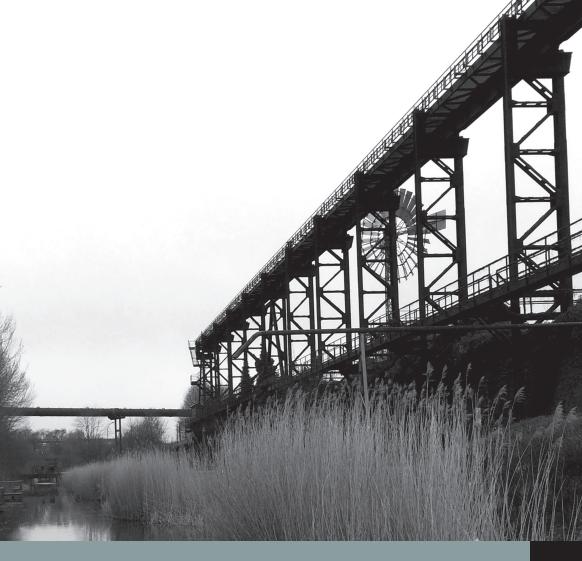
Transcending the Nostalgic

LANDSCAPES OF POSTINDUSTRIAL EUROPE BEYOND REPRESENTATION



# George S. Jaramillo & Juliane Tomann

ీ Transcending the Nostalgic ి

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## TRANSCENDING THE NOSTALGIC

### Landscapes of Postindustrial Europe beyond Representation

Edited by George S. Jaramillo and Juliane Tomann



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## Preface

This collection emerges from a variety of growing and developing interests in the study of deindustrialization. Initially the realm of labour historians, the exploration of deindustrialization has sparked a broad and fruitful network across many disciplines and fields of study, including geography, anthropology, sociology, history, heritage, memory and tourism studies. The starting point for this edited volume lies in a working group on historical cultures of labour under conditions of deindustrialization, which began to critically study and reflect on this nascent theme in 2015. It grew from a group of researchers who were part of the European Labour History Network (ELHN) into a wider collective of academics and practitioners across North America, Europe and Australia. This particular collection of chapters developed from an open call for papers inspired from the working group's day-long workshop at the second ELHN Conference in Paris, France in November 2017.

## Introduction

George S. Jaramillo and Juliane Tomann

On the splash page of the BBC website Business section of June 2019, a short article warned of Ford Motor Company cutting 12,000 jobs and the closure of four automobile plants across Europe by the end of 2020. These include factories in Russia, Wales, France and Slovakia. The author discusses the economic factors leading to Ford's need to restructure its sites and plants, with the subsequent loss of jobs as key impacts on their respective communities and regions. However, in the outcome, the economic restructuring would set in motion a much broader and multifaceted process of deindustrialization that goes beyond the fact that jobs will be lost and factories will shut down. Being published on the splash page, the article had to highlight the economic situation, omitting certain details that the format did not allow for in such a condensed space. Yet, these omitted pieces are key to critically contextualizing deindustrialization. As a network of multifaceted processes, deindustrialization not only refers to shrinking production, consumption and the respective economic decline, but also entails the resulting sociomaterial and natural entanglements that form deindustrializing landscapes. Thus, if we are to frame these landscapes as complex and ongoing processes, then the closures of factories become more than distinctive episodes in economic evolution; rather, they form continuums across past, present and future engagements (Pike 2020).

This edited volume explores these multiple entanglements of deindustrializing landscapes with a focus on affective and embodied encounters, performative perspectives and speculative futures. Tackling deindustrialization through the lens of evolving landscapes inspires not only new perspectives on the nature of deindustrialization, but encourages interdisciplinary ways to research this subject matter. The chapters of this volume can be read in response to a recent claim to 'focus on theorizing deindustrialization and moving beyond describing [it]' (Clark 2020: np). This introduction explores the development of deindustrialization studies from its nascent roots over forty years ago to its ongoing evolution as an interdisciplinary area of study. It then presents the two main theoretical perspectives, which are the common denominators of the case studies: a perspective on landscape (Wylie 2007) and performativity combined with an approach to studying them within more-than-representational theory (Thrift 2007). The chapter concludes by emphasizing the transregional connections between the variety of cases gathered in this volume.

#### Deindustrialization as an Interdisciplinary Field of Study

In its time, industrialization brought benefits to places, people and communities creating wealth and prosperity, despite the negative side effects that accompanied the phenomenon from the beginning (Clark 2020). But growth has its limits, and the process of industrialization has terminated in many regions where it used to be the main driving force for economic change and development. Deindustrialization evolved, with its accompanying processes and effects of decay and decline, as the antithesis of economic growth and development. Though industrial decline has been a part of any type of economic evolution, the term 'deindustrialization' was first used in the 1970s in North America and the United Kingdom (High, MacKinnon and Perchard 2017) to describe the economic loss of industrial workplaces and culture as a result of factory closures. This laid a foundation for understanding economic and social processes surrounding aspects of deindustrialization where factory closures were seen not just as 'happening' outside of people's control, but as specific choices made by companies to move industries to places with cheaper labour or material (Bluestone and Harrison 1982). Therefore, these studies were rooted in the historical moment, capturing and cultivating a notion of deindustrialization strongly related to the loss of jobs in industries identified with the Industrial Age (Strangleman and Rhodes 2014).

The immense cultural and political impact that deindustrialization had was recognized by contributions from anthropology and political science with work on the labour politics of disenfranchised communities (Mitchell 1992) or the remnant culture of the former coal camps of the Appalachian Mountains (Stewart 1996). This type of ethnographic work brought about the use of a variety of methods including oral history (Halpern 1998), which made important contributions to understanding how economic displacement was being experienced by the workers and how industrial work was remembered, as was the case for the Clydeside workers of Glasgow (Johnston and McIvor 2004). This marked an important shift of scholarly interest towards the impact of industrial decline on aspects of identity and working-class cultural representation, as well as ecological and environmental questions as results of decaying industries (Cowie and Heathcott 2003). Industrial decline, erasure and economic displacement, as well as how these are experienced by former workers as rupture and their subsequent impacts on working-class lives, are still at the heart of deindustrialization studies today (High, MacKinnon and Perchard 2017).

Recent discussions include long-term impacts, as well as legacies and shifts towards aspects of the postindustrial transformation of larger cities that go hand in hand with facets of revitalization and gentrification. This field of study has developed dynamically - it crosses disciplines and negotiates cultural representations of a deindustrializing world, as well as processes of heritagization and memorialization of the industrial past (Berger 2020). Today deindustrialization studies are perceived as 'increasingly diverse and deeply interdisciplinary' (Strangleman, Rhodes and Linkon 2013: 11) and even 'cross disciplinary' (Berger and High 2019: 1). Important contributions, impulses and inspirations towards this interdisciplinary understanding of deindustrialization come from discussions within urban and city planning (Oevermann and Mieg 2015), as well as anthropology and public history (Berger 2020; Richter 2017; Tomann 2017), where questions of renewal and urban industrial entanglements in postindustrial cities are intensely debated. Furthermore, the field of study has acknowledged this diversity by bringing scholarly attention to its manifold cultural representations - from the analysis of literature to coffee-table books, popular websites or art projects by asking how they approach the industrial past and what narratives they convey (Linkon 2013).

The diversity of methods and topics in deindustrialization scholarship has been particularly influenced and informed by developments in the field of heritage and tourism studies. These fields of study focus on analysing aspects of preservation, protection, representation and commodification of what was left after deindustrialization began. Both fields analyse remnants of the industrial past and how, in some cases, these remnants have been transformed into heritage sites (Berger 2020; Harrison 2013; Xie 2015). Heritage, however, reaches beyond site-specific representations, and its construction in a deindustrialized space or landscape includes the transformation of memories and other traces of the past into visions and narratives about it. The formation of heritage is a complex process, influenced by many factors, including state and administrative regulations as well as the agendas of politicians, the interests of workers, social movements and the voices of academics or intellectuals, resulting in specific 'heritage regimes', which become the subjects of academic scrutiny.

Despite the fruitful theoretical entanglements between heritage and deindustrialization studies, the heritagization and touristification of deindustrial or postindustrial landscapes has - on a practical level - provoked criticism within the academic discourse. Drawing attention to the museumification of industrial relicts - with its tendency to aestheticize and depoliticize narratives - High points out that 'stories of struggle are usually excluded from public memorialization' (2017: 423). Instead of highlighting how communities struggle to survive under conditions of a changing industrial sector, some representations of deindustrialization view the decay as a 'spectacle', and photographs or museum exhibits featuring abandoned plants or factories appear to seek the 'beauty in destruction' (Linkon 2013: 39). This aestheticization of industrial structures goes hand in hand with the marginalization of people who worked and spent their lives in such places, effectively rendering them invisible. Strangleman (2013) calls this tendency to present highly aestheticized representations and visual imaginaries as an example of 'smokestack nostalgia'. This 'uncritical celebration of an industrial past' extends from the aesthetic objectification of former working class workplaces to the transformation of such sites into 'exotic locales' or a 'form of "dark tourism" for the middle class' (2013: 24-25). The desire to capture abandoned industrial spaces as a form of 'industrial sublime' (High, in Strangleman 2013: 24) has repercussions on its scholarly debate, as exemplified in the aestheticization of ruins (Edensor 2005).

The term 'smokestack nostalgia' (Cowie and Heathcott 2013) was initially used to identify the dangers of uncritical attempts that relate to the industrial past and to imbue it with a sentimental attitude. This understanding subscribes to Boym's (2001) seminal definition of nostalgia as restorative. Restorative nostalgia is backward-looking and, in a way, transhistorical as it relates to truth and tradition (Boym 2001: xviii). While restorative nostalgia tries to 'protect the absolute truth', its counterpart - reflective nostalgia calls into question the reference to an absolute truth: 'it dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity' (Boym 2001: xviii). Reflective nostalgia is not concerned with the idea of homecoming or a collective longing for a 'better' past; instead, it focuses on the challenges of the present and tries to connect them to the future. This is not to say that Boym or Strangelman (2013) dismiss any sentimental recollections of the industrial past as obsolete and backward-looking; rather, critically placing 'smokestack nostalgia' as a 'symbol of unease in contemporary culture', it allows for 'viewing a relatively stable past as offering some form of fixity' (Strangleman 2013: 33). As such, nostalgia tells us more about the present needs and conditions of an individual or group than about

the past itself; therefore, it must be taken into account as a form of cultural expression. However, nostalgia as a cultural construct in a deindustrializing world is only one way of addressing the past and imagining the future (Berger and High 2019).

The study of deindustrialization today brings about a nuanced understanding of nostalgia, heritage and labour politics as they address the entanglements of past, present and future in processes of deindustrialization and their outcomes across Europe and beyond. As deindustrialization has the ability to destroy wealth and prosperity 'faster than the industrialization process built it up' (Clark 2020: 4), further interdisciplinary research perspectives are needed to reveal these transformations. These new challenges from the 'halflife' (Linkon 2018) of deindustrialization's impacts, and the relationships between Global North and South processes (Clark 2020; Pike 2020) to the ongoing transitions into the future phases of postindustrial work, require new theorizing elements.

#### **Developing Perspectives**

Deindustrialization is not a phenomenon of the past, but an ongoing process that keeps having a large-scale impact on people, communities and the landscape. Processes of deindustrialization are highly complex and can be addressed from different disciplinary angles and perspectives. In order to develop and sharpen the interdisciplinary core of deindustrialization studies and move further in the direction of a comparative perspective, it is important to find a common framework for navigating the dense and complex research material. The chapters in this volume are unified by their focus not only on deindustrialization as a phenomenon of the past or as contemporary history, but also on how former industrial spaces are being (re-)created in the present day, and what entanglements and developments are at play within these processes for the future. Further, the volume is driven by an ambition to broaden ongoing discussions on how to understand the outcomes of deindustrialization in present-day European societies, as well as to add to the recently developing interdisciplinary methodological toolbox of deindustrialization studies. To this end, this volume offers three features: a nuanced understanding of the concepts of landscape (Wylie 2007) and performativity; the application of more-than-representational theory to the field of study (Lorimer 2005; Müller 2015); and a transregional perspective.

The landscape approach shifts from a concern with specific sites of deindustrialization towards a multifaceted collective understanding of emerging moments and nodes, where a landscape is a coming into being with multiple actors, including humans, animals, ecologies and affects. The idea of a

performative landscape opens up the conversation between the agency that these multiple actors have in making and remaking landscapes. The introduction of a more-than-representational theoretical approach affords broader perspectives on practices of rhetorical exploitation, discursive representations and performative approaches of dealing with the industrial past, as well as questions of loss of industrial production and recent processes of regeneration. This tactic proffers insights into current processes of reassessing and reimagining the industrial past, which are essentially future-related, and the accompanied operations of historical knowledge production and meaning making. It understands deindustrialization not as stagnant, but as a transformative and active process, changing and fluid. These ideas link multiple perspectives promoting an affective encounter without denying the intensive socioeconomic impacts that occurred in places and societies affected by deindustrialization. Therefore, the chapters in this volume move beyond both a historical analysis of processes of deindustrialization and a discourse of the politics of deindustrialization, instead attending to present-day developments in deindustrialized or postindustrialized spaces and arguing for a multifaceted perspective of experiencing landscape.

Finally, this volume attempts to further develop the transregional approach Berger (2020) advances by offering a collective of case studies focused on different European countries and regions. It aligns itself with the belief that 'deindustrialization studies need to go beyond their traditional focus of individual case studies and move towards transregional comparison in order to understand better the respective individual case studies' (Berger 2020: 301-2). With its focus on Europe, this volume presents a panorama of a continent that played a crucial role in the processes of industrialization across the world, as well as a first-hand experience of the effects of deindustrialization (Pike 2020). Along with its historical industrial significance, the increasing political repercussions felt throughout Europe from Brexit to the Gilets Jaunes (Yellow Vests) in France, it is imperative to explore how these actions are not just national movements, but rather are linked to wider European connections. The volume features explorations from wellresearched countries such as the United Kingdom and Germany, alongside insights into less intensively studied regions such as the Western Balkans and Sweden. These fundamentally different cases must be described and analysed within their specific local, regional and national entanglements (Wicke 2018). The mixture and variety of well-known and lesser-known regions is an added value for probing a comparative view, as these territories invite a reassessment and different approach to well-established cases in the discourse, and offer new, and perhaps innovative, perspectives to ongoing discussions in the field.

Bringing new perspectives and approaches to an interdisciplinary field of study is surely a challenging endeavour. It might even be considered risky, in that it entails exploring areas unchartered in established academic disciplines. Nonetheless, it is important to provoke this area of study and enable new avenues of research. Therefore, this volume is considered a laboratory for pushing the boundaries of deindustrialization studies. The volume should be received as an invitation for scholars to engage in an open-ended conversation about how the field of deindustrialization studies could develop in the future. Extending the metaphor of the laboratory, this volume aims to provide a testing ground for new perspectives on processes of deindustrialization that transcend disciplinary boundaries and focus very much on present-day developments in deindustrial or postindustrial spaces, without neglecting the historical development of each region or place.

#### **Making Landscapes**

Landschaft, paisaje, nejsaw: all translate to the term 'landscape' in English. Like its many permutations, landscape is understood to be many things. It can be the impact of humans on a particular place (Sauer 1963). It can be the accumulation of layers of history (Hoskins 1955) or the materialization of social relations, values, ideologies or symbolic of identity and race (Cosgrove 1988). A landscape can also be embodied, inhabited or 'dwelled' (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Heidegger 1962); furthermore, a landscape can be performed and practised (Thrift 2007; Wylie 2012). Landscapes are constructed, imagined, contested and laboured. The word 'landscape' can be a noun or verb, as in 'to landscape', meaning to alter and improve aesthetically (OED 2021). Since the concept of landscape is fluid, it is useful to trace certain developments within landscape studies in order to better understand its repercussions for this collection of its collaborative efforts.

In the last twenty-five years, ongoing work has produced changing perspectives on the performative elements of body and landscape. Studies mediating on issues from enacting the landscape (Rose 2002; Wylie 2005) to the notions of ruin and memory (DeLyser 1999; DeSilvey and Edensor 2012; Stewart 1996) have shifted the lens onto an immersive landscape. Such scholarship understands the landscape as enacted and worked, moving beyond the representational and towards the experiential, where landscapes are made and remade through the relations and agency of not only people, but also animals, weather and things. Similarly, work conducted in political ecology (Mitchell 2008) has broadened perspectives towards the production of landscape. Don Mitchell (1996: 34–35) describes landscape as 'an uneasy

truce between the needs and desires of the people who live in it, and the desire of powerful social actors to represent the world as they assume it to be. Landscape is a material form that results from and structures social interaction, and an ideological representation dripping with power'. As such, landscapes are not only products of labour, but also represent the politics of those social relations. Human beings construct and reconstruct the landscape – working it with their hands, living within it, imbuing it with significance through effort, encounter and cultivation. It is vital to identify and appreciate the forgotten relationships and the struggles between people, for it is in these encounters that we understand how landscapes are made.

Landscapes can also obfuscate the exploitative nature of labour, reifying the commodity and perpetuating particular power structures. The landscape is no simple reflection of the needs and desires of the dominant class; rather, it is shaped through settlement patterns, social relations and surface morphology or 'work to (re)produce certain identities and ways of life and become a spatial configuration of particular people's legitimacy and moral authority' (Setten and Brown 2013: 244). As such, landscapes have myriad capacities to shape the power relations within it. Likewise, the landscape is not a transcendental given, but can be considered a series of multiple projects of perceptions, bundled or stabilized through conservation efforts, policies, capitalist endeavours, agricultural forces and aesthetic practices (Cronon 1991).

Ultimately, European industrial landscapes are an embodiment of not only the labour that it took to make it (the miner, builder, shopkeeper and lorry driver) but also the social and economic relations it took to get it there, including the agricultural policies that allow for farming to be subsidized, the culling of animals to maintain a proper price, the maintenance of machinery, the power grid, the payment structures and land management practices. This approach to the landscape is therefore an assemblage of economic and social relations (Mitchell 2008; Swanton 2012) that integrate labour theories of capital, production and labour flows with performative discourses of the body, using assemblage as a way to recover the marginalized systems. This basis allows the idea of political ecology to recognize the multiple ways in which landscapes are understood and to take account of the overlooked and routine practices of everyday life.

The examples show the rich and diverse ways in which landscape can be understood, offering a productive method for appreciating it as held in 'tension' by four pairings: proximity and distance, observing and inhabiting, eye and land, and culture and nature. These tensions 'animate the landscape concept making it cogent and productive' (Wylie 2007: 214), allowing the landscape to be dwelled upon (Ingold 2007), storied (Daniels and Lorimer 2012; DeSilvey 2010, 2013), messy (Law 2004) or part of a body (Wylie 2002, 2005). This malleable definition of landscape is conducive to this volume, affording the opportunity to work within these tensions, but not necessarily to try to resolve them. In this collection, the idea of landscape gets (re) interpreted through a variety of lenses, from a large prototypical scene to a site constituted by historical references, ecological remnants and military spaces, thereby giving the volume a breadth of new formats with which to research deindustrialization. Before discussing the ideas of more-thanrepresentational theory, we focus on a key idea of performativity.

#### **Performative Landscapes**

Performativity is about making worlds. Originating from two schools of thought in the mid-twentieth century - a dramaturgical (Burke 1945; Goffman 1956) model of study and a change in linguistic philosophy (Austin 1962), in which words do more than say - they enact. For Goffman, as researched by Gregson and Rose (2000), 'the self is a performed character ... not an organic thing that has a specific location ... rather this body merely provides the peg on which something of a collaborative manufacture will be hung for a time' (Goffman 1956: 252-53). However, these dramaturgical analogies would influence further studies of performativity. Butler's (1990, 1993) work on gender and identity advanced a linguistic argument about how our utterances and bodies produce our gender. She defines gender and sex not as a biological given, but as something performed through the body, meaning that gender norms are created through our everyday performances. She further posits that subjectivity can be influenced through the performances we do and the performances we do not do. As she explains: 'Performance is not a singular "act" or event, but a ritualized production, a ritual reiterated under and through constraint, under and through force of prohibition and taboo' (Butler 1993: 95). Performativity is about more than just about how we represent the world; it is about how worlds are produced by our actions and, through utterances, come into being.

Gregson and Rose (2000: 434) spatialized the idea of body and performance, defined 'by what individuals do or say' and performativity as the 'citational practices which reproduce and/or subvert discourse'. They expand upon performativity by understanding its use in social identity and power, and in destabilizing and challenging preconceptions of a variety of social practices and, more importantly, the spaces that are made within. Space does not just exist, but is charged and performed by the social actors within them, be they banks, churches or a car boot sale. Performance and performativity are 'subsumed within' each other (Gregson and Rose 2000: 441) and within those spaces, which do not have defined boundaries where performances can slip between one and another, acknowledging the messiness of power relations. Understanding deindustrialization through a performative lens brings to light the emergent politics from competition among the different meanings attributed to the industrial past, thereby fostering new discourses around them, including nature-human perspectives, historical perceptions and future heritage relations. In the performative, we can begin to further our understanding of our next and final theoretical approach to this collection in more-than-representational theory.

#### More-Than-Representational (MTR) Landscapes

MTR theory privileges the study of relations (Stewart 2015), bringing actornetwork theory (Latour 1996) and assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; DeLanda 2006) into conversation with other poststructuralist thought. Initially inspired by the work of Thrift (1996, 2007) and his adaptation of the performative to what he refers to as nonrepresentational theory, Lorimer (2005: 83) defines nonrepresentational theory as 'an umbrella term for diverse work that seeks to better cope with our self-evidently more-than-human, more-than-textual, multisensual worlds'. This idea developed towards studies about enacting the landscape (Rose 2002; Wylie 2005), which then inspired an emerging body of work interested in an immersive and embodied approach to understanding and studying landscape. Critics such as Laura Jane Smith see nonrepresentational theory as a theoretical dead-end, particularly for research that attempts to understand the 'interrelationship between heritage and the social' (Smith and Campbell 2016: 451). Their critique focuses on the affective components as precognitive and limiting heritage's connection to political discourse and social construction (Wetherell 2012). Lorimer (2005) prefers to use the term 'more-than-representational' to afford an inclusive perspective of social and power relations. It is thus this term that we use, and despite criticism of its foundations, we believe that MTR theory provides a fruitful framework in which landscapes can be approached through multiple lenses, as this theory is grounded not only within practice and body, but also within the affective. According to Müller (2015: 410), MTR theory can be defined through five key tenets: performative practice, worlds being made, affective natures, more-than-human engagements, and multiple experimental research praxis. These five themes not only allow for a broad approach in engaging with these landscapes, but also enable the necessary interdisciplinarity of deindustrialization research.

MTR approaches acknowledge that our understandings of the world 'are lived and embodied, inevitably tangled up with our doings and enactments *in the moment*' (Waterton 2014: 826, emphasis in original). It can be defined as 'a style of thinking that foregrounds explorations of feelings, emotion and affect, and places emphasis on how these are negotiated and experienced through a re-centred imagining of the body' (Waterton 2014: 824). In this spirit, the chapters in this volume explore deindustrialized landscapes with MTR theory. Looking at more than textual or visual representations of landscape, the following chapters use all of the senses to understand the world – through the actions and interactions between ourselves and the landscape. Theorizing landscape in this way, the chapters meditate on *how* the landscape is enacted and laboured rather than just *what* it is. Therefore, they suggest an understanding of deindustrialization that moves from being represented towards a performative and embedded approach, a phase of transformation rather than just an end to a particular phase.

#### Structure

This volume is divided along three thematic-theoretical lines: performative narratives; postindustrial ecologies; and reimagined futures. Thematic exploration provides the opportunity to explore across landscape typologies, from a single structure to a regional interpretation of landscape. It promotes a cross-site analysis of spaces; rather than dividing by size, it offers new perspectives whereby the opportunities present in one type of space can occur in the other space. It does not deny that landscapes can occur on multiple scales and inhabit multiple places by working within that tension of landscape where landscapes can be a building, city, farmland or regional imaginative. The need for creative approaches in MTR research is further supported by Müller where he requests for 'novel modes of presenting and presencing research' (2015: 410). New insights in these landscape practices foster the interdisciplinary nature of deindustrialization studies and each chapter supports a growing series of creative methodological approaches necessary for the exploration of this discipline (Edensor 2005; Strangleman 2008b) from autoethnographic to historical review. These are further supported by the variety of creative methods inspired from drawing, photography, participant observation and walk-and-talks, each chapter opening up new discourses towards immersive research practices.

#### Postindustrial Ecologies

The first theme relates to the ecological systems, be they rewilding, green sites or new hybrid industrial ecologies created through the environmental conditions present in (de)industrial landscapes. Two key chapters from the United Kingdom comment on these ecological entanglements. Davis' work explores the transient and changeable military industrial complex of Ordford Ness, offering an affective and embodied account of the transitioning space of controlled ruination. Through key components of loneliness, absence and boundaries, the space engages in temporal shifts within the landscape. Orange develops a surface theory exploration of the tin and copper mines of Cornwall. Here, through an immersive participatory walking approach, Orange reveals layers of perception of the underground and surface geographies of the landscape. In the worked ground of the former mining landscape, the 'lost imaginations' of the vertical spaces below are reinterpreted through its surface transformations. The case studies from the United Kingdom are accompanied by an example from eastern Germany. Pérez-Sindín looks at the remade landscapes of pit lakes near Leipzig, where the postindustrial tension between social circumstances and new green spaces produce a type of 'green gentrification'.

#### Performative Narratives

The second theme acknowledges the affective and performative capacities that narratives enact within landscapes. Narrative explorations are reflected through physical remains, such as ruins and rubble, at the same time as they are influenced, constructed and authenticated by those narratives, cutting across their opacities and ambiguities. Working within visual practices, Huszka investigates Instagram communities and shows how they contribute to rethink regional narratives of the German Ruhr. Sjöholm provides a different perspective into the concept of heritagization and its application through two Swedish mining towns as land subsidence has increased due to historic mining activities. A different environmental entanglement is explored between heritage, landscape and community, where the twin towns of Malmberget and Kiruna must reinterpret significance as its physical landscape continues to impact the historic towns. This part also features two examples from former Yugoslavia. The first one shows how a performative theatre is installed within the remains of a former sugar factory in the Serbian capital of Belgrade. Šentevska describes the nexus between cultural production in a theatre, political and economic transition in a postwar situation in Serbia and deindustrialized landscapes. She focuses on the specific case of the theatre company KPGT currently based in Belgrade and its artistic 'occupation' of the dilapidated sugar mill in a historical working-class neighbourhood. Staying within the Western Balkan states, Lawnicki investigates abandoned buildings in her study of Tuzla in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She focuses on the relational registers between ruins, affect and the constructed identity of Tuzla. Through a series of interviews, she narrates an affective journey through the city, exposing the postindustrial landscape experienced within it.

#### **Reimagining Futures**

The third theme involves rethinking futures and regeneration, where perspectives of transformations are reflected and performed. Such a focus allows this area of study to influence not only planning and design, but also public policy and development. The chapters in this part explore deindustrialization that does not necessarily signify perpetual downturn in social and economic form, but as a challenge towards a preferred future. In the United Kingdom, in the town of Lincoln, a different type of future is reimagined by its inhabitants, whereby transformation from an industrial core to a knowledge economy has given the city a new vision. Hunt explores how futures are reinterpreted by the establishment of a university that is repurposing, rethinking and respecting its heritage even as it is looking ahead. Gavinelli, Mastropietro and Zanolin explore how the Italian RiMaflow project engages a group of former automotive supply workers in the reinterpretations of their factory space. On the outskirts of Milan, an ongoing dialogue between the community and the workers share what it means to produce and manufacture, examining the role that territorialization has in store for the future of the region. Moving to Western Europe and the shores of the English Channel, Hein, along with Mager and Hauser, discuss the petroleumscapes of Dunkirk and the futures that come from critically exploring the Fourth Industrial Revolution of creative practices. The volume is then surmised and reflected upon by Waterton, whose extensive expertise in not only MTR theory and heritage but also landscape discourse put the chapters in the volume into a broader perspective. Waterton brings together the collective idea of landscape and affective encounter via shared methods, exploratory forms and 'embodied intensities'.

As twenty-first-century economies continue to shift towards innovative forms of manufacturing service and goods, the landscapes that exist are no more forgotten than they are abandoned. This introduction has given a retrospective of deindustrialization research, placing it within a multiple landscape context and MTR theoretical framework. It has also taken stock of the term 'deindustrialization' and the developing perspective that enables a deeper understanding of the complexity that lies behind the term, proceeding from one abandoned venue to an understanding of these landscapes as a social process and network of human and nonhuman actors. In these chapters, we seek to move towards a holistic understanding of postindustrial landscapes in which narratives, practices and related actors all strive to elucidate what it means and how to experience life in a society that has ceased to manufacture certain things – or that produces less – and with fewer workers, yet desires to create new things.

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## Part I

## **POSTINDUSTRIAL ECOLOGIES**

#### CHAPTER 1

## War, Ruins and Wildness at Orford Ness

SOPHIA DAVIS

This chapter explores the shifting heritage landscape of Orford Ness, a shingle spit on the British coast that was home to military-scientific research throughout the twentieth century, its most politically important phase being as an Atomic Weapons Research Establishment (AWRE). After its abandonment, the site was transformed into a nature reserve and monument to the Cold War. Managed by the National Trust, the buildings were left to decay in so-called controlled ruination, creating a disturbing visitor experience that works together with its ecological framing to disrupt nostalgic memorialization, the mysterious, ruining buildings evoking a sense of time-in-process. Taking a more-than-representational approach to Orford Ness, this chapter investigates the site's affective potential in terms of wildness, loneliness and absence, boundaries, decay and destruction.

#### Affective Landscapes

An approach foregrounding affective potential seems obvious at Orford Ness, where many people report an unsettling felt experience. Attending to this atmosphere demands resisting the deadening effect of prioritizing representation or, as John Wylie put it, draining the life out of things (Wylie 2007a: 163). Working against this deadening tendency, more-than-representational theories draw on phenomenological styles of thinking and extend them, considering how our bodies are in play with sensations and affect, and how they perform, participate or are put to use (MacPherson 2010). As Hayden Lorimer observes, affect is difficult to pinpoint, distributed in and between (not exclusively human) bodies, objects, technologies, sounds, activities and other things (Lorimer 2005: 2). Exploring the affective qualities of place means considering how a landscape forces us to think and feel through its contexts, prompts and (un)familiarity (Dewsbury 2009). The arrival of military research at Orford Ness and its subsequent shift into a nature reserve call to mind Joy Parr's work on the changes in embodied knowledge wrought by Canadian megaprojects, where residents struggled to adapt their ways of sensing, understanding and interacting with their environments (Parr 2009). Parr examined the disorienting effects of the 1952 construction of the NATO base at Gagetown, New Brunswick, and the new embodied knowledge gained by workers at Ontario's Bruce Nuclear Generating Facility.

More-than-representational theories claim that landscapes should be understood as continually in process, permanently coming-into-being. As Wylie elaborates, attempting to understand landscape must involve recognizing the 'simultaneous and ongoing shaping of self, body and landscape via practice and performance' (2007a: 166). Through its emphasis on landscape as continual doings rather than something constant and seen, this approach also brings the one doing or seeing into focus. Landscapes are therefore the sensibilities with which we see, encompassing precognitive and conscious experience (Merriman et al. 2008).

