the research. It should be noted that formal stakeholders had the option to review identifiable quotes, by consenting to have these emailed to them for their review. Other quotes that were not identifiable were used without having them checked by these participants.

Respecting the agency of community members as participants, they were also provided the choice as to whether or not they would like to be identified in research products. Notably, most participants chose to be identified. After each interview had ended, resident key informants could choose to provide consent indicating (a) whether they would like to be identified in the resultant dissemination or (b) if they would prefer to have their data de-identified. If they chose to be identified, they were also asked to provide consent for quotes to be sent to them via email (acknowledging the risk of interception and the limits of email security), to allow them to check quotes before they were included in dissemination. If they did not want to be identified, they could choose to provide consent for the use of anonymized quotes.

3.7.3 Potential Risks

Participation in key informant interviews was deemed minimal risk, in accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*, in that the risks were not above what key informants might encounter in day-to-day life (Canadian Institute for Health Research, 2014), and the interview questions were not sensitive in nature.

The potential risks to formal stakeholders who were identified in dissemination were also considered. The risk associated with identifying these individuals in research publication was also considered minimal, as these individuals were typically well-known,

and they were accustomed to having their opinions made public. These minimal risks were further mitigated by providing detailed information about potential risks through the informed consent process, as well as sending individual key informants any quotes or directly identifiable information for approval prior to use in dissemination.

3.7.4 Potential Benefits

There were no direct benefits to participation in this study. It was possible that key informants found it meaningful to engage in conversation about topics of interest to them, or of significance to their community. Similarly, community members and leaders may have felt empowered to take action by participating in this research. Because active efforts will be taken for knowledge translation, including the use public forums within the community (e.g., public presentation, possible article in *The Coast*), it is possible that this research could help shape drinking establishments or alcohol policies in the key informants' community.

3.7.5 Privacy and Data Management

Interviews were recorded, and digital audio files were subsequently stored as encrypted files on my password-protected computer, with backup files stored on a locked, external hard drive. I transcribed interviews verbatim, in keeping with transcription conventions used in critical discourse analysis.

3.7.6 Conflicts of Interest

In keeping with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (2014), the I had (at the time of proposal and data collection) nor have any formal or organizational conflicts of interest to declare. I had no formal relationship with potential key informants. However, as a former resident of the North End, it was

possible that the key informants would be potentially familiar and vice versa. This was the case in one such interview, though recruitment did not occur by way of this relationship. Nevertheless, throughout the duration of the study I did not reside in the North End, and was not in a position of power, authority, or leadership within the community. Therefore, it was determined that I held no conflict of interest, but by way of having lived in the North End, my experiences were certainly relevant to my positionality.

3.7 Principal Investigator Details

3.7.1 Roles and Responsibilities

In keeping with the requirements for the MA Leisure Studies Program, the I was responsible for all phases of the study, from proposal development to dissemination and knowledge translation, with directional, conceptual, and tangible support from the thesis supervisor, Dr. Karen Gallant, and committee members. Accordingly, I was responsible for collecting, transcribing, and analyzing the data, as well as all contact with key informants.

3.7.2 Positionality

I completed a BSc (Hons) in Health Promotion at Dalhousie University, which allowed me to explore longstanding interests in substance use and prevention. This personal interest likely stems from a family history of alcohol abuse and serious mental illness, as well as some frustration with how we talk and write about these issues both in academic and non-academic circles. These interests were substantially challenged while completing my Health Promotion internship with the provincial department of Addictions and Mental Health, where I was a part of initiatives to reduce the access, availability, and

affordability of alcohol within Nova Scotian communities. On the weekend, I often would share drinks with friends whilst feeling guilty that I was drinking in the first place. This is not to say that health promoters are teetotalers, but rather that I had strongly adopted and internalized the values ‘necessary’ for the reduction of drinking related harms and, at times, came to find these extreme and often a point of controversy when talking with friends outside of the Health Promotion program. Thus emerged my interest in social drinking from a leisure perspective, rooted in my own experiences of pleasurable and leisurely social drinking, and a feeling that this is in conflict with attitudes and beliefs developed while studying health promotion. Aware of my position relative to the proposed study, reflexive journals were kept following interviews as a way of acknowledging and exploring my positionality, and remaining cognizant of potential biases with regard to the ideologies that inform my research.

3.8 Dissemination Strategies and Knowledge Translation

The results of this research project will be disseminated through both academic and non-academic channels. Academic dissemination includes the completed thesis and associated defense. To date, preliminary findings from the news analysis were shared at the Academy of Leisure Sciences conference in February 2018. Further conference presentations are anticipated or upcoming. In addition, this thesis will be distilled into two manuscripts for publication.

Building on my current interest and training in knowledge translation (KT), aggregate results will be prepared as an opinion piece for the Coast magazine. These will be shared in lay form, which will be more descriptive of the findings in an overarching way.

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

This chapter presents critical discourse analysis findings about (a) text-based local news media coverage and (b) key informant interviews.

4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis of Local News Media Coverage

A total of 13 articles were included in the analysis of text-based discourse. Findings were organized according to (a) consideration for where, when, and how, drinking establishments fit in mixed-use neighbourhoods during rapid development or gentrification, (b) the branding and selling of the ‘North End’, (c) absence, and (d) sensationalist discourses.

Table 4.1 Local news media articles analyzed

Ref # ¹	Author	Article Title	Publication	Date	Format ²
R1	Lowe, L.	Gus’ noise problem	<i>The Coast</i>	Aug 6, 2009	Editorial
R2	DeMont, J.	Gus’ Pub: It’s about family	<i>Chronicle Herald</i>	Feb 16, 2013	Feature
R3	Zaccagna, R.	History of Agricola takes root	<i>Chronicle Herald</i>	Sep 17, 2013	News
R4	Lubberts, K.	Wrought Iron Brewing is now Good Robot	<i>The Coast</i>	Apr 23, 2015	News
R5	Erwin, A.	Stillwell eyes North End for its beer garden	<i>The Coast</i>	Apr 4, 2016	News
R6	Berman, P.	Stillwell contemplates opening North End Halifax beer garden	<i>CBC</i>	Apr 4, 2016	News
R7	Cousins, B.	Islamic Centre calls for end to Good Robot Brewery’s liquor license	<i>Chronicle Herald</i>	Oct 14, 2016	Feature

Ref # ¹	Author	Article Title	Publication	Date	Format ²
R8	Patil, A.	Islamic Centre wants Good Robot's liquor license revoked	<i>CBC</i>	Oct 17, 2016	Feature
R9	Staff: Canadian Press	Islamic Centre in Halifax launches Noise Complaint against Good Robot Brewing	<i>Global News (The Canadian Press)</i>	Oct 18, 2016	News
R10	Panacci, A.	Good Robot shocked by complaint, to meet with neighbour	<i>Chronicle Herald</i>	Oct 18, 2016	News
R11	Dingwell, R.	Racist trolls are poisoning Good Robot, Islamic Centre situation	<i>The Coast</i>	Oct 21, 2016	Editorial
R12	Staff: Canadian Press	Good Robot Brewing, Islamic Centre now 'good neighbours' after complaints	<i>Global News (The Canadian Press)</i>	Oct 26, 2016	News
R13	DeWolf, M.	Business of beer: Halifax's Good Robot is building a craft brew identity	<i>Chronicle Herald</i>	Nov 28, 2016	News

¹ Throughout the document the Reference # (i.e., R1-R13) will be used as in-text citations

² The format of the article has discursive function. Articles that relay recent events are herein referred to as *news coverage*. Articles that are less temporal in nature, and more prominently feature opinion or argument are referred to as *editorial*. Articles that may or may not feature current events but are not time-sensitive and remain relevant after publication, longer in length.

4.1.1 Fitting In: Drinking Establishments in the North End

Across the articles analysed (listed in Table 4.1), the notion of where drinking establishments 'fit' within the context of the North End was frequently raised. *Fitting in* refers to how, where, and when drinking establishments are physically located in the North End, in the context of a mixed-use residential/commercial area undergoing rapid development and/or gentrification and known for its diversity in terms of community

members' socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and age. At the broadest discursive level, argumentation was noted as a discursive feature, where consensus-driven argumentation functions discursively to encourage the reader to weigh the 'evidence' presented in the argument and reach a consensus on the respective weight of issues presented (i.e., consensus-driven arguments were used to present arguments as rational appeals to logic, where the logical argument is considered preferable) (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). These styles of argumentation are particularly important as media representations and the discourses contained therein are powerful means of shaping public opinion, and this coverage has the potential to both sustain and reify the distribution of power among community members and stakeholders in the context of local media coverage.

Consensus-style arguments, as elements of discourse, were identified across the set of 13 articles included in the analysis. Value assumptions regarding one's ability to enjoy a peaceful, tranquil home environment without intrusive noise are well illustrated in the editorial published in *The Coast*, which details noise complaints stemming from a condo building that was erected near Gus' pub, a live-music venue located nearby. In the quote below the notion that Gus' pub has a "thin file" is positioned as socially desirable and appeals to the reader to use this as evidence toward the logical conclusion that Gus' pub has not raised contention in the neighbourhood. The "thin file" is used to construct an argument for Gus' pub in relation to the noise complaints:

Gus' Pub has been on the corner of North and Agricola for 48 years. Its dark interior has hosted live music for 25 years and it's been the city's holy shrine of indie rock for going on five. "With no complaints," Georgakakos says. "No one complained. Never. At all. We have the thinnest file in the Nova Scotia Alcohol and Gaming Commission.

The author of the editorial piece in *The Coast* then goes on to add temporality (i.e., who was there first) as value statements related to the tenure of the community members or business. In addition, the rhetorical use of “let’s talk sense here” implies a taken-for-granted assumption about the processes homebuyers and renters use when acquiring property in mixed-use, albeit primarily residential areas. Taken-for-granted assumptions also relied on temporality (i.e., who was there first), as in the example below.

In the case of Gus’ Pub, the music pre-dates the residential quarters---which are a mixture of standard low-income rental units---by a quarter century. Let’s talk sense here: when you pick a place to live, you consider neighbourhood noise, among other things, before you start screwing in curtain rods.

The excerpts from *Gus’ noise problem* (R1) are representative of many of the styles of argument presented in the news articles, which depict tensions between residents and neighbourhood drinking establishments and rely on argumentation driven by value assumptions. Value assumptions that rely on temporality indicate that drinking establishments can be simultaneously desirable by patrons and functioning businesses, while undesirable to new residents who are negatively impacted by their presence. Simultaneously, it is subtly implied that the noise complaints are relatively new where it is implied that residents of historically “*low-income rental units*” did not share these concerns or raise them as complaints. It’s thus possible that value assumptions also pertain to socioeconomic displacement of historic residents (i.e., those who did not or perhaps could not, by way of their social location, complain). Temporality (as emphasized in the above excerpt) was used to construct arguments related to neighbourhood change and who (or what) was established in the North End first, within almost all of the articles included in the analysis.

Across the set of articles analysed, relationships were discursively constructed to describe where, how, and when drinking establishments fit in the North End, along with the associated relationships between people (i.e., patrons, residents, patron-residents, and business owners and staff) as in the examples above, as well as between people and place (i.e., changing nature or availability of drinking establishments as important community places). For example, in the aforementioned article (R1), Dimo was quoted as saying: “I have been here all my life, and I’m not going anywhere.” This example draws attention to the relationships between people and place in the context of where drinking establishments fit amidst neighbourhood change processes.

In most articles (including R1) the speaker is the journalist (i.e., author) who dialogically presents other voices towards the construction of social actors (who hold identities) and relationships between these actors. This is to say that the journalist has authority to portray relationships between social actors, and the power to shape public perception by way of these representations. For example, the journalist exercised the authorial choice to emphasize the relationships between Dimo (manager of the then longstanding Gus’ pub) and individuals who have lived near the venue prior to the newly developed condo who had not expressed concerns related to noise: “With no complaints,’ Georgakakos says. ‘No one complained. Never. At all.’”

This quote draws attention to how neighbourhood change processes and associated shifts in socioeconomic status of the residents (as indicated by the journalist’s emphasis on “low-income” housing) influence discourses relating to how and where drinking establishments fit in the North End. Contention related to where drinking

establishments fit in the North End are thus evidenced through relationships between social actors described as being at odds (i.e., new condo residents and Georgakakos).