Taking this insight to a heritage site, visitors' capacity to be affected by heritage emerges as qualified by the experiences inevitably and already encoded within their person (Anderson 2014), and the past is felt through embodied experience of the environment (Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson 2017). Emma Waterton argues that embodied experience and the processes of meaning making are crucial to understanding heritage, emphasizing what heritage does rather than what is seen (Waterton 2014). As she observes, perception is full of memories, such that spaces of heritage are always two: past and present.

Like Parr's megaprojects, the industrialization at Orford Ness concerned twentieth-century military and nuclear research. The interwar period was arguably a key phase of military development in Britain (Edgerton 2006), and as the Second World War gave way to the Cold War, defence policy depended on the work of hundreds of scientists, engineers and technicians engaged in research, producing fissile material and other materials, and designing, fabricating and testing nuclear devices and weapons (Arnold and Smith 2006). During the Cold War, the importance of science was made evident to the public through the high-profile status of atomic weapons, guided missiles and space research (MacDonald 2006). With this history, the site at Orford Ness shares parallels with museum exhibitions, and the difficulties encountered there in presenting the relationship between science and warfare (Gieryn 1998). The site is presented as a monument to the Cold War, making scholarship on war memorialization also relevant (Moshenska 2010). The wider region around Orford Ness, East Anglia, was heavily militarized during the Second World War (Davis 2019), and Sam Edwards (2015) has studied memorializations of American troops in East Anglia. Edwards explores the continual creation of collective military memory in post-1945 Europe by American military elites, which normalized the experience of war through a framework of heroism, patriotism, martial sacrifice, masculine camaraderie and unit pride. As he shows, the American approach to memorialization was adapted into the community memory, shaped by regional and national concerns often defined by local elites.

Adding another layer, this military heritage site is also a nature reserve. The Ness is managed by the National Trust, a large conservation body in the United Kingdom, and its identity as a reserve is reinforced by its designation as a Site of Special Scientific Interest, a Special Protection Area, a National Nature Reserve and a Special Area of Conservation. Rachel Woodward (2005) has examined the naturalization of the British Army's presence in the countryside, and Marianna Dudley's (2012) environmental history of military training areas traces the emergence of military environmentalism, whereby narratives of militarization that allow nature to thrive became increasingly linked to military training areas after the Second World War. David Havlick (2011) has also investigated recent conversions of American military land to wildlife refuges, and Shiloh Krupar (2013) has explored arsenals and nuclear facilities that have been converted to nature refuges, tracing the shifts in rhetoric, memory and politics needed to naturalize military—industrial territories.

In this chapter, I will combine ethnographic analysis and expressive writing with textual analysis of other visitors to the Ness. In a similar vein to Jason Dittmer and Emma Waterton's (2016) exploration of the Australian War Memorial, my work here revolves around performativity and ethnography, allowing myself to become 'affected and inflected by encounters' (McCormack 2008: 2), using my own body as an 'instrument of research' (Longhurst et al. 2008: 215). This autoethnography is based on several visits to Orford Ness, including a guided tour with property manager Grant Lohoar (Davis 2008). My approach resonates with Hayden Lorimer's (2006) ethnographic reflections and expressive narratives, Wylie and Lorimer's (2010) narrations of walking, Krupar's (2006) ethnofable, and Harriet Bell's (2014) imaginative walking and experimental writing. I also interviewed archaeologist Angus Wainwright – who was key to establishing the National Trust's presentation of the site – and analyse how

Orford Ness has been written about in the media, by urban explorers and in nature writing.

#### Walking in Ruins

I drive to the village of Orford along narrow lanes enclosed by hedges and trees, and in the village the houses crowd close to the street. The road ends abruptly at the shore. Once a thriving port, Orford was gradually cut off from the world by 500 years of the spit's southward extension, making ship access increasingly difficult. Today, it attracts visitors with its smokehouses, gastropubs, castle and harbour, as well as the National Trust site. At the harbour, I look from the white sailboats dotting the River Ore to the buildings hovering across the river, and they seem bizarrely close. A narrow shingle spit stretching 16 km alongside the coast, Orford Ness is only accessible by boat and is only partly open to the public. The National Trust does not provide its usual pristine environment and tea-shop experience here, recommending three-to-four hours' walking, and aiming for the visitor experience to be uncomfortable and emotionally challenging.

There is a sense of tense anticipation among the group sitting in the tiny boat on the way across. Orford Ness is only open on Saturdays in March to June and October, and five days a week in July to September, and there are just three crossings per hour between 10 AM and 2 PM. In the National Trust's booklet, I read about 'a landscape of unusual character with its sheer scale perhaps its most memorable feature', a landscape that 'can be exposed, lonely, hostile and wild' (National Trust 2006: 2). Before being released on the other side, we are given a short briefing on the birds, habitats and buildings we might see, and are told to stay on the marked path because of nesting birds, plants and unexploded ordnance.

Pasture and marshland stretch off to my sides as I pass the old airfield along the path, looking ahead towards a group of low-lying buildings: the Street. Most of the twenty-seven buildings that the Trust removed were from here, although their foundations remain as illegible scars. They are not labelled. Some have been minimally restored with a tin roof, windows and ventilation, and one is preserved as an interpretation centre. Inside, I find a brief display on the site's geomorphological and ornithological features and military history, next to an inaccessible room containing a large, rusting switchboard. A sign requests information from returning veterans.

The Royal Flying Corps arrived at the Ness in 1915, irrigating the marshland to create an airfield and experimenting with parachutes, aerial photography, and bomb and machine-gun sights (Kinsey 1981). The people working here were known as the islanders, and various structures appeared

near the airfield, providing living and experimental spaces on the Street. After the First World War, the site became a bombing range for bomb ballistics tests, and a rotating-loop beacon was built as a form of radio compass for aircraft navigation (Heazell 2010). A small group came for six months in 1935, erecting large wooden aerials and secretly making the first practical demonstration of what became radar (Brown 1999). During the Second World War, the airfield was closed and scattered with concrete blocks to prevent invasion, but experimental work continued on the vulnerability and resistance of warplanes.

Continuing away from the Street, a water channel splits this part of the Ness from the shingle beyond, and as I walk towards the bridge, the flat, emptiness of the landscape creeps in on me. But not quite empty. Punctuating the space to my left are the concrete posts of the old fence of the AWRE, now unconnected. Half-hidden in the gorse and grass are strange carcasses of buildings, entrails of twisted metal, collapsed wood and jutting concrete. I notice a need to monitor and scan in both directions, slightly on guard. The bridge marks the passage onto the shingle, where the concrete and metal shapes littering its vast expanse seem even more inscrutable, but I do not go closer.

I have been following the red arrows stencilled on the ground and now they point up the steps of the Bomb Ballistics Building with the instruction: 'viewing area'. Suddenly enclosed within the building, I notice feeling a sense of relief. Up on the roof, on some days the wind sings in ghostly wails through the metal railings, and when other visitors are up here, I notice them looking at one another, unsure, letting out bursts of anxious laughter. I gaze at the panorama of ecological progression and military devastation arranged below and a huge, inexplicable ring of concrete.

The exceptional geomorphology of the Ness is one of the reasons the National Trust bought it in 1993. One of the most dynamic landforms in the United Kingdom, it changes shape through erosion and sedimentation, and much of its enormous area of shingle is vegetated along the tops of ridges running parallel to the sea. Vegetated shingle is extremely rare, its plant life depending upon the smaller shingle size along the ridge tops, and Orford Ness is the largest vegetated spit in Europe. The ridges form over many centuries and human disturbance causes irreversible damage, as I see in the barren patches driven over by military trucks.

After this view, a new immersion in the site begins. On the way down to the lighthouse at the shore, the shingle shifts and crunches underfoot, ripping through the silence and locking my attention down to the ground. Heavy legs. Mesmerized by the vast expanse of shingle marked by decaying, surreal objects, I try to pull my eyes up from my feet to look at what I had seen from the Bomb Ballistics Building, but the parallel ridges in the shingle draw me down dizzying vanishing points.



Figure 1.1. View of shingle and AWRE laboratories, Orford Ness, United Kingdom. © S. Davis

At the lighthouse, I sit on the steep bank by the sea's edge and suddenly all is lost in the roar of the water against the shingle. I grew up by the North Sea, near another of the east coast's long spits, Spurn Point, and gazing at the grey, brooding water here feels familiar, comforting. Walking along the bank, I pass debris discarded by the water, a surreal mixture, and as I reach the metal frame of the old Police Tower, I am in a daze. Eventually I reach the Black Beacon, where diagrams and photographs of the Pagodas offer a special view of these off-limits structures. These distinctively shaped AWRE laboratories were built with flat roofs atop narrow concrete columns, with the idea that they could readily collapse in case of explosion. On the Beacon's third floor, there are labelled drawings beside each of the narrow windows, fitting the site and its features into a new frame.

After the United States ended collaboration on nuclear weaponry in 1946, British efforts to restore the link hinged on demonstrating competence (Twigge and Scott 2000: 100). The remoteness of Orford Ness seemed ideal for environmental testing of the trigger mechanisms of atomic weaponry in order to ensure that bombs would go off at the right time, regardless of the changes in vibration, pressure, G-force and temperature (Cocroft and Alexander 2009). The AWRE at Orford Ness officially began in 1956 with the construction of laboratories in the shingled part of the Ness, banked by mounds of shingle to muffle accidental explosions. As the nuclear programme expanded throughout the 1950s, more laboratories appeared with progressing architectural designs, joined by control rooms and connecting

roads. The success of Britain's research programme was pivotal in bringing back American cooperation in 1958, but this also signalled the gradual decline of that research, which finished in 1971. Finally, a massive web of aerials was erected on the northern part of the Ness's spit for an Anglo-American over-the-horizon radar project, codenamed Cobra Mist. Consisting of eighteen 620 m strings, it was intended to detect far into the Soviet Union, but was mysteriously abandoned as nonviable only a year after its completion in 1973.

Back on the ground, the strange hulks that had lurked on the horizon become slowly larger as I approach the AWRE site, shingle banks gradually distinguishable from the laboratories nestling inside them. As a child, I used to play in an old pillbox at Spurn Point, broken slabs of concrete in the sand perfect for hiding, and as I near the half-hidden laboratories, I become more curious than dazed. A sign declares that the laboratories have been left to become more evocative as they ruin, and after all the shifts in mood, this suddenly seems hilarious.

The only laboratory you can get close to is Laboratory 1, just before which is its small control room, where I encounter a shining white atomic bomb. Apart from the bomb, the room contains only a few posters on the atomic testing and a label: WE177A. The bomb cuts through my mood again, leaving emptiness behind. I stare at it for some time, disturbed, my stomach suddenly concrete. Unable to process this sight, I find myself back outside, wandering into Laboratory 1. Down a dark hallway, I drift into a side room along the way, rubble on the floor, switches on the wall. Back in the hallway, paint peeling on the walls, I reach a wire fence, beyond which bright light pours in through the steel skeleton of the roof. Pipes, wires and roof trusses break into unexpected angles, fluorescent lights hang in perplexed purposelessness above a deep pit, walls and floor drip with slime and algae. After seeing so many surreal, decaying structures from the path, now I am inside one, submerged, but still half-outside.

Following its abandonment, the Ness was barely visited except by scrapmetal dealers and an eighteen-year operation to remove unexploded ordnance. Undisturbed, the decaying structures have been colonized by various types of vegetation, and barn owls breed in some buildings. The wet marshes attract redshanks and lapwings, and the shingled area is an important habitat for little terns, ringed plovers and lesser black-backed gulls. The rest of the AWRE site is barred to visitors, and from Laboratory 1 all that is left is to cut back directly to the bridge and return through the grassland to the boat. The journey back is much swifter, the structures at the same time more familiar, and yet colder, shifted in meaning by the detached, desolate mood I have sunk into: an unsettling combination. Finally, the wardens at the jetty tick my name of the list, making sure that everyone who comes here also leaves.



Figure 1.2. View of Laboratory 1, Orford Ness, United Kingdom. © S. Davis

#### Wild Ness

My experience at Orford Ness was one of an exposed, disorderly, uncontrolled, and wild place. Although my experiences were clearly influenced by my implicit memories, there is a sense in which they were also orchestrated by the National Trust. Orford Ness has received a lot of media attention, with one article in *The Independent* boasting: 'There really is nowhere else like Orfordness in Britain' (Rowe 2008). In this section, I explore the wildness produced and experienced at the Ness.

The type of wildness at the Ness was not an obvious choice for the National Trust. It took the Trust two years to open the site to the public, after resolving internal conflicts over what some dubbed Awful Mess. Key to establishing its current presentation were archaeologist Angus Wainwright, regional director Merlin Waterson and historic building representative Jeremy Musson. Others thought it should be 'cleared up and the area returned to a wild state' (Wainwright 1995: 2), and the initial architectural survey suggested demolishing over sixty buildings. In Wainwright's view, 'there was no objective reason behind it, it was just this ... desire to be tidy' (personal communication, May 2006). Wainwright and Musson tried to go beyond 'gut reactions' and 'understand Orford Ness on its own terms, to appreciate the order in disorder and the beauty in ugliness' and to capture 'the essence of a landscape' (Wainwright 1996: 198-99).

Part of this essence materialized in the Trust's management plan as the aim to preserve the appearance of 'wilderness where the only moving things are normally birds and the occasional hare' (National Trust 2004: 1). In the Trust's recent 'Sprit of Place' document, Orford Ness is described as 'open, exposed and wild', 'waste yet full of life' (National Trust 2015). This sense of wildness on the expanse of shingle is retained by not allowing anyone on it and practising what The Trust calls controlled ruination, interfering minimally with the structures' natural processes of colonization and decay, and preventing reminders of their ownership of the site through discreetly stencilled path-markers and a lack of external labelling of buildings. As with any British nature reserve, however, the habitats in this wilderness are surveyed, recorded and actively managed. The property manager, Grant Lohoar, was recruited to the Ness from the Trust's most established nature reserve, Wicken Fen. At the Ness, some habitats were re-created and restored using livestock grazing as a management tool, several lagoons and shallow pools have been constructed, and winter flooding of the marshes was provided for wildfowl and summer nesting and feeding areas for other birds (Warrington et al. 2014).

The site's management sits on the border between active control and a recent shift in British nature conservation. Control at nature reserves increased from the 1950s, developing an engineering-like fine-tuning of practices that made British nature reserves among 'the most intensively managed parts of the countryside' (Marren 1994: xviii). Conservationist Peter Taylor describes an ongoing paradigm shift from conservationists protecting a nature perceived as under threat to becoming more proactive, creative and willing to rewild landscapes (Taylor 2005). New habitats are created, old ones are restored, and British conservation is beginning to embrace the importance of natural processes of landscape change - all of which can be seen at Orford Ness. This change also links to a paradigm shift in ecology towards non-equilibrium process rather than a balance of nature, elevating non-intervention to a central, positive purpose of reserves. Rewilding appears not as a nostalgic idea of returning nature to its putatively original state, but rather as boosting ecosystems' inbuilt capacity for regeneration. As with

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more-than-representational theory, landscapes are seen as in a constant state of becoming.

Some have also extended the concept of natural rewilding to humans. Taylor criticizes nature conservation's separation of 'what it is to be human and what it is to be natural' (2005: 2), and in British environmental writer-activist George Monbiot's account of the 'rewilding of human life' (2013: 10), he criticizes nature conservation as having tried to 'freeze living systems in time' (2013: 8). The term 'wilderness' has been more often associated with American than British landscapes, through a sense of awe at wild nature, associated with a lack of humans (Woods 2001). Shifting the emphasis to 'wildness' and addressing this romantic separation or otherness of the wild, contemporary writers like Monbiot and nature writer Robert Macfarlane advocate finding wildness in our midst. Macfarlane's *The Wild Places* (2007), for example, maps a circular route beginning at home and ending with a new appreciation of the wild at home, via a long tour in search of it elsewhere.

The Wild Places describes landing on Orford Ness's shore and immediately sensing it was 'in a wild state', in which 'it was impossible to tell where brown desert gave way to brown sea. The horizon was lost, dissolved into a single rolling beige of shingle, sea and sky' (Macfarlane 2007: 256). Many articles on Orford Ness emphasize its wildness through a sense of emptiness, using terms like 'wasteland' (*The Guardian Weekend*, 24 June 1995), 'barren' (*East Anglian Daily Times (EADT*), 6 January 1995), 'bleak' (*Independent on Sunday*, 1993, Orfordness files, National Trust Suffolk Regional Office, Ipswich) or even 'the nearest you can come in England to walking in the desert' (*Sunday Telegraph*, 18 January 1998). Others describe it as a 'fragile wilderness' (Card 2010) or 'a bleak and desolate wasteland, pounded by waves, lashed by rain, flayed by icy winds, its desolation compounded by the sinister remains of the top-secret military experiments' (Fletcher 2016). Such writing aligns the sense of the wild with a more romantic idea of being separate from humans (Whatmore and Hinchcliffe 2010).

However, in writing like Macfarlane's, the wild Ness is drawn into what has been termed the new nature writing, denoting increasing attention to the wild in British literature in recent decades. Coincidentally, many writers prominent in this loose group are or were based in East Anglia, including Richard Mabey, the late Roger Deakin, Mark Cocker and Helen Macdonald, with whom I took my first trip to Orford Ness. Such writing typically does not set nature apart from culture, seeking to map cultures of nature seen to be as much under threat as the nonhuman world of which they are part (Smith 2013). This type of writing has a distinctly postpastoral approach, attempting not to return nostalgically to a ruralist golden age, but to repudiate such fantasies. A dual idea of wildness is central to the new nature writing, in a postprimitivist combination that recognizes the need for human interference in nature even as it believes at some deeper level in the self-regulating capacities of the natural world (Huggan 2016: 163). With this in mind, experiences of wildness at the Ness clearly demand closer inspection.

#### Loneliness, Absence and Boundaries

Experiences of the wild Ness seem to hinge around a sense of isolation. This feeling relates to a sense of emptiness, signifying a sense of loss or absence, and cultural geographer John Wylie has observed the importance of placing 'absence at the heart of the point of view' (2009: 278). In visitors' descriptions of Orford Ness, the sense of wildness is related to feeling out of place. Commentaries often describe how visitors feel like an 'intruder' (Sunday Telegraph, 18 January 1998) and how it is 'hostile' (EADT, 6 June 1995) or 'both unsettling and strangely calming' (Card 2010). Others describe it as a challenging, uncomfortable place, warning that 'it's not like going for a walk along the beach' (EADT, 6 January 1995). Many writers observe a sense of solitude there, as in Kieren Falconer's (2005) article in The Guardian on this 'eerie wilderness', describing being 'left to your own devices to walk on miles of paths and usually never meeting a soul'. This sense of emptiness also comes through in Macfarlane's writing, as he opens both his book chapter and article in The Guardian on the Ness with the impactful phrase 'Lying just off the Suffolk coast is a desert' (Macfarlane 2007: 241; 2012).

The sense of loneliness goes deeper than simply not seeing many people. When W.G. Sebald explored Orford Ness on his wandering tour of Suffolk a year before the Trust bought it, he found that 'With each step I took, the emptiness within and the emptiness without grew ever greater' and that 'ahead lay nothing but destruction' (Sebald 2002: 234–35). A semi-autobiographical, semi-fictional narration of Sebald's journey was published in 1998 in English as *The Rings of Saturn*, at once a tour of the Suffolk coast and a rumination on memory, the past and, above all, destruction. The disturbing qualities of the Ness that so affected Sebald seem to continue circulating in contemporary descriptions.

In fact, a felt sense of loneliness was encouraged by the Trust's design of the route through the site, notably in the construction of the bridge over to the shingle. Wainwright describes how the original, unstable public access route was at the centre rather than the edge of the AWRE site, creating a view of buildings from left to right that he thought would 'display them to least aesthetic benefit', since 'visitors are likely to fan out in both directions causing maximum disturbance to the shingle and wildlife and maximum visual disturbance' (Wainwright 1996: 208–9). Property manager Lohoar reflected this distaste for too many people, stating: 'We don't want the place to be inundated by orange kagouls' (cited in Mead 1995: 29). A sense of bleak wildness was therefore partly produced through aesthetically informed decisions that heighten the landscape's potential for eliciting feelings of isolation.

The Trust links isolation to reflective engagement with the site. Wainwright told me how 'my Orford Ness was just me there on my own ... It's an extremely lonely place, and it's so flat and open that you can see any movement of one person miles away' (personal communication, May 2006). The current positioning of the bridge alleviated his worry that 'nobody is going to get the experience that I had of being there on my own', a solitude he feels is necessary 'to appreciate the aesthetics and consider at length the relationship of the structures to the wildness' (personal communication, May 2006). Similarly, the Trust's Spirit of Place document asserts that: 'Lost in the vast scale you can feel liberated but at the same time oppressed and challenged' (National Trust 2015). This sense of challenge certainly seems to have reached some visitors, as in Falconer's (2005) article, where 'Bleakness has a beauty that forces reflection'.

However, as Tim Cole (2010) observed, military landscapes are layered or hybrid landscapes, resisting simple delineations like empty or destroyed. At the Ness, particular absences also affect experiences there. Walking past the gaps between the concrete posts of the AWRE site - a lost boundary no longer linked by its fence - I felt an increasing alertness and guardedness, registered as bodily tensing and scanning. On the shingle, there is no physical boundary preventing visitors from leaving the path, and yet the threat of unexploded ordnance held me strictly to it. The Trust had worried about visitors' behaviour, but it transpired that 'at Orford Ness, mysteriously, people are very well behaved; they never go off the paths, they never climb over fences' (Wainwright, personal communication, May 2006). Macfarlane registered 'warnings not to stray' in the 'military debris' of 'twisted sprays of tank tracking, a shattered concrete block, and an exploded boiler' (2007: 256). For me, this mixture of intriguing structures and feeling gripped to an unbounded path created a felt sense of being untethered. A similar sense is captured in an article describing how 'the eye kept straying' during this 'unsettling' experience (EADT, 6 June 1995).

Disturbance of boundaries multiplies on the huge expanse of shingle, where the sense of exposure combines with the felt sense of the windy weather. As journalist Kieren Falconer (2005) put it: 'It might always be winter here.' The loud noise and physical difficulty of walking on shingle affected my experience, disrupting usual bodily control and contributing to a feeling of disorientation. The boundary between inside and outside is powerfully disturbed in Laboratory 1, with its absent roof and growing interior. Finally, the AWRE laboratories seem to vacillate between characterizations, which for me was influenced by childhood experiences, whereas Andrew

Mead saw them shift from 'concrete hulks' to 'Neolithic burial mounds' and 'primitive temples' (1995: 29).

Amid these disturbed and absent boundaries, visitor experiences at Orford Ness often seem haunted by ideas of its boundedness. Remote and separated from the mainland by the River Ore, it was guarded for decades before the 1960s AWRE, when it was enclosed within a wire mesh and barbed wire fence, and watched over from a police tower with police dogs. As Sebald put it, during the Cold War, it was 'effectively no easier to reach than the Nevada desert or an atoll in the South Seas' (2002: 233). Much of what happened on the Ness is still covered by the Official Secrets Act and many who worked there are either dead, will not talk or operate on a needto-know basis. The Trust also values 'the mystique of secrecy' (National Trust 2004: 1) sustained by unlabelled, unidentifiable structures. The former secrecy of the site is a key piece of information that visitors arrive with and is always prominent in writing on Orford Ness, in which commentators express a thrill in being in an old, secret place. Macfarlane reads secrecy into the structures themselves, describing how 'enigmatic structures ... protrude from the shingle' (2007: 256). An article by journalist Martin Fletcher revels in the continuing mystique, quoting Grant Lohoar as saying: 'Officially there was never any fissile material on Orford Ness, but you pays your money and you takes your choice on that one' (Fletcher 2016). Macfarlane, too, describes how the ferryman once told him that 'The first rule of Orford Ness is never believe anything you're told about it', adding 'I didn't know whether to believe him or not' (Macfarlane 2012). The site's former secrecy seems to haunt experiences there.

The sense of haunting extends to other aspects of the site's militaryscientific past, such that the site's wildness tangles with its militarization. Writing in The Guardian in 1995, David Newnham found Orford Ness 'nothing short of sinister', describing the AWRE labs as 'ruins that haunt the shingle with their glowering presence'. More recently, another journalist felt 'the air is still charged with an undercurrent of Cold War menace' (Watkins 2009), and artist Emily Richardson (2009) found it 'quite otherworldly'. Visitor services warden Duncan Kent wrote about 'the juxtaposition of wild remoteness and fascinating but disturbing history' (Kent 2010). For Macfarlane (2012), 'the site still feels militarised' and disturbed boundaries are evident when he writes of '[a]n eerie and intricate landscape, then, in which the military and the natural combine, collide and confuse'. In The Wild Places, Macfarlane describes the disconcerting realization that he was seeing various aspects of the landscape through a militarized lens, so that 'A hare exploded from a shingle divot' and 'Green and orange lichen camouflaged the concrete of pillboxes' (2007: 257). Militarized perception also comes across in an article by journalist Martin Fletcher, who sees the Cobra Mist building resting 'on stilts in the marshes like a stranded battleship', while elsewhere 'Brambles coil and curl like the barbed wire they replaced' (Fletcher 2016). Experiences of wildness at the Ness are clearly enmeshed with its militarization.

The disrupted boundaries and haunting militarization echo the approach of the new nature writing. There, the wild is bound up with an ecological awareness of the porous boundary between inner and outer worlds; it is associated with a messy, confused, violent and unruly state, recalling primordial states even as it acknowledges the impossibility of restoring or being able to access them. In contrast to a nostalgic view, this is a postpastoral, postprimitivist approach. Krupar saw continued militarization in arsenal-asnature-refuge stories, and Rachel Woodward has described a crater as habitat discourse in military environmentalism, denoting portrayal of coincidence of conservation and military activities. Although a similar process of the militarization of nature is at work at Orford Ness, the sense of haunting there shifts the experience. Wylie (2007b) argues that haunted, spectral places house a circling, transforming temporality. Discussing the spectral places narrated by Sebald - for whom place seems to rely on a sense of dislocation or a sudden uncertainty regarding location - Wylie sees 'a confounding of past, present and presence all witnessed by a troubled, stricken figure' who is haunted by this process (Wylie 2007b: 181). Haunting and destruction are particularly evident in Sebald's descriptions of the 'extra-territorial quality' of Orford Ness (2002: 233). At that time, Orford Ness had not yet come under the Trust's ownership, but its militarized, haunted, circling temporality seems to have survived its transition to a managed heritage site.

#### Decay, Movement and Destruction

Adding to those features, the decaying structures and slow movements at Orford Ness also shape experiences of this landscape. Although aesthetic appreciation of ruins and decay is not new, there is increasing popular interest in contemporary ruins, which some attribute to the reduced chance of things ageing within turbo-capitalism (Huyssen 2006). Tim Edensor (2005) suggests that industrial ruins offer an escape from excessive order, as marginal spaces in which you can see and feel things you usually cannot. Dylan Trigg (2006) also argues that the porous boundaries of contemporary ruins subvert the familiarity of everyday life. The decay at the Ness works together with the other disrupted boundaries there.

Critics accuse photographers of decay of objectifying empty buildings and accounts of deindustrialization of a creeping nostalgia (Cowie and Heathcott 2003; Strangleman 2013). By contrast, the Ness simultaneously is and is not an example of economic disinvestment. Although it was abandoned in the 1970s, the National Trust raised the hefty sum of  $\pounds 3.5$  million to purchase and endow the site (Heazell 2010: 231). Too much for the Trust alone, this sum was achieved with grants from the Enterprise Neptune Fund, the Department of the Environment's Derelict Land Fund, the National Heritage Memorial Fund, and the County and District Councils. It is a managed ruin. This aspect struck journalist Greg Dickinson (2018), whose discussion of 'ruin porn' used the intentional decay at Orford Ness to describe an 'enriching' place, where 'the innocence of wildlife and the destruction of humans intertwine, which feels like a work of art in itself'. Again, military history combines with the process of decay in the site's affective quality.

The intentional decay at the Ness seems to afford a particular form of temporality. It is a place where processes are valued. As Wainwright told me, 'the actual process was worth preserving, so that you could actually come to Orford Ness and see the process of decay' (personal communication, May 2006). The conservation of built structures usually constrains processes: 'That's what the National Trust does; it decides buildings are important and how they're going to stop them falling down. So it was a pretty difficult conceptual decision to take' (Wainwright, personal communication, May 2006). The Trust's Jeremy Musson stated that these 'modern ruins' are 'as historic and as dramatic in their own way as the twelfth-century castle in Orford village' (Hills 1994: 2), and an article in The Telegraph quoted Duncan Kent as saying: 'The sense of dereliction adds to the atmosphere' (Watkins 2009). These ruins are treated as an 'extraordinarily powerful monument to the Cold War' (Suffolk Life, 16 May 1994), and the AWRE buildings were officially listed as a Scheduled Monument in 2014 following a survey by English Heritage (Cocroft and Alexander 2009; Historic England 2014).

In his history of public monuments, Sergiusz Michalski (1998) describes how from about 1950, designs tended increasingly towards abstract forms and themes of disappearance, using negative or semi-visible forms. Michalski roots this trend in an attempt to deal with the unprecedented scale of death and to redress the feeling that political public monuments have become meaningless. Although many ruins have been preserved as memorials, it is more unusual to invoke the process of decay, which refers more emphatically to disappearance. Laurie Clark (2015) argues that contradictions emerge when ruins are used to commemorate trauma, since they are palimpsests, layered with a multiplicity of satisfactions alongside our condemnation or reflection, and Silke Arnold-de Simine (2015) suggests that when ruins are memorials, they allow not only melancholic reflection, but also actual mourning to take place. Anthropologist Susanne Küchler (1999) argues that monuments referring to their own absence prompt a different form of remembering than memory as a metaphorical connection of a lost present to a desired future in the image of the past. She describes this other form of remembering as akin to a momentary collapse of the past, future and present into a single point: the present is animated with a sense of the past. Drawing on Küchler, Caitlin DeSilvey discusses ruins as artefacts as process, suggesting that they allow a mode of remembrance to take place 'that is erratic and ephemeral – twined around the past and reaching imperceptibly into what has yet to come' (DeSilvey 2006: 328).

Intentionally allowing the process of decay at Orford Ness resists the nostalgic tendency to imbue the past with the idealized air of a golden age. The continually changing nature of ruins forces them into the present. This sense of constant becoming also corresponds with more-than-representational theories. Wylie refers to the spectral quality of places as ushering in an 'endless process of returning, without ever arriving', making an 'unsettling complication of the linear sequence of past, present, future' (Wylie 2007b: 171). For DeSilvey (2017), Orford Ness is an example that ruination does not have to be associated with failure and neglect, but can be an impulse to ask ourselves what we can learn from the changes. Nadia Bartolini and DeSilvey (2019) have also used film to explore a community archaeology project at the Ness, finding that losses along the coastline emerge as a process of discovery.