Fraught relationships were common in news media descriptions of drinking establishments in the North End. Argumentation through discursive means was observed within and across the set of thirteen articles, with respect to how, when, and where drinking establishments fit in the North End. In addition to the issues surrounding noise and Gus' pub, these construals of relationships in relation to where drinking establishments fit were particularly apparent within coverage of the proposed Stillwell beer garden. As important context, unlike Gus' Pub, Stillwell was a relatively new establishment (opening a main location in downtown Halifax and operating a satellite seasonal beergarden on the downtown Halifax waterfront). Having recently lost their bid to operate their waterfront beergarden (R5), Stillwell had put in an application to open at the southernmost boundary of the North End, nearby the Halifax Common, a large historically-significant greenspace surrounded by residential dwellings, arterial traffic, and commercial boroughs, offering a range of recreation and leisure opportunities to Haligonians.

The talk of Stillwell possibly re-opening its beergarden across from the Halifax Common has left the surrounding neighbourhood with mixed feelings.

Chris Reynolds, the co-owner of the bar, met [with community members and municipal officials] at 2223 North Park Street – a proposed location for the Stillwell Beergarden, which spent last summer on the Halifax waterfront – for an informal meeting Sunday afternoon. He believes that the Nova Scotia Alcohol and Gaming Division's public notice misinformed people by including "the maximum amount of everything" in their consultation letter.

"I think some of the neighbours in this neighbourhood saw those figures and were shocked by them," he says. "We're not going to operate a 6,000 person rave here until two in the morning every night of the week."

Halifax councillor Waye Mason posted this picture of the neighbourhood meeting yesterday. While the photo attracted mainly positive comments in support of the proposal, some members of the neighbourhood weren't on board with the idea.

Sophi Nitoslawski lives across the street from the potential beer garden. She was informed of the consultation Sunday night when her landlord knocked on her door. She believes bringing a beer garden to a residential neighbourhood will cause safety concerns: "I feel unsafe at the idea of having at most 400 people drinking across the street from me." Nitoslawski says that she moved to her neighbourhood to be away from the bar scene and that a beer garden will encourage drinking, violence, aggression and noise complaints.

The above excerpt provides an illustration of how relationships between social actors can be used to present positive and negative information as strategies of argumentation that present an interplay for— and against— the proposed Stillwell beergarden in the North End. In this article, intertextual reported speech is used to construct 'sides', where a variety of conflicting perspectives are detailed resulting in construals of relationships between the various parties. The relationships construed include a personification of the neighbourhood itself as a generalized representation of residents' opinions (e.g., the notion that a geographic area can "have mixed feelings" about the proposal), the co-owner whose business is under scrutiny (i.e., Reynolds), the residents or "neighbours" who have concerns relating to safety (i.e., Nitoslawski), the regulatory body who was deemed by both the co-owner and the resident to have poorly handled the public consultation (i.e., Alcohol and Gaming), and the councillor (i.e., Mason) who is left to mediate. In considering how these relationships are construed, notably absent are residents or "neighbours" who did not feel vulnerable or threatened by the presence of the beer garden (i.e., those who might live in the area and patronize the beer garden). For example, consider that the perspective of only one resident was included in the article (see above excerpt), despite indicating that many were favorable to

the beergarden. Consequentially, by way of absence, we have little insight into what makes the beergarden desirable to some but not others. Consequentially, readers are presented with a number of fraught relationships including a relatively powerless tenant taking a grassroots approach to preventing the opening of the Stillwell beer garden, to the more powerful governmental authority (Nova Scotia Alcohol and Gaming Commission), who can implement decisions in the absence of consensus.

Across the news media included in the analysis, strategies of argumentation that emphasize tensions between residents and drinking establishments were prominent and offer insight into how, discursively, drinking establishments can be described as ‘fitting in’ or not. These arguments rely on value assumptions (e.g., residents’ rights to tranquility and/or safety, or the authority associated with the opinions of longstanding residents or business owners). While the editorial related to Gus’ Pub indicated coverage favorable to the tenure of the drinking establishment, issues related to newer drinking establishments tend to emphasize that it is newer residents, some of increased socioeconomic means, who were raising concerns that had previously been unreported. What is apparent is that media representations assert that changing neighbourhood demographics are influencing the ability for longstanding drinking establishments and proposed establishments alike to ‘fit’ in the neighbourhood, while new residents are experiencing similar challenges ‘fitting’ in a mixed-use commercial-residential area. Findings from the analysis of these articles indicate that where, when, and how drinking establishments, particularly those that are newer, fit in the North End are controversial and problematized, with much more emphasis on temporality and neighbourhood change processes than the act of drinking itself.

4.1.2 Capitalizing on the Local

This process of capitalizing on the local, underpinned by a communicative and strategic producing effect, can be understood as part of promotional culture, where “cultural phenomena are virtually always serving promotional functions” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 221). As detailed in the previous section, drinking establishments in the North End are frequently problematized in the news media (i.e., ten of the articles analysed). However, a subset of three articles were unique as they did not emphasize controversy, and instead had a strategic producing effect (i.e., per Fairclough (2005) explicit and covert ways of promoting or advertising through texts whose purpose was traditionally communicative rather than strategically commercial). Through strategic producing effects, the news media ultimately serves to promote and advertise social desirability in a commodified way. Journalists and the people interviewed within the less controversial subset of articles (R2, R4, R13), relay information about drinking establishments with the ability to capitalize on the socially constructed identity of the North End as desirable (e.g., new drinking establishments as enjoyable community gathering places), while simultaneously backgrounding or suppressing undesirable aspects (e.g., the socioeconomic prerequisites necessary to patronize these establishments, and the socioeconomic inequity associated with neighbourhood change processes in the North End). The strategic producing effect capitalizing functions to reify a socially desirable identity for the North End (e.g., the reputation of the North End as ‘hip’ or ‘vibrant’). This reifies an emerging and ‘rose-coloured’ depiction of the North End as an epicenter of culture and vibrancy in Halifax. In each of these examples, the journalist (author) and intertextual reported speech by involved social actors (i.e., those who are activated) is

promotional and positive, and therefore, functions as rhetoric. This rhetoric perpetuates an image of the North End on which the social actor can capitalize. In the case of news coverage that has a communicative and strategic producing effect, we can consider the following examples, each of which will be subsequently described in detail: (a) Coverage of Gus' Pub's serving longstanding and new residents; (b) coverage of the Agricola Street Brasserie that describes the use of the North End's agricultural history in their marketing strategy, (c) coverage of the co-owners of Good Robot using North End landmarks in their marketing strategy; and (d) the rationale offered for moving the Stillwell beergarden from downtown to the North End. In the subsequent paragraphs, it becomes evident that in each of these instances the culture of the North End is exploited as a desirable facet by the business owners and representatives.

The use of rhetoric towards a promotional effect is evident through the first example, from an article (R2) where Gus' Pub is described as a socially leveling place (i.e., one which actively includes individuals regardless of social location), welcome to both new and longstanding residents:

“His [the owner's] venerable watering hole isn't just the longest-lived commercial establishment in this newly gentrified part of town; it's also the crossroads where Halifax's old and new north ends meet.

What, that place with the lurid exterior where the guitar feedback can blow the eardrums of a passerby?

Just drop in some afternoon, before the hipsters arrive, and you'll see.

Let me put it this way: is it conceivable that there exist saloons in this city where a couple of university students pull beers a few feet away from a developer tucking into a burger, while the banjo player from Mumford & Sons apparently works on a laptop in the corner.”

A number of rhetorical claims are evident in the above article. For example, the image of Gus' Pub functioning as a “crossroads” between “old and new” North Ends. These claims

assume a taken for granted knowledge of the changing demographics of the North End, while simultaneously producing a rhetoric of social inclusion where Gus' is revered for meeting the needs of diverse clientele while simultaneously described as "lurid" in character. This rhetoric thus may have a promotional outcome for Gus' pub. The above article also functions rhetorically where there is an introduction to the political problem (e.g., gentrification, the "old and new"), exemplification of the problem (e.g., noisy "hipsters" by night, neighbourhood watering hole by day), and a conclusion (e.g., all patrons can coexist harmoniously in the space, and the pub exists as an inclusive community space, albeit one that is temporally divided with few opportunities for intermingling of diverse patrons).

The subsequent examples related to (b) the Agricola Street Brasserie, (c) Good Robot, and (d) Gus' Pub, also have producing effects, particularly given that these are businesses described as being opened by individuals from outside of Nova Scotia who were attracted to the North End for its vibrancy. In describing the branding of Good Robot, the author (R3) reports one of the co-owners as saying: "the city was small enough to appeal to Doug, who is from rural Ontario, and was eclectic enough to appeal to my [the other co-owner's] tastes". Similarly, with respect to the then under-construction Agricola Street Brasserie, the author (R3) writes, "Adding to the excitement of this new venture is the knowledge that they [the Brasserie owners] are part of a renaissance in the city's north end, where a new restaurant or bar seemingly appears every week." While promoting the social desirability of the North End, the authors and social actors, through their reported speech, make persuasive, rhetorical claims regarding

the character of the North End (e.g., “eclectic”, “renaissance”), a depiction from which they stand to benefit.

Rhetoric and promotional culture thus function to construct local identities. The communicative and strategic promotion effect and resultant rhetoric work towards the production and re-production of intermingling identities in Halifax’s North End. In part, this is achieved through the language that procedurally constructs collective identities within socio-political contexts. Consider, for example, the descriptions of the North End as “vibrant” by new business owners, while language like “gentrification” and “changing landscape” arises in articles that are more critical of the role of drinking establishments in the North End.

4.1.3 Talking About Drinking Establishments without Talking About Drinking

Within the articles, there is an absence of references to drinking alcohol and the extent to which alcohol is consumed (i.e., one drink, severely intoxicated). The act of drinking is only mentioned in one article, though it is subtly backgrounded in others, and suppressed in the remaining body of articles included in this analysis. Moreover, references to drinking in relation to leisure and/or health are notably less evident or absent in the 13 news articles analysed. The analysis thus considered both what is present and what is absent. The relationship between the presence of some details and absence of others in the news media provided evidence that significance can be heightened or lessened strategically through discursive means (i.e., backgrounding, foregrounding, suppression). In turn, the discursively manipulated significance can convey controversy. In addition, presence and absence are nuanced in that drinking was at times subtly

alluded to (backgrounded), or required abstraction on the part of the reader. Across the body of articles, the act of drinking was only once foregrounded (i.e., in reference to individuals drinking craft beer as a target market for Good Robot), and even then was not the focus of the article (R13).

For example, when discussing the opening of the Agricola Street Brasserie the author (R3) describes the history of the owners, type of food and local sourcing, and physical design of the space with great detail (e.g., “It’s going to be both industrial and rustic, but cosy and comfortable, lots of earth tones, with brick, steel and wood.”). Just as the article is concluding, the author writes: “An unexpected twist in their [the Brasserie co-owner’s] journey was an anonymous letter campaign two weeks ago that urged neighbourhood residents to oppose their lounge liquor licence application.”

In the balance of the article (R3) there is no reference as to why the license was opposed, although Hase, one of the co-owners, explains that they wouldn’t be “blasting music out the door”. Notably absent, however, is any mention of what type of licensed drinking establishment would be operated at the Brasserie (i.e., hours, necessity to have food alongside alcohol, etc.). Similarly, it is unknown what concerns were raised by neighboring residents who participated in the anonymous letter campaign, as well as those residents who did not. In this instance, the opposition of a liquor license without use of an argument related to drinking, nor mention of drinking constitutes a significant absence. Similar absences related to drinking in the presence of licensure issues were also raised with regards to the proposed Stillwell beer garden, a venue that sought to open in the North End, yet was unable to open based on concerns from neighbouring residents in the early proposal stages. In this coverage, the author (R6) quotes co-owner Chris

Reynolds as saying, “I think some of the neighbours saw those figures [maximum number of patrons permitted] and were shocked by them,” he says. “We’re not going to operate a 6,000 person rave here until two in the morning every night of the week.” The journalist goes on to write that a resident “believes bringing a beer garden to the residential neighbourhood will cause safety concerns: “I feel unsafe at the idea of having at most 400 people drinking across the street from me.”

There are a few notable examples where drinking is mentioned. These instances show evidence of discursive othering (i.e., self versus other, and alienating the other) and facework (e.g., one’s outward presentation of self, and how this is saved or maintained amidst criticism). For example, when the Islamic Faith Centre publicly raised concerns regarding noise and conduct at Good Robot, a formal complaint was filed with the Province with the intention of revoking Good Robot’s licensure. In one of a series of rapid-fire articles relating to this debate, the author (R10) writes:

But Council [co-owner of Good Robot] said some of the statements made in the complaint letter do not reflect them accurately.

“We’re not a drunken roadhouse,” he said. “We are a small business with a focus on our community.”

The above excerpt (R10) provides evidence of othering. This othering occurs when Council describes the Good Robot as “not a drunken roadhouse”, indicating that there are drinking establishments which are different, other, or more alien than Good Robot. Council then uses rhetoric of community inclusion to emphasize that they are a “*small business with a focus on our community*”, both distancing Good Robot from selling alcohol as the primary mode of business and emphasizing their community-

oriented business practices (i.e., “our community”) through language of belonging (e.g., the construction of group cohesion through language like ours, we, etc.). In addition, the act of individuals ‘drinking’ is largely absent or backgrounded via the lack of reference to social actors who patronize Good Robot, and other drinking establishments. This coverage illustrates that residents and neighbouring institutions (e.g., the Islamic Faith Centre) have concerns related to the operation of drinking establishments (e.g., “*drunken roadhouse*”).

4.1.4 Sensationalism in Local News Media Coverage

Of all the drinking establishments in Halifax’s North End, perhaps the most controversial in the media has been Good Robot. Good Robot provides evidence of sensationalism through the discursive inclusion and exclusion of social actors, as well as abstraction (i.e., those who the reader must deduce are involved, though are not foregrounded or explicitly included). Six of the thirteen articles included in the analysis referred to a dispute between Good Robot’s co-owners and the neighbouring Islamic Faith Centre (R7, R8, R9, R10, R11, R12). These articles were published between October 14 and October 26, 2016, with coverage from The Coast, The Canadian Press (Global News), CBC News, and The Chronicle Herald. These articles are primarily representational (i.e., meanings of events represented through texts (Fairclough, 2005)), and actional (i.e., articles refer to earlier coverage, offering response and reaction, perhaps eliciting or invoking subsequent events (Fairclough, 2005)). The nature of these articles as representations and actional is important as the news coverage of the issues between Good Robot and the neighbouring Islamic Faith Centre was self-referential and intertextual, where journalists and individuals interviewed in the coverage referred to

previous coverage and offered replies (e.g., R10 where a co-owner of Good Robot indicates that he was surprised to learn of the issue via news media, and offers a reply to the assertions made in the previous coverage).

The representation of social actors is essential to unpacking sensationalistic coverage of drinking establishments in the North End. In the instance of the Good Robot coverage, through recorded speech the author establishes adversarial perspectives in relation to ascribed beliefs, desires, and values, thereby heightening significance where it is positioned as an imperative demand (i.e., the news coverage itself is a call to action). The author quotes the Islamic Faith centre as referring to a “*frontal attack on our way of life*”, with the director of the centre adding that “*our stance up to this point has just been to run outside and scream at them*”. In a follow-up story, the author reported Good Robot’s co-owner reply by way of a subsequent news story indicating they were shocked to learn of their neighbours’ complaint: “*We’re not a drunken roadhouse,*” he said. “*We are a small business with a focus on our community.*” Notably, both of the above quotes came from the Canadian Press (R9, R12), construing the issue first by presenting the issues from the perspective of representatives of the Islamic Faith Centre exclusively, and subsequently offering a reply from the “surprised” co-owners of Good Robot. While both representatives of Good Robot and the Islamic Faith Centre are included in the coverage as social actors, the use of pronouns is one of the ways that language is used to construct community (e.g., “our way of life” and “our community”). In some instances, where one social actor may be activated and the other passivated by the author’s choices in reported speech (i.e., both verbatim quoting and summary) the speakers for the Islamic Faith Centre and Good Robot are present and activated in relation to one another (i.e.,

represented in a pattern of subsequent assertions and replies, while scarcely involving both parties in the same coverage), functioning to further sensationalize the subjectively oppositional issues by denying key social actors the ability to respond within the same text, instead presenting ‘one side’ of a complex issue in rapid-fire coverage.

Sensationalist discourse can thus be constructed through the presence or absence of social actors and how the author positions them in relation to activity, object, persons, social relations, place, and values.

Absent from the coverage are community members (residents) who use the Islamic Faith Centre and those who patronize Good Robot. Instead the coverage emphasized the contentious, albeit seemingly brief, conflict between the principal social actors as activated social agents through reported dialogue. In the context of potential patrons, there is some backgrounding in descriptions of lewd, drunken behaviour, where backgrounding may function to further sensationalize by way of emphasizing the activity (i.e., drinking) and deemphasizing the individual (i.e., the patron). It is possible that the patrons are absent from the articles, whether inadvertently or not, to frame the issue as a dispute between neighbours (i.e., declarative relaying of the ‘events’) rather than a broader discussion of social drinking in community contexts, which would require more abstraction. This results in a common thread between headlines – one consistent issue, two identifiable actors, and a fundamental disagreement based on their right to either (a) enjoy the peace and tranquility of their religious gathering place, and (b) operate a successful business abiding by Provincial and Municipal laws. The analysis of local news media coverage provided valuable context for the subsequent key informant interviews.

4.2 Findings: Key Informant Interviews

The key informant interviews offered insights complementary to the news media analysis, as well as a number of distinct findings. The findings from key informant interviews are organized by discursive function (e.g., othering and its relevance). The first section of findings details key informants' use of intertextual references to other discourses that function to decrease the significance of the news coverage. The second section explores how key informants increased and/or decreased significance of drinking establishments and gentrification by discursively drawing attention to, or detracting attention from, specific events, actors, or places (i.e., through presence and absence). The third section details how othering was used by key informants in relation to gentrification (i.e., othering of new and original residents), which functioned to increase or decrease the social desirability of the neighbourhood and drew attention to the distribution of social goods. Othering also occurred in relation to drinking, with participants discursively othering patrons and individuals who drank in ways that were considered less socially acceptable (i.e., consuming more than the one or two drinks at a time).

4.2.1 Participant Characteristics

Eight participants engaged in individual interviews as part of the study, four as community members residing in the North End, and four as formal stakeholders who held identifiable roles or stakes related to North End drinking establishments. Interviews were transcribed using critical discourse analysis transcription conventions (p. 40-41). As outlined in the methods, formal stakeholders had to agree to be identified as a requirement for participation, while community members had the option as to whether or not they wanted to be identified. In sharing these findings, when possible, I use

anonymized quotes. In instances where a key informant's identity, by way of their characteristics or role, provide important context, participants have been named.

4.2.2 Community Members

Four community members participated in the study, all of whom currently resided in the North End. One of the four participants chose to be named by pseudonym.

Michael. Michael and I met at the North End Community Library. Michael was in his mid-60s and had lived in the North End all of his life, with much of his family still residing in the area, including his brother who had inherited the homestead while Michael lived in an apartment nearby. Michael expressed great concern about the changing demographics of the North End, and felt that increasingly people, within and outside of the North End, were drinking “to get obnoxiously drunk”.

Graeme. Graeme and I met in a meeting room on the Dalhousie University campus. He expressed interest in wanting to help an emerging researcher, while also expressing curiosity that such a study was being done. Graeme spoke at length about what he described as his “ideal neighbourhood drinking establishment”, which had yet to exist apart from in his imagination. Graeme was raised in the South End of Halifax and came from a long line of prominent Nova Scotia physicians – the family trade that led him to run a family practice in Halifax for several decades, moving his clinic to the North End several years ago while maintaining residence in the West End. Recently divorced and in his mid-60s, Graeme had moved to the North End for what he described as its “vibrancy”.

Louise. Louise was a mid-30s woman who had grown up on the West Coast and had pursued graduate education and subsequent employment in Nova Scotia. Louise

engaged in the interview from a number of perspectives, namely that of a new resident of the North End (approximately four years), an expectant mother, self-professed “foodie” who enjoyed “a couple of drinks on a sunny weekend”, and long-time employee of the Provincial Health Authority. Though Louise had held a variety of roles as an allied health professional, including working in recreation, she drew most extensively on her experience working in Addictions and Mental Health. I met with Louise in a private meeting room on campus. Upon meeting, we realized we had been previously acquainted through her work in the Provincial Health Authority.

Johanna. Johanna, a woman in her mid-40s, grew up in South End Halifax. She had moved to the North End upon returning from international travel, where she met her husband from Kenya with whom she has four children. At Johanna’s request, we met at a café in the Hydrostone area of Halifax’s North End. Over coffee, she explained that though she had lived outside of the country for some time, she knew that she wanted to live in the North End upon her return to Halifax so her children would grow up alongside Black children.

4.2.3 Formal Stakeholders

A total of four key informants were recruited as ‘formal stakeholders’, whereby they held an identifiable role and formal stake in the community either by way of business interest, occupation, or involvement in municipal governance.

Waye Mason. Role: Municipal Councillor, District 7 (Downtown). I contacted Waye to request an interview based on his involvement in municipal consultations and mediation regarding the proposed Stillwell Beer Garden near the Halifax Commons. We met at his office in City Hall. Waye described his role in North End drinking

establishments as mostly within his capacity as City Councillor for the abutting District 7, which shares a boundary with the North End along Cogswell Street. In addition to interest in North End drinking establishments as an elected official, Wayne indicated he had “lived both sides”, drawing on his past experience as a music promoter and director for the Halifax Pop Explosion, which involved booking and attending shows in the North End.

Dan Hendricken. Role: Manager and Bartender, Good Robot. One of the co-owners of Good Robot had appointed Dan to participate in an interview, given Dan’s frontline involvement in the day-to-day operations of the brewpub. When not working at Good Robot, Dan said he frequently spent leisure time with friends and colleagues at brewpubs and breweries throughout the city.

Chris Reynolds. Role: Co-Owner, Stillwell. I approached Chris, an entrepreneur in his mid-40s and co-owner of two locations in downtown Halifax, for an interview as he had been involved in considerable news coverage when he and his business partners sought to open their seasonal, outdoor beergarden in Halifax’s North End. Chris explained that the proposal was met with controversy and resistance from a “vocal minority”, resulting in a consultation and negotiation process. Chris and his colleagues eventually walked away from this process empty-handed, but later successfully opened a downtown beergarden. Chris provided insight into the challenges associated with opening a drinking establishment in the North End.

Dimo Georgakakos. Role: Manager, Co-Owner, Gus’ Pub. In his late 50s, Dimo made it clear that while he did not live in the North End, he had been involved in the family business, Gus’ Pub (a longstanding pub on Agricola Street), since childhood and

considered himself a part of the community. Dimo fondly recalled serving diverse patrons in the changing landscape of Halifax's North End over the years, and adapting his business strategy to keep Gus' Pub current – most recently by making Gus' a live music venue, while continuing to appeal to older clientele through the daytime opening hours and VLT terminals.

4.2.4 Challenging News Media Descriptions: Intertextual References to News Media as a Means of Decreasing Significance

Key informant interviews with both community members and formal stakeholders provided opportunities for participants to comment on news media coverage. Most often, key informants offered perspectives that conflicted with those presented in the news media. Specifically, key informants intertextually alluded to the news media coverage broadly (i.e., not specific articles), and offered conflicting perspectives. In doing so, key informants used intertextual allusion to decrease the significance of the news coverage. This section provides an overview of how the descriptions by key informants challenged the aforementioned sensationalist narratives regarding North End drinking establishments.

Notably, key informants who were members of the community, as well as formal stakeholders, expressed concern about the ways that North End drinking establishments were being covered by the news media, drawing on their experiences intertextually. For example, when I asked Chris Reynolds whether he was familiar with local news media coverage or whether he or Stillwell had been part of the coverage, he explained: “Not usually [2] no. We, uh- I mean- Uh, news media here is operating in a pretty news dry part of the world. So they're pretty excited to find anything that will fill column inches.

Um, in our case I've seen actually manufactured news." This excerpt exemplifies the use of intertextual references to challenges the authority of the news media. In this case, the mention of manufactured news is used to intertextually lessen the significance of news media coverage. Chris went on to explain that the news media surrounding Stillwell's attempt to open a beergarden in the North End had an actional effect, where news media coverage functioned to incite or amplify issues: "E:specially because it's been so difficult for me to create a positive narrative around us opening things? Because of that Cornwallis incident. And so- Uh, at that point, my liquor license was still being open for public consultation. So maybe he's [the journalist] starting- maybe. Maybe he's spinning it in a direction where there's controversy. Or maybe the neighbours should be concerned about it." Chris' referred to the ways in which news media had an actional effect, challenging the authority of these negative or "manufactured" representations therefore lessening the significance of the coverage.