In addition to decay, other slow processes influence experiences of the Ness. Visitors read about the constantly changing shape of the spit in the interpretation centre and the slow, incremental growth of the vegetated shingle ridges. Gesturing to these ridges, on top of the Bomb Ballistics Building, Lohoar told my guided tour that we were really seeing a pictorial history of the evolution of the land site. He told this to journalist Martin Fletcher (2016) too, who wrote how each of the long ridges 'was the crest of an ancient beach formed by storms as the Ness stretched southwards - the littoral equivalent of the rings of a tree'. A sense of awe about these ecological timescales also affected Falconer (2005), who felt that: 'Even just stepping on [the shingle] can crush a hundred years of evolution.' The National Trust views this ecological timescale as being in tension with human activity, stating that 'timeless natural processes contrast with the transitory man-made dereliction' (National Trust 2006: 17). A different understanding comes through in Macfarlane's writing, synthesizing various senses of time. On the Bomb Ballistics Building, Macfarlane found the 'landscape's own logic became more apparent', describing the long shingle ridges as 'the Ness's storm-born growth rings' (2007: 257). As with Fletcher, the organic nature of the shingle spit comes to the fore. From this vantage point, the tracks of the bomb disposal unit's vehicles are also clear, cutting across the ridges and the green strips of vegetation along their tops. Whereas Lohoar describes these tracks in terms of destruction, Macfarlane sees these marks of 'the desert's decontamination' differently. He describes how: 'The man-made lines and the storm lines

swooped and arced and intersected with one another, to create a single vast fingerprint of shingle, stretching as far as I could see' (Macfarlane 2007: 257). Exemplifying the new nature writing's refusal to separate nature and culture, different histories of the Ness now appear as part of one whole.

The visitor's own slow movement also affects experiences of this landscape, spread over several hours of walking. For Wainwright, 'only during the long walks between the buildings is their monumental scale appreciated. As they loom larger and larger the anticipation grows; this slow process is one of the attractions of the place' (1996: 206). The Trust's positioning of the bridge onto the shingled area and the marked pathway across the shingle ensure a long, slow approach to the AWRE laboratories. Appreciating the buildings' 'overbearing' scale is important to Wainwright, and works with the exposed landscape such that 'the individual can feel overpowered and reduced in their presence' (Wainwright 1996: 206). He told me that because 'everything went underground' in the Cold War, 'there really isn't anywhere else in the country where you can visit such monumental symbols' (Wainwright, personal communication, May 2006). The Trust presents the structures as emblematic of twentieth-century warfare's 'systematic application of scientific principles to the development of weapons and warfare', which resulted in the possibility of total war (National Trust 2006: 23).

The idea of destruction brings a different meaning to the decay and absences at the Ness. In Wainwright's exhibition notes, 'it is only in the sweeping vistas of the atomic weapons test laboratories that we can feel the awesome destructive power of modern weapons' (The Guardian Weekend, 24 June 1995). This imagined destruction pulls Wainwright's ruins into Trigg's (2006) understanding of contemporary ruins, whereby they are close enough to the present to mirror an alternative past/present/future, the derelict structures both testifying to a failed past and reminding us that the future may end in ruin. Sebald's narrator imagined Orford Ness as a post-apocalyptic landscape: 'The closer I came to these ruins, the more any notion of a mysterious isle of the dead receded, and the more I imagined myself amid the remains of our own civilization after its extinction in some future catastrophe' (Sebald 2002: 237). Although decay and ruins have often been treated as fitting the picturesque tradition (Fassi 2010), Trigg aligns them with a postindustrial sublime, which he sees as inextricably bound up with how ruins challenge the idea of rational progress. Steven High and David Lewis (2007) also coin the term 'deindustrial sublime' for former industrial ruins, interpreting their appeal as going beyond nostalgia to show responses to the huge disruptions of globalization.

In 2004, the National Trust acquired the WE177A atomic bomb now at the site. The bomb stands remarkably free of interpretation, in a room otherwise bare, apart from six photographs. After the slow walk through slowly decaying ruins, the glistening white bomb is one of the few objects not decaying. It can prompt imagining future destruction, which clearly disturbed Falconer (2005): 'The idea that such obliteration can come from such a small piece of metal is unnerving.' The bomb seems to act as a metaphor for the site's own ruin, propelling my imagination to figure the bleak landscape at Orford Ness as Sebald had: a post-apocalyptic wasteland. The idea of the site's emptiness takes on a new meaning upon encountering the bomb, which works to disrupt nostalgic appreciation of this modern ruin.

## Conclusion

Experiences at Orford Ness hinge on a perception of wildness, connected to feeling out of place and to a sense of emptiness. Disturbed boundaries recur at many levels, and Orford Ness seems haunted by ideas of its boundedness. This haunting is linked to the site's continued militarization, encouraging its wildness to be experienced in violent, militarized terms. This combination resonates with the new nature writing's postpastoral, postprimitivist approach to nature rather than a nostalgic approach. The site's spectral qualities also work together with the intentional processes of decay and the slow movements there, creating a circling temporality, which is further destabilized by the encounter with the bomb. Experiences of the site seem redolent with a sense of continual becoming rather than a nostalgic separation, making Orford Ness an intriguing place in which to observe more-than-representational theories' ongoing, performative shaping of self and landscape.

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#### CHAPTER 2

# **Uneven Surfaces**

## Bodily Engagements with the Postindustrial Wild

HILARY ORANGE

Michel de Certeau once wrote that: 'Stories about places are makeshift things. They are composed with the world's debris' (1984: 107). Places are also in themselves 'makeshift things', being formed of material provisionalities that have been mixed into cuts, builds, layers and jumbles, forming new connections and separations. In this chapter, I focus on the surfaces of postindustrial land in Cornwall, a southwestern region of the British Isles that was once important for tin and copper mining. Here, as elsewhere, surfaces have formed through the actions of geological, taphonomic and climatic forces, as well as through gravity and the actions of human and other species.

My interest in surfaces is not particularly unique. Alfredo González-Ruibal has pointed out that surfaces have long been of interest to artists, archaeologists, cultural geographers, urban explorers and photographers (2011: 166). A surficial interest is central to Edward Burtynsky's aerial photographs, showing landscape at scale impacted upon by industrialization and a concern with surfaces can also be found in the geographer Tim Edensor's writing on ruined industrial sites. He describes picking his way over the rubble, earth and brick of a ruin in Manchester, England (Edensor 2007: 227) and elsewhere notes that ruined spaces are 'full of random juxtapositions, clutter, obstacles, and numerous pathways' (Edensor 2005a: 834). On ruination, Rodney Harrison has argued that the archaeology of the recent past can usefully serve to shift attention away from the twin archaeological tropes of excavation at depth and the study of ruination, with emphases on the abandoned, the unused and the dead, to instead look at the living surface (2011: 143–44). In recognizing the agency of humans and nonhumans, he writes on the potentiality of the surface as being 'a physical stratum that contains not only the present, but all its physical and imagined pasts combined' (2011: 154).

I find Harrison's argument persuasive. My research in Cornwall has focused on mining landscapes and my interest has been in how industrial landscapes are lived in and used - creatively, economically and politically in the period after industrial closure. As mining is indelibly linked to the notion of worked ground, it therefore seems entirely appropriate to more deeply consider body-surface interactions. An emphasis on the surface also importantly serves to redress a narrative and representational bias in Cornish heritage. Architectural icons, such as the ruined Cornish engine house and the chimney stack, are widely used as symbols throughout Cornwall to represent the industrial era (Orange 2012: 291; 2019), whereas the stuff underfoot, at times small, chipped, fragmented or merely dust, is part of the same histories of industrialization and deindustrialization, but is more readily overlooked - literally kicked away. While the ruined engine house is a visual icon, dispersed rubble and granite blocks as well as more recognizable industrial features such as copper dressing floors do not appear on the countless postcards that replicate ideas of what Cornish heritage is and is not.

Archaeology of the recent past and more-than-representational research share a common interest in the mundane and subaltern aspects of life (Cadman 2009; McAtackney and Penrose 2016). In this chapter, I will illustrate something of the ebb and flow of everyday life, partly as a rebuke to the notion of abandonment or ruination, by showing how people have variously moved across the surfaces of mines, including venturing just below the surface into mine workings. These areas sit cheek by jowl next to industrial settlements, and the phenomena of everyday routines may seem insignificant, but can nevertheless reveal how life takes shape and changes.

Hayden Lorimer has highlighted the importance of thinking through movement in landscape, the 'shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements' (2005: 84). Tim Ingold's perspective on movement in landscape is also relevant here. In *Being Alive*, he writes of returning to central themes in his anthropological work, of 'life as lived along lines, or wayfaring; the primacy of movement; the nature and constitution of the ground' (Ingold 2011: xii). A focus on movement, he goes on to say, creates a different understanding; rather than static environments, materials and people, the world, and people in the world can be understood in terms of processes of generation (2011: 12).

Joy Parr's work on the bodily adaptations to Canadian megaprojects is also an important touchstone. In *Sensing Changes* (2010), Parr delivers a

convincing case for paying attention to how the body adapts to environmental and technological change, one of her examples focusing on the residents of a new model town who relocated as a group after their former village was drowned by a hydrodam. In the new town, with its treeless environment and more uniform streets designed for motorized transport, residents relied more on their cars. In the old village, walking had been commonplace and ordinary. A mechanic, Joe Roberts, formerly walked to work, but in the new environment, where no one walked, he found that the residents were familiar, but there was no 'togetherness' (Parr 2010: 84). Arguing that people 'make sense' of their environments through their 'sensing bodies' (2010: 12), Parr makes a call for such 'embodied histories' that consider how changing environments and technologies are reflected in changing 'habits and practices' (2010: 3).

An interest in teasing out reciprocal arrangements between the body and the environment can also be seen in more-than-representational writing. Martin Müller writes: 'The relation between humans and their surrounding is thus a two-way street: Humans act as much as they are acted on' (2015: 410). Others have provided case studies that exemplify various aspects of reciprocity in relation to industrial bodies – for instance, Sefryn Penrose reports on the 'body events' that are implicated within industrial to postindustrial transitions from the assembly line to the fitness studio (2013), and Arthur McIvor's discussions on sick and injured bodies, caught up in the slow 'economic violence' of asbestos-related disease, are also relevant (2015).

Much of the content in this chapter is based on material drawn from walking interviews for research on residents' perceptions of the Cornish mining landscape (Orange 2012). Those taking part in the interviews were chosen through a process of snowball sampling, whereby contacts nominated and recruited others to take part in my research. The interviews were carried out in 2008 and 2009, and interviewees came from a variety of backgrounds, including artists, former teachers, retired miners, museum workers, bookshop owners, former policemen and government employees, amongst others. The interviewees chose where to meet as well as the route and the duration of the walk. The walks varied greatly in length, anything from one to four hours. Conversation was informal, although I had certain questions in mind, such as 'what is your earliest memory of this place?' and 'how has this place changed?' Largely, however, conversation took its own course and the narrative was often biographical.

A theme that emerged was of the 'wildness' of the mines in the 1960s and 1970s, and the opportunities for certain bodily experiences, particularly walking, play, resource acquisition, mineral collecting and waste disposal. Emma Waterton writes that 'it is the body that lies at the centre of memories' (2011: 354) and those I interviewed talked and gestured in more-thanrepresentational terms as they described wilder postindustrial landscapes and their bodily experiences therein. The 'wild', I suggest, captures something of the reciprocity of land and body, and I will explore this aspect further below. Returning to Parr, human bodies are contextually, spatially and temporally specific (2010: 2). Those I interviewed grew up in Cornwall in the 1960s and 1970s, and there is a clear generational tempo to the material that I present in this chapter.

## Cornwall

Cornwall is a long peninsula of land located in the far southwest of the United Kingdom, surrounded by sea except to the east, where it borders the county of Devon. The region's mineralogical wealth is due to the eruption of molten granite into the sedimentary mud of slates and shales, known in Cornwall as *killas*, that were laid down and then lifted in the Carboniferous and Devonian periods. A spine of granite runs east to west through the region. In the west, metal veins formed within the fractures of the slowly cooling granite, while in the east, weathering carried ore nearer to the surface. Although tin, copper and arsenic were the principal minerals extracted during the industrial era, other minerals found in Cornwall include lead, zinc, silver, antimony, iron and manganese, together with lesser amounts of tungsten, cobalt, nickel, uranium, baryte, titanium and fluorspar (Barton 1965; Bristow 1993).

By the early eighteenth century, the Cornish mines deepened as surface deposits were depleted. Mining was aided initially by the introduction of gunpowder and then innovations in steam power enabled mine companies to deepen workings and increase production. By the mid-eighteenth century, around 340 mines were in operation in Cornwall, employing some estimated 40,000 people (Rowe 1953; Buckley 2005). Output in copper production peaked in the 1860s and then newly discovered minerals and fast-developing mines, most notably in Chile, South Australia, Michigan and Cuba, caused the copper market to flood and metal prices to crash. Afterwards, tin became Cornwall's principal product, but the markets continued to oscillate. By the 1890s, the situation was so dire that an estimated 200,000 miners and their families had left Cornwall to seek work overseas, a dispersion known as the Cornish Diaspora or the Great Emigration (Payton 2004). At the beginning of the twentieth century, a handful of mines were left in production, propped up after the Second World War by the International Tin Council (ITC), which controlled and stabilized the price of tin, but when the ITC collapsed in 1985, due to the rising interest in recycling and the use of alternative materials, mining in Cornwall soon ended. The last tin mine, South Crofty Mine in Pool, closed in March 1998.

In 1953, Rowe provided a contemporary account of an old mine, writing that 'gorse and heather were creeping over the unsightly heaps of "attles" and "deads" which the old miners had rejected and cast aside' (1953: 326). *Attles* and *deads* are Cornish terms for mine waste. At this time, mines had little economic purpose or further use. As the mines had largely operated in rural locations alongside small and medium-sized industrial settlements, there was little redevelopment pressure and while agrarian practices, such as animal husbandry, returned to moorland areas, the rough-ground coastal areas were unsuitable for agrarian purposes. After valuable materials were robbed out and then recycled, the mining areas were left alone to revegetate. As a result, Cornwall has good survival of industrial archaeology in relation to the mining industry; not just the sites of extraction, but also the foundries, industrial settlements, harbours and ports, the gardens and estates of Mineral Lords, the traces of transport systems and the remains of allied industries, such as dynamite works and arsenic production.

In the period after the Second World War, the mines came under the jurisdiction of Cornwall's local district councils, who often used them to accommodate travelling communities. Local people and farmers also used the mines as places to dispose of household and agricultural waste, mostly due to the lack of official waste disposal facilities in Cornwall until the 1980s (Orange 2012: 248-49). In the 1980s, factors coincided to focus attention on the old mines; statutory reviews and archaeological surveys were conducted, and government subsidies became available for moorland clearance and land reclamation (Thorpe et al. 2005: 18). Conservation and reclamation work ensued, dovetailing in with a growing national interest in preserving the remains of the Industrial Revolution, an emerging heritage industry in the United Kingdom being strongly supported by the policies of the Thatcher government in the 1980s (Wright 1985). Archaeologist Nicholas Johnson sets the scene, describing how 'quite suddenly over a period of less than a decade money that was not heritage inspired could be turned to heritage projects and there's literally an explosion of large projects as a result' (interview extract, 23 November 2006).

Industrial heritage was not welcomed by all. By the early 1990s, some in Cornwall were expressing concern about the consequences of heritage tourism and there was increasing talk of the Cornish landscape being at risk of themeparking or 'Disneyfication' (Perry 1993a: 58). The issue was, according to the historian Payton, that 'a hitherto wild, dramatic, inherently Cornish landscape was being sanitized and anglicized, made safe and familiar for Home Counties refugees' (2004: 284). The reference to 'Home Counties refugees' here referred to the increasing number of English tourists who had been coming to Cornwall since the 1960s, as well as increasing numbers of people relocating to the southwest to escape the so-called 'rat race' (Perry 1993b: 29, 39–40; Williams and Shaw 1993). Improvements to road systems had greatly aided car travel into the region, and traffic jams, holiday chalets and caravan parks became more commonplace (Perry 1993b: 40). In step with tourism, heritage projects gathered apace: Geevor Tin Mine in the far west of Cornwall reopened as a heritage attraction in 1993 and around the same time, the Mineral Tramways Project started work on creating around 60 km of trails in mid-west Cornwall, mainly using old tramway routes to link together mining sites (Cornwall Council 2019). In 2006, the scale and importance of the Cornish mining industry, including its global impact through the Diaspora, was acknowledged through a UNESCO World Heritage Site inscription. The Cornish Mining World Heritage Site, its popular title, is a serial site of ten landscape areas in Cornwall and west Devon. The Site covers some c. 200 square kilometres of land and is home to around 90,000 residents.

## Botallack

The cliffs at Botallack are rarely busy. There are usually one or two cars in the car park, a few coast path walkers moving through the site, dog walkers and horse riders, but in poor weather the cliffs are often deserted. This is rough land and a coastal plain, with the Penwith moors rising close by inland. Sharpe describes the sounds of the area as:

Waves breaking on high cliffs, seabirds, buzzards, jackdaws, ravens, wind, an occasional bus or tractor engine in the distance, small plane engines droning off St Just airfield and international jet planes on trans-Atlantic journeys five miles above. Occasional choughs these days. To the east, skylarks, wind dominate. Sounds created by people are rare. (2007: 19)

I reach the cliffs via the B3306 coast road and then drive slowly down a potholed track from the hamlet of Botallack. Botallack Mine is thought to be an amalgamation of several mines that operated intermittently on the cliffs from the early eighteenth century until the start of the First World War (Noall 1999 [1972]). These were submarine mines and a form of nascent industrial tourism developed in the early nineteenth century. Tourists paid to voyage underneath the seabed and a particularly vivid account of one journey is given in a 1824 guidebook:

The workings of this mine extend at least seventy fathoms in length under the bed of the sea; and in these caverns of darkness are many human beings, for a small pittance, and even that of a precarious amount, constantly digging for ore, regardless of the horrors which surround them, and of the roar of the Atlantic ocean, whose boisterous waves are incessantly rolling over their heads. (Paris 1824: 133–34)

There are important sets of twentieth-century dressing floors at Botallack, an arsenic calciner and labyrinth, as well as various engine houses, including the picturesque winding and pumping engine houses belonging to Crowns Mine, that are situated at the base of the cliffs. In 1995, the National Trust purchased sections of the cliffs from Penwith Council and then carried out conservation work by decontaminating and consolidating the arsenic works and restoring the Count House, which now acts as a visitor information centre. A large gravel car park was also laid next to the Count House for visitors.

As water and gravity were used in the processing of the ore, the mines were set out geometrically through a series of terraces leading down to the cliffs. A wide and heavily trodden unmade path leads down from the car park to the Crowns Mine engine houses, while the equally well-trodden coast path cuts across the site, closer to the cliff edge. The rest of the site is characterized by small paths and shortcuts winding around and into the terraces and mining features. Other footpaths lead off into the surrounding landscape, away from the mines and cliffs to connect to hamlets and farming land, coves and earlier mine workings. There are paths that appear to go nowhere, disappearing over the cliff-line to embarkation points for quarried stone (Cahill and CAU 2002a: 15; Sharpe 1992: 90). Other routes turn out to be the remnants of leat systems (artificial watercourses) or are rabbit paths.

One morning, my walking companion was Adam Sharpe, who at the time worked as an archaeological advisor to the National Trust. Adam has an interest in mining landscapes and in 1992 compiled a comprehensive archaeological survey of the West Cornwall mining district (Sharpe 1992). I was curious about the paths and the lack of any 'Danger' signs on site, particularly given that some paths ran close to the cliff edge. I asked Adam why the paths were not surfaced. He responded:

We get a lot of requests from people like the Coast Path Association, saying 'can you do something about the path surfacing' and we've taken the view that you might get someone who's jumped in the car in London or Birmingham, driven down here and stopped at a Happy Eater or something. If they got out and they got into a pristine car park and from that followed beautifully surfaced paths they would be led to edges of cliffs and in a way the sort of semi-hostile surfacing says the ground is rocky and uneven, this says to them 'look you've got to look after yourself here'. And it's fairly obvious it is a wild environment.

From this conversation, I realized that I walked around Botallack looking at my feet in order to be sure of where I was treading, and perhaps the 'semi-hostile' surfacing – walking eyes down – explains my particularly strong memories of surface textures and materials: concrete, blocks of granite, gorse, heather, bracken and grass, mud, slate and shales. The concrete dressing floors built in the twentieth century host grass and moss, but in comparison, the earlier dressing floors, where women and girls (the bal maidens) broke



**Figure 2.1.** View of red ground, Botallack, Cornwall, United Kingdom. © H. Orange

rock on surface, are almost devoid of plant life as the ground is too contaminated by heavy minerals, arsenic and the effects of the leaching of sulphuric acid to support their growth (Sharpe 1992: 3). The surface is dominated by the colour red where the ground has been stained by iron oxide. Red is also the colour of the waste product from the mines.

#### Waste

Botallack is associated with waste in two ways: first, through the waste materials removed during mining and deposited in giant heaps on the surface; and, second, through the practice of using mines as convenient places to dump rubbish. David James owned a café and bookshop in the nearby town of St Just in Penwith, and on a walk around Botallack, we paused to look down a mine shaft covered over with a grill. I asked David: 'What was this place like in the past?' He explained that there were once mine dumps at Botallack; great mounds of stone and gravel reaching 'about 15 or 20-foot high and there were a lot of them'. They were bulldozed, something he felt was 'industrial vandalism'.

Mines produced large amounts of waste through the extraction of ore and through the 'dead work', the development of shafts, adits, tunnels, ventilation shafts and levels that were required to access the ore. After primary crushing and sorting, the unwanted stone was moved from the dressing floors to the dumps, which then grew in height and mass (Sharpe 1992: 58).

In around 1980, Geevor Tin Mine opened a second milling plant and with advances in milling techniques set out to reprocess the mine waste in the surrounding area as reserves of metal remained in the dumps. Planning permissions were granted by Penwith District Council for several heaps to be removed in the district, meaning that the dumps would be flat-scraped. In June and November 1985, a local newspaper, the Western Morning News, reported on a protest from local people and environmentalists over the plans (Williams 1985a, 1985b). In the first report, the paper quoted Miss Jenny Wright of Newmill saying: 'The spoil heaps have become part of the local ecology with bushes, heath and hawthorn thicket growing ... Our main concern is for the ecology and keeping certain areas unspoiled as natural areas. It is very popular with many local people for walking and riding' (Williams 1985a). In response to the protest, the Council stated that Geevor Mine was not only extracting the tin from the waste, but was benefiting the environment by removing an industrial scar, thereby returning the area its preindustrial condition (Williams 1985b).

The German term *Industrienatur* has no English equivalent, but is used to signify the regreening of industrial sites, including through managed rewilding initiatives, and in this example, the hybridized industrial-ecological habitats at Botallack led to a clash over economic, aesthetic, leisure and environmental values. The dumps were also popular with another group of people. They were a magnet for mineral collectors, a more popular pastime in the 1950s to the 1970s, carried out mostly by hobbyists who curated personal displays of different mineral specimens at home. At the end of a long walk around Botallack, as we headed back to our cars, Geoff Treseder explained that he first visited Botallack as a young man in the early 1970s, being drawn to the area because of the opportunity to collect minerals. He eventually moved to West Cornwall and got a job working underground at Geevor:

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One thing, I said I mentioned that I came here as an enthusiast in mining and I have a strong feeling that I'd be out and about looking on dumps and there'd be loads of people doing similar things. There were a lot more people coming in then who were interested in minerals, in particular, and people with a general mining history interest – much more so than today.

If you think about it, it was harder to find out about things back then – there was no Internet. But I encountered loads of people. I spent a lot of time at Wheal Edward looking over the dumps out there and throughout the day there'd be a steady trickle of people who were either doing something similar or just had a vague interest – families out with hammers, but at the time things like mineral collecting were quite popular ... Those that do collect now are pretty obsessed and will dig big holes in dumps, but what's lacking is that slightly more amateurish family outing – you'd hear it – you'd hear hammers beating on dumps and it wasn't unusual whereas now...

The removal of the dumps had a further consequence: there was no analogous surface feature that showed the scale and volume of the mine workings. The heaps were information dumps as William Old explained (interview extract, 3 September 2002). Mr Old was born in 1934:

I do feel they could do with the Mine Tips back again sort of thing and explain what they were, I mean it would bring home to people that bit more of how much space must be under or was and is underground and when you consider all that mound of stuff taken out of the shaft.

Now you can come along and show them the shaft, there's a hole in the ground and miles and miles of tunnels down there, and so forth and so forth, but they can look around and things are flat and clear, there's a little bit down there at Geevor a bit of sand and gravel and whatever but the actual quantities of spoil are gone.

So there we are.

Aside from the mine heaps, now much reduced in scale, Botallack has a connection with another kind of waste – that of unwanted household and agricultural waste. David Kemp is a sculptor and assemblage artist who has a workshop on the cliffs at Botallack. For over twenty years, he has salvaged materials from the mining landscape to make large sculptural pieces. For instance, his series *Postindustrial Giants* dates from what he calls the Late Iron Age and makes connections between ancient metals, mythology and modern technology (Kemp 2014).

Walking around Botallack one morning with his dog, following a rabbit path through a buddle yard towards Kenidjack Head, David described the scene when he first took up residence in his workshop. The landscape, he said, was full of 'abandoned cars, the shafts and pits were filled with rubbish, modern stuff but also mining materials'. 'So when did changes occur? Was it when the National Trust arrived?', I asked. BAM! David clapped his hands together loudly: 'Yes. It was the decisive moment – that was when the landscape was cleared up.'

## St Agnes

All of the mines in St Agnes, a pretty village on the north Cornish coast, had closed by the 1940s and tourism has been the main economic driver in the village since the 1930s. St Agnes has much to offer tourists: the village has a wide range of shops, pubs and galleries, some fine civic architecture, interesting views, and the sandy beach and waters of Trevaunance Cove attract families and surfers (Cahill and CAU 2002b). Sharpe describes the sounds of St Agnes as 'surf, seabirds, skylarks, families on the beach' (2007: 89). The village is an amalgamation of seven former hamlets – Churchtown, Peterville, Vicarage, Goonown, Goonbell, Trevaunance and Rosemundy – each with its own distinct character. Many small tin mines once operated in and around the former hamlets and as a consequence, mining features can now be found within the village itself, having been incorporated within postwar housing expansion.

## **Mine Shaft**

In the 1960s and 1970s, the mines in St Agnes operated simultaneously as rubbish dumps and playgrounds for local children. I interviewed Clive Benney, a former police officer who grew up in the village. Sat in the living room of his bungalow, Clive recalled that the mine shafts were: 'The best thing you could have on your land ... everything got tipped down there ... rat poison, or anything that was a little bit iffy ... then they'd just chuck it down the shafts.' It was 'something which went on from wartime', he said. The mine workings were particularly attractive to local children. Clive remembered playing 'war games' and scrambling round the holes and spoil heaps 'looking for old prams and things to make go-carts'. He told me about a day when he went up to St Agnes Beacon, a large granite boss that overshadows the village, and his mother came looking for him:

We used to go up onto the Beacon and there were tunnels up there and you could go into these tiny holes and you'd crawl in and they'd open inside, and you'd go in with these bags of straw to sit on and candles and things like that. My mother came up one day trying to find me and she looked in and saw this hole and she had a fit and banned us from going up there again.

He conceded that as a child, he didn't see the mine workings as dangerous, but: 'Looking back now, if that entrance had caved in, we'd have never got out.'

John Sawle had lived in St Agnes all his life. He had worked underground at Geevor and Pendarves mines, and his family before him had been miners. At the time of my interview with him in 2009, he had been farming for thirty years. John's family owned four acres of land on the Beacon and as a teenager he had explored the mine workings. He recounted going down shafts on ropes and rope ladders:

Yes, when I was a kid and the mines were open then, they weren't plugged and in my teens we were going down shafts on a rope ladders and ropes and in one case we got down to a place called Warren Well at Newdowns Head at St Agnes. We got down to the sea cave at the bottom and that was probably about 150 feet. That was a hard rock shaft, but when the tide was in the waves would come into the cave and close the entrance of the cave and we had a blast of air up the shaft that would roll up the rope ladder. It didn't lift us, but it would roll up any rope that was below you and brought up any gravel and stone with it. They went up past you and the waves subsided and the gravel and stone would come down past you again. It was reasonably safe and we had cap lamps.

In 1979, a survey of disused mineshafts in the Carrick district, in which St Agnes is situated, counted 2,538 mineshafts. These posed a risk to the general public, as well as dogs and other animals that ventured into undergrowth. When government funding became available in the early 1980s, Carrick District Council launched Operation Minecap, a two-year capping programme running from 1983 to 1984, to make the shafts safe. An adapted capping device was used that allowed bats, a protected species, access to their roosts underground (Orange 2012: 250).

Clive felt that the potential risk had been overstated:

You can understand if you drop a stone and you start counting and you think gee-whiz! After 15 seconds you think you've got a 300-foot mine shaft here and you might want to cap it, but these little grills appear everywhere, and you think surely there wasn't anything actually there that was a problem. But I don't know what their remit was. They might have been told anything that resembles a shaft put a cap on it.

#### Wheal Kitty

Wheal Kitty tin mine operated on the cliffs above Trevaunance Cove in St Agnes until 1930. After purchasing the site in 1997, Carrick District Council restored the engine house and the site today now operates as a small industrial estate, the Wheal Kitty Workshops. The guidebook writers Kenneth Brown and Bob Acton commented that the hard landscaping and car parking around the Workshops had 'totally destroyed' Wheal Kitty's mining character (2002: n.p.), but walking around the site, various local businesses were clearly attempting to make a success of their operations, including the local radio station Heart FM and the environmental charity Surfers Against Sewage.

I was at Wheal Kitty to meet Roger Radcliffe, who at the time worked for Carrick District Council and had been involved in the redevelopment of



Figure 2.2. View of Wheal Kitty, Cornwall, United Kingdom. © H. Orange

the site. After meeting in the car park, we walked to the northern edge of the car park and then went through a gap in the hedge that was marked by boulders, traffic cones and traffic signs as well as a handpainted wooden sign that read, in pink paint, 'LOONEY TUNES'.

A footpath led to a set of concrete dressing floors that were painted with graffiti. Teenagers were skateboarding. More yellow traffic cones, blue string and notices demarcated the edges of the floors: 'Be Nice We Are' one notice said. A small caravan was parked nearby with a plastic table and chair set outside the door, presumably someone living off-grid. We then continued down the footpath and through a large expanse of mine waste, red 'dunes' that were marked by the tracks of off-road bikes. The dumps were surrounded by rough ground that was punctuated by rusting barbed wire, scrap metal and mine shafts, one with a conical grill. It was a relatively barren area, aside from some clumps of gorse. Roger led the way to two memorial benches set next to the coast path overlooking Trevaunance Cove.

I started my recorder and begin the interview: 'It's Thursday the 29<sup>th</sup> of May 2008 and we're overlooking Trevaunance Cove up at Wheal Kitty. Hello Roger.' Roger began by telling me about his relationship with St Agnes:

I'm the fifth generation of Radcliffes to live in St Agnes. I live on the outskirts of the village and I grew up at Wheal Kitty ... Wheal Kitty was really where I had a tremendous childhood and we were just wild up here really. We ran wild, we enjoyed the place for what it was – a whole collection of abandoned mine workings which was just great for playing war and doing all sorts of things. So as kids one of the first things my mother did when we moved up to Wheal Kitty was to ask the local boys to show us all the mine shafts. I think the logic there was if we knew where they were then we would know where to be wary.

...

As kids we just played around here and had tremendous fun, and it was just part of an enormous playground that included the beach below. Today there are very few children that are allowed to use it in the way that we used it. Parents seem to be a lot more wary about letting their children run wild.