Chris challenged negative depictions of Stillwell by drawing attention to the journalist's authority in misrepresenting events that can have an actional effect. Conversely, in my interview with Dan from Good Robot, he asserted that negative coverage was rare. Discursively he used the notion of scarce coverage (as an event) to lessen the significance of news media representations of Good Robot.

Robyn: And how have you heard the news media describe drinking establishments in the North End?

Dan: I think it's [exhale] \ I mostly only ever hear good stuff? I think 'cause it adds a new thing to a neighbourhood which is nice, y'know? It lets neighbours meet each other. Gives artists venues to perform. It just- just- it adds a real spark to the community I think.

Robyn: So you think a lot of the coverage has been positive?

Dan: Yeah. A lot of it has been positive, I mean there's the odd negative thing for sure but a lot of it has been positive, which is nice yeah.

The lack of explicit intertextual reference to the news media functioned to decrease its significance, as the issues raised in the “odd negative” coverage are not brought to light in the interview.

4.2.5 Highlighting Neighbourhood Change Rather than Drinking

Key informants emphasized processes of neighbourhood change. While drinking establishments were positioned in the context of a changing neighbourhood, references to the actual act of drinking were surprisingly absent. It was therefore important to consider how some events or social actors were discursively foregrounded (i.e., made prominent, emphasized), while others were backgrounded (i.e., perhaps alluded to, with less explicit presence) or altogether absent. In considering presence/absence, it became apparent that key informants drew attention to some aspects of their responses, while negating attention or shifting attention away from other aspects.

The response to a question about a key informant’s awareness of local news media provides a salient example. Foregrounding occurred when the key informant explained that the restrictions on location and hours of operation of bars in the North End are due to gentrification, shifting attention toward gentrification rather than the process of restricting bars and pubs from opening. Reflections, a drinking establishment, is backgrounded in that it is mentioned though little context or information is given. Finally, the act of drinking, and patrons as social actors, are altogether absent.

Well mostly what I hear in the media is about people trying to restrict bars, either from their locations completely. Or their hours of business. And I think that’s real:ly tied up with gentrifying the neighbourhood, it’s really down towards the downtown area like Gottingen, Cornwallis, like that area toward- to Staples. In that section they didn’t want to have- what was it? Reflections that was going to move up there. Because it’s a cabaret they didn’t want it.

This example makes evident how the discursive foregrounding of gentrification, along with the absence of drinking and social actors as patrons, functions to increase the significance of gentrification as the issue at hand, rather than the drinking establishment and activities therein. The absence of patrons and either backgrounding or absence of drinking establishments occurred across a number of interviews, and in all instances, drew attention to the ‘fit’ of a drinking establishment within a particular neighbourhood. For example, in describing characteristics of a neighbourhood pub, one community member emphasized that the establishment must “fit” the neighbourhood.

I guess I’ve always liked the concept, and I don’t know if it exists in Halifax but, I guess the English Irish style pub? Where maybe you wouldn’t have loud music, you know, ‘cause of my age [chuckles] \ \ But it would foster conversation. And it wouldn’t stay open all hours of the night, whatever seems reasonable and seems to fit the neighbourhood where we are.”

In this excerpt, the need to fit the neighbourhood was foregrounded, while the drinking establishment itself was backgrounded as it had to be inferred, while the qualities and characteristics that are desirable (e.g., the community-oriented nature of an Irish or English style pub, the emphasis on conversation) make no reference to the types of drinking contained therein. Consequentially, drinking was absent, which increased the prominence of the qualities and characteristics that might lead an establishment to be a good fit for the neighbourhood.

As a longstanding resident, Michael drew attention to drinking establishments by foregrounding how they have changed. In doing so, he increased the significance of drinking establishments as agents of gentrification, leaving absent the types of drinking contained therein, or the qualities of new establishments that render them “quite different” than those prior.

The North End, the services that people need, they're there in the North End, you know? One of those services would be, you know, places to drink. Whether or not you want to drink alcohol by itself, or with meals, with foodservice. I've known different places like that over the years. And, like, there are new establishments in the North End that are quite different than, like, what's come before, like in the past.

In addition, Mark also refers to a number of types of drinking (i.e., by itself, or with meals, with foodservice), and goes on to indicate that drinking establishments have changed. In doing so, the types of drinking that takes place within the drinking establishment are backgrounded, leaving the reader to infer that the changing nature of drinking establishments is related to the types of drinking common therein.

By drawing attention to some matters (i.e., foregrounding) while not including others (i.e., backgrounding and absence), key informants foreground gentrification and background or render drinking absent. Across all interviews, the foregrounding of neighbourhood change processes functions to heighten its significance.

4.5 Constructing the Other: North End Residents and Socially Acceptable Drinking

This section draws on the discursive practice of othering used by key informants to (a) other specific types of residents in the North End (e.g., original vs. new, by way of differences in socioeconomic status) and (b) distance themselves from drinking practices that are socially acceptable. As a discursive feature, othering the residents of the North End mostly pertained to how long an individual had lived in the area and functioned to create a distinction between “us” and “them” both for newer residents and original residents alike. In this context, othering took the form of an us-them dichotomy. For example:

“All these new places. New people. What are they doing he:re. Why are they drinking so much? Why do they se:em to have so much money. Why are they so

young. Those are my ques:tions. That's the sort of thing I would talk about with my aunt, sister, brother."

In this quote the community member distinguishes his family, as original residents of the North End, from newer residents by way of the money they have, age, and ways in which they patronize local drinking establishments. This tendency to compare newer residents to those who had been in the North End for longer was commonplace among key informants identified as being part of what one participant referred to as the "*real original inhabitants of the North End*". The "real original inhabitants of the North End" can also be used as a we-discourse to define a group of individuals. For example, as Michael said: "*We've lived in the North End all our li:ves.*" In this excerpt, the key informant positions himself as part of the group, constructing the other by way of their absence.

More often, othering was more subtle than the above 'us-and-them' examples and instead presented multiple identities in conflict, where othering occurred between traditional residents of the community and new businesses, including drinking establishments. In the below excerpt, "they're" is used to invoke multiple 'other' identities, both (a) the Black community and (b) businesses and affiliated social actors, in particular, newer drinking establishments.

They're not interested what so ever. They could care less if they're there or not. Because they don't- they're not catering to them. They're not marketing to them. They're not in:teres:ted in them coming, right. That's what I mean by this divide. That is what I mean by this gentrification. The Black c:ommunity is not invited to any of these parties [exhale] right? And then the people that are running these establishments, or building these condos, or running these establishments, they kind of, they don't care about the other community either and, if anything, they might wish that they go away, because they're not their type of neighbours.

This excerpt demonstrates othering in the form of discourses of difference, where the speaker is not distinguishing between self and other, but rather between two others. These discourses of difference emphasize power imbalances between the two groups of others, particularly as one is activated (i.e., “they’re not marketing to them) and the other is passivated (i.e., “the Black community is not invited to any of these parties). While discourses of difference can be used to convey racism, in this instance the key informant’s passivation of the Black community draws attention to an unequal distribution of power. While the “real original inhabitants of the North End” alludes to these racial tensions, the discourses of difference presented in the above excerpt make the distinctions between these two groups explicit (i.e., the Black community, and newer business establishments).

Within all interviews, key informants portrayed their own experiences of drinking as within the confines of what was considered socially acceptable. For example, participants described themselves as having of “*a couple of beer*” or “*one or two cocktails or a glass of wine*”, as a means of contrasting with drinking practices of the ‘other’ which were inferred to be more excessive. Motivations for drinking also contributed to the othering of those who fell outside expected social norms related to drinking (i.e., fostering social contact over one beer).

“There are a few people, my neighbours, who I’m sort of friendly with but I wouldn’t have them to dinner, y’know or may:be. Maybe I would, but-I would invite them there [the pub], or maybe I would meet them there. That would be the rationale for me. To foster social contact over a beer.”

Moderate drinking was described as socially desirable in comparison to the excessive or harmful practices of the other: “*It tends to loosen people up and I think it tends to make people want to enjoy life and laugh, a lot-a lot more*”, whereas drinking to excess, he

explained, could often cause “*violence*”. In the following excerpt, othering happens through description of the venue rather than the patrons themselves, though the effect is much the same:

But Jenny’s is probably the one that’s closest and it’s not real:ly the type of place that I would go, most:ly because it seems to me like it’s a lot of daytime drinkers and video terminal- video lottery players, and things like that.

In tandem with describing one’s own drinking practices as socially acceptable, there is the construction of the other as patrons who drink excessively and who may cause disruption. In the excerpt below the community member others patrons of Gus’ Pub who are described as drunk and disruptive when the bar closes, then softens the claim by suggesting that it is a “dynamic community.”

When Gus’ Pub closes at 2 in the morning? You know? People are hanging around. They have had a fa:ir bit to drink. They’re like hanging around, n-noisy, after a place like Gus’ Pub closes. I mean, y’know. You know, it’s a dynamic neighbourhood you know? If I wanted to be real:ly tight ass about this, I would be calling the cops and complaining? But, you know, I do drink myself, so I don’t really want to be causing trouble for people unless they’re like trespassing on the property or doing things I find inappropriate.

While othering unruly patrons drinking practices, key informants also presented discourses of tolerance, balancing their claims by hedging (i.e., “But, you know, I do drink myself”). Overall, these various forms of othering were employed as discursive elements that emphasized the importance of patrons not drinking to excess, in particular, such that it disrupts the tranquility of the neighbourhood.

4.3 Summary of Findings

The above findings chapter presented a critical discourse analysis of two data sources, (a) 13 pieces of local news media coverage related to drinking establishments in the North

End, and (b) findings from interviews with eight key-informants, both residents and formal stakeholders. Findings from the analysis of news media include (a) argumentation regarding where drinking establishments fit in mixed-used (residential/commercial) neighbourhoods during rapid development by way of appeals to logic, temporality, and value assumptions; (b) promotional culture and the branding and selling of the North End through discursive constructions of social identity and the means through which language can be used for marketing or capitalist purposes; (c) absence and/or backgrounding of drinking as a means of discursively lessening the significance of drinking and emphasizing the fit of drinking establishments in the community; and (d) sensationalist coverage and its producing effects, where discourse is not just representative but actional. Findings from the key informant interviews included (a) intertextual references to news media and the use of intertextuality to decrease significance of news media representations, (b) negotiations between presence and absence that function to increase or decrease significance of particular events or social actors by way of drawing attention to neighbourhood change processes instead of drinking establishments, and (c) othering as a discursive practice that constructs social identities of North End residents and others socially acceptable drinking practices.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study is to understand how discourse has been used to construct descriptions of drinking establishments and associated controversy in Halifax's North End. In this discussion I offer responses to the research questions based on the analysis, revisit characteristics of the third place, and position the analysis and findings within relevant literature. Responses to the research questions regarding construals of news media and key informant discourses of drinking establishments are presented both independently and interwoven throughout the subsequent sections of discussion. The chapter concludes with reflections on the utility of critical discourse analysis in community-oriented research, limitations of the study, and the contributions of this work to leisure studies more broadly.

5.1 Sensationalism and Gentrification

Intertextuality was evident in key informant interviews both explicitly (i.e., Chris' comments about misrepresentations) and implicitly, within other discourses (e.g., the inferences readers may make from a subtle reference to a cabaret license). Inviting key informants to comment on their experiences with news media resulted in the presence of overt and more subtle intertextual references (i.e., echoes) within the transcripts. The presence of intertextual references within the key informant interviews was important as it provided opportunities for key informants to challenge or reify representations in the news media and therefore offer insights into drinking establishments positioned in the context of a rapidly changing neighbourhood, as well as offering additional context to the news media analysis.

Sensationalist discourses in some of the news media increased controversial portrayals of neighbourhood drinking establishments. At the same time, key informants challenged or lessened the significance these depictions (e.g., Chris' descriptions of manufactured news, Dan's indication that most coverage of Good Robot was positive despite nearly half of the articles reviewed covering controversy between Good Robot and their neighbouring Islamic Faith Centre).

In the news coverage related to Good Robot and their neighbouring Islamic Faith Centre as well as coverage related to Stillwell beergarden, the majority of articles were news coverage or feature pieces, rather than editorials. The veiled subjectivity in both news and feature pieces functioned to blur the lines between telling the news as a series of factual statements, and the inevitable influence of the journalist's own opinions on how, why, and which factual statements are presented (be it conscious or not). Analysis of news articles and key informant interviews made evident how conflicting discourses can coexist in the media and in stakeholders' (i.e., key informants') portrayals of events. For example, the controversial or troublesome aspects of drinking establishments and drinking (e.g., noise, health concerns, or otherwise) were constructed alongside conflicting or dissimilar discourses. Key informants who had formal stakes in the representation of their businesses or places of work challenged problematic discourses in the news media to lessen the significance of these portrayals, attempting to counter the potential for negative impacts on their reputations or business viability. Similarly, when given the opportunity to reply to earlier coverage, as demonstrated in the conflict between Good Robot and their neighbouring Islamic Faith Centre, key informants leveraged the producing effect of media for promotional purposes. Their business interests in lessening

the significance of earlier coverage or discrediting the authority of the journalists likely influenced the discursive strategies employed when confronted with negative coverage. While some key informants with formal stakes have the opportunity to respond directly to negative coverage, these opportunities are scarcely available to community members. Thus, formal stakeholders interviewed oftentimes had power to shape how issues were defined in ways that were not afforded to community members. This was apparent as community members often described themselves as passivated in response to local issues, while formal stakeholders communicated in ways that were more actional in nature.

The sensationalistic coverage surrounding drinking establishments and subsequent challenging of this by key informants exemplifies how sense of place can be discursively constructed (Stokowski, 2002). Most community members consuming local news media have little ability to control or shape its representation of their community. Simultaneously, sensationalistic coverage can have a producing effect by influencing the beliefs and opinions of community members, subsequently influencing their construction of 'sense of place' in the context of a rapidly changing neighbourhood, with the potential to reify sensationalized or misrepresented claims. Moreover, sensationalistic coverage also shapes public perception of the community who consume local media without the context afforded by living in that community. The potential for media coverage to influence 'sense of place' is important given that place-belongingness in the context of rapidly changing neighbourhoods is not just influenced by material displacement (i.e., having to leave one's community), but also by discursive displacement (i.e., a decreased feeling of belonging in one's community, along with feelings of isolation or exclusion) (Mullenbach & Baker, 2018). This study thus heeds Stokowski's (2002) argument for

leisure scholars to explore place-belongingness in contexts where experiences may not be wholly positive. Sensationalist news coverage has the potential to shape discursive belonging and/or displacement for community members, representing an affront to the collective identities of the North End. By considering construction of place as a fluid social process rather than as a set of physical characteristics (Stokowski, 2002), it becomes apparent that discursive means and interpretations of gentrification have great potential to influence individual and collective sense of place. The ability of the media to represent of issues related to drinking establishments and gentrification exemplifies how the social construction of place can influence belonging in leisure contexts.

5.2 Significant Absences and Gentrification in Leisure Contexts

The absence of key social actors has been raised as an important consideration in critical discourse analysis, particularly in response to criticism that too often critical discourse analysis focuses on “some presences in a text while neglecting others” (O’Halloran, 2005, p. 1963). Concerningly, absences are more likely to be noted by individuals with content or subject familiarity and/or interest who are reading articles with a critical lens, and therefore more attuned to representational issues (O’Halloran, 2005). This is important as the significant absences may not be noted by individuals outside of the community, and may lead to the ideas represented in the news media and by key informants as being accepted without scrutiny by other citizens and decision-makers alike. Therefore, the absence of social actors can function to construct discourses without adequate representation, and thus skew discourse, whether intentional or not on the part of the journalist. Moreover, findings demonstrate that identifying absences was not as simple as looking for social actors that were present (or not) in a text. Rather,

identifying absences required consideration of how some social actors and events are foregrounded or prioritized, while others are implicit or require abstraction on the part of the reader (Fairclough, 2005). These representational issues are particularly important in the context of gentrification, as Mullenbach & Baker (2018) assert that in leisure contexts the influence of gentrification may be perceived as negative or positive, “depending on who is judging” (p. 2). Through the analysis it became apparent that rather than solely considering the explicit negatives or positives of gentrification with respect to housing, there is a need to consider how gentrification impacts many aspects of community life, including drinking establishments as leisure settings. For example, ‘revitalized’ community features may be desirable to both newer and established residents who subjectively benefit from increased availability and access to drinking establishments as places where they can gather in their neighbourhood. Similarly, both newer and established residents may feel that the increased presence of drinking establishments function as visual reminders of gentrification processes (i.e., drinking establishments represent just one of the many ways that their community is changing). Thus, while both news media and key informant interviews suggest that drinking establishments are involved in processes of gentrification, the implications of gentrification are multifaceted, evidenced through implications that cannot be framed as dichotomously negative or positive as they are not experienced equally or similarly by all residents.

While most definitions of gentrification are characterized by measurable or observable indicators (i.e. changes in property values) (e.g., Rose, 1984; Shaw, 2008), the influence of gentrification on leisure contexts has been studied in ways that emphasize how gentrification occurs as a social process through discourse (e.g., Mullenbach &

Baker, 2008; Stokowski, 2002). The absence of key social actors (i.e., diverse residents) in representations of gentrification and the impact of these representations on leisure contexts, such as drinking establishments, offers evidence of the manifestations of gentrification beyond the in-migration and displacement of residents. By considering representational issues, including presence and absence of social actors and events, the findings support the notion that gentrification needs to be studied in the context of sociocultural leisure practices (Mullenbach & Baker, 2008), and not simply in terms of resident displacement and economics (Shaw, 2008). The need to study a broader scope of implications of gentrification is particularly evident as the absence of social actors in the portrayal of drinking establishments by news media and key informants suggest that both the negatives and positives of gentrification in leisure contexts are not distributed equally. Rather, portrayals of drinking establishments suggest that gentrification processes are complex and bound up in discourses pertaining to the distribution of social goods. Thus, when we consider drinking establishments as potential agents of gentrification, findings suggest that we cannot argue this as an explicitly negative process, rather, that our attention should be shifted to the ways in which drinking establishments, as leisure settings, maybe established or altered as a result of gentrification processes, are oftentimes inequitably accessed by residents and may contribute to discursive displacement.

5.3 Revisiting the Third Place

The focus of this study was to use critical discourse analysis to explore media and key informant representations of drinking establishments in the context of rapid neighbourhood change. While discourse emphasizes the ways these sources construe the

significance of events or other individuals both in relation to gentrification and drinking, the findings also provide data useful to expanding our understanding of third place, particularly in the context of gentrification. Through processes of gentrification, established third places may be changed, and new third places may emerge. In this section, I revisit Oldenburg's (1999) concept of the third place, integrating content from both news media analysis and key informant interviews.

Participants' descriptions of the desirable, welcoming characteristics of North End were often well-aligned with Oldenburg's concept of the third place. The characteristics of the third place drawn on by residents include the need for neutral ground, where the space should function as a social leveler (i.e., participants often explained that drinking establishments further stratified the community, rather than offering a place available to all), and emphasizing the importance of conversation being the main activity. In considering both news media descriptions of where and how drinking establishments fit in the North End, as well as key informant's descriptions of drinking establishments and ways of drinking that were desirable and socially acceptable, the findings support the notion that drinking establishments that embody third place characteristics are desirable, and moreover, that they are important gathering places in the context of neighbourhood change. In the context of *built* drinking establishments, consider Dimo's description of Gus' Pub as a place for everyone in the community. Even when imagining *potential* drinking establishments, these characteristics were emphasized – consider a community member's description of drinking establishments built to serve the diverse residents of the North End, that offer a place to congregate with neighbours, whether known or unfamiliar, over a drink. Moreover, in the news analysis the notion that a drinking

establishment has a “thin file”, or few issues with regulatory bodies, is in keeping with the low-key characteristics of the third place.

Extant literature has raised concerns about the potential for third places to be consumptive. Certainly, concerns were raised with respect to where drinking establishments fit in the news media and respectively by key informants who othered new residents who spent money patronizing new, oftentimes expensive, drinking establishments. The commodified nature of drinking establishments, particularly during processes of neighbourhood change where new establishments may be considerably different in character (i.e., perhaps more ostentatious in design than previously) as well as financially inaccessible to original residents (i.e., therefore not functioning as a social leveller) is worthy of consideration. For example, while Lin (2011) suggests that Starbucks may function as a third place, Tatsak (2006) argues that their exclusivity both in pricing and location ought to preclude them from being considered a third place. Unlike Starbucks, the drinking establishments in Halifax’s North End are not part of any corporate conglomerate. Nevertheless, key informants raised concerns regarding drinking establishments as agents of gentrification that may capitalize on the vibrancy or diversity of the North End to serve business interests. In doing so, these establishments may be tailored and marketed to newer residents with the necessary financial means and social location to feel comfortable ordering craft beer or expensive cocktails. This reminds us of the ways in which drinking establishments are imbued with power dynamics insofar as an individual must have the socioeconomic means to occupy drinking establishments as community places. Where price is a relevant concern (i.e., newer establishments are more expensive than longstanding drinking establishments in the area), Tatsak’s (2006)

critiques seem relevant to these findings. Beyond socioeconomic manifestations of power, the extent to which one feels they ‘belong’ in the North End, and thus in North End drinking establishments, is inevitably shaped by the actual, material ability to withstand the forces of gentrification (i.e., those who are materially displaced from their community may not patronize drinking establishments). Similarly, discursive displacement influences the extent to which an individual perceives they will be welcome, included, and represented in physical spaces.

Most often, critique of the third place has been applied to larger businesses or corporations that aim to act as third places (Lin, 2011; Tatsak, 2006), rather than smaller local businesses, such as the drinking establishments analysed in this study. However, the findings support the notion that North End drinking establishments are engaged in promotional culture (Fairclough, 2003), as a facet of commodification (Fairclough, 2003; Tatsak, 2006). Where Oldenburg asserts that the third place is “not ostentatious in design” (1999, p. 36), the pretentious nature key informants described of some North End drinking establishments (i.e., one participant’s comparison of Lion’s Head Tavern as more welcoming than the more upscale Good Robot) may preclude them from functioning as Third Places. This notion has been scarcely raised in the literature, where local businesses are often touted as better alternatives to corporations, although they may also have aspects that are exclusive. A notable exception is Johnson’s (2013) study, which supported the notion that farmers markets, despite serving commercial functions, can still serve socially constructed functions of third place. However, Yuen and Johnston (2017) suggest that diversity issues are paramount in relation to potential third places,

arguing that “researchers should consider the socio-economic demographic of those present and who is being excluded, and for what reasons” (p. 299).

5.4 Reflections on CDA in Community-Oriented Research

While not participatory in nature, this research was oriented at the community level. In conducting this study, I struggled to align my interest in neighbourhood drinking establishments as places of casual social leisure with methods suitable to understanding complexities of these places in a critical way. As I became aware of discourses (e.g. health, productivity, economics, social order) that influence and relate to drinking as a form of leisure, the appropriateness of critical inquiry was evident. While critical discourse analysis expanded my thinking, I found myself reflecting on its inaccessibility at many times. Specifically, as I learned more about the methods, I was concerned about my ability to translate these in a way that stayed true to the analysis without overly diluting the concepts that, in many instances, sometimes felt inaccessible to me despite my earnest attempts at learning and applying them. In completing analysis of the media and key informant interviews, I worked across a variety of texts to devise an approach to my analysis where I posited the use of a bidirectional relationship between discursive features and elements, alongside consideration for their broader social implications (i.e., “towards what end?”). This approach allowed me to consider the broader sociopolitical implications while keeping the smaller discursive features at the foreground of my analysis. While initially attracted to Gee’s (2011) outline of critical discourse analysis building tasks for their concrete description, these alone proved insufficient to analyzing the data as they lacked sufficient detail about the ways discourse is constructed and though interesting, were focused only at the broadest level considering how discourse

functions. And so, I returned to Fairclough's *intertextuality*, Wodak's *othering*, Reisigl's *rhetoric*, van Emmeren, Grootendorst, and Emmeren's *systematic theory of argumentation*, with guidance from Gee (2011) and Fairclough (2005) as to how to employ these discursive features (e.g., diagonality, rhetoric, othering, argumentation) towards an understanding of the broader implications (i.e., how the discourse functions and to what end).