We paused to say 'Hello' to a walker and their dog and then I asked Roger: 'What has changed here?' Unexpectedly, he started talking about the benches that we were sat on and I realized why he had brought me to this spot:

Seats, these damn seats! I really feel that we're trying to turn a lot of this landscape into a park and there's an awful example just down below us at Down Quay Gardens and it was somebody's bright idea, they're just misguided in my view. They seem to feel that providing seats is a good thing. More than that people like the idea of having memorials so this one is in memory of Mrs P ... So we've got two things happening. It's turning what is a fairly wild edge of land, that's been tipped upon and turned over by mining, and has real natural character into something that has patio slabs in front of it and it's become a mixture of a park and a graveyard because we've got these memorials.

I just find it depressing in two ways. I'm enjoying the seat right now and I'm grateful to sit down ... but I do object to the number. They're about every 50 yards ... I gather that the Improvements Committee and the local Council now actually looks after well over 130 seats. If you total up all the patio slabs and you were to patio over a piece of Cornwall with them all in one lump, you'd need planning consent. It would be a major planning application, or a very significant one in a local context. So that's one thing I dislike, well-intentioned gardening projects that are really impinging upon the natural environment. I do object to that. So that's one change.

Roger had a point about the benches. From our position on the cliffs, clusters of benches were visible in the cove. A short distance inland from the beach, I could see the stone benches in Down Quay Gardens, a paved public space with flowerbeds and some heritage interpretation boards. Looking westwards, following the coast path up the side of the valley, more benches were strung out. I knew that other benches continued further along the coast path, out of sight, but also positioned to overlook the sea. Benches have become an increasingly common feature in British parks and leisure locations (Maddrell 2013: 513) and as Williams (2017) has pointed out, memorial benches are often placed 'where the dead can acquire the best views out ... and where the living can too "share" this experience'. However, for Roger, they were an unwelcome intrusion into a 'fairly wild edge of land'.

#### Discussion

At Wheal Kitty, the postindustrial wild, as I am calling it, is a vestige that has survived due to its location on the edge of the village. Shoard (2000) has discussed the 'edgelands' and the 'promise' they offer for children, travellers, businesses, artists and others. In Cornwall, mines were engaged with as a form of common land that had freedoms of use, ranging from the functional (the dumping of waste) to the exploratory and the creative (play, the scavenging materials and the curating of mineral collections). Listening to my interviewees discuss their experiences, I am reminded of Shane Meadows' film This Is England (2006). Set in a Midlands town in 1983 against the backdrop of the Falklands War, the film portrays the indenture of an eleven-year-old boy into a skinhead gang and follows the gang's explorations around various derelict sites. Meadows' depiction touches on the notion of the nonconformist child as well as the child being somehow closer to nature (Nyack 2016). In contrast, however, I gained no sense that those playing on mines in Cornwall or indeed dumping rubbish on them were operating outside social norms. These were land habits, forms of bodily engagement that were once common. Waterton writes that nonrepresentational theories 'signal an intent to take very seriously the ways in which our bodies participate in the world that surrounds us' (2013: 67) and it is through such repeated movements that the body (and the mind) develops an attachment to place (Seamon 2014).

In relating their encounters and experiences, the word that was repeated was 'wild'. Various authors have previously set out the case that such transitional, liminal spaces, often found on the edges of settlements, are an important childhood resource. Keil (2005) has considered industrial fallow land in Germany, where wild urban woodlands are adventure sites for children who, unburdened by adult supervision, find a freedom of movement. When and where spatial codes are relaxed (Cloke and Jones 2005: 317), such land also provides adults with 'forms of alternative public life' (Edensor 2005b: 21).

As a local descriptor of bodily experience, I find the 'wild' interesting for two reasons. First, it signifies something of the reciprocity that connects the body and the environment. As Michael Carolan (2008) has suggested, we think with our bodies, in that our understandings of space are influenced by our embodied interactions with the environment. In Roger Radcliffe's words, the land was wild and he, as a child, ran wild, away from adult gaze. The body and the landscape were at this time constituted together by a certain freedom, namely a reduction in regulation and surveillance. There is a boyhood bravado at their perceived lack of risk, but the boys succeeded in keeping themselves and each other safe. Keeping safe, Joy Parr suggests, is a matter of 'tuned bodily practice', especially in 'risky environments, made dangerous by the presence of potentially toxic technologies' (2010: 14) – or, in this case, the dangers of rock and cliff fall: the land itself had inherent dangers.

Second, the 'wild' circumvents any negativity implied by the words 'abandonment', 'neglect', 'wasteland', 'dereliction' and 'ruin' as well as any suggestion that industrial remains belong to difficult pasts that need to be remembered (or forgotten) for their association with economic and social decline, poor working conditions and labour exploitation (Cooper 2005: 167; Trinder 2000: 39–41). To Grunenberg, dereliction is synonymous with 'danger, delinquency, ugliness and disorder' (1997: 195) and in due course derelict sites can become a 'locus horribilus' within which a range of deviant acts can take place by 'undesirable' people. Dereliction can be a sign for waste, signifying an anti-social present and perhaps more importantly an uncertain future. However, through my interviewees' eyes, these were not difficult or problem areas that needed to be fixed; this was all the children and teenagers had known.

Perhaps one key difference is that mining areas in Cornwall were perceived and were used as land, not ruin. Edensor has written that: 'The ruin *feels* very different to smoothed over urban space, rebukes the unsensual erasure of multiple tactilities, smells, sounds and sights' (2007: 227, emphasis in original). I find it difficult to conceive of the Cornish mining landscape as 'ruin', as the word evokes feelings of claustrophobia, of walls, smothered sound, dark interiors and restricted movement. Rather, I suggest that in such postindustrial landscapes – without many walls and boundaries and open to the sky – it is the surface of the land that feels wild and unruly.

In closely examining surfaces, I also reject any notion that these sites have been 'themeparked' or 'Disneyfied'. Taken literally, 'Disneyfication'/ 'themeparking' would result in the land being surfaced anew with tarmac, paving, clipped grass and flowerbeds around fast-food franchises and enter-tainment complexes. Botallack and Wheal Kitty are not like that. Indeed, at Botallack, the wild is curated by the National Trust when they maintain the semi-hostile surfacing of the paths (for visitor safety). The wild does not mean that these landscapes are in any sense 'natural' or unchanged or that bodily engagements with them have not changed accordingly. Change came from the 1980s onwards, the decade within which the Cornish tin mining industry fully deindustrialized. Heritage, however, is only partly implicated in the changes that have occurred to these places. The removal of mine heaps and large amounts of rubbish as well as the mine-capping were also con-

sequent to improvements in technology and concerns over environmental management and rehabilitation, public safety and economics. The result is certainly a more leisure-orientated landscape that is safer for both residents and visitors. The land is also flatter and smoother. The rubbish and debris have gone, features have continued eroding to the ground, whether from human and nonhuman interventions, weather or gravity, the small stuff is kicked and trampled underfoot, and the mine heaps have been truncated or shaved from the surface. While it is difficult to criticize 'Operation Minecap' on safety grounds, the effect of the capping was not only to prohibit exploration, but to also seal off the interface between the surface and the subsurface. The mines no longer 'breathed' as teenagers no longer swung on ropes, as Roger Radcliffe explained:

The way in which the land used to breathe is something you don't see anymore, which is quite interesting. In cold weather the moist warm air used to come up from the mine shafts and you could see the ground breathe. You could see the workings issuing forth this little delicate haze of moist air coming from underground, meaning that the warmer air rising out of the mines could be seen in certain conditions.

Ultimately, along with the resurfacing, some of the verticality in the mining landscape has been reduced in both directions towards ground level, and features that acted as powerful visual reminders of mining are now highly modified or absent. When bodies can no longer access the adits, tunnels, hollows and workings, imagination and interpretation are now needed to 'think down' to what lies beneath the surfaces of these mine sites and, in turn, certain kinds of bodily engagement, once common in the 1960s and 1970s, have largely disappeared.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how local people engaged bodily with the surfaces of Cornish mining land. The aim was to provide a nuanced discussion on postindustrial landscape, one that moves beyond iconic ruined structures to look instead more deeply at surface—body relations from a more-thanrepresentational perspective.

These examples of life on the surfaces of mines show how place and bodies were caught up in reciprocal arrangements in the 1960s and 1970s. Local men who played on these sites in their youth, used the word 'wild' to describe a relationality of experience, from the present to the past. Wildness meant certain bodily freedoms and opportunities, before interventions were carried out for various reasons that led to more regulated and flattened landscapes. Heritage was seen by some as an intruding form of human culture while industry had become naturalized. The postindustrial wild reflects a local perspective on everyday experience of place that carries with it senses of matter being in and out of place, home, identity and belonging.

In conclusion, deindustrialized landscapes are not static entities. As land and bodies shift and move new surfaces, new opportunities appear or cease to be, linked to generational change. Dewsbury has noted that more-thanrepresentational theory has a characteristic presentism (2009: 322). In contrast, the postindustrial wild largely belonged to one generation in Cornwall. It denotes a kind of landscape and set of bodily experiences that were together for a relatively short space of time, an embodied history (Parr 2010) conditioned by the circumstances of gender, time and place. The skateboarders and caravan dwellers at Wheal Kitty are almost, but not quite, out of place in the village's creeping-outward urbanization and gentrification. However, one difference is that there are no children in Cornwall today who have seen a working Cornish tin mine. Time, of course, will move on and these postindustrial places will become something else entirely.

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#### CAVA Oral Histories

- Nicholas Johnson. Interviewed by Peter Fordham on behalf of the Cornwall Audio Visual Archive, 23 November 2006.
- William Old. Interviewed by Fiona Young on behalf of the Cornwall Audio Visual Archive, 3 September 2002.

#### CHAPTER 3

## More-Than-Representational Postmining Landscapes in the Former Coal Regions of Eastern Germany

Between Economic Revitalization and Risk Society

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Just south of Leipzig, Germany, lies the suburb of Markkleeberg. There, on the southeast shore of Markkleeberger Lake is one of two unique artificial whitewater canoe/kayak slalom courses in Germany. According to the Deutsche Zentrale für Tourismus e.V. (the German Centre for Tourism), it receives an average of 23,000 visitors a year and is among the top one hundred popular sights in the country. The lake is a former open-pit coal mine that was flooded in 1999 and was developed as a tourist area in 2006. The infrastructure, initially planned as part of Leipzig's bid to host the 2012 Summer Olympics (which was finally awarded to London), soon became a symbol of one of the largest landscape transformations in Europe. The mine was the largest brown coal producer on earth with an annual output of more than 300 million tonnes of lignite in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), corresponding to one-quarter of worldwide annual production in 1986 (Helmbold 2018). After the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 and in the context of a liberalized market economy, most of the mines closed down, leaving behind a devastated landscape (Kabisch 2004). Today the remaining moonscapes are being transformed into recreational landscapes. While there are about 140 pit lakes in the central German lignite mining district today (Schultze et al. 2010), this research mainly focuses on



**Figure 3.1.** Zwenkauer (foreground) and Cospudener (background) mines before completing the flooding. Photo: © A. Berkner, courtesy of Regionaler Planungsverband Leipzig-Westsachsen

those located in the southern parts of Leipzig in what has been baptized Neuseenland (New Lake District).

Based on a more-than-representational approach, semi-structured interviews and ethnographic fieldwork, this research explores the emergence of new actors, practices, narratives and conflicts associated with this new landscape. By studying the transformation of one of East Germany's former coal regions, I offer a complement to scholarly discourse that criticizes the representation of deindustrialization as 'smokestack nostalgia' (Cowie and Heathcott 2003; Mah 2009; High 2013; Strangleman 2013). This label refers to the sentimentalization of the past (Cowie and Heathcott 2003) and the lack of a more critical perspective that can make sense of what deindustrialization really means in the United States. As stated by Cowie and Heathcott, 'we have to strip industrial work of its broad shouldered, social-realist patina and see it for what it was: tough work that people did because it paid well and it was located in their communities' (2003: 15). One aspect of this smokestack nostalgia is the growing number of coffee-table books and other publications on abandoned industrial plants and buildings 'where tensions of gender, race and class go unnoticed' and 'where the destructive impacts of industry on health and environment are obscured' (Strangleman 2013: 33). This chapter aims to provide a more nuanced understanding of the postindustrial landscape and move away from the stereotypical image of a closed



**Figure 3.2.** Zwenkauer Lake (foreground, Number 4 in Map 3.1) and Cospudener Lake (background, Number 1 in Map 3.1), in the southern part of Leipzig. Photo: © Lichtfisch

down factory or mine. I argue that while the postmining landscape is opening up new opportunities for residents, it also brings new risks, including new environmental issues, territorial inequalities and concerns over what can be interpreted as symptoms of green gentrification.

First, I will discuss the phenomenon of postmining regions in Europe and the particularities of pit lakes as an end use of mines, including their advantages and risks. Second, I will address the varying agreements and disagreements regarding the relationship between new green areas and sociodemographic change and will introduce the concept of green gentrification. After some methodological notes, I will explain the landscape transformation near Leipzig in more detail, along with the results of the ethnographic research. Finally, in conclusion, I will link the focus of this chapter to the overreaching theme of this volume.

#### Postmining and Pit Lakes as an End Use of Mines

This chapter aims to analyse actors, practices, narratives and conflicts associated with the landscape transformation experienced near Leipzig. With this objective in mind, this section aims to examine the phenomenon of deindustrialization of mining regions (postmining) and to provide a more detailed description – the advantages and risks – of pit lakes, as they are increasingly becoming one of the most common uses for mines after closure.

Mining industries have played a crucial role in European history. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the extraction of coal and lignite provided the basis for the industrialization of many European regions (Pollard 1981; Wrigley 2013). Due to the exhaustion of resources, or changes to the technical and market conditions, the mining industry has been in decline since the 1960s, often resulting in a sort of 'socioeconomic drama' (Baeten et al. 1999) of many regions after the closure of the mines. In addition to the problems of unemployment and the outmigration of the younger population, the quality of life in these communities is often threatened by the devastated landscape left behind after decades of mineral extraction, including air and water pollution, and the poor condition of building and infrastructures (Kabisch 2004; Linke and Schiffer 2002). A 2005 study on postmining regions in Europe indicated that 46% of 226 mining regions in total had completely ceased trading since 1990, and this figure has likely increased since then (Wirth et al. 2012).

In this context, mine waste and remediation has become the main challenge for many postmining regions nowadays. Old mining areas are being regenerated in many different ways, but, in most cases, there is a desire to first convert the target areas into natural spaces. Particularly relevant for the purposes of this chapter is the creation of artificial lakes by flooding the old mine openings and generating new natural habitats around them. Pit lakes have been developed in the past internationally (Soni et al. 2014), e.g. East Pit Lake in Alberta, Canada, Sleeper pit lake in Nevada, United States, and Westfield pit lake in Scotland, and evidence suggests they are becoming one of the most recurrent end use of opencast mining. Geller et al. (2013) estimate the existence of at least twenty-two European regions with one or more pit lakes, including Neuseenland. They are valued resources for a variety of purposes such as wildlife conservation, chemical extraction, industrial and potable water sources for humans or livestock, aquaculture, irrigation, and recreation and tourism (Doupé and Lymbery 2005; Koschorreck et al. 2020; Søndergaard et al. 2018). These new landscapes may advance the identification of revitalization strategies for communities located around opencast mining areas and have been facing decline for several decades, as suggested by Berkner (2001) in reference to East German mining areas. Empirical evidence suggests that the occurrence of new natural areas positively impacts the living conditions (Kabisch 2004) and the economic value (Lienhoop and Messner 2009) of areas where mining had caused huge ecological harm in the form of contaminated air, water and soil, as well as noise pollution. Furthermore, new natural areas are often located in the proximity of densely populated urban areas and could become a home for many new residents in the context of globally increasing urbanization. The city of Greater Geelong in Victoria, Australia, is a good example. Geelong has been experiencing growth pressures from population increase that necessitate the development of a new habitation areas starting as early as 2025 (Gerner and McCullough 2014). In this context, the former mine site could become a valued home to about 40,000–45,000 people in the next decade. The same could be said about Leipzig. Despite the overall decline of many East German areas, the city has experienced important demographic growth over the last fifteen years, which increases the urbanization pressure to the newly restored areas (Gelfert et al. 2020; Kabisch and Linke 2000; Nuissl and Rink 2003).

However, research has shown that these types of restoration projects have come with uncertainties of a different nature. The literature recognizes the existence of environmental risks associated with pit lakes (Soni et al. 2014; Schultze et al. 2010; Doupé and Lymbery 2005; Pérez-Sindín and Blanchette 2020) that may have profound disadvantageous implications felt for many years afterwards, especially by local communities. These risks have to do with postclosure hazards such as excessive soil erosion, unexpected flooding and hazards due to the proximity of other industries and slope failure, among others. Second, pit lakes appear to come with inherent political and economic uncertainties. To be sure, pit lakes must be seen as part of a wider phenomenon known as large-scale projects or megaprojects (Altshuler and Luberoff 2003; Flyvbjerg et al. 2003; Fischhendler et al. 2015). These can be understood as infrastructures that require large investments and normally accrue great social, environmental and budgetary impacts. As such, pit lakes usually involve multiple and multilevel actors. They often involve partnerships between the public and the private sector, different public administrations as well as local, regional and national governments/organizations, in addition to various financing and land-use planning mechanisms (Fischhendler et al. 2015). Moreover, assuming the large-scale character of pit lakes, they could have a 'powerful magnetic spell on ambitious politicians' (Priemus 2010: 1023). They often become regional, national or international icons, or at least have 'aims to become one' (Fischhendler et al. 2015: 3). This chapter shows how many of these risks are part of the discourse of key actors, recalling the idea of a risk society as one of the main features of modernity, which is defined by Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens as a society increasingly preoccupied with the future (and also with safety), which generates the notion of risk (Beck 1992; Giddens and Pierson 1998).

#### New Natural Areas and Sociodemographic Change

Central to the discussion in this chapter is the existing literature about environmental justice. Having conceptualized Neuseenland as an environmental megaproject, this section examines some of the primary agreements and disagreements about the topic, and the interrelations between the creation of new natural areas and sociodemographic changes within this emerging body of knowledge. In its early formulations, environmental justice research focused narrowly on the relationship between, on the one hand, race and poverty and, on the other, the spatial distribution of waste and industrial sites (Walker 2012). However, nowadays there is a wider variety of environmental themes, including transport issues, food justice, deforestation and green space.

Especially relevant for the purposes of this study is the environmental justice topic about the existence, distribution and access afforded to green space. In a context of growing inequality and greater heterogeneity due to the global relocations of people, labour and capital, green spaces emerge as a very important element in the creation of more just cities (Low 2013). They are where race, class, gender, age, sexual preference and ethnicity are experienced and negotiated in a safe forum for political action, communication and democratic practice (Fincher and Iverson 2008; Low 2013). The links between human health and wellbeing, and contact with nature, have been increasingly documented to date (Walker 2012; Wolch et al. 2014). Research has focused on correlations between reductions in stress and the access to appropriated spaces for physical exercise in various forms: walking, jogging and informal games, to name but a few. Access to green space is therefore increasingly recognized as an environmental justice issue. Many cities all over the world have implemented strategies to increase the supply of urban green space, including those resulting from the restoration processes of old industrial sites.

Paradoxically, much of the current debate revolves around the impact of new green space and its true capacity to improve social integration and justice (Krueger and Gibbs 2007; Checker 2011; Gould and Lewis 2012; Wolch et al. 2014). The term that best captures the current discourse is environmental or green gentrification. When green space strategies are successful from the point of view of residents and businesses, it is possible that they might eventually exclude those whose need for access is most acute (Wolch et al. 2014). To be sure, urban development often responds to the principle of capital accumulation and profitability. Such accumulation takes place by investing in spaces with special interest for the highest socioeconomic strata, such as new parks and natural areas (Harvey 2012). Hence, by making older and typically low-income and/or industrial areas more attractive, new greening projects can importantly alter the affordable housing and retail infrastructure opportunities that support lower-income communities. Here it is worth mentioning the empirical evidence from the restoration of Prospect Park in Brooklyn (Gould and Lewis 2012). After having analysed

three years of census data from the US Census Bureau with regard to race, class, social power and housing, researchers found that the restoration of the park also gentrified the surrounding neighbourhoods by way of whitening, richening and raising rents. The same trends have recently been detected in a similar study in Barcelona (Anguelovski 2017). After having examined the changes in the socioeconomic profile of people living near gardens created between 1992 and 2000, Anguelovski suggests that the new areas have attracted wealthy neighbours and pushed away those who are poor.

#### Methodological Notes

Most of the data in this study was collected during my stay at the Helmholtz Centre for Environmental Research (UFZ) in the summer of 2015. Originally, this research focused on the restoration process of the former open pit Espenhain, which gave rise to Markkleeberger (municipality of Markkleeberg) and Störmthaler Lakes (municipality of Großpösna). Yet, the mutual interdependence between these and other nearby bodies of water found in the course of the research made it convenient to broaden the geographical scope. Therefore, the analysis also includes references to other nearby pit lakes, particularly Cospudener and Zwenkauer Lakes.

The research has been conducted by applying ethnographic techniques, specifically the go-along method (Kusenbach 2003). All experiences lived in situ in relation to the research question are worthy of being treated as data. Hence, data coming from in situ observations, sporadic talks and events were included as research material. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with six different social actors: a representative from Borna, the Mayor of Großpösna, the Secretary of Kommunales Forum Südraum Leipzig (KFSL; the South Leipzig Municipal Forum), an organization that brings together all the municipalities affected by the restoration process, town representatives from Leipzig and Markkleeberg, and a member of the Markkleeberg Town Council for Culture and Tourism. The interviews were conducted and recorded in German and were then transcribed and translated into English. After an open introduction, the interview guide consisted of at least two main groups of questions: (1) what is the general opinion of the interviewee on the trajectory of development in the Leipzig region, with a special emphasis on the landscape transformation?; and (2) what does the new natural space mean for the interviewee and what are the main conflicts, opportunities and challenges at the present time? It is also worth including excerpts from my attendance at the public discussion organized by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES; Friedrich Ebert Foundation) on the further development of the region. The FES is a German political foundation associated

Institution	Positions	Gender	Marked in the text as
Borna	Town representative	f	Во
Großpösna	Mayor	f	Gr
Kommunales Forum Südraum Leipzig	Secretary	f	KFSL
Leipzig	City representative	f	Le
Markkleeberg	Town representative	m	Ma
Markkleeberg	Member of Town Council for Culture and Tourism	f	То

**Table 3.1.** List of interviews by institution, position within the institution, gender and acronyms in the text

with the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), yet is independent of it. Its main goals are to promote political and societal education, and to 'encourage a more democratic and plural society' (Friedrich Ebert Foundation 2019).

I also borrow insights from more-than-representational theory, a poststructuralist theory inspired in part by the ideas of thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari and Bruno Latour. Initially conceived by Thrift (1996), the theories emerged in the mid-1990s as a response to other theories in which geographical research was limited to representations, as a result of being concerned only with cognitive knowledge. Morethan-representational theory focuses on embodied experience and, as argued by Lorimer (2005), seeks a means to better cope with our self-evidently more-than-human, more-than-textual and multisensual worlds. More-thanrepresentational thinking means focusing 'on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, and affective intensities' (Lorimer 2005: 84). Against such a background, this chapter goes beyond representational knowledge and looks at the emergence of new actors, practices and affects related to the new landscapes. All data obtained was then analysed by means of thematic analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006; Braun et al. 2019). This technique emphasizes the identification, examination and registration of themes within the raw material obtained. Such themes produce a data set that is relevant to the research question regarding which narratives, institutions/actors, practices and conflicts are associated with the new land-scapes. The analysis consisted of a six-phase coding process: getting familiar with the data, generating initial codes, grouping codes into themes, reviewing, defining and naming the themes.

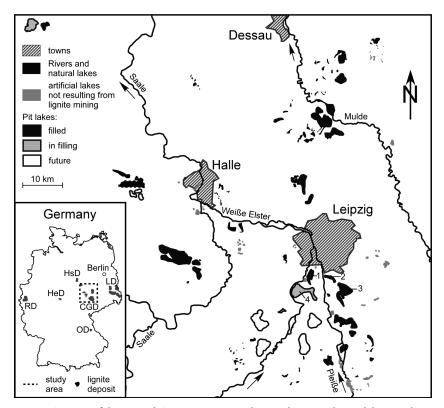
# Environmental Restoration and Landscape in Former Coal Regions

Neuseenland consists of sixteen pit lakes that have been, or will be, created mostly south of Leipzig. These bodies of water cover about 70 km<sup>2</sup> of the 500 km<sup>2</sup> of the region (Berkner 2009), creating an idiosyncratic landscape, especially compared to that of premining times, when the land was characterized by a mix of relatively high-yield cultivated land, small villages and floodplain forests. It impacts up to sixteen different municipalities and approximately 100,000 inhabitants. I should add that, with the inclusion of the city of Leipzig, the number increases to 600,000, which accounts for a population density higher than the German average (250/km<sup>2</sup>), something unusual in Eastern Germany, where depopulation has represented one of the main challenges since German reunification. This fact, together with the 500 km distance from the ocean, placed the new lakes in high demand for locals.

Cospudener Lake (number 1 in Map 3.1 and in the background in Figure 3.2) was the first one of the lakes in Neuseenland to be completely flooded in the summer of 2000. Markkleeberger Lake (number 2 in Map 3.1) followed in 2006; Störmthaler Lake's flooding (number 3 in Map 3.1) and Zwenkauer Lake (number 4 in Map 3.1 and in the foreground in Figure 3.2) in 2015. South of this area, twelve more lakes have been built or will be filled when the still operating mines will be closed.

#### New Actors

The region has witnessed the appearance of new landscape-oriented institutions in recent years. One example is the KFSL, an organization founded in October 1992 by fourteen municipalities affected by the lignite mining in southern Leipzig. The initial motive of the KFSL was to address the economic situation in the south of Leipzig resulting from the radical transformations that occurred at the beginning of the 1990s after German reunification. The KFSL seeks to foster cooperation between local actors and to put into practice the regional development plan, paying special attention to the development of transport and technical infrastructure, restoration and environmental design of the new landscape, as well as tourism (KFSL n.d.).



**Map 3.1.** Map of the central Germany mining district showing the pit lakes resulting from lignite mining, the major rivers and some towns for orientation. Adapted from Schultze et al. (2010). © M. Schultze

Another emerging institution is the Grüner Ring Leipzig (GRL; Green Belt of Leipzig). This organization was founded in 1996 because of the 'shared desired to create a better image for the city of Leipzig and its surroundings' (GRL 2020) and it focuses on 'highlighting the attractiveness of the surrounding countryside, restoring the cultural landscape of the region, preserving it and bringing it to life for the citizens'. Currently, the GRL counts fourteen municipalities and two counties as members, being responsible for coordination and communication across local borders. It organizes regular working groups on specific topics such as agriculture, local recreation and tourism, waterbodies, environmental technology and the management of landscape conservation. Importantly, it organizes an annual city-hinterland conference, which seeks to 'facilitate the preparation and implementation of measures in relation to the landscape, waterbodies and tourism infrastructure development' (GRL 2020). It is also worth mentioning the Tourismusverein Leipziger Neuseenland e.V. (TALN; Tourism Association of Leipzig Neuseenland), whose mandate includes the promotion, coordination, establishment and development of socially accepted and environmentally sound tourism for the purposes of generating solid economic and employment opportunities. The association consists of eighteen municipalities, thirty-nine accommodation businesses (including hotels, hostels and private rooms), two restaurants, sixty-two tourism-oriented businesses, including sport businesses, leisure resorts and tour agencies, among others. Its membership includes individuals, supporting organizations and companies. The organization is engaged in networking and in representing the interests of all its members. It also encourages discussions about tourism development and, in cooperation with the town of Markkleeberg, it has been running tourist information offices since June 2015.

Regarding education and ecological initiatives, new actors have become involved, such as the ecological agriculture school Dreiskau-Muckern and the sociocultural centre KuHstall e.V., whose projects include the mining and technology park (Bergbau-Technik-Park). The park is located about 10 km south of Leipzig between the Markkleeberger and the Störmthaler Lakes on the inner overburden dump area of the former open pit mine Espenhain. The goal of the park is to present the production cycle of a brown coal open-pit mine in a comprehensible manner (from the deconstruction of a cultivated landscape through extraction and restoration). Here visitors can see the bucket wheel excavator 1547 (weighing about 13,000 tonnes) and the belt ejector 1115 (weighing about 2,400 tonnes) (Soziokulturelle Zentrum KuHstall e.V. n.d.).

Another type of educational initiative is the Sommerakademie (summer school, also known as SOMAK), which is organized by the Kulturstiftung Hohenmölsen (Hohenmölsen Cultural Foundation). I had the opportunity to spend two days in Hohenmölsen, 27 km southwest of Leipzig and very close to one of the still-active opencast coalmines, Braunkohlentagebau Profen. The main goal of this organization is to support 'ideas, concepts and projects that shape the present and future life of local lignite mining areas for the benefit of the people living and working there' (Kulturstiftung Hohenmölsen n.d.). The organizing team of the summer academy consists of representatives from various institutions, including universities, civic organizations, the West Saxony Regional Planning Association, public authorities and mining companies. The foundation organizes the event every year and, on this occasion, it aimed to combine interdisciplinary presentations that referenced the region with excursions through the Zeitz-Weißenfels lignite district.

Finally, there is the Regionaler Planungsverband Leipzig-Westsachsen (RPDWS; Regional Planning Department of West Saxony). This institution was founded in 1992 and its primary objectives are to 'get involved in regional questions and developments', 'balance different positions and interests in case of conflict' and 'design and implement development plans' (RPDWS 2019a). Although it is engaged in numerous fields of action, this institution also played a fundamental role in the environmental restoration process (Gross 2010) and it is still a key actor in the governance of the new landscapes (Markkleeberg representative, semi-structured interview). Furthermore, in 2019, RPDWS, in cooperation with numerous partners in Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia (districts, municipalities, companies, associations, associations and authorities), developed and published the *Gewässerkatalog Mitteldeutschland 2019–2021* (Central German Lake Landscape Waters Catalogue 2019–2021). This catalogue presents the thirty-eight most important waterbodies of central Germany, including facts on flooding, water quality, uses, planning and contact persons (RPDWS 2019b)

#### New Practices

During my stay in Leipzig, I spent many hours talking to my flatmate, a master's student at Merseburg University of Applied Sciences near Leipzig. In one of our first conversations, he furrowed his brow when I explained the purpose of my visit and said: 'The new lakes? Is that the topic of your research? I didn't know there are people studying that.' He used to spend time every weekend biking around the new lakes. His partner had accidentally fallen on one of those trips and was recovering at home the second week after my arrival. As I would later find out, many of the new natural spaces have become part of people's everyday life.

The environmental restoration of old mines is creating a new landscape in which recreation and nature conservation have a high priority and where the 'close coexistence of old rivers and new lakes, attractive cultural landscapes and diverse urban spaces [are] opening up special opportunities for the future' (Economic Development Agency Anhalt-Bitterfeld and the City of Leipzig, Department Environment, Order, Sport 2014). Moreover, each lake has gradually acquired specific roles within the urban morphology. Cospudener Lake, for instance, 'has become the bathing lake' (Ma, semistructured interview) due to its proximity to Leipzig and has the highest water quality due to its location in naturally produced soil. The eastern part of the lake, belonging to the municipality of Markkleeberg, has experienced significant urban growth in the last few decades. Kabisch's sociospatial analysis (2004) describes this area as having benefited most from the expansion of Leipzig, showing an atypical demographic increase compared to other towns in West Saxony. Traditionally home to middle- and higher-income groups, thanks to the arrival of 'suburbanites' from Leipzig (Nuissl and Rink 2003: 47), it has recently become one of the few towns in East Germany to actually grow in population. During interviews, both the Großpösna and Markkleeberg representatives pointed out that the influx of population is causing a sort of urban pressure on the new living areas as the demand for new housing is increasing. Moreover, during the course of an event organized by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation on the further development of the lakescape, one of the attendees suggested that the area was going through a process of gentrification and labelled the new residents as well-heeled citizens, stating afterwards that the housing prices had skyrocketed up to  $\varepsilon$ 350–500/m<sup>2</sup>. This observation is arguably related to the 'class gap' detected in Abel et al.'s (2015) survey in relation to the acceptance of the new landscapes across different economic strata. Low-income respondents exhibit a lower acceptance of the new landscape, and 23% of them perceive it as negative or very negative, compared to the 10% among the total population. The gap persists when it comes to practices. Only 67% of low-income respondents were said to have visited the beaches or exercised near the new lakes, compared to 83% of high-income respondents.

Markkleeberger Lake is located in the eastern part of the town of Markkleeberg. This lake functions as 'visitor magnet' (Ma) due to the location of two unique artificial white-water canoe/kayak slalom courses in Germany. The infrastructure was initially planned as part of Leipzig's bid to host the 2012 Summer Olympics and it functioned as a sort of starting point for the rest of the region. In an interview, those responsible for tourism development in Markkleeberg stated that Kanupark functioned as a sort of reference point as it reinforced an idea already present in the early planning of new lands (Uhlig 1994; Gerstner et al. 2001), i.e. the necessity to look for what makes the region unique and assign special uses to each of the lakes to avoid unnecessary competition:

It has been a gift that there was this Olympic bid for the city of Leipzig for the 2012 Olympics and that the canoe park was one of the venues chosen ... And it is also a gift, from my point of view, that the city council planned this in the early years after reunification. To make such an investment is such a responsibility for the town of Markkleeberg. I believe over [€]2 million. This is a huge sum, and above all, one must not forget that such infrastructure needs to be managed for years to come. It also shows how important such infrastructure is for the tourist development of the whole lakes network ... not only do we need basic infrastructure on every lake, but in fact a special tourist characteristic of each lake must be achieved, so that the region as a whole remains touristically interesting. (To, semi-structured interview)

Although it is further from the main settlements, Markkleeberger Lake also has beaches that can function as an 'expanded bathing area', alleviating overcrowding at Cospudener Lake. Wachauer Beach offers more differentiated areas, 'you can see here that there are small bays, for people, for families or naturists or, in short, for people who need rest' (Ma, semi-structured interview). In addition, Auenhainer Beach, located near the canoe park, is one of

Lake	Space (ha)	Flooding started	Flooding ends	Use category
Bockwitzer	168	1 March 1995	2004*	Local recreation
Cospudener	439	5 August 1993	2 August 2000	Local recreation/ Tourism
Hainer	405	12 April 1999	23 February 2010	Tourism
Haselbacher	335	1 September 1993	26 August 2002	Local recreation
Kahnsdorfer	125	12 April 1999	2015*	Conservation
Markkleeberger	252	20 July 1999	18 December 2012	Tourism
Störmthaler	733	13 September 2003	30 January 2013	Tourism
Werbener	80	24 November 1998	2000*	Conservation
Zwenkauer	963	9 March 2007	2015**	Tourism

Table 3.2. Overview of the new lakes in the south of Leipzig

Source: adapted from Economic Development Agency Anhalt-Bitterfeld and the City of Leipzig, Department Environment, Order, Sport. (2014); Güte von Bergbaufolgeseen der LMBV [Quality of Post-mining Lakes of the LMBV] (2018); and RPDWS (2019b)

\* Unknown month and day

\*\* Zwenkauer: filled to 94% since 2015. The filling will be completed in 2038 according to the website of LMBV

the largest beaches where 'sports such as water skiing could play an important role' (Ma, semi-structured interview).

South of Cospudener and Markkleeberger are Störmthaler and Zwenkauer Lakes, where flooding ended more recently (2013 and 2015, respectively). These lakes are located near small industrial towns, i.e. Gaschwitz (population 671 in 2014), Grossdeuben, Rötha (population 3,704 in 2014),

Espenhain (population 2,267 in 2014). There, the collapse of brown coal industry led to social disaster due to the fact that most of the residents used to work in the mines (Kabisch 2004). Today, despite the environmental restoration, high unemployment has persisted and many of the young people have no choice but to leave. The municipality of Großpösna, which owns of large portion of Störmthaler Lake, has already developed some projects, such as the Highfield Festival, which has attracted up to 25,000 visitors in five years. In addition, according to the interviewee, this lake has potential for the practice of such sports as water skiing (Ma, semi-structured interview). In the course of the interview with the Markkleeberg representative, he commented that, with regard to the largest lake Zwenkauer Lake (963 ha), there is sailing and surfing potential there and that the town of Zwenkauer is ready to allow motor sports there to a certain extent (Ma, semi-structured interview). Even further outside Leipzig are a group of relatively smaller lakes (Bockwitzer, Hainer, Haselbacher, Kahnsdorfer and Werbener), which are categorized as playing different roles, including conservation, local recreation and tourism.

#### Emerging Narratives, Affects and Potential Conflicts

A survey undertaken by Abel et al. (2015) reflects a high level of social acceptance of the new landscape, with approximately 90% of the inhabitants of Greater Leipzig perceiving the new landscape development as something either good or very good. During my interviews, it was only the representative from Borna who gave a slightly more critical view, stating that she could not actually take a position on the landscape transformation and that there exists some uncertainty about the use of the new areas: 'let's see what one can do with the transformed landscape' (Bo, semi-structured interview). On the contrary, most of the people I interviewed expressed, to a greater or lesser extent, a high level of satisfaction with the landscape transformation. The memories of moonscapes that the active mining pits left behind still shapes today's discourse and the words of those I met during my stay often denoted a mix of satisfaction and alleviation resulting from restoration. All the interviewees point to the overall improvement in terms of infrastructure and living conditions as the main achievement. As stated by the representative of KFSL when interviewed, 'the region can be proud' (KFSL, semistructured interview). The Director of the TALN went as far as to say that Neuseenland is 'simply a success story ... which, of course, is not difficult, as we started from zero. And everything more than zero is very, very much' (FES public event). In addition, the Mayor of Großpösna commented during the interview that thanks to restoration, the region has been re-evaluated, with the municipalities near Leipzig having benefited the most as they have the appropriate conditions to become new residential areas.

As mentioned above, I had the occasion to attend a public event organized by the FES on the further developments of the new landscapes. The title of the event was 'Braunkohlefolgelandschaft. Wie geht es weiter mit der Seenentwicklung?' ('After Brown Coal Landscapes, How Do We Continue with the Lake Development?'). The event included the participation of important regional actors such as the Mayors of Leipzig and Markkleeberg, the Director of the TALN and the Secretary (and former Mayor) of Großpösna, who engaged attendees with an interesting and vivid discussion about the past, present and future of the region. Approximately thirty people attended the event, some of whom took part in the final discussion by asking questions or making comments. Before analysing some of the opinions shared during the course of the event, it is worth commenting on the text used by the FES to announce the event on the internet and in advertising material (see the quote given below). The text begins by expressing the overall satisfaction with the environmental transformation, as well as the emergence of new affects, 'long-lasting lakes that are equally popular with both locals and tourists alike'. The second part then points out new issues and raises questions about the future, particularly in relation to the capacity for the combination of recreational areas and tourism:

In the last 20 years, the landscape in the Leipzig region has changed enormously. Former lignite mines were converted into long-lasting lakes that are equally popular with both locals and tourists alike. Neuseenland is increasingly known in and outside of Germany as a brand. Markkleeberg and its neighbouring municipalities are shaped by four lakes: the Cospudener, the Markkleeberger, the Störmthaler, which was opened last year, and the Zwenkauer Lake, which was only opened in May this year. But how will this landscape develop in the future? What meaning will the charter Leipziger Neuseenland have in 2030? How can tourism and recreation be combined, especially with regard to the navigability of the lakes and tourist destinations and attractions on and in the water? We would like to discuss these questions and any other questions you may have with you and our guests. (Friedrich Ebert Foundation 2019)

Several people from the public expressed concerns of different natures during the course of the event. Apart from the alleged increase in the housing prices around Cospudener Lake, as mentioned above, it is worth highlighting the complaint of one of the attendees in relation to what he perceived as a decrease in people's level of involvement. He first emphasized the key role played by citizens at the beginning of the environmental restoration process, something confirmed by Gross in his 2010 study on the governance of abandoned mines, where he highlights the degree of social openness and organization of citizens' hearings throughout the whole restoration process. Against this background, the attendee then argued that people are taking it for granted that the problems of water quality and other environmental issues have been solved: People lost connection with what was created, when the landscape was still devastated in the early 1990s, citizens became more active, the improvements were more obvious, and the population took part in making their environment nicer. Now they believe it is already nice. However, experts know that it is still a far journey to 'becoming nice', because appearing nice is different from being nice. Also, the landscape can lose attractiveness again, so citizens cannot lose the vision and courage we had at the beginning of the process. (Attendee at FES public event)

Concerns regarding the new environmental issues appeared repeatedly in discussions with my interviewees. A majority of the interviewees mentioned issues of water quality: sulphate, heavy metals, pH or eutrophication. In Bockwitz, near Borna, the pit lake had to be neutralized twice with carbonate to reach a neutral pH value and, as pointed out in the literature (Doupé and Lymbery 2005; Schultze et al. 2010; Soni et al. 2014), long-term acidification should be taken into consideration as it might cause a decrease in pH in the long term. Some of the interviewees also expressed their concern with regard to the groundwater. For instance, as stated by the Mayor of Borna, 'the groundwater is upside down now ... we have tennis courts which we had to close ... problems [that] were already believed to be solved, but ... by far ... are not solved' (Bo, semi-structured interview)

Criticisms also arose when it comes to the financial aspects of the new landscape uses. The restoration process was financed by the Verwaltungsabkommen, an administrative agreement between the local governments and the state of Saxony, which, as argued by Lintz and Wirth (2015) provided a sound financial basis for it. Yet, interviewees revealed the uncertain future in terms of the funding via the agreement. For instance, the Mayor of Großpösna expressed his concern that 'at a certain point, the government will regard the restoration as finished ... and municipalities will have to increasingly seek for other ways of how to gain money to finance the implementation and maintenance of facilities'. This might intensify the financial shortage of local governments, which is de facto an already existing problem. According to the Markkleeberg town council representative, 'the budgets are a problem ... especially with very, very big projects. They are very costintensive, straining the budget of the restoration' (Ma, semi-structured interview), or as stated by the KFSL Secretary in the interview, 'cooperation needs to be intensified due to a limited budget ... with limited funds, actors need to think carefully about how and in which scope projects are implemented'. Indeed, interviewees pointed out several projects that are currently missing funds, such as a bridle paths, public transportation, and an archaeological exhibition, to mention but a few. Notably, in one of the interviews, the Leipzig Council representative revealed the uncertainty that 'the next administrative agreement might not provide funds sufficient to finish what is known as the Wasserschlange' (a 1 km-long canal that will connect Markkleeberger Lake and the Kleine Pleiße River – an important element of infrastructure needed for the prevention of flooding), adding 'especially if it gets more expensive than expected' (Le, semi-structured interview).

Notably, raising enough capital for implementing projects is not the only challenge concerning financial aspects: 'every path, every beach and all facilities implemented need some basic maintenance ... and with less money in municipal budgets every year it will be more and more challenging to maintain the created infrastructure' (KFSL, semi-structured interview). Thus, one profound question arose in the interview with the KFSL representative: 'Will the municipalities need to abandon facilities, which they offered publicly for free, because they are not able to maintain it anymore?'

According to the Mayor of Markkleeberg (at the FES event), the main challenge is to be able to balance nature, tourism and the economy. Indeed, as I advanced through the fieldwork, two different governance models emerged that might conflict in the long-term perspective. One the one hand, there is a soft tourism development model, defended by those who look forward to a varied landscape and diverse recreational and sports facilities in surroundings characterized by abundant lakes, forests, biotopes and the habitats of indigenous animal species, as well as bicycle paths, footpaths, swimming beaches and natural areas. On the other hand, there is a development project capable of providing jobs, defended by those with higher expectations for the new landscape as a potential source of employment. This group is looking forward to new forms of income for the community, for example, commercial ventures, shopping outlets, adventure parks, big events such as concerts or sport competitions. The most commonly stated point of contention is the issue of motorboats on Zwenkauer Lake. As argued by the Leipzig representative, the decision to allow or disallow motorboats creates divisions between local actors and a solution 'seems difficult to achieve in the near future' (Le, semi-structured interview).

Analysis of the discourse also throws into relief the potential for intermunicipality conflicts. Municipalities in the commuter belt of Leipzig profit from their special location; they are more often able to invest money and resources in the implementation of projects. In addition, the demand for recreational facilities is much higher there than it is even further away from Leipzig. In this context, southern municipalities feel disconnected, calling themselves 'the southern South' (KFSL, semi-structured interview). There, the dynamic of the landscape transformation process is not as strong as in the northern part of Neuseenland. The Mayor of Großpösna went as far as to say that in this area, public institutions feel a sort of 'enviousness of other municipalities' because 'it is hard to develop a touristic infrastructure when money is already missing for the obligatory municipal tasks' (Gr, semistructured interview). Moreover, this is the area where, as described above, most of the residents used to work in the coal industry, so issues regarding unemployment are clearly present in the discourse. One interviewee described the challenge of being able to unify the whole region's marketing plan so that those located further outside Leipzig can benefit (KFSL, semistructured interview).

#### Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to broaden the perspective on the deindustrialization processes behind what some call smokestack nostalgia. The emergence of a dense network of actors, as well as new affects and practices around the postmining landscape, move the region far beyond the stereotypical image of the depressed and nostalgic mining communities that remain after mine closures. Yet, this differentiated image of postindustrialism is not exempt from new conflicts and uncertainties. The results of this research show how residents and institutions need to cope with uncertainties of different natures such as financial limitations, water quality and acidification, or flooding issues. All these issues are inherently part of the discourse of key actors, recalling the notion of the centrality of risk in modern societies, as argued by classic sociologists such as Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens. Included in such risks are social aspects related to territorial inequalities and unequal access to land and housing. While the restoration of old industrial sites - today converted into valuable natural areas - may open new opportunities for economic revitalization, their overvaluation as residential and leisure areas are not exempt from counterproductive sociodemographic dynamics found in many large cities worldwide, such as the green gentrification process.

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## Part II

## **PERFORMATIVE NARRATIVES**

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#### CHAPTER 4

### **Performing Imaginary Landscapes**

Instagram Communities in the German Ruhr

Victoria Huszka

In the past few decades, scholarship engaging with human-material encounters in the field of heritage and tourist sites has called for a higher attentiveness to concepts of embodied meaning making, considering the mutual engagement and circulation of emotions in human and material entanglements and their performative character (Bærenholdt, Haldrup and Urry 2004; Crang and Tolia-Kelly 2010; Edensor 2001, 2006; Franklin and Crang 2001; Staiff, Bushell and Watson 2013; Tolia-Kelly, Waterton and Watson 2017; Urry and Larsen 2011; Waterton 2014, 2018). While this kind of research is often tied to a thinking termed more-than-representational theory (Lorimer 2005) and is mainly situated in the work of British geographers, cultural anthropology and ethnography have already been serving as points of reference to explore the role of everyday practices in terms of cultural meaning making. Nevertheless, literature in the field of visual anthropology concerning photography and visual media has just recently begun to place particular emphasis on practices and interaction (Lehmuskallio and Gómez Cruz 2016; Pink 2006, 2009; van House 2009). Therefore, such approaches allow a focus on sensual and affective dimensions and on the sociomaterial assemblages that are interwoven with visual representations. Such an understanding provides the scope to go beyond a notion of photography defined by its relationship to a referent. Following these endeavours, views in literature exploring visual or linguistic representations in digital environ-

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ments claim that cultural meaning cannot be grasped by semiotic concepts, but needs to be understood from a broader perspective, taking into account nonhuman agents (for instance, objects and technologies like software and hardware, as well as emotions and atmospheres) along with practices and situations beyond those observed online (De Souza e Silva and Sutko 2011; Gómez Cruz and Ardèvol 2013; Hine 2015; Hjorth and Pink 2014; Ritter and Schönberger 2017).

In order to bring together these similar interests from different fields of research, this chapter focuses on practices and situations entangled with the image production on Instagram located in the Ruhr region in Germany. It deals with the following question: how do human-object relations evolve around digital image practices and how do they produce and reproduce regional landscapes? This calls for an understanding of digital photography and the production of images in general as an open 'spatio-temporal event' (Massey 2005: 130) in which human and nonhuman agents shape the meaning of regional space (Latham and McCormack 2009). As Nigel Thrift (2003: 2012) stresses, it is not about ignoring the representations or their relevance for meaning making, but it is an approach that acknowledges the messiness and complexity of the world by understanding it as a contingent assemblage. Despite their dynamic and open character, events in which the world is created are not considered incoherent acts due to chance; their potential is always constrained (Thrift 2008: 114). I understand 'the taking place of everyday life' (Cadman 2009: 459) as a moment of emergence that 'instigates the routine and mundane but also improvisation, play and, inevitably, change' (2009: 459). On the basis of the concept of 'more-than-representational landscapes' (Waterton 2019), I argue that the conditions, experiences and situations under which Instagram images come into being merge with the images, and that they shape and contest the meaning of regional landscapes. To investigate these occurrences, it is necessary to participate in the situations in which people look at photographs, produce images, talk about Instagram posts and editing software or plan their hikes to capture specific views of the landscape. Therefore, my ethnographic approach includes participant observations along with interviews and digital ethnography.

The chapter is organized as follows: the conceptual framework of morethan-representational landscapes and its relation to the emergence of regional imaginaries in the field of representations on Instagram is scrutinized in the first section. Therefore, the development of material artefacts of industrial heritage in the Ruhr and their relevance is described for the representation of the region. The depiction and analysis of the interview and observation data (collected between 2018 and 2019) connects to this, exploring the Instagrammers' practices of producing images on regional sites of former heavy industry. Taking up the interest in the more-than-representational, the linking of these situations of regional representation with the Instagrammers' individual performances at spaces intertwined with creative labour is foregrounded in the second section. Thus, the traces between the symbolic and affective qualities of representations of the past and imaginaries of a regional future are unmasked.

#### **Regional Imaginaries in Sociomaterial Assemblages**

Since its launch in 2010, Instagram has become an embedded part (Hine 2015) of many people's everyday practices.<sup>1</sup> The Ruhr, the former German leading region of coal industry in the North-Rhine-Westphalia state and the region that is the focus of this chapter, is also widely represented on Instagram. This is apparent by the range of regionally connoted hashtags, as the following selection and quantity shows: #ruhrpott (633,035 posts), #ruhrgebiet (539,176 posts), #ruhrpottromantik (55,096 posts) and #everydayruhrgebiet (35,198 posts).<sup>2</sup> I assume that images on Instagram bound to regional hashtags and topics are not just representing space; rather, they should be considered objects with their own biography (Kopytoff 1986), which are embedded in different situations and relations, and move forward in time and space (Hjorth and Pink 2014: 45).

Hence, I understand the discursive formation of representations linked with hashtags as a textual hook (Highfield and Leaver 2016) from which I focus on related practices: how these hashtags and images come into being, what meanings, emotions and practices they are bound to, what narratives are associated with them, and who does what with these images after they have been published. These are questions that cannot be dealt with by representation analysis. Therefore, I understand these images as part of an iterative and performative doing of a regional imaginary, and thus tied to collective meaning making. In situations of visualizing the Ruhr, Instagrammers refer to imaginations of the region and the official fifty-three cities that make up the region. They make use of collective meaning repertoires to produce images that can be interpreted in an intended way. To understand these dynamics, I use the term 'imaginary' to illustrate this social amalgamating of individual imaginations of regional and urban spaces into a prefigurative representation unit. Matthew James Kelley defined imaginaries as 'the collection of unique perceptions, experiences, interpretations, and images of cities (and the smaller places within them) that we all carry in our minds. And as our unique imaginaries coalesce (through face to face communication, print media, television, the Internet, etc.), places begin to acquire their own collective imaginaries' (2013: 182). This implies 'that imaginaries are not simply passive representations of socio-cultural reality, but are instead

active elements in the structuring of individual social, cultural and spatial practice' (2013: 183).

The concept of more-than-representational landscape draws attention to these dynamics. This idea of landscape does not build on reducing landscape to a material arrangement that can be solely gazed upon; on the contrary, it draws on the contingency of everyday human and material encounters, and considers all the sensuous and affective qualities, as well as singular practices and interactions at the moment to be essential for the creation of a landscape. This entails an engagement with imaginations, expectations and wishes during our interaction with landscapes that surround us. Therefore, I argue that imaginaries concerning urban and regional spaces as the Ruhr, for instance, also develop in these situations of emerging landscapes as 'socially transmitted representational assemblages' (Salazar 2012: 864), and consider their representational character, simultaneously, focusing on moments of sharing, producing and linking diverse elements of a regional imaginary in different contexts.

#### Researching Instagram Communities in the Ruhr

My field of research consists of different actors: from those with political and official status through regional marketing companies to Instagram users as private individuals. As 'communities of practice' (Lave and Wenger 1991), all actors gather around Instagram practices related to the Ruhr. For this chapter, I draw on the interview and participant observation data of two communities and their members grouped around commonly managed Instagram accounts. They either focus on visual representations of the Ruhr or meet regularly in the region and visualize mainly regional subjects. The two groups partially overlap, though they have different meeting times and locations; some members are active within both communities. In addition, I interviewed Instagrammers who occasionally participate in these meetings or are in some way loosely connected with the communities by following their activities or, for instance, organizing joint photowalks. Photowalks are announced walks that are open to the public, but often are only accessible to the community that organizes them. They usually focus on taking pictures of a particular place or topic as a group event. So far, I have conducted participant observations during eight photowalks and seven regular meetings. By attending the regular meetings, I was also able to draw on informal interviews to complement my data.<sup>3</sup>

Since 2018, I conducted thirteen semi-structured interviews with Instagram users who are either participating actively in or somehow connected to these communities and thirteen unstructured interviews with Instagram users I met during my participations in regional photowalks and meeting events. The semi-structured interviews included a photo survey that collected narratives tied to pictures published by the interviewees on Instagram accounts. Furthermore, I connected to the communities through other social media channels to stay informed about upcoming events and ongoing discussions. Between 2018 and 2020, I captured numerous posts and comments from my research partners on Instagram in about 500 screenshots. I also used Netlytic as a visualization software to track the activities of Instagram users and the links between posts and accounts. This provided the ability to freeze online interactions and archive them for asynchronous access regardless of the Instagram interface.

#### Material Landscape Transformations in the Ruhr

Regional marketing companies have recently presented the Ruhr as a region of green and blooming landscapes. Following these undertakings, the Ruhr museum, the regional history museum located at the former coal mine Zollverein, the UNESCO World Heritage Site, designed a special exhibition for 2017 with the title Green in Essen City: More Than Parks and Gardens, which highlighted nature as an important part of the Ruhr. Essen also received the European Green Capital Award in 2017 for 'making admirable efforts to establish itself as a "City in transformation" that is overcoming a challenging industrial history to reinvent itself as a "Green City" and a leading example for others' (European Commission 2017: 15). The award is a prelude to further green-denoted regional presentations that are thought to shape the image of the region in the near future.<sup>4</sup> One highlighted event will be the coming to an end of the Emscher Conversion in 2021. The Emscher River is an important infrastructural actor, which disposed of the heavy industry waste from the whole of the Ruhr region. The reconstruction of the Emscher River has a representative function regarding the deindustrializing transformation of the region because it can be regarded as an attempt, financed by different political actors, to restructure the landscape and mark the beginning of the region's postindustrial future (Emschergenossenschaft n.d., 2006).

Furthermore, the restructuring is a sequel to the extensive transformations in the course of Emscher Park (1989–99), realizing a high budgeted action programme to regenerate the environment and eliminate the industrial damage. The landscape engineering in the Emscher zone was followed by a broad industrial heritage programme highlighting former industrial buildings in the midst of recreational and natural areas evolving into a new kind of aesthetic landscape citing symbols of European park history: 'In the course of these projects, a classical theme of European park history experiences an unexpected renaissance: the ruin. From the 16th into the 18th century, European garden architecture set up artificial ruins as symbols of decay and impermanence in the middle of gardens and landscape parks' (Siemer and Stottrop 2010: 59).

#### Social Space Intertwined with Material Arrangements

Endeavours to preserve landmarks of the industrial landscape by giving them heritage protection and treating them as monuments directed the way to today's materialized presence of the Ruhr's past in coal mining and the steel industry in its countryside (Berger, Golombek and Wicke 2018: 76). This material presence offers the possibility for citizens of the Ruhr to remember the past and phrase a coherent regional story reaching towards a common future (Prossek 2009: 161, 164). Berger, Golombek and Wicke term the dissemination of a consistent story of the Ruhr based on the industrial past and its widespread acceptance 'mainstreaming industrial heritage' (2018: 71). Despite the Ruhr being a good example of managing the difficulties of structural change through the careful treatment of memory and the past, scholars have been warning of foregrounding the aesthetic staging rather than contextualizing the ruins concerning their historical meaning for the region (Rüsen 1994: 4, quoted in Berger, Golombek and Wicke 2018: 85). While the 'aesthetic exaltation of industrial heritage ... promoted the acceptance of industrial heritage among the regional population' (Berger, Golombek and Wicke 2018: 82), the materiality of rust and blast-furnace facilities not only refers to industrial labour, but is also planned to act as an aesthetic reference to European Romanticism and its affective contexts. Critical views in literature (Zukin 1991; Zukin et al. 1998; Bendix 2002; Frank 2016) have been addressing similar processes on heritage sites as developments resulting in commodification and touristification entailing 'several private limited companies dealing with marketing the industrial heritage' (Berger, Golombek and Wicke 2018: 83). Furthermore, cultural anthropologist Jens Wietschorke (2010) notes a critical turn in the patterns of regional representation, beginning with the announcement of Essen representing the Ruhr as the European Capital of Culture in 2010. Wietschorke argues that a new cultural economy ought to be implemented in the Ruhr, which makes less use of representing the industrial and social history of the region, but - albeit vaguely linking to this - above all of the image of a young artistic and cultural scene (2010: 40). As I will explain in the following sections, the physical materiality of the industrial past still plays a role in the Instagram posts of this young creative scene. Building on this, I ask how Instagrammers deal with the industrial past in the present, including the types of objects and places they link to the regional past and how or whether they connect qualities of the past with their visualizations on Instagram. This, in turn, evolves into the types of sociality that are interwoven with the physical-material landscape and their emotional effects.

#### Visualizing Industrial Heritage Sites: Feeling, Imagining and Representing the Past

In the following section, I make the argument that the meaning of Instagram images of the Ruhr evolves in different fields that I have divided up for my analysis. First, I consider the affective conditions in the situations of image production: specific discourses regarding the perception of regional land-scapes and affective states during the photowalks must be taken into account here. As I will show, notions of the atmospheric quality of the regional past also shape the meaning of the images. The Instagrammers translate these ideas and affects into visual symbols in order to combine them in new contexts and performances and to point towards a successful future, as I would like to make clear in the subsequent section.

# Regional Landscapes: Aesthetics of Shame and Pride and the Production of Authenticity

With their visual representations on Instagram, the interviewees try to express the affective qualities of their sensuous experiences at former industrial sites. Their aim is to illustrate that the landscape of the Ruhr is not just a collection of abandoned industrial ruins, but that it reappears as an atmospheric stage for positive regional development. The Instagrammers meet at these places and also go there alone to select the subjects for their next Instagram posts. They discuss which perspective should be chosen for the images and what lens settings are most useful to capture the light conditions. They also include the use of image editing software and sometimes professional technical equipment like digital cameras with special lenses or even elaborate lighting equipment to illuminate the collieries in bright colours.

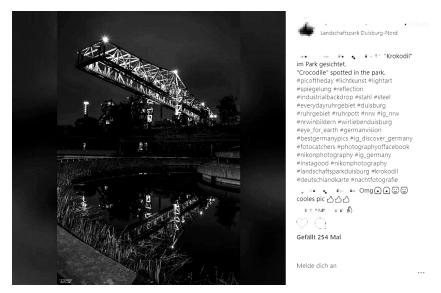
At first glance, the Instagrammers' practices of aestheticizing decay resemble those of the urban explorer movement. Both communities attempt 'to create new meaning' (Bennett 2010: 431) in public space. Whereas 'urban exploration is a nonlinear, cross-reading of [a] place' (2010: 423) and thereby governmental or private spatial concepts that regulate access to certain spaces are contested (Garrett 2014: 4), the Instagrammers in the Ruhr pursue the same goals as the regional administration and touristic marketing. As my ethnographic data makes clear, they plan to change the negative image of the region that is associated with economic decline and aesthetic devaluation. Therefore, they present aestheticized scenes of industrial remnants to show that the region has a proud industrial past as well as a bright future, which results from the efforts of the creative, who are able to lead the region out of its economic crisis. This illustrates the following statement of a successful Instagrammer, who was asked to write a book about regional highlights for trips into nature due to his successful appearance on Instagram: We must also show the positive image. Actually, you can live quite well here in the Ruhr area, especially since everything is changing. We are on the right track; I think everything will get better with time. I would say that this can be seen in every green area and every colliery where creative people are now working. (Interviewee A, 2018, translated by the author)

Hence, in situations of visualizing former industrial sites surrounded by green landscapes for Instagram, the Instagrammers regard the past as a yielding backdrop to depict the future of the region. As my interviewee puts it, this can be realized by capturing the transformation into a near-natural landscape with material representations of the industrial age in conjunction with new creative fields of work or with light art projects.

It seems to the Instagrammers that the region will only be connected by people from outside with a negative image of job loss, dirt and poverty. They know that the cities in the Ruhr have a lot of difficulties due to the economic crisis in the region. Nevertheless, they are aware of the fact that there is a difference between the economic conditions and the symbolicdiscursive construction of the region. They know that images can have a symbolic effect on the regional imaginary of the Ruhr and that there is a difference between the self-image and the external image of the region. According to Rolf Lindner (1994: 216), a metaphorical connection<sup>5</sup> between the inhabited space and the social space is characteristic of the self-image and the external image of the Ruhr: due to the historical conditionality of a dominant heavy-industrial working class that has restricted any noteworthy social stratification, a relatively homogeneous social landscape is transferred to the external image of the physical-material landscape of the Ruhr. So, the younger generation today wants to overcome these collective experiences of shame because of the regional economic decline in encounters with external opinions about the region.