In describing the various types of discourse analysis, Philips and Hardy (2002) emphasize that *critical* discourse analysis is well suited to the study of discourse in social and political contexts. The social and political context of both drinking and neighbourhood change (or gentrification) were fundamental to this study, and both associated with a variety of discourses present in key informant interviews and news media. Nevertheless, the language of critical discourse analysis was at times riddled with specialized terminology. I found myself questioning how I will share these findings with the community, an imperative of community-oriented research (Chevalier, 2013). Certainly, I could offer lay definitions of constructionism, discourse, absence, facework, and related terms. I wondered: would these theoretical and methodological underpinnings be of interest or relevance to community, or is this an academic pursuit, best suited to manuscript-style output?

As I venture into subsequent phases of knowledge translation, I remain attuned to my personal obligation to relay the findings of this study in an accessible way to community members who generously offered their time participating in this study, and those who are otherwise interested or implicated in the findings. In doing so, I suspect that it will be necessary to lose much of the nuance that comprised this analysis. Critical

discourse analysis seems to be incredibly well suited to the study social and political contexts, yet does so in a way that may require considerable dilution in order to render analysis and findings accessible. Alas, this is a challenge experienced by many scholars across a breadth of research methods. At the same time, best practices in knowledge translation suggest attention to relationship building as a means of producing materials that will be relevant to the target audience, and recommended literacy levels. Thus, while the challenge of presenting the complex methodology and terminology may not be unique to critical discourse analysis, these challenges do constitute an argument for community-oriented research methods when the topic of interest is at the community level. In particular, more participatory or community-oriented research methods would allow for relationship building to the extent that there would be shared understandings of the findings and their relevance to community would be more commonly understood. Complex methods such as critical discourse analysis thus may be problematic in a system where research funding seems increasingly oriented towards demonstrated knowledge translation activities and outputs. Despite these considerations, there are several findings of this study that may be relevant and of interest to the community. Most notably, news media coverage implies that there is a connection between rapid development and the extent to which drinking establishments fit in the North End. Knowledge translation activities should emphasize that gentrification is a complex process, which includes leisure contexts such as drinking establishments. This is an important finding to share as there is the potential to elevate discussions of gentrification beyond concern for the in migration of new residents, instead looking at the complex ways gentrification processes transform neighbourhoods. In addition to sharing findings related to the role of drinking

establishments in gentrification processes, the second main area for knowledge translation relates to the sensationalist, producing effect of media, where findings suggest that resident's sense of belonging may be impacted by news media coverage (i.e., discursive displacement). These findings should be shared accessibly, possibly through an opinion piece in the Coast and/or other local news outlets, as well as a lay summary posted on the website used for recruitment.

Concerns related to conducting research that is community-oriented and accessible to the general public are further complicated by the urgings of leisure scholars to consider the social construction of place and its relation to power and politics through the study of discourse (e.g., Stokowski, 2002). There is a call for leisure scholars to consider discourses of place and to consider place as socially constructed in ways that are complex and fluid. Moving beyond characteristics of the physical space, we need to consider how constructions and rhetorical descriptions of place influence the extent to which place-belongingness is experienced by individuals and within communities (Stokowski, 2002). Accordingly, news media and key informants have important roles in shaping place, as a fundamental component of community, through conflicting discourses of belonging. Where the accessibility of critical discourse analysis in knowledge translation efforts may be less natural, these studies can influence social change through other means, such as an increased understanding of the "language features and discourse methods as they are applied in public discussions [that] can reveal strategies for creating or challenging existing social values of place, and can thus reform practices of public conversation" (Stokowski, 2002, p. 380). Thus, studies like this one contribute to the knowledge base at the intersection of gentrification, place, and leisure, providing

opportunities for subsequent research to interrogate how discursive practices can be better understood during change processes.

5.5 Limitations & Suggestions for Future Research

While this study was not focused on the racial and socioeconomic tensions in the North End, the data required consideration of the meaning of social inclusion in the context of drinking establishments. While recruitment methods were designed to invite diversity of opinions, for example, by placing posters throughout a variety of community organizations across the North End, these efforts were not active enough to promote participation by racialized individuals. I am troubled by this and feel that the findings would be enriched by these perspectives. Engaging diverse participation on this topic ought to be a priority for future research. Further, future studies should consider active and intentional recruitment strategies for racialized individuals when considering leisure within the context of gentrified neighbourhoods, even when gentrification may not be the focus of the research.

Similarly, the North End is home to a number of ‘gay bars’. Most recently, the only gay bar located downtown (Reflections) moved to the area. In a way, a section of North End comprises Halifax’s de facto ‘gay village’. However, drinking establishments that market to and primarily serve LGBT2SQ+ individuals were absent from both news media and key informant descriptions. Like the suggestion above related to diverse racial representation, intentional and purposeful recruitment for members of the LGBT2SQ+ communities could be part of future studies, as drinking establishments that serve members of the LGBT2SQ+ communities specifically may offer unique community-building capacities (Johnson, 2005). Moreover, it should be noted that while the North

End is home to many individuals who are racially diverse and/or members of the LGBT2SQ+ communities, future research could also consider diversity and place-belongingness beyond race and sexual orientation and/or gender identity, for example, considering perspectives of people who live with disabilities.

News media data were extracted over a one-semester (four month) period. Media coverage of unfolding events continued as I analysed and wrote, but I was not able to include new coverage in my analysis as it was underway. For example, a number of upscale drinking establishments and a distillery have opened on Agricola Street, now making the area one more densely populated with drinking establishments and patrons than when I collected data both for the news analysis and key informant interviews. The collection methods used for the critical discourse analysis of news media are subject to criticism regarding the potential for findings to be outdated at the time of publication.

Finally, the decision to respect the agency of participants in deciding whether or not to remain anonymous in the thesis and subsequent publications constitutes a meaningful suggestion for future research. As academics, we have an obligation to conduct research that minimizes risk to our participants. However, in the context of community oriented research, participants may want to provide comment on record and we may be unduly risk averse in denying them this choice. Notably, all but one key informant chose to be identified in the findings, and the option to be identified by name seemed surprisingly comfortable to them. Admittedly, I was surprised by this as I have traditionally used consent forms that explained the many ways in which we will de-identify and protect the participant's identity from being revealed. Future research should consider the possibility of allowing participants, as community members and

stakeholders, the opportunity to comment on record, and accordingly, to be named. While this requires a careful consideration of risks and may not be appropriate in all study contexts, the ability to preserve the identities of key informants added a richness to the analysis and dissemination.

5.6 Conclusion

The overall purpose of this study was to explore drinking establishments in Halifax's North End by way of understanding how discourse was used to construct descriptions of drinking establishments and associated controversy. Findings from both news media and key informants indicate that neighbourhood drinking establishments are important places for sociability, including opportunities for neighbours to gather. However, key informants emphasized that it is important for drinking establishments to 'fit' in the context of a mixed-use geographic neighbourhood, particularly in the context of gentrification. As leisure scholars become more attuned to issues of gentrification, this research demonstrates the importance of considering leisure contexts broadly, including places such as drinking establishments which have been scarcely studied in our field despite their prominence in our communities as places of sociable leisure. Moreover, the findings of this study are inextricably linked to the changing nature of North End Halifax and there remains a need to explore drinking establishments as places of leisure and drinking as a leisure experience in and of itself.

Leisure scholars have called for considerations of place beyond its physical characteristics, instead exploring how place-belongingness can be constructed through discourse (Stokowski, 2002) and place-belongingness as characteristic of some leisure context is inevitably influenced by power dynamics and the distribution of social goods

(Henderson & Frelke, 2000). While contributing to the scarce literature on drinking as a form of leisure, this study reminds us of the importance of studying place with individuals and communities who may have negative experiences, including individuals who feel discursively or materially displaced in the context of gentrification.

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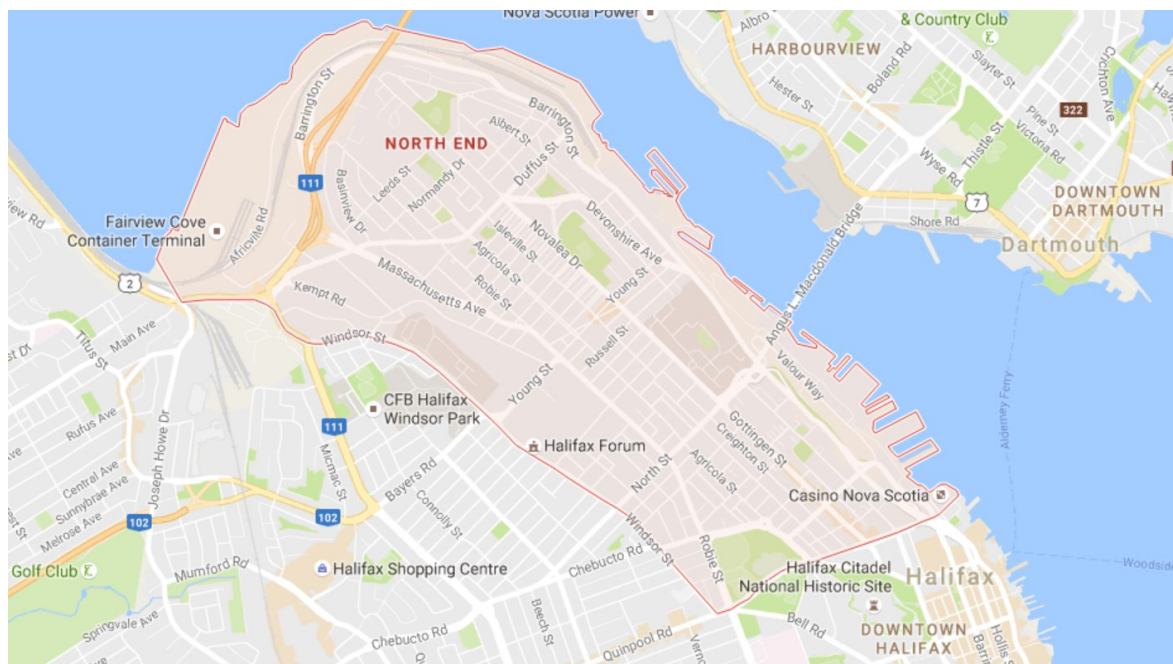
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Appendix A Map Indicating Boundaries of North End Halifax



Google Maps (2016) boundaries of Halifax's North End

Appendix B News Screening Tool

Text-based editorial available online (open source)? *If not, exclude.*

Text-based editorial published between 2013 and present? *If not, exclude.*

Article published in one of the following sources:

(a) CBC (b) The Chronicle Herald (c) The Coast (d) Halifax Examiner

(e) Global News (f) Metro News

Article found using combination of these search terms:

(“Stillwell”); (“Beergarden” and “Beer garden”); (“Good Robot”); (“Gus’ Pub”);

(“Charlie’s Club”); (“Lion and Bright”); (“Alcohol policy”); (“Liquor Laws”); (“Alcohol Regulation”)

Article includes discourse relevant to study area (drinking establishments, North End)? *If not, exclude.*

Appendix C Recruitment Script

Recruitment Script for Purposeful Recruitment of Stakeholders - Email

Subject: Key informants needed: Would you like to participate in an interview about bars and pubs in your community?

Hello,

My name is Robyn Burns, I am a graduate student at Dalhousie University. I'm looking to speak to [name stakeholder identified through analysis of news articles].

I'm a leisure Studies Master's student at Dalhousie University. I'm doing a research project exploring opinions of bars and pubs in your neighbourhood (North End Halifax). I reviewed local news coverage of pubs, bars and beergardens in North End Halifax. Your name was listed as someone who is or was engaged in this discussion. It's also possible that someone else suggested you might be interested in participating. As part of this research project, I'm looking for six to eight volunteers to share their opinions and experiences in a face-to-face interview. If you were interested, this interview would take place at a time and location that was convenient to you.

I've attached an information letter, which outlines in more detail the specifics of the one-on-one interview. If you are interested, please get in touch by phone (902-412-3089) or email (robyn.burns@dal.ca), and we can work to schedule a time to meet that is convenient to you! I'm also available to answer any questions you might have.

Thanks!

Robyn Burns

MA leisure Studies Candidate

902-412-3089

robyn.burns@dal.ca

[If positive response, reply with: Because I am completing this project as my master's thesis, I'm limited in the number of interviews I can do. I'm especially interested in capturing diversity of opinion on the topic, and want to see if you might fit well with what I have and have not already heard from others. Could you tell me a little bit about your views of North End drinking establishments?]

Appendix D Recruitment Poster

WANT TO TALK ABOUT

BARS AND PUBS

IN YOUR COMMUNITY?