The Instagrammers put immense efforts into organizing photowalks at the sites of industrial remains under weather and light conditions they consider to be perfect for an authentic regional atmosphere to show that there are also reasons to be proud of the region. This is made clear when they try to compare the Ruhr with other regions in Germany (Huszka 2021). They point out that the Ruhr is a unique region with special qualities and promising landscapes to show that it is not characterized by dirt and poverty, as an interviewee tells me during a photowalk when I ask him about one of his Instagram pictures taken in Landscape Park Duisburg Nord, an industrial heritage site with illuminated steelworks:

I am a Ruhr romantic! The illumination is so important to create this atmosphere in the picture, that it is necessary to take the photo in the golden or the blue hour ... The crocodile here in the park as well as the port in Duisburg are great photo motives, well, 'industrial culture' in general, I think. The landscape



**Figure 4.1.** View of the 'crocodile', the central loading ramp of the former steelworks in the Landschaftspark Duisburg, published by an interviewee on Instagram. Screen capture by V. Huszka

park has a special meaning, it is unique for Duisburg and for the Ruhr. A lake with a footbridge you could also find in Hamburg or Bavaria ... The Ruhr has its dark sides, too, but every larger city has to deal with such problems, so it is important to show the positive aspects. (Interviewee B, 2018, translated by the author)

It seems quite important for the Instagrammers to stress the specificity of the industrial heritage for the Ruhr and to visualize recognizable regional sites. Due to the negative external image of the Ruhr, they see a special need to prove that the presentations are authentic for the region. The Instagrammers produce authenticity by evoking situations in which the affective qualities of their experiences at these sites can be transferred into visual representations. With the hashtag #ruhrromanticism,<sup>6</sup> they often refer to these perceptions of special light conditions, at sun dawn or sunrise and also to the feelings of excitement and fascination, which accompany their image production, when walking alone to take a photo of an illuminated cooling tower surrounded by a dark park in the middle of the night. They make use of the fact 'that things and representations have agency ... and that they have the capacity to produce both effects and affects' (Staiff, Waterton and Lean 2017: 6). The interviewees intentionally choose these sites to take pictures because they consider them to be the spaces where they can experience and produce a positive atmosphere to overcome the negative image of the Ruhr.

Whereas photographers of the urban explorer movement usually try to take pictures of so-called lost places that are forgotten or at least not collectively remembered, risky and/or not accessible to the public, the interview quote referring to the special meaning of industrial culture for the region and the picture of the crocodile in the Duisburg Landscape Park show that it is important for my research partners that these sites can be recognized and associated with the Ruhr. For urban explorers, it is part of their experience to physically connect with the past and with the 'authenticity of "the real"" (Bennett 2010: 430). However, my research partners have a different focus: for them, it is the atmospheric quality of the industrial aesthetic they want to use for their purposes. Affects that arise during the perception of the images, so to speak, are a quality of this specific human-material assemblage and are anticipated in the Instagrammers' practices. They include the technical infrastructure and the discourses regarding the regional economy and a possible future. In these practices we can observe that affects are 'distributed between, and can happen outside, bodies which are not exclusively human, and might incorporate technologies, things, non-human living matter, discourses or even, say, a swathe of noise or swarm of creatures' (Lorimer 2008: 552).

To arrange aesthetic staging for objects and to connect these with affective qualities is a special form of labour: 'it is aesthetic labour, creative work for producing aesthetically new and singular things. Whether the objects produced are material or immaterial, what is of primary importance is their sensuous and emotional value' (Reckwitz 2017a: 122). Andreas Reckwitz defines authenticity as a fundamental characteristic of creating cultural value (2017b: 139). He understands authenticity as a term borrowed semantically from Romanticism (2017b: 139). The current phenomenon took on only the affective character, so it serves as an 'empty signifier' in late modernity (Laclau 1996, cited in Reckwitz 2017b: 139). Therefore, authenticity can emerge in various contexts as an enacted performance and serve as valorizing for goods, objects or even regions (2017b: 138). Accordingly, the Instagrammers make use of the valorizing quality of authenticity to transform the image of the Ruhr.

#### Imaginations and Densified Symbols of a Regional Past

As another interviewee mentions, the pithead stocks (see, for instance, in Figure 4.2) in the Ruhr region have a great affective grip because of being 'symbols of a regional myth' (Interviewee D, 2019, translated by the author). The interviewee, a young entrepreneur in the field of social media, argues that these places are becoming mystical because the past of heavy industry in the Ruhr is no longer relevant to the younger generation. There are just the remains left, symbols of that great past when the size of these monuments reflected their national economic importance. This perception recurring to the former economic importance of the region is densified in visual symbols, which he also reproduces in his pictures, for example, in images of cooling towers.



**Figure 4.2.** View of the Halde Rheinelbe, a pithead stock in the Ruhr. Photowalk. Photograph courtesy of the research participant

During a photowalk at the Light Festival in Essen, another Instagram user who works as a regional influencer with cities in the Ruhr mentioned how important it is to always include a visual reference to the past in his photos. He considers this the uniqueness of the Ruhr – that something new can arise from a broken past. He stated that he wants to capture this positive excitement and curiosity towards the future in his pictures. In addition to his photographs, he also referred to a fashion label from the Ruhr that upcycles materials of industrial labour and uses heavy industry-related symbols for its fashion designs – for example, they almost always contain the colour black or the silhouette of a mining tower to symbolize the regional significance of the coal. Thus, visualizations of industrial legacy, which serve as representations of the past, are newly mixed with elements representing change and transformation, as the interview statements show. This thoughtfulness regarding the past and its significance for the future development of the region was evident in other interviews and in my observations.

The Instagrammers' endeavour to produce an authentic atmosphere of the Ruhr results in representing architectures and sites of former heavy industry that serve as densified symbols of the past. Using Caitlin DeSilvey and Tim Edensor's words, we can speak of these processes as 'the ruin's nonrepresentational power to activate memory and sensation' (2013: 487). László Munteán grasps this phenomenon as the atmospheric mode of pastness that remains when the original signifying function that qualified images as mnemonic objects has disappeared (2017: 208). The Instagrammers themselves have no subjective memories bound to these places; they draw upon the collective memory of national economic relevance of regional heavy industry to capture it in the pictures. For them, the industrial remnants serve as material representations of a regional past that create 'an atmospheric scaffold governing our engagement' with the images (Munteán 2017: 211). As Munteán analyses the creation of photographic heritage on the digital platform Fortepan in Hungary where images of the past are shared online, he comes to the conclusion that his fascination by this world presented online 'is engaged at an affective register that both entails and exceeds nostalgia' (2017: 210) because of the past 'that feels within reach on the computer screen' (2017: 211).

Experiencing the otherness of an imagined industrial past is made recognizable under the visualizations of former industrial sites. The affective register, in which the situations of taking photographs are embedded, is transferred to the perception and presentation of images on Instagram. With the aim of reversing the feeling of shame into pride, the Instagrammers try to address the expectations of an imagined audience on Instagram by showing the region's industrial past, but leaving out the story of decline and loss, and instead mixing the remaining 'atmospheric mode of pastness' with symbolic and material elements of an imagined economic future in the Ruhr area (Munteán 2017: 208). In contrast to the loss of site-specificity in the ruin porn produced by urban explorer photographers, the Instagrammers in the Ruhr are not dehistoricizing and decontextualizing the places they capture (Apel 2015: 26). They do not want to create a mystery around these sites by not revealing where they can be found or by showing how abandoned the places are. Nor do they represent risky or dangerous sites; on the contrary, the places pictured are in fact mostly accessible to anyone living in or travelling to the Ruhr. Hence, it is an everyday regional landscape that can be experienced by anyone and that develops in these situations of encounters with material and technical arrangements. This means it is also shaped by the affordances of the software technology in this field.

# The Formation of a New Regional Imaginary in the Performance of Instagram Communities

#### Specificities of Human Software Interaction

Researching and using Instagram has shown to be limited by certain possibilities and constraints of the software. I use the concept of affordances to understand these possibilities for action as 'functional and relational aspects, which frame, while not determining, the possibilities for agentic action in relation to an object' (Hutchby 2001: 444). In spite of that, as Sarah Jurkiewicz pointed out in her research on blogging practices in Beirut, for the analysis of digital media, not only the platforms themselves but also the related practices of networking and publishing as well as content creation are equally relevant (2018: 327). Concomitantly, the specificity of the engagement with Instagram has to be taken into account when investigating these practices. The interviewees' practices are entangled with the software and, in opposition to the digital platform on which László Munteán focused, sharing images on Instagram still means that the images are protected by copyright. Consequently, the images posted on an account always connect to a person's identity behind this account, as another interviewee tells me:

Browse through the accounts, read what people write under the pictures, what moves them, what they communicate. Every single picture tells others something. Read my account! Interpret my pictures, then you will find out everything about me! You can learn everything about the person behind the picture. (Interviewee C, 2018, translated by the author)

In the interview statement, the communicative function of Instagram is important. The platform provides numerous possibilities to interact with other accounts. Social interaction therefore becomes quite important and entails an engagement with images and postings that focus on actions in the present: 'I don't want to put artistic works of photography on Instagram, but rather what I'm experiencing right now, you know?' (Interviewee A, April 2018). In spite of the collective creation of an affective atmosphere that emerges from imagining the industrial past, this statement emphasizes the importance of these sensations and perceptions for the Instagrammer's individual acting in the present.

The statement mentioned first foregrounded the indexing function of the images pointing to the actor who took the pictures. This links the posts on Instagram even more to the situations in which they emerge and therefore to the Instagrammers themselves. As a result, the emergence of landscapes is strongly connected to individual subject positions and identities. Hence, practices of engaging with the regional past by feeling, imagining and visualizing it are entangled with the Instagrammers' individual performances. To shed light on this subjective relevance, in the following section I will explore situations in which Instagram users interviewed, transform the collectively shared and produced assemblages of imagined industrial pasts into a stage for their performances as members of a new creative economy in the Ruhr.

#### Spatial Narratives of Community Meeting Locations

Referring to the discursive and affective connections of regional images representing landscapes, Ryan, Foote and Azaryahu note that 'the symbolic meaning of a site is a function of its narrative potential, namely, it is a measure of how the site resonates with stories about events that took place there, stories that are potentially inscribed on the local landscape' (2016: 215). Similarly, in relation to the Ruhr landscape, I consider the places of the regular meetings as a constitutive part of the symbolic-discursive production of a regional imaginary, which evolves around their 'narrative potential' (2016: 215). Furthermore, I want to argue that the symbolic 'site-specificity' is produced by and reproduces a spatial arrangement in order to point to the future of the Ruhr (Farman 2013: 6). Both spaces that serve as meeting places for the Instagrammers are interwoven with communities of immaterial labour and have a 'symbolic meaning' in this regard (Ryan, Foote and Azaryahu 2016: 215). Aesthetic practices aimed at creating material and symbolic frameworks for working practices labelled as creative must be considered in order to contextualize the regular meetings of the Instagram communities.

One of the two meeting locations is a designated café for creative communities and arts. With the help of signs at the entrance, the visitor can easily recognize that it is not an ordinary café, but a special place due to its illuminated facade and the architectural peculiarity compared to the other surrounding buildings. The core idea of the spatial concept of the building is openness: artists and creative workers are invited to use the working space, although it is open and accessible to the public. It is only necessary to announce a group if you want to rent a room for a certain period of time (as in the case of the Instagram meetings). The meeting rooms are accessible via an open café area. To gain access to these rooms, it is necessary to pay an entrance fee, which also allows the visitors to use the self-service bars on each floor to get free coffee and beverages.

The second meeting location has been designed as a coworking space for innovators and social entrepreneurs to have the opportunity to build a network. The aim is to exchange ideas for sustainable solutions on local and global issues to enable transformation potentials. Coworking spaces are usually designed for knowledge workers, as they are not bound to places of commodity production. In these spatial concepts, they are considered collaborative and interactive communities. Therefore, the conference room is of special interest, as is the interior equipment, consisting only of several dozen boxes as stools and larger boxes as counters. There are also two refrigerators, where beverages are available with a notice to make a contribution to the cash box. Apart from some plants, there is no decoration; even the walls have been left as exposed concrete. Social contacts and exchange in an informal setting seem to be the main purpose of this space. Notes on the wall convey the information that pictures are being made here with the aim of sharing them via social networks. The mobility infrastructures are easily accessible as both workspaces are located in the heart of the city centre in one of the larger cities of the Ruhr.

The work and meeting locations described above represent spaces entangled with creative economies, a concept that is expressed in the functionalist furniture as well as in unusual and colourful exterior facades. In addition to the intended functionality and instrumentality of the architecture, these spaces, in their scenic embedding, are to be understood as sites of staging and 'materialized imaginary' (Adler 2018: 300). Thus, 'they are meant to encourage creative sociability arising out of and fuelling further unpredictable interactions' (Thrift 2008: 45). Therefore, these spaces are not only places where specific working practices are meant to emerge, but also the setting for the enactment of a regional imaginary: as 'performative elements' (Ryan, Foote and Azaryahu 2016: 214), these spaces serve as 'spatial creations of creativity' (Adler 2018: 311) where actors perform the innovation of the Ruhr. In these spaces, the Instagrammers discuss their images, talk to each other about past hikes and walks in the Ruhr, and plan the forthcoming photowalks and meetings.<sup>7</sup>

At first glance, the biography of pictures taken on photowalks seems to end with their posting on Instagram. However, taking into account the embeddedness of images in the situation of their creation as well as its relevance for the Instagrammers' subjective identities, we can consider the meeting situations in creative spaces to be intertwined with the representations of the past of the Ruhr. The software Instagram includes the affordance of signing in with an account to post a picture. Thus, Instagram users can publish information of themselves and geotag places or establish a certain visualization style on their account. This allows them to connect the materialized signifiers of the photowalks on industrial sites (the posted images on Instagram) to their subjective identities. Furthermore, the images serve as instruments to meet and exchange with others who belong to this community of practice. As a result, they bring these experiences of visualizing together with their lived presence in a disparate space. A postindustrial landscape evolves in this constellation that bridges these different spaces and temporalities and creates a new situation of being in the world. As I have shown in the first section of my analysis, the meaning of the Instagram images cannot be reduced to its representational content: both the situations of producing the images on former industrial sites and the meeting situations where the Instagrammers discuss their images are performances where the meaning of visualizing the region is negotiated.

#### Performances of Creativity

The importance of presenting one's Instagram images and accounts at the meeting locations was evident in many situations I observed. The Instagrammers performed as creative workers by combining aesthetic and vi-

sual references to the past with their working in the present. The effect of these creation and arranging practices was intensified by their performance as protagonists of a future-oriented regional economy. As the following text shows, the Instagrammers' interaction with their audiences further stresses the performative character of their activities. The organizers of one of the regular meetings implemented a poll as a story on their Instagram account, asking their followers: 'What clichés about the Ruhr do you know?' Later, they presented the collection of answers they had received: for example, dirt, labour, traffic jams and the Ruhr dialect were mentioned. At the next meeting, they showed a two-minute promotional movie for their Instagram account, which they had already shown at an event pitching their startup. Therefore, they used the answers they had received from the poll and contrasted them with their photographs, where the Ruhr was depicted as a region full of green flourishing landscapes with industrial remnants in beautiful scenery. The movie ended with the question: 'What if home is not a place but a feeling?'8 They contrasted the stereotypes and the negative image of the Ruhr with the images on their Instagram account. They expect their audience to understand this reading of the region they produced: as a beautiful landscape with a great past and prospects for a future as bright as the past has been. In this situation, the Instagrammers playfully tried to make use of the affective register and the imaginations of the past that governed their encounters with former industrial sites.

Building on Geertz's 'metacommentary [as] a story a group tells about itself' (Geertz 1980, cited in Turner 1982: 104), Victor Turner emphasizes the reflexive character of performances with the help of the metaphor of a mirror:

In a complex culture it might be possible to regard the ensemble of performative and narrative genres, active and acting modalities of expressive culture as a hall of mirrors ... in which social problems, issues and crises ... are reflected as diverse images, transformed, evaluated, or diagnosed in works typical of each genre, then shifted to another genre better able to scrutinize certain of their aspects, until many facets of the problem have been illuminated and made accessible to conscious remedial action. (1982: 104)

Following this approach, I consider the self-referential character of these situations: the Instagrammers can be seen as protagonists of the regional imaginary, who connect their performance in the present with the 'atmospheric mode' of the visualizations of the past (Munteán 2017: 208). By doing so, their performance also points to a positive regional future: the development of the Ruhr from an industrial past to a new successful region led by creatives. They make use of the 'narrative potential' of the meeting place where they perform and of networking practices to present themselves as part of the creative community in the Ruhr (Ryan, Foote and Azaryahu 2016: 215). Networking Practices of Creative Communities: Communication, Interaction and Collaboration

As Hannes Krämer also points out, creativity in such communities must be read as the result of collective and interactive practices (2012: 129). The communities I observe emerge through networking practices, for example, communication, interaction and cooperation practices via Instagram and physical co-presence. Andreas Wittel examined networking as a basic logic of sociality and defined it as a 'paradigmatic social form of late capitalism and the new cultural economy' (2001: 71). In addition, he noted that network sociality is 'based on individualization and deeply embedded in technology' (2001: 71). He also observed that it is, above all, a social quality of urban postindustrial spaces that is characterized by 'its framing and institutionalization in the form of new media networking events, parties, conferences, art openings, mailing lists and digital discussion forums' (2001: 72). As my empirical material shows, the continuous production and reproduction of social connections can be seen as evidence of its relevance as social capital (Bourdieu 1986; Wittel 2001: 72) that has to also be represented by stories and posts on Instagram.

At the meetings, Instagrammers have the opportunity to discuss their own concerns if they wish. At one of these events, a member of the public communication staff of a municipality in the Ruhr wished to talk about his strategies of storytelling. When he told us about the difficulties he faced in his daily work, everyone felt sorry for him. He presented the lengthy process he had to go through to get adequate equipment for working with social media. All participants agreed that this is a prerequisite for working with Facebook and Instagram. He told us that he had planned a video story for the municipality's Facebook account, but his direct superior gave priority to other concerns so that the story could not be published on Facebook because it was out of date. The speaker explained that neither his colleagues in other departments nor his superiors have any knowledge of the time structures associated with working with social media. Instead, they seem to keep to the 9-to-5 routine that is not compatible with social media, as he shows by telling another anecdote. Since his Facebook profile is linked to the community profile (another fact that blurs the thresholds between life and work), he received a message on a Saturday night that someone had published a post about an act of violence on the municipality's profile page. Of course, he immediately took care of this problem by providing the person with more information so that they could contact the emergency services and thus avoid damage to the city's image by not acting in time.

In order to illustrate the entangling time structure of his daily work, which is completely different from the time routines of his colleagues at work, the speaker cited the example of his presence at the meeting that evening. His reports met with broad approval and others present started discussing about different time structures in their working lives. They talked about shared experiences in dealing with the demands of working with Instagram and social media in general during their everyday work. Returning to his presentation topic of storytelling strategies on Instagram, he explained that those time logics do not work together because of different expectations and definitions of stories to be told on Instagram and Facebook. He stressed that he would rather use the municipality's social media channel to reduce the distance between civil society actors and municipality by revealing more details of the complexities of everyday work in administrative contexts.

Starting with an exchange of ideas regarding storytelling on Instagram, the group was later discussing and sharing common experiences regarding working practices. This shared range of experiences is based on specific work experience linked to creative workers within the scope of 'immaterial labor' (Lazzarato 1996), 'that is, labor that produces an immaterial good, such as a service, a cultural product, knowledge, or communication' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 290). The statements in the discussion mark the actors as members of a community of professionals who share the same experiences in everyday work due to the production of immaterial goods. I understand jobs related to Instagram and social media as those that 'are characterized in general by the central role played by knowledge, information, affect, and communication' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 285).

Although the use of Instagram is not necessarily bound to an occupation in the context of creative and immaterial labour, the problematic clash of different paradigms of separating working and life time is a shared experience and is narrated in the context of this informal meeting event. The tenor of the discussion showed that there is the wish to blur those fixed thresholds in order to be capable of working with social media that requires expanding the usual working time structures. Thus, those statements mark being affiliated to a community that collectively experiences a prevention of these desired blurring by various circumstances, for example, fixed working hours, separate spheres of working and life time, fixed hierarchies and structured working procedures in a prescribed manner. I consider this insightful moment of shared experience to be networking practices that should be understood as community building.<sup>9</sup> Through networking, the members articulate being part of a creative community.

The depiction of this situation illustrates how Instagrammers perform their community identity as members of working contexts of creative economies. They make use of a specific cultural constellation to perform as protagonists of a new, future-oriented regional economy entailing forms of immaterial labour that are different from the traditional working contexts of heavy industry in the Ruhr. Nevertheless, these industrial working contexts are represented in the images on Instagram to act as an atmospheric backdrop. The practice of visually representing the industrial past of the Ruhr is bundled together with arranging objects and practices of a new, creative economy. As the 'meaning of a story is affected by the place in which the story is told and, similarly, the meaning of a place tends to be told through stories' (Farman 2013: 6), the depicted meeting locations, the shared narratives of work and the feeling of being part of a creative community constitute this future story of the Ruhr. By bringing together these disparate elements, a new regional imaginary is formed.

# Conclusion

As I have shown using examples from my ethnographic data, the actors position themselves as protagonists in a new regional imaginary by forming communities related to late modern immaterial labour. These communities are characterized by networking practices and working structures in creative economies. In their images posted on Instagram, the interviewees make use of the past as an affective framework. The industrial remnants do not evoke individual memories, but rather are a less concrete act of imagining a regional myth at these sites, giving rise to a specific 'atmospheric mode of pastness' (Munteán 2017: 208). The discourses and affective states in which the industrial past of the Ruhr is embedded, namely a collective shame that is to be transformed into pride, are related to these atmospheric encounters between Instagrammers, pithead stocks and cooling towers. The participants aesthetically valorized the Ruhr by capturing in their images that the past of heavy industrial work merely represents the affective qualities of romantic ruins and not economic decline. My observations show that spatial narratives, networking practices and the affordances of Instagram form a constellation that stresses the performative character of the meetings. In these meeting situations, the Instagrammers combine the backdrop and the affective atmosphere of a regional past with performances of 'the new': they perform as the new economic power that leads the region out of its past, as the depiction of the promotional movie has illustrated. The images taken at industrial heritage sites develop as elements of a new assemblage that connects to the Instagrammers' individual performances at the meetings. In this understanding, the images are part of a postindustrial landscape linking different material spaces: on the one hand, industrial heritage spaces, where the imagined past and its affective atmosphere is relevant for the Instagram users; and, on the other hand, spaces of a creative economy, where the Instagrammers constitute themselves as creative subjects in the Ruhr. With the help of my analysis, I

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have pointed out that a more-than-representational understanding is able to unmask the cultural meaning of visual representations for the emergence of a postindustrial landscape by taking into account the conditions, experiences and situations under which Instagram images come into being.

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#### Notes

1. Instagram had reached 1 billion monthly active users in 2018; see Boland (2018).

2. Retrieved 9 November 2018 from https://www.instagram.com.

3. It is not necessary to follow an Instagram account to contact users; it is possible to send messages to a user utilizing the Instagram interface if you are not a follower of his or her account. Instagram also makes it possible to give likes and comment on a post despite not being a follower. I also have to take photos myself and upload them to my Instagram account because a neglected profile is not trustworthy.

4. For instance, the presentation of project results of KlimaExpo.NRW and klimametropole RUHR in 2022 and the International Horticultural Exhibition (IGA) in 2027 (cf. Land NRW 2016; Stadt Essen 2020).

5. Lindner is hereby referring to Bourdieu's elaborations on the relationship between physical and social space; see Bourdieu (2018).

6. In German #ruhrromantik.

7. The first meeting location was founded by an IT entrepreneur, while the second meeting location described was initiated by entrepreneurs based in the startup scene of the Ruhr.

8. At the same time, with this question they refer to the line of a song by a well-known German singer from the Ruhr, Herbert Grönemeyer (1999): 'Heimat'.

9. In contrast to the assumptions of Wittel (2001: 67), there are obviously still possibilities for common narratives in these working contexts.

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#### CHAPTER 5

# Reshaping Remnants of the Recent Past in Transforming Swedish Mining Towns

Jennie Sjöholm

In northernmost Sweden, immense urban transformations are taking place in the mining towns of Malmberget and Kiruna, radically changing the urban landscape. The towns were built during the late nineteenth century adjacent to rich iron ore deposits in order to enable mining in the scarcely populated region. As it turned out, the iron ore deposits stretch beneath the built-up areas. The underground mining causes subsidence and, as mining continues, it affects the towns. As early as the 1950s, a huge open pit opened up in the centre of Malmberget, dividing it in two and initiating the transformation of the town. During the last decade, these transformations have continued and the town is changing rapidly. A few buildings have been relocated and vast areas have been demolished. In 2004, it was announced that the town of Kiruna was to be moved. Since then, a new town centre has been under construction, a few buildings have been moved and the first neighbourhoods have been demolished.

This causes a dilemma. The towns were established to support the mining industry, but to continue mining, the settlements that they had become during the twentieth century need to be destroyed. Indeed, the history of the towns is interlinked with the world market price of iron ore. When prices were high, the towns flourished, but when prices declined, the towns went into recession. The local authorities strive for a more diversified job market, but the mining industry, directly and indirectly, is the dominant employer. However, while technological developments make it possible to mine larger quantities in shorter times, the mines also require fewer people for their operation. This in turn affects the towns, which have had decreasing populations since the mid-1970s. In addition, the sizes of the iron ore deposits are unclear and the cost of mining increases the deeper underground it goes. In 2018, the mining company announced that there is less iron ore than expected in the Kiruna mine, which means that mining may cease when the current level is worked out.

The ongoing urban transformations have led to discussions and disagreements regarding the conservation of the towns' built heritage, mainly between the main stakeholders: the local authorities of Gällivare and Kiruna, the mining company LKAB and the state in the form of the County Administrative Board of Norrbotten. Both towns are designated heritage sites of national interest (National Heritage Board 1990). In particular, the towns' older wooden buildings are valued by its inhabitants (Kiruna Council 2007; Martins Holmberg 2008; Sjöholm 2008). Various strategies to manage the built heritage have been suggested and some have started to be implemented. Ideas have ranged from moving almost all protected buildings to moving only a few, and from distributing buildings that are moved across newly developed areas to collecting them in 'old towns' as they are relocated. It has been suggested that memory areas of abandoned neighbourhoods are created and the buildings documented instead of moved. Overall, as the urban transformations have developed over the past fifteen years, management of the built heritage has proved a difficult issue in the urban planning, showing that heritage cannot easily be dismissed as a practical problem to solve by moving a few historic buildings or casually having them demolished. The built heritage seems to matter beyond the materiality of listed buildings.

Waterton argued that heritage is affective and that 'our engagements with it occur through a range of embodied dispositions and interactions' (2014: 823). If built heritage and the historic urban landscape are conceptualized as a lived experience, a notion that goes beyond categorizations of historical, cultural or symbolic values, how is this being applied in the urban transformations? How is built heritage incorporated into the processes of meaning making when reshaping built environments and creating new places? And how is the historic urban landscape interlinked with processes of deindustrialization and reindustrialization?

This chapter draws on the concept of heritagization and heritage being more-than-representational. Heritagization is a process through which objects, places and practices are turned into cultural heritage (Harrison 2013). When heritage is contested and challenged, new heritagization processes

occur, in which new heritage can be added and already designated heritage can be either reaffirmed, reinterpreted or rejected (Sjöholm 2016). The concept of heritagization draws on the notion of heritage being socially constructed (Smith 2006; Harrison 2013) and shaped by contemporary needs and demands (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). This draws attention away from static sites or artefacts and focuses on the process of 'making' heritage (Harrison 2013; Waterton 2014). Heritage is assembled, for instance, by being categorized, listed and managed as a heritage site (Harrison 2013). This means 'heritage should be considered to be the creation of a past in the present' and is thus 'a product of not only the human imagination, but the entanglement of humans and objects, pasts and presents' (Harrison 2013: 37-38). This opens the way for a more-than-representational approach, where the world is understood as always being in the making, constituted of assemblages of both human and nonhuman actors (Müller 2015). In this way, people 'construct meaning around their subjective lived experiences' (Waterton 2019: 97).

Heritage can be official, recognized by the authorities and protected through legislation, or unofficial, when it is recognized by individuals or groups but not formally protected (Harrison 2013). Official heritage is often defined by heritage experts, focusing on the monumental and aesthetic appeal (Smith 2006). Storm (2014) stressed that even though heritage is often considered to be something positive, this is not always the case. She identified three approaches towards postindustrial heritage, differently aligned with an official heritage discourse (Storm 2014). These approaches are: reused heritage, which are sites that are redefined and used for other purposes; ruined heritage sites, which are not acknowledged as significant and are not included in the official heritage.

The current study is based on publicly available planning documents, literature, media reporting and observations. Planning documents include the National Heritage Board's decisions about heritage sites of national interest and the County Administrative Board of Norrbotten's investigations and decisions concerning listed buildings. The local authority's urban planning documents include comprehensive plans, development plans, conservation plans and associated documents. In addition, agreements with the mining company and documentation produced by the county museum and other consultancies were examined. The media reporting, particularly articles about built heritage relating to Kiruna's urban transformation, in Norrbotten's two main regional newspapers have been scrutinized. In addition, Facebook groups such as 'We Who Mourn That Kiruna Is Being Torn Down' ('Vi som sörjer att Kiruna rivs'), 'Mine Town Park in Kiruna' ('Gruvstadsparken i Kiruna') and 'We Who Mourn That Malmberget Is Being



Figure 5.1. Kiruna, between the iron ore mountains, with the subsidence in the foreground. Photo: Daryoush Tahmasebi © Norrbotten's Museum

Torn Down' (Vi som sörjer att Malmberget rivs) have been a way to become acquainted with local discussions about built heritage. In addition, observations of what has been taking place in the settlements as the urban transformations have progressed are included.

### The Urban Transformations

Malmberget and Kiruna are located in the northernmost part of Sweden, above the Arctic Circle, in the scarcely populated inland region. A view over Kiruna is shown in Figure 5.1. Prior to the establishment of the towns to support mining operations, the region was used seasonally for hunting, fishing and reindeer herding by the Indigenous Sami populations. For centuries, a Finnish culture, the Tornedalians, also inhabited the region. The mining industry drastically reshaped the landscape, continuously transforming it and also significantly affecting the development of the towns there. It is the mining industry that manifests itself in the official built heritage.

The mining company LKAB operates the iron ore mines in both Malmberget and Kiruna. It was founded in 1890 by private investors, but has been owned by the state since the 1950s. The iron mineral deposits have been known since the seventeenth century and there were some attempts at mining in Malmberget historically. However, mining was not profitable until the late nineteenth century, when technical developments made it possible to refine the iron ore into steel efficiently. In addition, the building of a railway connecting the inland area with ports was essential in developing the mining industry (Hansson 1998). Both the mining industry and the railway were labour-intensive, the need for housing extensive and the establishment of the towns becoming a necessity. The mining in both Malmberget and Kiruna started as open-pit mines. Since the 1950s, all mining has been underground. In Malmberget, the main level is 1,250 metres below the surface and in Kiruna, 1,365 metres below the surface.