You are invited to take part in a research study exploring the characteristics of drinking establishments, like bars and pubs, in Halifax's North End.

To participate, you should:

Live in the North End

Have an interest in sharing your opinions about drinking establishments in your community

All key informants will be entered to win a \$25.00 gift certificate to the Mid-East Food Centre

For more information, please visit contact
robyn.burns@dal.ca

You can also visit the website wordpress.com/communitypubstudyhfx

Appendix E List of Notice Boards

Note: Posters will be placed in consecutive rounds until the target number of key informants has been reached. Initial posterings will be limited to 10 locations indicated with an asterisk in the below list. Permission will be sought by appropriate authorities prior to posting in any of the below locations, and arrangements will be made in advance before attending for in person recruitment (e.g., distribution of flyers by hand, in-person), as well as potential announcement of information aloud.

- Atlantic Superstore, Young St
- Ecology Action Centre, Fern Ln
- Good Robot Brewing Company, Robie St
- Gus' Pub, Agricola St*
- Halifax North Memorial Library*
- HumaniT Café, Young St
- Mi'kmaw Native Friendship Centre, Gottingen St*
- Lawtons Drugs, Windsor St
- Lawtons Drugs, Young St
- Lion & Bright Café and Wine Bar, Agricola St*
- North Brewing Company, Agricola St*
- North End Community Health Centre, Gottingen St
- North End Business Association, Gottingen St*
- Bloomfield Neighbourhood Residents Association (Online Only)
- Salvation Army, Gottingen St
- Community Foundation of Nova Scotia, Brunswick St
- Italian Canadian Cultural Association of Nova Scotia, Agricola St
- North End Community Circle, Veith St
- ScotiaPharmacy, Gottingen St
- Black Educators Association, Gottingen St
- Harvest Community Church, Gottingen St
- Seven Bays Bouldering, Gottingen St
- Lost & Found Boutique, Agricola St*
- Penelope's Boutique, Cunard St
- Halifax Pride Festival, Gottingen Street
- Sobeys, Windsor St
- Starbucks, Young St
- Music Association of Nova Scotia, Gottingen St
- YMCA, Gottingen St

Appendix F Word Press Recruitment Website

Domain Name: socialdrinkingstudy.wordpress.com

Website Content: The website contained research poster, the information letter, and my contact information. The URL was be shared via Twitter. It will also be used for subsequent knowledge translation. This website will remain active until 2020.

Appendix G Twitter Recruitment

Twitter Handle (Account): @communitypubstudyhfx

Associated Email Account: robyn.burns@dal.ca

Tweet (on own Twitter page): Recruiting key informants for one-on-one interviews about characteristics of pubs and bars in North End HFX. To contact or to find out more visit [URL]

Tweet (Sent to / Tweeted at organizations listed in Appendix #): @[name of organization]: Recruiting key informants for one-on-one interviews about characteristics of pubs & bars in North End HFX. To contact or to find out more visit [URL]

Appendix I Formal Stakeholders Consent Form



Project title: SOCIAL DRINKING IN THE THIRD PLACE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE PERSPECTIVES OF NEIGHBOURHOOD DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS IN HALIFAX'S NORTH END

Researcher: Robyn Burns (BSc Health Promotion, MA leisure Studies *Candidate*)
 School of Health and Human Performance, Dalhousie
 Phone: 902-412-3089
 Email: robyn.burns@dal.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Karen Gallant, School of Health and Human Performance, Dalhousie
 Email: karen.gallant@dal.ca

Introduction

You are invited to take part in a research study being conducted by Robyn Burns, a student in the MA leisure Studies program at Dalhousie University. It is entirely your choice whether you want to volunteer to participate in this research interview. Because of the specific nature of this project, it is not possible for your identity to remain confidential, however, you will be given the opportunity to review any quotes or identifiable information that I use in papers, conferences, or public presentations prior to use. This document tells you about the project, what you will be asked to do when participating, as well as outlining potential risks and benefits to your participation.

Please feel free to ask me (Robyn Burns) questions at any time, during or after. You can ask as many questions as you would like using the above contact information. You are also welcome to contact my thesis supervisor, Karen Gallant (contact information above).

Purpose and Outline of the Research Study

The purpose of this project is to learn about the characteristics of neighbourhood drinking establishments (e.g., bars, pubs, clubs, beergardens, etc.) in your community. Because I am interested in understanding multiple opinions, you were made aware of this project either through a recruitment poster, by phone, or by email. I am conducting interviews, where we will discuss the characteristics of your community and neighbourhood drinking establishments. This project is not affiliated with any organization or establishment in your community. I will analyse this data to better understand the debate surrounding drinking establishments in North End, Halifax.

Who Can Take Part in the Research Study

You were identified as someone who has been involved in discussions about drinking establishments in North End, Halifax during the first phase of my research, where I analysed news articles. In addition to having already engaged in some discussion about

this topic, you can take part in this study if: (a) you are over the age of 19, (b) you are comfortable having the one-on-one interview audio recorded; (c) have an interest or stake in drinking establishments in North End, Halifax by way of your role in that community (e.g., a community leader, business owner), (d) are willing to consent to having your name and quotes included in the results (academic papers, presentations, as well as public presentation(s) and a possible news editorial). You do not have to live in the area in order to participate.

What You Will Be Asked to Do

If you volunteer to participate, we will have a conversation style interview. I will ask you some questions about your opinions of characteristics that make drinking establishments places of destination in your community, or not. We will hold the interview in a private room that is convenient for both of us, and that we decide upon together. The interview will be recorded using a digital audio recorder, and will last about one hour.

Your participation is completely voluntary. This means you do not have to answer any of the questions, and you can choose to stop participating and leave the interview at any time. After the interview, the recording will be typed (transcribed) word-for-word. These results will be shared in academic channels (e.g., my thesis, papers, conferences) as well as to the public through a public presentation and news editorial.

Possible Benefits, Risks and Discomforts

The risks associated with participating in this interview are minimal: The questions are not sensitive in nature, but it is possible you might feel uncomfortable being interviewed or answering questions about the community where you live or work, where you may be potentially identified. You may also be bored, fatigued, or disinterested during the interview. You can choose not to respond to any question, and can discontinue your involvement at any time. You can also choose to take a break.

If you choose to participate, you have the option to allow me to use your real name, which means other people, including those in your community, might know you participated and your opinions. Please note I will minimize this risk by ensuring that you are comfortable with which quotes or identification I will use. I will send you quotes prior to including them in our reports, and will not use them without your explicit verbal consent.

There are no direct benefits to participation in this project. However, while participating might not benefit you directly, it may benefit others. You might find it enjoyable or meaningful to talk about your community and social drinking. The results will be shared publicly, so it is possible that action will result from this study.

It is important to note that this research is being conducted by me as my thesis project, and no organizations or establishments from your community are collaborating in this project.

Compensation / Reimbursement

There is no compensation for participation in this study. You are not expected to incur any expenses while participating in this study.

Recruitment Incentive

As an incentive, all key informants are entered into a random draw for a \$25.00 gift card to the Mid-East Food Centre draw will take place after all interviews are complete. You will still be entered into the draw if you choose to withdraw from the study or stop the interview. You do not have to enter the draw if it is your preference not to do so.

How your information will be protected

Because I know that you are participating, your identity will not be anonymous. Your transcript will not be edited to remove identifying information. I will not share quotes or identifiable information without first giving you the option to review this and ensure you are comfortable with what is being shared. Quotes will be sent to you to review by email. It is important to note that email is not always a secure method of communication, and can be intercepted.

All transcripts and audio recordings will be kept securely, meaning that all the information collected at this interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or on a password-protected computer. The only people who will have access to this information are myself and my thesis supervisor, Dr. Karen Gallant. Data will be kept for 5 years, and then will be securely destroyed. The data will be analysed for themes that are similar to what other key informants said, as well as your unique contributions.

If You Decide to Stop Participating

You can decide to stop participating at any time. If you decide to stop participating part way through the interview, it will be your choice whether you want to allow me to use information that was already recorded. You also have the choice to have me remove (delete) this information. You can also contact me up to two weeks (14 days) after participation to withdraw from the study.

How to Obtain Results

After I have completed all of my interviews, I can provide you with a short description of the results of this research. I will also be sharing these results publicly in Halifax (likely by Twitter, on the project website, or a newspaper, such as The Coast). You can provide your contact information if you would like to receive a report and/or if you would like to be contacted to attend the event.

Questions

I am happy to answer any questions you might have before, during, or after your participation. You can contact me at Robyn.burns@dal.ca 902-412-3089. You can also contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Karen Gallant, at Karen.gallant@dal.ca.

If you have any ethical concerns about your participation in this research, you may also contact Research Ethics, Dalhousie University at (902) 494-1462, or email: ethics@dal.ca

Signature Page – One-On-One Interview

Project title: Social drinking in the third place: A leisure perspective on the debate over neighborhood drinking establishments in North End, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Researcher: Robyn Burns (BSc Health Promotion, MA leisure Studies *Candidate*),
School of Health and Human Performance, Dalhousie
Phone: 902-412-3089
Email: robyn.burns@dal.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Karen Gallant, School of Health and Human Performance, Dalhousie
Email: karen.gallant@dal.ca

Consent to participate:

I have read the explanation about this study. I have been given the opportunity to discuss it and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I have been asked to take part in one interview (about one hour long) that will occur at a location acceptable to me, and that this interviews will be recorded on a digital audio recorder.

I understand that by participating, it is possible that I my identity may be exposed in research reports, presentations, and conferences. I know that identifiable quotes will not be used without my permission, and that I may be contacted after this interview to provide this permission. If I don't respond to this email, my quotes that are identifiable will not be used. Receiving this email may indicate to others, who access or intercept this email, that I have participated in this study. g

I agree to take part in this study. My participation is voluntary and I understand that I am free to withdraw at any point during the interview, and can still be entered into the draw for the gift certificate.

Name (Print)	Signature	Date

I consent to receiving quotes by email at this address (print clearly below), acknowledging that there is a risk this email could be intercepted:

- I would like to be entered into the draw to win a \$25 gift certificate to Mid-East Food Centre (on Agricola Street), and consent to being contacted using the information provided below. I know that if I choose to stop participating now (or within up to two weeks after the study) that I can still be included in the draw:

Contact information:

Option to receive research report:

If you would like to receive a summary of the research findings or information about when the results will be shared publicly, please indicate your interest and provide contact information

- I would like to receive a summary of the research findings
- I would like to receive information about when the results will be shared publicly

Contact Information:

Appendix J Community Member Consent Form



Project title: Social drinking in the third place: A leisure perspective on the debate over neighborhood drinking establishments in North End, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Researcher: Robyn Burns (BSc Health Promotion, MA leisure Studies *Candidate*)
School of Health and Human Performance, Dalhousie
Phone: 902-412-3089
Email: robyn.burns@dal.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Karen Gallant, School of Health and Human Performance, Dalhousie
Email: karen.gallant@dal.ca

Introduction

You are invited to take part in a research study being conducted by Robyn Burns, a student in the MA leisure Studies program at Dalhousie University. It is entirely your choice whether you want to volunteer to participate in this research interview. After the interview, I will write up the results of the study in a report and present the findings at conferences, as well as share the information back with the community - you can decide whether you would like to be identified by name in dissemination. If you choose to be identified you will be given the opportunity to review any quotes or identifiable information that I use in papers, conferences, or public presentations prior to use. If you would prefer that your identity is not divulged in any resultant publication, you can choose whether you will allow the use of anonymized quotes (quotes where your identifiable information has been removed). This document tells you about the project, what you will be asked to do when participating, as well as outlining potential risks and benefits to your participation.

Please feel free to ask me (Robyn Burns) questions at any time, during or after. You can ask as many questions as you would like using the above contact information. You are also welcome to contact my thesis supervisor, Karen Gallant (contact information above).

Purpose and Outline of the Research Study

The purpose of this project is to learn about the characteristics of neighbourhood drinking establishments (e.g., bars, pubs, clubs, beergardens, etc.) in your community. I am conducting interviews, where I will discuss the characteristics of your community and neighbourhood drinking establishments. This project is not affiliated with any organization or establishment in your community. I will analyse this data to better understand the debate surrounding drinking establishments in North End, Halifax.