#### Malmberget

The towns Malmberget and Koskullskulle are located near Gällivare. Gällivare municipality has roughly 18,000 inhabitants, of whom 10,500 are in Gällivare, 1,600 in Malmberget and 800 in Koskullskulle. Small-scale iron ore mining has been carried out on the site since the eighteenth century. When the railway opened in 1888, mining became profitable and mining activities quickly developed, which meant that the mining company needed to employ a large number of workers. The ownership of the Malmberget mine shifted a number of times and little effort was made to organize either housing or other public amenities. The market and church town of Gällivare, which was founded 1742, was too far away due to the limited transportation options at the time, and consequently a shantytown rapidly developed in Malmberget. There was no overall planning of the settlement and the workers built houses from whatever building materials they could find. The first town plan was not adopted until 1899. By then, the mining company had started to develop housing in a company area. This resulted in three, separately administered areas: a company area, an adjacent service and supply town, and a railway area.

During the 1950s, mining of the iron ore deposit beneath the town centre began. This resulted in a huge open pit, dividing the town. The centre was relocated to the old railway area, which had become redundant in the 1960s when LKAB reorganized and moved the processing and transport of the iron ore to an industrial site outside Malmberget. A new school, public baths and stores were built. The only building to be relocated was the church, which was partially dismantled and was rebuilt and partially reconstructed (Johansson 2007).

As mining continues, more areas are affected by subsidence. In 2009, parts of the company area were cordoned off and eventually demolished. An example of a historic building behind the enclosure is shown in Figure 5.2. The local authority plans, together with LKAB, to gradually transform almost the entire town to an industrial area (Gällivare Council 2014). This will be implemented in four phases over the next fifteen years. Gällivare is being developed with new housing areas and schools, sport facilities, etc. to replace those in Malmberget. Initially, LKAB intended to move many of the buildings affected by subsidence, not only those in the company area. A few detached houses from the 1960s were moved until a brick building was destroyed during the moving process. At this point, the decision was reversed. However, about thirty historic buildings have since been moved from the company area in Malmberget to Koskullskulle. It is planned that about five historic buildings will be relocated to newly developed areas in Gällivare.



Figure 5.2. One of the historic buildings in Malmberget, behind the enclosure. Photo: Daryoush Tahmasebi © Norrbotten's Museum

#### Kiruna

Kiruna, in the municipality of Kiruna, is located 120 kilometres north of Malmberget. The municipality has roughly 23,000 inhabitants, of whom 17,000 live in the town of Kiruna. The poor housing situation and the social problems in Malmberget were a national concern at the turn of the nineteenth century. Because of this, there was resistance towards opening additional mines in the region. In order to obtain permission from the state to do so in Kiruna, the mining company LKAB had to guarantee it would provide housing and public amenities for the workers (Brunnström 1981). This contributed to Kiruna being designed as a model company town, with an adjacent service and supply town and a railway area (Brunnström 1981, 2008). The town was built between the iron ore mountains Luossavaara and Kiirunavaara, meaning it was between the workplaces and had a favourable climate. A town plan was approved in 1900 and building regulations were strictly implemented. LKAB invested in modern housing in the company area, provided schools, a hospital and a fire station, and built a tram system connecting the residential areas with the workplaces.

Kiruna was granted town rights in 1948, after which the company area, the service and supply town, and the railway area merged. During the 1950s and 1960s, Kiruna expanded and new neighbourhoods were created. The town centre was renewed, during which many of the old, small-scale buildings were replaced with new, larger buildings. During the 1970s, a neighbourhood, close to the mining area, was affected by subsidence and was demolished.

In 2004, Kiruna Council announced it would move the town in order to allow continued mining. There is no other town nearby, as is the case with Malmberget, so a new town centre is needed. The idea is gradually to abandon the areas next to the mine and extend the town in the other direction. This will happen phase by phase over the next fifteen years. A green area will act as a buffer zone between the industrial area and the built environments. As in Malmberget, areas are gradually enclosed and the first buildings were demolished 2015. In 2013, a competition was held to design the new town centre. This area is located northeast of today's settlement and will be developed over the next few years. A new town hall was the first building to be constructed in the new centre and was inaugurated in 2018. LKAB is also establishing a new company area northwest of the current settlement. Here, it is building new housing. A few historic buildings have also been moved to this location. In addition, a new main sewage line and a new electricity supply system began to function in 2009, a new route for the railway to pass Kiruna was opened in 2012 and a new route for the public road E10 was opened in 2020.

## Stakeholders

A few major stakeholders influence the agenda of the urban transformations and the management of the built heritage during the processes. The main actors are Gällivare Council and Kiruna Council in each respective municipality. The local authorities have a monopoly on planning policy and guidance with respect to the use of land and water resources, and they must promote public interests when drafting plans. This is formalized through the creation of comprehensive plans and detailed development plans, which generally require environmental impact assessments. Often sector investigations and analyses, such as conservation plans and cultural heritage analyses, are drafted as supplementing planning documents. Another key actor is the mining company LKAB, which is responsible for compensating for losses due to the mining activities. This is achieved through negotiations with the local authorities and private homeowners. The company is also the owner of the housing in the company areas. The state is mainly represented through the County Administrative Board, which has the responsibility of ensuring the national interests and that the local authorities comply with legislation. It also has a formal role in making decisions about buildings protected through the Heritage Conservation Act. The County Administrative Board has had tenured conservation officers throughout the urban transformation processes,

but has hired consultants for some investigations. The local authorities' and LKAB's investigations and analyses have mainly been undertaken by consultants commissioned to do the work. Other actors involved in the urban planning processes are the National Heritage Board and the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning. Their main responsibility is to follow and support the urban transformations on behalf of the government. They have functioned as advisors and have arranged various conferences and seminars. Other stakeholders include local interest groups and individuals in the communities. They do not have the same opportunities to affect the outcome of the urban planning, but can participate in the formal planning processes through consultations. Informally, reactions to the urban transformations are voiced through debate articles, artistic expression, documentation and so on.

# **Protected Heritage**

#### Heritage Sites of National Interest

Both Malmberget, Koskullskulle and Kiruna are designated heritage sites of national interest for the purpose of conserving the cultural environment (National Heritage Board 1990). Malmberget and Koskullskulle was highlighted as being well preserved, with the company areas and the service and supply towns having buildings representative of its time. Kiruna was highlighted as an urban environment and industrial landscape, developed as a model town, with a town plan and architecture of high quality. In 2010, the County Administrative Board produced a more detailed description and conducted a value assessment of the Kiruna site as a baseline study for decisions on how to manage the built heritage in the urban transformation. It concluded that a large number of buildings must be relocated in order to maintain the significance of the heritage site as Kiruna transforms (County Administrative Board of Norrbotten 2010).

#### Built Heritage in Kiruna

In Kiruna, three buildings listed according to the Heritage Conservation Act have been affected by the urban transformation. Hjalmar Lundbohmsgården, the residence of LKAB's first manager, was listed in 2001 (County Administrative Board of Norrbotten 2001a). It was owned by the local authority and was one of the first buildings affected by the urban transformation. LKAB and the Kiruna Council agreed to move the building, for which they obtained permission (County Administrative Board of Norrbotten 2011b). After this decision, the new location was discussed and investigated. In 2014, it was decided that the building was to be handed over to LKAB, with the promise that it would remain open to the public (Kiruna Council and LKAB 2014). The building has since been moved to LKAB's new company area northwest of the old town centre.

The mining company and the local authority agreed to demolish the railway station and the town hall, and requested that their protection be revoked (Kiruna Council and LKAB 2010). The railway station was listed in 2003 (County Administrative Board of Norrbotten 2003) and the town hall in 2001 at the request of Kiruna Council (County Administrative Board of Norrbotten 2001b). After investigation, the County Administrative Board of Norrbotten 201b). After investigation, the County Administrative Board of Norrbotten 2011a). The decision was driven by the projected risk of moving the entire building, and because dismantling and rebuilding would be unreasonably costly compared to the building's heritage values. The railway station has now been demolished and a temporary station has opened along the new railway route.

The town hall was a more complicated issue. It was built in 1963, when Kiruna was granted town rights, and it was considered to have significant heritage value. Its value was both architectural, being a monumental and imposing brick-and-concrete building, with artistic aspects, and because of its social function as the town's 'living room', open to the citizens. The local authority intended to reuse some of the artistic detail, such as the bell tower and the doorknobs, but had come to an agreement with LKAB that the mining company would finance the construction of a new town hall. However, the County Administrative Board investigated the possibility of moving the building. The specialist it consulted concluded that it would be possible to dismantle and rebuild a large part of the existing building, as well as rebuild the concrete construction based on the original drawings (Gezelius 2011). The investigation also showed how the building could be modernized, for example, by upgrading technical specifications, increasing energy efficiency and improving accessibility. There was also an estimate of the costs. Based on this investigation, the County Administrative Board decided to reject the application to revoke the protection of the building. Instead, the regulation was amended to allow the building to be dismantled, rebuilt and partially reconstructed at a new location (County Administrative Board of Norrbotten 2012). The local authority went to the Administrative Court in Luleå to appeal this decision. However, the court approved the decision to dismantle and rebuild parts of the building (Administrative Court in Luleå 2013). This decision was also appealed by the local authority and was taken to the Administrative Court of Appeal. This time, the verdict was in favour of Kiruna Council (Administrative Court of Appeal in Sundsvall 2014). Thus, the building lost its protection. The town hall has since been thoroughly documented and was demolished in 2019. A new town hall has been built in the new town centre and was inaugurated in 2018.

In Kiruna, the local authority adopted a conservation plan in 1984. In this, significant buildings, areas and parks were highlighted (Kiruna Council 1984). The local authority has gradually implemented the conservation plan by protecting buildings in detailed development plans (Sjöholm 2008). However, a controversy arose around 2009, when the local authority was creating a new detailed development plan for the area into which the mine would first expand. The area was part of the company area, with a number of protected buildings. In the draft consultation version of the detailed development plan, the local authority proposed the relocation of all protected buildings within the planning area (Kiruna Council 2009). This was supported by the local authority's value assessment of the buildings, which was part of the environmental impact assessment associated with the detailed development plan (Kiruna Council 2010b). However, this proposal was later withdrawn and in the adopted version, only five of the twenty-three originally protected buildings within the area would be relocated (Kiruna Council 2010a). During the amending of the detailed development plan, the local authority and the mining company drew up an agreement under civil law. This document outlined which buildings would be kept and relocated, within the whole town and during the entire urban transformation process. According to this agreement, up to twenty-one buildings would be moved, including the church and a few wooden houses (Kiruna Council and LKAB 2011). The media reported the results of an internal investigation undertaken by LKAB, in which the mining company concluded that it would be too expensive to move the historic buildings (Bergmark 2009; Poromaa 2009; Sternlund 2009). However, the County Administrative Board was reluctant to approve the detailed development plan and argued that more buildings needed to be relocated. The discussions continued between the authorities and the mining company. LKAB threatened to close the mine if the detailed development plan was not approved (Forsberg 2011b). Eventually, the controversy over the detailed development ended when it was agreed that two additional buildings would be relocated and the local authority would undertake a cultural heritage analysis of the town. The cultural heritage analysis was conducted in 2014 (Kiruna Council 2014). However, the long-term management of the historic buildings and environments has not yet been resolved.

#### Built Heritage in Malmberget

In Malmberget, the historic buildings have not been protected to the same extent as in Kiruna. The local authority adopted a conservation plan in 1984 (Gällivare Council 1984), but never implemented it in its detailed development plans. In Malmberget, this is partly because the company area was never included in the town plan and was thus not under the local authority's regulations and lacked detailed development plans (Sjöholm and Nilsson 2011). Representatives of Gällivare Council also considered the protection of the company area to be the state's responsibility. The reason for this was partly because LKAB is state-owned and partly because designating the area a heritage site of national interest was a state decision (Storm 2014).

There have been proposals to list buildings based on the Heritage Conservation Act. The County Administrative Board has investigated buildings such as the company hotel and some of the industrial remnants in the company area, and found that protection would have been desirable. However, LKAB did not agree to have the buildings listed, so the County Administrative Board decided not to proceed (County Administrative Board of Norrbotten 2002).

## Documentation

Documentation of the historic buildings and environments is also used as a means of conservation. The documentation is extensive. Protected buildings are documented before relocation or demolition, but unprotected and not previously valued parts of the built environment are also included. Much of the documentation is produced either by consultants commissioned by LKAB or with financial support from LKAB.

In Malmberget, buildings in the company area were documented by the county museum commissioned by LKAB (Norrbotten's Museum 2009). A year later, LKAB and the local authority undertook a pilot study, investigating means of documentation and conservation (Gällivare Council and LKAB 2010). Malmberget has also been documented by the local authority through interviews, photographs, film and model making (Gällivare Council 2015). This documentation focused on the period of 1960 onwards, because the history of the town until then had already been recorded.

In Kiruna, documentation of protected buildings such as Hjalmar Lundbohmsgården (Norrbotten's Museum 2014a), the railway station (Norrbotten's Museum 2014b), the town hall (Norrbotten's Museum 2017) and workers' housing (Historiska Hus AB 2017) was commissioned by LKAB. In addition, housing from the 1950s and 1960s, which had never been considered built heritage, was documented – for example, the block called Ullspiran, which was the first to be demolished (Historiska Hus AB 2014). An author who grew up in the Ullspiran neighbourhood interviewed people who had also lived there and published a book, partly based on the question 'how does it feel to move a town?' (Laestadius 2014). In another initiative, aiming to capture the essence of daily life in the town, a photographer has continuously documented Kiruna, its inhabitants and built environments over a number of years, resulting in four books so far (Törmä 2010, 2012, 2015, 2018).

# Significance of the Built Heritage

Studies suggest that there is a consensus between authorities and the local communities about which parts of the built environment are valued as built heritage, both in Malmberget (Martins Holmberg 2008) and Kiruna (Sjöholm 2008). The company areas in the towns and some additional, preferably older, wooden houses, as well as the church and the (now demolished) town hall in Kiruna, are among the highlighted buildings. A survey undertaken in Kiruna (Kiruna Council 2007) also supports the notion of buildings that are liked by the locals corresponding to those included in the conservation plan.

The mining industry, its facilities and remnants are more contested. The industrial landscape is partly the motive for designating Kiruna a heritage site of national interest (National Heritage Board 1990). However, this is not reflected in the discussions about the future developments of the town. The open pit in Malmberget is neither officially recognized as heritage nor described as such by the local community, but it is a place that most inhabit-ants relate to (Olshammar 2008). Studies also suggest that it is used as a way to communicate collective memories (Storm and Olsson 2012; Storm 2014).

The heritage values often referred to in planning documents and decisions are based on historical, cultural and social values. Value assessment guidelines, developed by the National Heritage Board and influential within conservation practice, distinguish between historical values and aesthetic and socially engaging values (Unnerbäck 2002). Historical values refer to historical knowledge of buildings, architecture or society, whereas aesthetic and socially engaging values include architectonic or artistic appreciation, symbolic value, or the importance of continuity in the built environment. Aspects such as authenticity, uniqueness and representativeness are considered to be motives that strengthen the case for conservation.

The media reporting following the controversies regarding the detailed development planning in Kiruna and the delisting of the town hall reveal arguments for conservation or demolition of the built heritage. The historical significance was evident. The General Director of the National Heritage Board argued in a debate article that the outcome would determine 'which history we will be able to tell about Kiruna in the future and thereby about the modern Sweden of the 20th century' (Liliequist 2011: 29). Early on in the process, the mayor argued for conservation of the historic buildings, claiming that 'they have a cultural history worth the name and represent a part of Hjalmar Lundbohm's vision of Kiruna as a model town where the

workers should live in a planned area and not in shanty towns' (Bergmark 2009). Later, the succeeding mayor reversed the argument, claiming that many would appreciate the opportunity to have new buildings instead of the old (Naess 2011). She also argued that many of the historic buildings were in poor condition and would be difficult to integrate into the new townscape (Forsberg 2011a). It is unclear whether the shift in attitude was caused by the personal opinions of the mayors or was dependent on the outcome of negotiations with LKAB. However, local interest groups disagreed with the statement that many people wanted new housing, and referred to surveys and dialogues they themselves had organized with the inhabitants, in which a significant portion of people supported the conservation of the town's historic buildings (Ericson and Sammelin 2011). The political opposition leader criticized the argument that translocated buildings would not fit into the new townscape because, at that point, no plans had been drawn up for the new town centre area (Unga 2011).

If it is unclear which buildings to move and where to locate them, it is less controversial how to manage the areas that are vacated. The Mine Town Park in Kiruna, that is, the green area that functions as a moving buffer zone between the industrial area and the built environment, is intentionally designed to be reminiscent of the vanished houses and of the settlers who first occupied the town in 1900. Swedish artists were invited to submit proposals about how to develop the transforming green area, and the artistic design selected is intended to convey the memory of the demolished built environment (Forsberg 2012, 2015). Building materials from the demolished buildings were used to create patterns reflecting the shapes of the original building foundations, of which one of the artists said 'we think the material itself has a value and carries memories and history' (Dahlström 2015).

Mourning is also a theme expressed in Facebook groups. The group 'We Who Mourn That Kiruna Is Being Torn Down' started in 2010. They state that 'you don't need to oppose development or the future to be sad about a very special town being torn down and moved. It is simply sad. We believe it is a strength to remember and to be sad. We also believe we will build the new in a better way if we remember and are allowed to mourn the old'. This was followed by the group 'We Who Mourn That Malmberget Is Being Torn Down' in 2011. They simply state that 'it is not about having the mine or not, but about it being sad that a community's buildings are torn down and the inhabitants obliged to move'.

The question of which parts of the built environment were considered significant and worth conserving (and why) was asked in a survey of pupils at the upper secondary school in Kiruna (Sjöholm 2008). The most important motives for conservation were that the buildings were considered beautiful or were appreciated for their design. Historic values were also widely recognized

as an important aspect. Some buildings were highlighted as being significant for the town's identity; Kiruna would not be Kiruna without its signature buildings. Personal memories or connections to a place also added value.

# Conclusion

The mining industry and the development and reorganization of the industry over time is constantly reshaping the landscape in and around Malmberget and Kiruna. The sparsely populated area, the harsh climate and the surrounding natural environment blend with the humanmade cultural landscape, shaped by mining activities and urban development. The towns are acknowledged heritage sites, but the significance of their built heritage is in flux and is being used in various ways. In the short term, as a consequence of the contemporary urban transformations dictated by mining, the urban landscape is shifting and the built heritage is being redefined. As the tangible objects and physical features of the towns are inevitably changed, so does the inhabitants' interaction with them.

Parts of the built heritage are being reused during the urban transformations. Some of the historic buildings and historic environments have been reaffirmed as significant built heritage. The expressed motives are historic values, but they are also well liked and aesthetically appealing. From a pragmatic point of view, the historic buildings selected for relocation are few, comparatively small, easy to move and easy to reuse. Most houses contain residential apartments for rent and will provide relatively inexpensive rental apartments after the relocation. This makes it practically and economically feasible to agree on their conservation, and is possibly a means of balancing new developments with conservation of the historic environment. The only building that is likely to have a different use is Hjalmar Lundbohmsgården in Kiruna. It will not be converted into apartments, but is likely to be transformed to a meeting place primarily for the mining company.

Part of the built heritage is being transformed into ruins. There is a tendency for maintenance to be neglected before areas are vacated, but, more notably, there are the designed ruins of the Mine Town Park in Kiruna. However, historic buildings that are, or will be, demolished may be just as significant. Interactions that precede demolition show there is a sense of loss, which – at least to some extent – is diminished through documentation. There are also narratives highlighting conflicting views on what is considered old and outdated on the one hand, or new and modern on the other. Modern housing standards give prominence to the proposed new developments. In Kiruna, building new and modern is framed as the essence of the concept of the model town; the original town was renowned for its modern features. There is also undefined heritage, which gains attention in, or maybe because of, the urban transformations. Prior to the contemporary urban planning processes, it was predominantly the original parts of the settlements and the oldest buildings that were acknowledged as built heritage. The everyday, more mundane buildings, neighbourhoods from the 1950s and onwards gain attention as they are about to be demolished and incorporated into the Mine Town Parks. They are not emblematic of the towns in the same way as the more architecturally distinctive buildings. However, they do represent another era, when the mining company and the settlements were flourishing. They are also an integral part of many lives; to people who have lived there and called it home, they have significance. The need to mourn that is expressed and the documentation that is produced as part of the transformation signal the importance of the built environment to its inhabitants.

From a longer-term perspective, it is possible to outline more distinct changes in the landscape related to industrialization and changing conditions within the mining industry. The towns and the urban landscapes we see today are themselves a result of the mining industry and the change of land use that took place in the late nineteenth century, replacing the land use of the Sami and Tornedalian populations. However, the heritagization is closely related to the mining industry and helps legitimize the industrial use of the region.

The relationship between the mining areas and the urban landscape is also dynamic. The towns were built to facilitate mining. In times of recession and when mines have been closed, populations have diminished and the capacity to develop the communities has been limited. For industry as for heritage, there is ambiguity. The interaction between the mines and the towns is evident, but the industry is constantly changing, forward-looking, in search of new technologies and more refined iron production processes. Remnants of outdated industrial sites are not only in the way, but also represent oldfashioned and poor working and living conditions. The 'old' mining towns are, from this perspective, also a thing of the past.

The built heritage in urban transformation is part of meaning making, as it reinforces the towns' identity and reason to exist as closely linked to the mining industry. Buildings that are reaffirmed as significant heritage, ultimately by being moved, are simultaneously connected to the towns' past and to the future of the communities. The former residential areas that are transformed into Mine Town Parks are a way to embody the urban transformations and the gradual changes evident to all locals. Heritage is part of the process, but is always subordinate to the prospect of continued mining.

Understanding how the heritagization processes unfold and interact with more-than-representational ways of perceiving the historic urban landscape opens up new interpretations of what the significance of official heritage may be. If a prerequisite is that heritage is shaped by contemporary needs and demands, it seems as if, in Malmberget and Kiruna, the built heritage is being defined between the two. On the one hand, there is a need by (at least some) of the inhabitants to keep familiar structures and memories of the past. On the other hand, there is a demand both from the authorities to preserve at least protected heritage, but also from the mining industry to minimize the amount of built heritage – thus, the urban landscape is being reshaped.

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#### CHAPTER 6

# **KPGT**

# (Y)Utopia Revisited in a Sugar Mill

Irena Šentevska

For several decades, deindustrialized landscapes throughout the world have seen an overwhelming wave of transformation from industrial to cultural production (O'Connor and Wynne 1996; Momaas 2004; Daniels et al. 2012). An important part of this process is related to spaces reclaimed by informal, independent and alternative groups attempting to acquire permanent premises for research and performance. This transformational model of obsolete industrial facilities often includes squatting, practised as exploitation of abandoned spaces (either with or without official approval) aiming at the encouragement and diversification of artistic production (Moore and Smart 2015); it often includes participation in a specific lifestyle of a specific community. Primarily due to economic reasons, there are abundant contemporary examples from Western Europe (and Eastern Europe to a lesser extent) of reclaiming abandoned industrial spaces for such purposes (Sentevska 2016: 209-14). This process was a fairly uncommon practice in Serbia and the neighbouring countries during the 1990s, which saw major transformations of the economic and political systems (with major consequences for the industrial geography of the region), along with the grave social crisis caused by the civil war in the former Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, in Belgrade, one factory was transformed into a permanent performance venue: the old sugar refinery (Stara šećerana) or, officially, the First Serbian Sugar Factory 'Dimitrije Tucović' 1898 on Radnička ulica (Worker's Street), as the home

Notes for this section begin on page 146.

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of the theatre company Kazalište-Pozorište-Gledališče-Teatar (KPGT). In this chapter, research on the history of KPGT and its occupation of the old sugar refinery in Belgrade combines secondary (historical) sources, including KPGT's archive material and conversations with artistic leaders Ljubiša Ristić and Danka Lendel Palian, with the author's personal experience as a theatregoer and witness of very different events taking place in the factory since the mid-1990s.

In recent years, nonrepresentational, also known as more-than-representational, theory has served as an umbrella term for diverse, interdisciplinary work that strives to reflect the world perceived as 'more-than-human', 'morethan-textual' or 'multisensual', or to impart 'new life' to dead landscapes or geographies (Thrift and Dewsbury 2000). According to Hayden Lorimer, 'it is reasonable to expect an explanation of what that "more than" might include. To summarize lots of complex statements as simply as possible, it is multifarious, open encounters in the realm of practice that matter most. Greatest unity is found in an insistence on expanding our once comfortable understanding of "the social" and how it can be regarded as something researchable' (Lorimer 2005: 84). Moreover, 'what has been identified as deadening effect - the tendency for cultural analyses to cleave towards a conservative, categorical politics of identity and textual meaning - can, it is contended, be overcome by allowing in much more of the excessive and transient aspects of living' (2005: 83). As a 'particularly effective lightning-rod for disciplinary self-critique' (2005: 83), nonrepresentational theory may serve as a valuable methodological asset in interdisciplinary studies, as it combines insights from human geography, poststructuralist theory, phenomenology, science and technology studies, feminist theory, anthropology, ethnography and performance studies. Choreographed movement (dance) has been identified as useful for introducing human geographers to a new language of performance (Thrift 1997; McCormack 2003). Exercising power and social position as work of performativity are also familiar issues for human geographers (Houston and Pulido 2002). The concept of performance (perceived as choreographed, citational, improvisational, etc.) is highly important to nonrepresentational theory (Pels et al. 2002; Crouch 2003; Latham 2003; Szerszynski et al. 2003), as well as the notions of performativity (Nelson 1999; Gregson and Rose 2000; Nash 2000) or enacting (Dewsbury et al. 2002).

This chapter draws from this methodological wealth of opportunities as it attempts to bring more-than-representational theory closer to (the more traditional and self-contained discipline of) theatre studies. It focuses on the nexus between cultural production (theatre), political and economic transition, warinduced social crisis and deindustrialized landscape in the specific case of the theatre company KPGT currently based in Belgrade, and specifically its artistic occupation of the dilapidated sugar mill in the historical working-class neighbourhood of Čukarica.<sup>1</sup> It explores the origins, development and significance of KPGT as a cultural-political movement throughout the several decades of its existence and operation in the dramatically changing social (political, economic, ideological and cultural) environment in Serbia/former Yugoslavia. The stress in this historical overview is on KPGT's appropriation and use of public spaces (from main city squares to historical monuments, heritage sites and semi-urban landscapes). Its trademark site-specific (Pearson 2010) and environmental (Schechner 1973) productions are especially interesting when observed against the background of its collaboration and/or conflicts with the local (communist and postcommunist) authorities. Appropriation of the Dimitrije Tucović sugar refinery (which terminated production in 1983), adapted for KPGT during the NATO bombing of Belgrade and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999, is a final point in this winding trajectory of struggle for a physical space. This is seen as a liberated territory perceived as a space for noninstitutional (and therefore independent) cultural production,

which results in new conflicts and new forms of dependence. In this deindustrialized landscape and this specific context, the spatial and the textual meet and interact in highly peculiar ways. Interaction between human bodies and machines (or their obsolescence and subsequent removal) create new spatialities. I identify the unconventional, found, readymade or site-specific performance space(s) in the old sugar mill in Belgrade as such highly specific instances of spatiality conceived as a contested territory (Bender 2001). I argue that independent cultural production in a transitional postsocialist country, gravely affected by military conflicts and permanent economic crisis, is unsustainable without some form of dependence on the official political sphere. The physical space of performance (in this case an abandoned industrial landscape) thus becomes the main locus of this contestation between artistic liberation and economic dependence.

Postcommunist transition in Serbia saw rapid transformations of the theatre system in terms of management, financing, public relations and methods of creative work, which opened new possibilities for noninstitutional (independent) cultural production. Against this background, it seems that the closest and most diverse encounters between the theatre and the urban space, happened precisely in the period of the most acute social turmoil – in the 1990s, during the wars in the former Yugoslavia. In other postsocialist countries of Europe, the 1990s was a decade of transformation of production models, with the rigid system of state support for institutions giving way to project funding, internationalization, networking, and the rise of independent arts scenes with contributions from private and public foundations, including the European Union, the Council of Europe and corporate sponsors. In Serbia, because of United Nations (UN) sanctions and the overall international isolation, transformations (Durović 2002) amounted only to occasional assistance given to an independent scene that was decidedly feeble. In those circumstances, KPGT established a specific model of interac-

tion between the theatre, as a traditional artistic medium of reflection of the social reality, and the space of everyday life in the city.<sup>2</sup> As opposed to other models of interaction between theatre and the urban landscape in the Serbian and former Yugoslav context, the case of KPGT's reclaiming of the sugar refinery in Belgrade is probably the most locally specific, but is nevertheless reflective of the wider developments in the postsocialist realm, especially in terms of the nexus between politics, (industrial) economy and art. Occupation of abandoned industrial facilities usually implies attempts at advancement and diversification of the artistic scene. In a typical scenario, a group of like-minded artists occupies a space deemed as obsolete and abandoned by the community and the local authorities. After a process of negotiation with the authorities, the artists eventually receive permission (and additional support) to maintain the premises and work towards accomplishing their creative goals. Such scenarios are especially plausible in the postindustrial landscapes of abandoned factories and other now-obsolete remnants of the industrial era. In the Serbian context of the 1990s (with the rare exception of a few organizations),<sup>3</sup> the artists were not able to negotiate with the authorities for some form of permanent use of abandoned spaces for artistic purposes. Those who did succeed typically used spaces that had previously had a cultural purpose like art pavilions, community halls, etc. The case of artistic occupation of the old Dimitrije Tucović sugar mill in Belgrade is exceptional, because this was the only postsocialist factory in Serbia refurbished as a permanent theatre venue in this period. In this case, the nexus between politics, economy, industry and art is reflected in the long career of the talented director and controversial politician Ljubiša Ristić. This chapter gives a historical overview of Ristić's theatre activities and KPGT in four chronological phases: (1) the early stages of Ristić's career, formation and operation of KPGT as a nomadic theatre movement; (2) KPGT's permanent settlement in Subotica and work inside the structure of institutional theatres; (3) the (political) circumstances of KPGT's relocation to Belgrade and new permanent settlement in the old Dimitrije Tucović sugar refinery; and, finally, (4) KPGT's survival strategies in the changing political and economic environment of post-Milošević Serbia.

## A Brief History of KPGT

### Phase 1: Guerrilla Warfare

With his parallel engagements as a director in the national theatres across Yugoslavia and *spiritus movens* of the cultural movement KPGT, Ljubiša Ristić inaugurated in the Yugoslav theatre scene in the 1970s a blend of institutional and alternative, publicly funded and self-financed, bourgeois and

communist, conventional and unconventional, progressive and reactionary, leftish and rightish, elite and populist theatre.<sup>4</sup> The name KPGT used all the forms of the word 'theatre' that existed in the south Slavic languages spoken in Yugoslavia: Croatian *kazalište*; Serbian *pozorište*; Slovenian *gledališče*; and Macedonian *teatar*. Exploring the cultural and political history of the Yugoslav idea, KPGT was a rare artistic project that articulated reflective conceptions of Yugoslav identity and cultural space.<sup>5</sup>

After Yugoslavia's split with the Soviet Union in 1948, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (SKJ) suspended the instruments of control and censorship previously adopted from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Nevertheless, the onset of economic and political crisis in the early 1960s and the wave of student protests culminating in June 1968, which among other things criticized corruption among the communist elites, made the Yugoslav cultural scene a target of renewed political control and pressure. The launch of KPGT as a noninstitutional theatre movement was, in part, a creative response to these dynamics of negotiations with the authorities on what can and cannot be said and done in the theatre. This response reflected a keen awareness of the specificities and peculiarities of Yugoslavia's political, economic and cultural systems, especially in the Cold War context.