Who Can Take Part in the Research Study

Because I am interested in understanding multiple opinions, you were made aware of this project either through a recruitment poster or by another key informant. You can take part in this study if: (a) you are over the age of 19, (b) you are comfortable having the one-on-one interview audio recorded; and (c) you reside in North End, Halifax (north of Cogswell St).

What You Will Be Asked to Do

If you volunteer to participate, we will have a conversation style interview. I will ask you some questions about your opinions of characteristics that make drinking establishments places of destination in your community, or not. We will hold the interview in a private room that is convenient for both of us, and that we decide upon together. The interview will be recorded using a digital audio recorder, and will last about one hour.

Your participation is completely voluntary. This means you do not have to answer any of the questions, and you can choose to stop participating and leave the interview at any time. After the interview, the recording will be typed (transcribed) word-for-word. You will be able to choose whether or not you would like identifiable information (information that names you directly, or might serve to indirectly identify you such as your street name) included or not. These results will be shared in academic channels (e.g., my thesis, papers, conferences) as well as to the public through a public presentation and news editorial.

Possible Benefits, Risks and Discomforts

The risks associated with participating in this interview are minimal: The questions are not sensitive in nature, but it is possible you might feel uncomfortable being interviewed or answering questions about the community where you live or work. You may also be bored, fatigued, or disinterested during the interview. You can choose not to respond to any question, and can discontinue your involvement at any time. You can also choose to take a break.

If you choose to allow us to identify you in our dissemination, you are giving me permission to use your real name, which means other people, including those in your community, might know you participated and your opinions. Please note we will minimize this risk by ensuring that you are comfortable with which quotes or identification we will use. I will send you quotes prior to including them in our reports, and will not use them without your explicit verbal consent. You can also choose to be quoted but to have your quotes anonymized so they reveal no identifiable information.

There are no direct benefits to participation in this project. However, while participating might not benefit you directly, it may benefit others. You might find it enjoyable or meaningful to talk about your community and social drinking. The results will be shared publicly, so it is possible that action will result from this study.

It is important to note that this research is being conducted by me as my thesis project,

and no organizations or establishments from your community are collaborating in this project.

Compensation / Reimbursement

There is no compensation for participation in this study. You are not expected to incur any expenses while participating in this study.

Recruitment Incentive

As an incentive, all key informants are entered into a random draw for a \$25.00 gift card to Mid East Food Centre. This draw will take place after all interviews are complete. You can still be entered into the draw if you choose to withdraw from the study or stop the interview. You do not have to enter the draw if it is your preference not to do so.

How your information will be protected:

Because I know that you are participating, your identity will not be anonymous. Based on your choice, your transcript will either be left with identifiable information, such as your name, within the document *or* with this information removed such that the transcript could not be used to identify you directly or indirectly. I will not share quotes or identifiable information without first giving you the option to review this and ensure you are comfortable with what is being shared. Quotes will be sent to you to review by email. It is important to note that email is not always a secure method of communication, and can be intercepted.

All transcripts and audio recordings will be kept securely, meaning that all the information collected at this interview will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or on a password-protected computer. The only people who will have access to this information are myself and my thesis supervisor, Dr. Karen Gallant. Data will be kept for 5 years, and then will be securely destroyed. The data will be analysed for themes that are similar to what other key informants said, as well as your unique contributions.

If You Decide to Stop Participating

You can decide to stop participating at any time. If you decide to stop participating part way through the interview, it will be your choice whether you want to allow me to use information that was already recorded. You also have the choice to have me remove (delete) this information. You can also contact me up to two weeks (14 days) after participation to withdraw from the study.

How to Obtain Results

After I have completed all of my interviews, I can provide you with a short description of the results of this research. I will also be sharing these results publicly in Halifax likely by Twitter, on the project website, or a newspaper, such as The Coast. You can provide your contact information if you would like to receive a report and/or if you would like to be contacted to attend the event.

Questions

I am happy to answer any questions you might have before, during, or after your

participation. You can contact me at Robyn.burns@dal.ca 902-412-3089. You can also contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Karen Gallant, at Karen.gallant@dal.ca. If you have any ethical concerns about your participation in this research, you may also contact Research Ethics, Dalhousie University at (902) 494-1462, or email: ethics@dal.ca For your reference, the Research Ethics Board (REB) # is #####

Signature Page – One-On-One Interview

Project title: SOCIAL DRINKING IN THE THIRD PLACE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE PERSPECTIVES OF NEIGHBOURHOOD DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS IN HALIFAX'S NORTH END

Researcher: Robyn Burns (BSc Health Promotion, MA leisure Studies *Candidate*),
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Phone: 902-412-3089
Email: robyn.burns@dal.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Karen Gallant, School of Health and Human Performance, Dalhousie
Email: karen.gallant@dal.ca

Consent to participate:

I have read the explanation about this study. I have been given the opportunity to discuss it and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I have been asked to take part in one interview (about one hour long) that will occur at a location acceptable to me, and that this interview will be recorded on a digital audio recorder.

I understand that after the interview I can decide whether or not I would like to be identified in any publications or dissemination (e.g., conferences, papers, public presentations, news articles). If I choose to be identified, I know that identifiable quotes will not be used without my permission, and that I may be contacted after this interview to provide this permission. If I don't respond to this email, my quotes will not be used. Receiving this email may indicate to others, who access or intercept this email, that I have participated in this study.

I agree to take part in this study. My participation is voluntary and I understand that I am free to withdraw at any point during the interview, and can still be entered into the draw for the gift certificate.

Name (Print)	Signature	Date

I would like to be entered into the draw to win a \$25 gift certificate, and consent to being contacted using the information provided below. I know that if I choose to stop participating now (or within up to two weeks after the study) that I can still be included in the draw:

Contact information:

Post-Interview:

DO NOT USE MY NAME:

After completing the interview, I have chosen not to be identified in any publications or dissemination by name. However, I will allow quotes that do not identify me.

Name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

PERMISSION TO USE MY NAME:

After completing the interview, I would like to be identified in any publications or dissemination. This includes identification by name, as well as indirectly identifying information. I know that identifiable quotes will not be used without my permission, and that I might be contacted after this interview to provide this permission. If I don't respond to this email, my quotes will not be used. Receiving this email may indicate to others, who access or intercept this email, that I have participated in this study.

Name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

I consent to receiving quotes by email at this address:

(Please print clearly!)

Option to receive research report:

If you would like to receive a summary of the research findings or information about when the results will be shared publicly, please indicate your interest and provide contact information

- I would like to receive a summary of the research findings
- I would like to receive information about when the results will be shared publicly

Contact Information:

Appendix K Semi-Structured Interview Script

Semi-Structured Interview Scripts

Community Members:

- 1) What made you interested in volunteering for this interview?
- 2) What do you like about the North End? What don't you like?
- 3) Tell me a bit about what you know about bars and pubs in the North End.
- 4) How have you heard other people or the media talk about bars and pubs in the North End?
 - a) How is this similar or different from how you might describe these places?
- 5) Tell me about a typical visit you might have to a bar or pub in the North End.
 - a) Are there any places that stand out to you?
 - b) Are there any specific times that stand out to you?
Are there any specific elements of the pub setting or layout that particularly appeal to you or that don't appeal to you?
- 6) Tell me about a time you or a friend were at a North End pub or bar and not drinking.

If this doesn't happen: Tell me about the role that drinking plays? What would be like to go and not drink?

If this does happen: What keeps you from going?
- 7) When [if] you go to North End bars or pubs, can you tell me a bit about the other people there and your interactions?
- 8) **Wrap Up:**
 - a) **SNOWBALLING:** Is there anyone else you think might be interested in participating in this research? If so, I have a poster and website URL that you can share with them.
 - b) How should I go about sharing the results of this study with the community?

Formal Stakeholders:

- 1) What made you interested in volunteering for this interview?
- 2) What do you like about the North End? What don't you like?
- 3) Tell me a bit about your role in relation to bars and pubs in the North End.
 - a. Specific bars and pubs?
 - b. Specific job functions?
 - c. Outside of your formal role, as a patron?
- 4) How have you heard residents talk about bars and pubs in the North End?
 - a) How is this similar or different from your own description?
- 5) How do you talk about or describe bars and pubs in the North End?
- 6) How have you heard the news media describe bars and pubs in the North End?
 - a) Were you involved in any of this coverage?
 - b) How is this similar or different from your own description?
- 7) What specific instances or events surrounding bars and pubs in the North End stand out to you as memorable? Tell me a bit about these.
 - a. Are there any places that stand out to you?
 - b. Are there any specific times or events that stand out to you?
 - c. Are there any specific elements of bars or pubs, like their location, setting, or layout, that stands out to you?
- 8) Can you describe your interactions with residents and other stakeholders on the topic of bars and pubs in the North End?
- 9) **Wrap Up:** How should I go about sharing the results of this study with the community?

Appendix L TCPS2 CERTIFICATES

PANEL ON
RESEARCH ETHICS
Navigating the ethics of human research

TCPS 2: CORE

Certificate of Completion

This document certifies that

Robyn Forward

*has completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement:
Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans
Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE)*

Date of Issue: **19 March, 2014**

PANEL ON
RESEARCH ETHICS
Navigating the ethics of human research

TCPS 2: CORE

Certificate of Completion

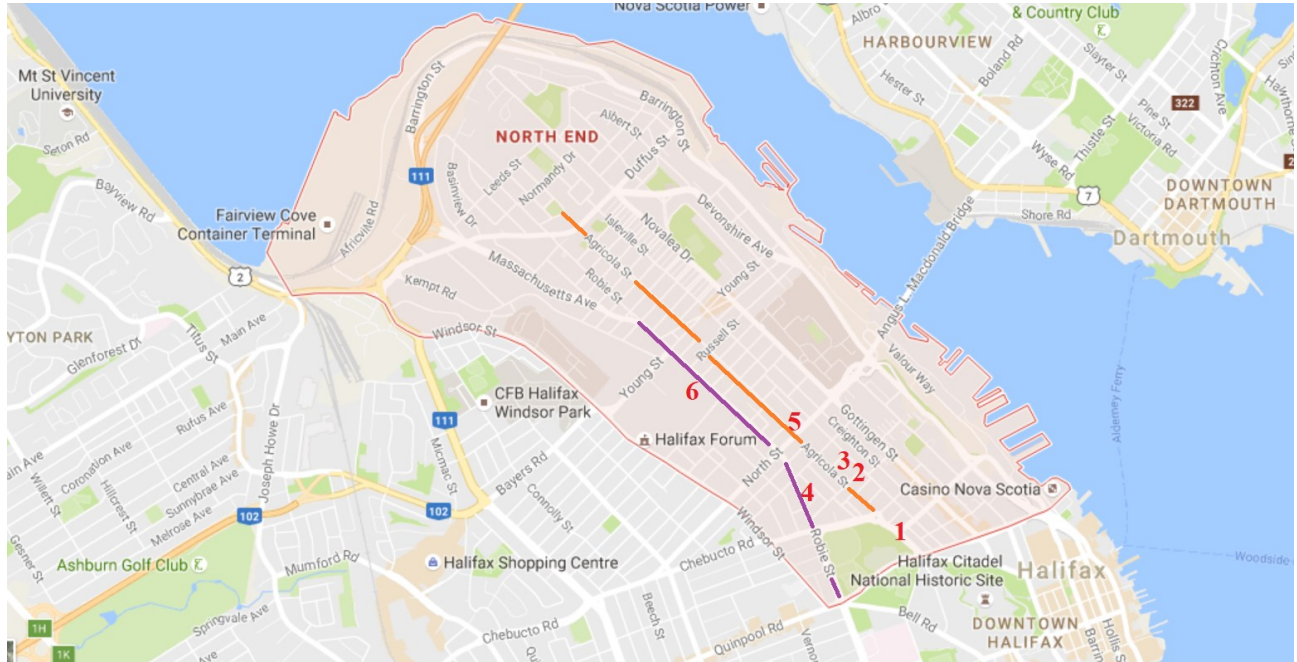
This document certifies that

Robyn Burns

*has completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement:
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Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE)*

Date of Issue: **3 November, 2016**

APPENDIX M ANNOTATED MAP OF NORTH END DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS



- Legend - Drinking Establishments:**
- 1: Proposed site for Stillwell Beergarden (Cornwallis Street)
 - 2: Lion & Bright (Agricola Street)
 - 3: Agricola Street Brasserie (Agricola Street)
 - 4: Good Robot (Robie Street)
 - 5: Gus' Pub (Agricola Street at North Street)
 - 6: Lion's Head Tavern (Robie Street)