As founding members of KPGT, director Ljubiša Ristić and playwright Dušan Jovanović, initially started to work together in Ljubljana, Slovenia, outside of their native republic of Serbia (Toporišič 2009a: 254). Like many other artists in the repressive post-1968 atmosphere, these members of the *soixante-huitards* generation who actively participated in the student protests in Belgrade (2–9 June 1968) were either forced or chose to work in other parts of Yugoslavia in order to circumvent the institutional obstacles they faced because of their public engagement and exposure. In 1976, Ristić staged Dušan Jovanović's play *Igrajte tumor v glavi in onesnaženje zraka (Play Tumour in the Head, or Air Pollution*) which associated the crisis of the wider society with the crisis in the theatre itself, in the Slovenian town of Celje.

As a noninstitutional theatre formation, KPGT operated throughout Yugoslavia between 1978 and 1984. Its prehistory was marked by the production *Oslobođenje Skopja* (*The Liberation of Skopje*) written by Jovanović and directed by Ristić. An all-Yugoslav group of artists (led by Ljubiša Ristić, Nada Kokotović, Dušan Jovanović and Rade Šerbedžija) assembled in 1977 in Zagreb, Croatia, around this joint venture, which subsequently achieved the status of the season's major theatre event. The brand name KPGT entered into circulation in late 1981, on the poster for the production *Karamazovi* written by Dušan Jovanović. This play addressed the controversial subject matter of the Goli Otok prison camp, already present in the Yugoslav theatre at the time.<sup>6</sup> In this production, KPGT retained the model based on a voluntary working community with shared responsibilities and profits.<sup>7</sup> In 1984, KPGT unsuccessfully attempted to register a space in Knez Mihailova ulica (Prince Mihailo Street) in Belgrade, the venue of its Godot Fest launched earlier that year. Interestingly, the next venue to be artistically exploited by KPGT was nothing less than the major congress centre (Centar Sava) of the Yugoslav capital where it produced two quite ambitious projects, *Tajna Crme ruke (Secret of the Black Hand Society*, 1983–84) and *Carmina Burana* (1984–85). In a way, these two productions announced the promotion of Ljubiša Ristić to manager of the (Serbo-Croatian/Hungarian) National Theatre/*Népszínház* in Subotica in 1985.<sup>8</sup>

### Phase 2: The Long March through the Institutions

The (communist) municipal authorities summoned Ljubiša Ristić to the multinational and multicultural town of Subotica, located on the border between Serbia and Hungary and with a mixed population. His plans for the National Theatre received explicit political support and KPGT's transfer into the institutional framework of Subotica's major theatre was programmatically announced by the production Madač - komentari (Madách - Comments), which premiered in October 1985. Territorial expansion in Subotica not only included the summer festivals in Palić between 1986 and 1991, but also the festivals of Grad teatar Budva and Kotorart on the coast of Montenegro, which systematically explored unconventional venues for theatre performances, from historical buildings to natural landscapes.<sup>9</sup> In 1987, YU-Fest (Jovanov 2016: 159-204) toured fifteen cities, while Avala Fest in Belgrade, which lasted for two months, became an exceptional success. In the late 1980s, Ljubiša Ristić and his partner, choreographer Nada Kokotović, assumed management of the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad and created a bicameral system with parallel production facilities in Subotica and Novi Sad. In this period, the repertory of the Serbian National Theatre reflected the characteristic pro-Yugoslav KPGT orientation, with innovative works from Ristić's collaborators from all parts of the country. Basically, Ristić's leftist theatre utopia was an attempt to create a cultural model that aimed at preserving the Yugoslav cultural space, i.e. the Yugoslav state. Ristić was convinced that theatre could (and should) demonstrate that life in the common state was still possible; however, Yugoslavia was about to disintegrate.

### Phase 3: Coming Home (to the Factory)

In the late 1980s, the overall political support for KPGT gradually diminished, both in Subotica and in Novi Sad. Slobodan Milošević began to dominate the political scene, and the rapid fragmentation of the Yugoslav cultural space made KPGT's mission politically undesirable. Pro-autonomy politicians in Vojvodina were deposed in 1988 on Milošević's orders in the so-called yoghurt revolution. Also termed the anti-bureaucratic revolution,

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this was a campaign of street protests by Milošević's supporters (1988–89), which overthrew the governments of the Serbian autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, and the government of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro. Milošević's newly appointed supporters in Subotica and Novi Sad did not look upon KPGT favourably. When the war in Yugoslavia broke in 1991, Nada Kokotović decided to leave the country and move to Germany, leaving Ristić to work in Subotica and KPGT's production facilities in other Serbian towns.<sup>10</sup>

In the post-1989 context, the art worlds in the majority of postsocialist countries retained and even consolidated their social and political prerogatives.<sup>11</sup> According to Slovenian philosopher Aleš Erjavec, in such circumstances the notions of nation and culture were inextricably linked: 'It is politics that links them and that has caused art and culture to play such a significant role in the 1980s and early 1990s, enabling writers to become heads of state; painters and poets, ambassadors; and sociology professors, city mayors and foreign ministers, just as in 1918–20 or in the years following 1945' (Erjavec 2003: 13). In Milošević's postsocialist regime (with few exceptions), artists and intellectuals did not claim institutional positions of high significance. A necessary condition for leading an institution was open or tacit loyalty to the regime, so the wave of intellectualization of the political scene would be delayed for a whole decade in comparison to other postsocialist countries. Ristić's status on the political and cultural map of the country became a prime exception to this rule.

In 1992, due to the outbreak of war in Bosnia and Croatia, the renowned Belgrade International Theatre Festival (Bitef) hosted only one international production. In the absence of foreign guests, the official programme of the festival was dominated by several KPGT productions. In the heated atmosphere surrounding the festival, theatre critics and scholars refused to take part in the so-called 'Bitef under Sanctions' (Ćirilov 2002; Stamenković 2002; Suša 2002), convinced that the festival was creating a false picture that nothing out of the ordinary is happening in Serbia, thus legitimizing Milošević's politics. A notable KPGT contribution to this programme was the production Boj na Kosovu (Battle of Kosovo), which had premiered at Lake Palić in Subotica three years earlier. Initially, that premiere was perceived by many as a politically incorrect marking of the sixth centenary of the mythical medieval battle against the Ottoman Turks (1389), which opposed Milošević's nationalist speeches on the controversial subject of Kosovo.12 However, the 1992 production took place in a different atmosphere, to the point where Belgrade's cultural and political nationalist mainstream began to recognize Ljubiša Ristić as 'one of their own' (Dević 2018: 207).<sup>13</sup>

YU-Fest 1994 was hosted by the cities of Subotica and Niš, where Ljubiša Ristić staged *Antigona* by Dušan Jovanović on top of the Belgrade

Gate of the old Niš fortress. Serving as KPGT's statement against the war in Bosnia, Antigona depicted the siege of Thebes as a war between brothers, neither of whom could win the war. References to the current, real-life siege of Sarajevo were more than obvious.<sup>14</sup> For the purposes of staging this production at the 28th Bitef Festival in Belgrade, KPGT occupied the dilapidated sugar plant in the workers' neighbourhood of Čukarica. This historical landmark of the socialist movement in Serbia was to become the first permanent KPGT venue in the capital. 'It would soon become apparent that the prospect of moving to Šećerana (the old sugar refinery) was assisted by a new patron whose concern for KPGT seemed as unfathomable as the possibility of Ristić accepting their assistance' (Dević 2018: 208). By the end of 1994, Ristić entered mainstream politics and, at the invitation of the first lady of Serbia, Mirjana Marković, became the President of her new political party, Yugoslav United Left (YUL), as a renowned leftist intellectual. Ristić also became YUL's Head of the Committee for Foreign Relations. This left party gathered together mainly the Serbian new rich recruited from the ranks of business executives with longstanding political privileges, whose wealth was mainly accumulated from semi-legal or illegal business operations during the international sanctions imposed on Serbia. This party had no significant electorate and was mainly seen as Milošević's pet project. Ristić's longtime collaborators and associates were mostly shocked by his new appointment and conviction that he could align with the ideals of genuine socialist revolution and multiculturalism as an official of YUL.

Ristić's new capacity as an active politician largely facilitated KPGT's occupation of new premises in the old industrial complex of the old sugar refinery in Belgrade. In 1995 with his partner Danka Lendel, Ristić launched the KPGT Foundation, the International Art Centre and KPGT Theatre, with three stages bearing the names of the founding members of KPGT: Studio Kokotović, Theatre Šerbedžija and Penthouse Jovanović. In this period, marked by political, economic and cultural sanctions imposed on Serbia and Montenegro (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) by the international community, Ristić's antiwar engagement included outstanding international collaborations. Under the patronage of famed British actress Vanessa Redgrave, Ristić revived the early KPGT production Liberation of Skopje at the London Riverside Studios, with Rade Šerbedžija reprising his leading role from the original staging. Vanessa and Corin Redgrave's initiative marked the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation from fascism in Europe and aimed at drawing the attention of the wider international public to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Invited to participate in this programme scheduled for the beginning of May 1995, theatre director Haris Pašović (a former KPGT collaborator) also came with his troupe from the besieged Sarajevo. However, the troupe cancelled their performance because Sarajevo was ferociously

shelled, with civilian casualties, on the very day they were scheduled to perform. The other stated reason was the presence at the festival of a theatre director who was 'a party leader in a fascist state' (cited in Dević 2018: 209). Another significant international collaboration in this period included the 1995 joint production of *Assimil* in the main industrial hall of the old sugar mill with the Dutch location-specific theatre company Dogtroep.

The tenth YU-Fest (1995) marked the successful occupation of the Dimitrije Tucović sugar factory for KPGT's purposes, with strong support from the factory management, Belgrade's municipal authorities and Nebojša Čović, the Mayor of Belgrade, in person (Lekić 1995: 36). Various indoor and outdoor spaces of the partly abandoned industrial complex were used for staging the productions San letnje noći (A Midsummer Night's Dream, directed by Ljubiša Ristić), Kralj Džon (King John, directed by Ferenc Peter), Timon Atinjanin (Timon of Athens, directed by Saša Gabrić), for which one of the industrial halls was transformed into a flea market, Bubnjevi u noći (Drums in the Night, directed by Saša Gabrić), Mara/Sad (Marat/Sade, directed by Peter Ferenc), Gospodica (The Woman from Sarajevo, directed by Ljubiša Ristić), Antigona (Antigone, directed by Ljubiša Ristić), Kralj Ibi (King Ubu, directed by Haris Pašović) and Assimil (co-production with Dogtroep from Amsterdam). All of these productions, staged in different parts of the industrial complex, had been to a greater or lesser extent site-specific. This means that at the conceptual level, they significantly relied on what was visible and already present in those largely dilapidated spaces. In general, one could observe the relationship between these productions and the respective performing spaces as entangled.

There are few traces remaining nowadays of one of the most ambitious among these productions that marked KPGT's artistic conquest of Šećerana. What Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream, directed by Ljubiša Ristić, is remembered for is Ristić's lucid use of the industrial environment. In these unique settings and with changing performance spaces, the audience could intensely experience the aura of what Elinor Fuchs terms as 'you'll-neverbe-here-againness' (1996: 135). The performance was staged outdoors, in front of the main factory building and below a long structure once used for the industrial production of sugar. It was now a catwalk for the Athenian wedding couples, while the fairies splashed in a monumental pond with islands and rafts constructed especially for the production. This artificial lake was 60 metres long, 30 metres wide and 1 metre deep. A total of 300 kilograms of plastic were used to build it. Some of the spectators at the opening night remember the inconvenient access to the factory, sand in their shoes and problems with the rain, the cold October evening and dedicated actors who were swimming half-naked in the cold water at the temperature below 10°C. Young actress Baya Bangue Namkosse later recalled her first role (Puck) alongside established actors Neda Arnerić and Miodrag Krivokapić: 'The performance was really difficult, because only the three of us, in addition to thirty members of the cast, spoke in the old Dubrovnik dialect' (Savić 2007). Nearly all the elements characteristic of Ristić's theatre poetics were there: playing with different languages of the Yugoslav cultural space, work with a disciplined and dedicated ensemble, eclecticism, occupation of space and radical interventions in this liberated territory. Finally, there was the factory itself, a unique monument of industrial archaeology and a highly symbolic venue. In 1907, it had been the site of a massive and historically important workers' strike, which ended in blood and repression.

Despite Ristić's claims that the refurbishing of the old sugar refinery, which was later turned into the International Arts Centre, was going to be mostly a self-financed enterprise, involving fundraising and corporate contributions, he admitted that the state had to have a substantial role in securing funds for his ambitious plans. Major works on preparation of the grounds, cleaning and rebuilding in the vast industrial spaces took almost three years of concentrated effort. In this period, there had been a decline in the number of staged performances: Ristić's association with YUL contributed to a growing odium in theatrical circles, resulting in modest coverage of KPGT's productions. This was partly compensated for by Ristić's interviews, which combined detailed descriptions of the construction works in Šećerana with his political comments, mainly assessments of the international position of Serbia in this turbulent period.

Ristić's vision for the revitalization of this still partly active industrial complex comprised new theatres, a chamber opera, a dance hall, a venue for rock concerts, and vast spaces dedicated to visual arts and other cultural forms (e.g. a museum of industrial archaeology). Ristić also took into consideration the broader urban context around the industrial complex, including the recreation area Ada Ciganlija on the River Sava and the Belgrade Hippodrome. In the late 1990s, while the KPGT industrial headquarters was turning into a permanent construction site, KPGT was touring inner Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo and Montenegro.

The final phase of reconstruction of the old sugar mill reached its peak during the NATO bombing campaign in Serbia and Montenegro (Operation Allied Force, 23 March–10 June 1999).<sup>15</sup> The grand opening of the International Arts Centre KPGT followed in the summer of 1999 after the end of the NATO campaign. The partially dilapidated industrial complex now contained four performance spaces, a glass greenhouse foyer with tropical plants, two restaurants and a small swimming pool, built during the safe periods between curfews and emergency hours. With a large company of some fifty actors and fifteen dancers, KPGT entered the new millennium ready to welcome guest performers from India, China and the rest of Europe.

### Phase 4: Trench Warfare

Nevertheless, after the violent change of government in Serbia on 5 October 2000, Ljubiša Ristić fell out of favour once more. Even the Bitef coordinators, in spite of Ristić's and KPGT's former services to this festival, turned their back on him; according to Nenad Prokić, ex-director of the festival, although KPGT's productions met the criteria of the festival's selection, KPGT was not included 'as this was deemed inappropriate, considering this theatre's reputation' (Bogdanović 2002: 30). This reputation, the odium that Ristić had been exposed to since 2000, was to a large extent associated with the downfall of Slobodan Milošević (see e.g. Jovanović 2006), and Mirjana Marković fleeing to Russia in order to escape prosecution and responsibility for the war conflicts and large-scale embezzlement of public funds. The change of the political regime cut short the plans for the further refurbishing of Šećerana. KPGT was subsequently abandoned by its ballet troupe and several team members. The shortage of funds had, as a consequence, longer intervals between premieres and revivals of old productions. The new authorities had been generally indifferent to KPGT's goals and ambitions, including the financial problems the company encountered in the post-5 October period. Criticized throughout his career for his nontransparent business operations, Ristić had no option but to enter the free-market economy. As a result, after 2000, theatre productions in Šećerana gradually diminished. A number of legal cases were raised against the company as the leaseholder of the space in the industrial complex, which is still a public asset, because of its inability to fulfil its financial obligations. Nevertheless, there had been no interest in taking over from KPGT these cultivated ruins, set against the surrounding historical working-class and low-income neighbourhoods. Like the industrial complex itself, which was formally proclaimed a Monument of Culture in 1984 (Vuksanović-Macura 2012: 119), these neighbourhoods are currently being subjected to the processes of chaotic, arbitrary and unsystematic gentrification that mark the overall contemporary urban development of Belgrade.

In his assessment of KPGT Ristić's longtime collaborator, theatre scholar Dragan Klaić, concluded that KPGT had been less a protest against institutions than a search for an institutional home, even in a dilapidated industrial space.<sup>16</sup> Ristić's theatrical and political radicalism was regularly accompanied by efforts to revitalize concrete spaces and persuade the political establishment to support such claims (Klaić 2006). In the many decades of their career, KPGT artists have established a reputation for their innovative theatre aesthetics, but it is their equally innovative organizational practices working equally against and alongside the institutional theatre and cultural systems that made them extremely vulnerable to the turmoil created by daily politics.

Accordingly, a new change of government in 2012 considerably affected KPGT's position on the cultural map of Belgrade and Serbia. A broad populist coalition of nationalist, conservative, right-wing parties and former supporters of Milošević's brand of socialism assembled around the Serbian Progressive Party (SNS), won the elections and established an effective political monopoly unseen in Serbia since the break-up of Yugoslavia and fall of the one-party communist regime. This new political nomenclature includes many officials who were politically active in the 1990s, including Ristić's close associates during his term of office in YUL. This might mean that KPGT's material position would improve in this period. However, this has not effectively happened, mainly because this new political set-up puts remarkably low emphasis on the development of cultural production (especially the noninstitutional), instead favouring controversial projects of urban development, refurbishing of official institutions, and ideologically and aesthetically problematic interventions in relation to the existing cultural and environmental heritage. In a recent interview with Goran Vesić, Deputy Mayor of Belgrade, the old sugar mill was described as the prospective, new cultural centre of Serbia's capital city. Vesić explained that the current municipal authorities of Belgrade are in favour of the policy, according to which cultural institutions 'should be independent and financed on a project basis' (Kralj 2018). There has been no intention on the part of the authorities to take over KPGT and to provide permanent funding for the company; however, they 'would finance their good projects' (Kralj 2018). One such project was the event Liberation of Belgrade performed on 19 October 2018 in the old sugar mill, marking the joint military operation of Yugoslav partisans and the Soviet Red Army in 1944 that ended the Nazi occupation of Belgrade. After the show, which was attended by many high officials of the current government, the President of the City Assembly of Belgrade announced that the 'City of Belgrade together with the government of the Republic of Serbia would buy out the Šećerana area from bankruptcy next year and transform it together with the Theatre KPGT into one of the most beautiful artistic quarters of the city of Belgrade' (Radović 2018). Deputy Mayor Vesić announced in his already-quoted interview that from 2019, KPGT would host a summer theatre festival dedicated each year to a different Serbian playwright. He also explained that the sugar refinery had filed for bankruptcy, but was under protection of the state, which meant that the only possibility for development of that area was renovation of the existing structures: 'Prime Minister [Ana Brnabić] and I have recently visited Šećerana and we shall work toward making the City of Belgrade and the Republic of Serbia legal owners of this space at some point ... With over 12 hectares it is ideal for cultural events and creative industry, for hubs. This means that KPGT would remain in the current premises and acquire other parts of the structure as well' (Kralj 2018).

The urban landscape organized around the Dimitrije Tucović sugar mill is nowadays a postindustrial ecosystem where a variety of users cohabitate within the larger complex, including staff in cafés, restaurants and clubs, KPGT's artistic and technical collaborators, and members of the audience. Also, parts of the complex occupied by KPGT contain apartments where members of the company may dwell for shorter or longer periods. Security staff protect the public property from gatherers of secondary raw materials. The factory, which used to have some 500 workers, now has three employees for administrative and technical tasks, three lawyers, a bookkeeping agency and a security service. Furthermore, the traditional manufacturing part of the complex, the Vrenje factory, which produced baking yeast, now produces ethyl alcohol.

In this patchwork of living and working routines and artistic practices, processes of industrial and creative production meet and often overlap. What makes this landscape even more intriguing is the fact that these practices were shaped in different historical periods and by different economies (socialist industrial production, transitional restructuring of the economy, postsocialist emphasis on leisure and consumption), and they co-exist with KPGT's notions of artistic independence as materialized in the space of the abandoned factory and of its affective and reflective potentialities.

The deindustrialized landscape of the old Dimitrije Tucović sugar refinery may be observed as a space of interaction between human bodies and machines (even when their obsolescence and subsequent removal are taken into account). This interaction creates new spatialities, conceived as conditions and practices of individual and social life that are linked to relative position of individuals and groups with regard to one another. Performance space in the old mill, claimed by KPGT, may be observed as a highly specific instance of spatiality conceived as a contested territory, in analogy with the notion of contested landscape as explored in Barbara Bender's edited volume Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place (2001). Landscapes are not mere backdrops to human action; people make them and are made by them. These engagements with the landscape are dynamic, variable, contradictory and open-ended. Landscapes are thus always evolving and are often unpredictable and contested. People who share the same landscape may have different and often violently opposed ways of understanding its significance, and a completely different sense of place. In the old sugar refinery complex in Belgrade, the artists involved in KPGT projects, their staff and audiences, office and industrial workers, security staff and gatherers of used metal, and

even the stray dogs and other animals meet and interact in the same physical space, but have different and often contested experiences and memories associated with this socially and economically troubled space. In the context of KPGT's long struggle for a permanent physical space for performance, research and independent reflection of theatre, art, society and politics, this landscape became a liberated territory. But liberated from what? Initially, in the rigid socialist system of state-funded theatres, this liberation meant freedom from the constraints of work in a theatre institution. Independent space meant independent work, independent aesthetics, independent experimentation and independent budgets. In the postsocialist context, liberation amounts to the same ideals of independence. KPGT's liberated territory is the materialization of Ljubiša Ristić's radical leftist (Y)utopia that found its ultimate home in the historical sugar refinery. However, KPGT's long history of struggle for independent cultural production in a transitional country gravely affected by military conflicts and permanent economic crisis turned out to be impossible without some form of dependence on the official political sphere. The semi-abandoned industrial landscape of the old sugar mill in Belgrade thus became the main locus of this contestation between artistic liberation and economic dependence.

# Conclusion

The 1990s, a decade of political and economic transition in Eastern Europe, saw major transformations of its industrial geography. In the countries of the former Yugoslavia, these transformations were accompanied by the grave social crisis caused by the civil war in the region. While deindustrialized landscapes have been subject throughout the world to an overwhelming wave of transformation from industrial to cultural production, this was a fairly uncommon practice in Serbia and the neighbouring countries. In Belgrade, as an exception to this rule, one factory was transformed into a permanent performance venue: the Dimitrije Tucović sugar mill in Radnička ulica (Workers Street) as the home of the renowned Yugoslav theatre company KPGT launched in Zagreb, Croatia, in the late 1970s.

With production facilities and performing venues in Subotica, Novi Sad, Budva, Kotor, Belgrade and elsewhere, KPGT's productions, international tours and talent breeding in the pre-Maastricht Treaty atmosphere of Europe were an early instance of mobility and networking later to be embraced by the cultural policies of the European Union. Other features of KPGT encompassed an interdisciplinary approach to radical artistic practices, postdramatic tendencies in theatre and references to literature and visual arts, as well as their relations to the post-1968 international Left. Further characteristics included the partisan legacy of the Second World War in Yugoslavia and the construction of the Yugoslav identity in general, followed by the redefinition and reforms of the national institutions (national theatres in Subotica and Novi Sad) and their multiethnic heritage. Of particular interest in this chapter were KPGT's relations to power structures (League of Communists of Yugoslavia – SKJ, later Yugoslav United Left – YUL) in materializing the radical leftist utopia conceived by director Ljubiša Ristić, especially in its ultimate home found in the old sugar refinery named after the pre-First World War leader of the socialist movement in Serbia.

This chapter has aimed to contribute to a better understanding of practices of discursive representations and performative approaches to dealing with the past - industrial, historical and social - in the specific context of the transitional region of Serbia and the former Yugoslavia. As a complex postindustrial ecosystem where humans, machines and animals interact in different and very unusual ways, the Dimitrije Tucović sugar refinery was identified as a testing ground for a more-than-representational approach to a deindustrializing landscape. This landscape was shaped both by the processes of postsocialist economic and political transition as experienced in the formerly communist world, and a singular artistic vision that was highly reflective of both the physical space it occupied and the social processes that brought it into its current shape. Accordingly, this chapter has sought to demonstrate how the discipline of theatre and performance studies may benefit from more-than-representational approach to performing space conceived as a landscape informed by complex political, economic and cultural aspects of social transformation.

As for KPGT, this and other artistic groups that claim abandoned industrial landscapes for artistic production still challenge the currently prevailing tendencies of withdrawal of theatre from urban public space into the closed preserves of commodified middle-class entertainment. The long history of KPGT, which has been in constant dialogue with the social transformations in socialist Yugoslavia and postsocialist Serbia, has been observed in this chapter as a struggle for a physical space, a liberated territory for independent reflection of society, politics and art. However, this struggle has always involved contestation with the official political sphere – at times, this implied active collaboration with or participation in party politics, while at other times, it meant struggle for survival and economic pressures. The complex of the old sugar mill in Belgrade, which became a permanent venue for the company with a long history of mobility and migration, has become the ultimate contested landscape in this pursuit of the impossible dream of artistic independence and integrity, in a context where cultural priorities are dictated by short-term interests of the political elites currently in power.

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### Notes

1. For the history of this industrial complex built between 1899 and 1901 (as the oldest sugar refinery in Serbia), see Vasiljević (2016) and Vuksanović-Macura (2012: 117–20).

2. Other approaches included the use of urban attractions as performance spaces by (usually publicly funded) theatre festivals, projects aimed at establishing a meaningful dialogue with its urban surroundings and a population not usually perceived as theatregoers, and conceptual theatre that uses everyday life and its arenas as artistic devices (Šentevska 2018a).

3. For example, the Centre for Cultural Decontamination (CZKD) or Cinema Rex in Belgrade.

4. On the ambivalent (and quite unique) position of KPGT between independent and institutional theatre in Yugoslavia, see Šentevska (2013) and also Jovanov (2016).

5. Namely, multicultural and multilingual Yugoslavia never succeeded in creating truly Yugoslav art.

6. Goli Otok was an uninhabited island off the coast of Primorje-Gorski Kotar County in Croatia, where a political prison was in operation between 1949 and 1989. Until 1956, it was used to incarcerate mainly known and alleged Stalinists. Later on, detainees were criminals and grave juvenile offenders.

7. For the specificities of the Yugoslav self-management economy and its impact on the cultural production in the country see Jakovljević (2016).

8. For more on KPGT's Subotica period, see Jovanov (2016: 73–125). This author pays additional attention to KPGT's activities in the wider urban area of Subotica and its revitalization of Lake Palić. See also Klaić (1989a).

9. On the early seasons of the Grad teatar Budva festival, see Ćirilov and Pašić (1998).

10. On the response to the war situation from theatre professionals in Serbia, see Jovićević (2002) and also Šentevska (2017). For a comparative perspective on the various countries of the former Yugoslavia, see Jestrovic (2013) and especially Dolečki et al. (2018) – the contributions to this volume from Pavićević, Šentevska, Radulović, Dragićević-Šešić and Jovićević focus on the general situation in Serbia, while Ana Dević discusses the specific case of KPGT.

11. On the theatre in Eastern Europe after the Cold War, see Stefanova (2000).

12. The culminating point in this campaign of nationalist mobilization in Serbia was the speech given by Milošević at the memorial complex Gazimestan in Kosovo Polje on 28 June 1989 during the central commemoration of the sixth centenary of the Battle of Kosovo.

13. On nationalist themes in Serbian theatre productions in the 1980s (including the sensitive issues of the situation in Kosovo), see Radulović (2002b).

14. Sarajevo was initially besieged by the forces of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and subsequently by the Army of Republika Srpska between April 1992 and February 1996 (more than 1,400 days).

15. How the institutional theatres in Serbia operated in these circumstances was well described in Milosavljević (1999); see also Radulović (2002a). For cultural memory and narratives of the NATO campaign, see Atanasovski (2016), Fridman (2016) and Rácz (2016).

16. During the war in in former Yugoslavia, Klaić left Serbia to continue his career in the Netherlands. He was Director of the Netherlands Theatre Institute (1992 to 2001) and later resumed his teaching career at several European universities.

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### CHAPTER 7

# The 'Not-Quite' and Tuzla's Invisible Buildings

Amanda Lawnicki

A middle-aged man from the neighbourhood of Irac, on the western side of Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter 'Bosnia'), gave the following paradoxical response to an interview question about his city:

Question: What abandoned or empty buildings do you notice in your neighbourhood?

Answer: That's a difficult question - I don't see anything. Everything is OK. I guess. I have no idea ... Nothing.

Question: Do you notice abandoned buildings when you walk around the city?

Answer: Yes. There definitely are – how could I not notice? I'm understanding it as only in Irac, but there are also some down there, but there aren't any abandoned ones ... There are a few abandoned houses, while I'm imagining them. I have no idea. There are some in Irac but there's nothing terrible. Two, three buildings and that entire swimming pool up there ... that's what I notice. (Interviewee 17, 2018)<sup>1</sup>

Counter to the survey of abandoned buildings I conducted the previous summer, none of the seventeen interview participants identified any in their own neighbourhoods. Instead, they either identified them in the city at large or noticed neighbourhood abandonment only obliquely, as demonstrated in the above quote. Hell and Schönle observe the duality of ruins as being both seen and unseen, and 'the ruin's dialectic between absence and presence, fragment and whole, is also one between visible and the invisible' (2010: 7); however, their characterization is that of the invisible past (or future) as embodied in the visible present of the ruins. In my findings, the present is also rendered invisible to the observer; past, present and future, though embodied by the abandoned buildings, remain unarticulated.

The invisible omnipresence of empty buildings speaks to conceptions of identity and space, as well as the lived everyday. In this chapter, I investigate the unconscious affectual mode in which both abandoned buildings and the city's constructed identity exist - affect here indicating 'intensities of feeling that influence behaviour' (Müller 2015: 409). Following Thrift, the cognitive unconscious shapes automatic comprehension at the moment of an affective encounter, meaning that 'every moment is processed as a prior intent, style or tone which arises from perception-in-movement' (2007: 63). Yet the experience of embodiment also includes a corporeal vulnerability that encompasses 'passivity, suffering, fatigue ... weariness and plain exhaustion, a sense of insignificance and even sheer indifference to the world ... In other words, bodies can and do become overwhelmed' (Thrift 2007: 242). Thus, the body, confronted with 'the unchosen and unforeseen [that] exceed the ability of the body to contain or absorb', might resist the need to draw meaning from an affective moment, producing a 'reluctance to engage' (Thrift 2007: 242).

In my interviews, the affective encounter with abandoned neighbourhood buildings remains unarticulated, unprocessed and unrepresented. Interviewees, reluctant to engage, (unconsciously) sidestep, qualify or wholly ignore abandoned buildings in their own neighbourhood, while simultaneously recognizing abandoned buildings across the city.<sup>2</sup> I consider these responses in the context of Tuzla's constructed identity – one that emerges as not quite postsocialist and not quite postconflict.

Tuzla's identity, I argue, is a particular condition in which the relationships between past and future (industrial socialism/postsocialism and conflict/ postconflict) are in tension, and in which residents must navigate competing collective identities of the neighbourhood and the city. While the difference between neighbourhood and city is well researched in sociology and environmental psychology, a more-than-representational approach can offer a symbiotic perspective. Empty buildings, physical objects produced by the not-quite's processes and (non)progressions, are, in my interviews, also empty of meaning. However, as components of the built landscape networked into the city's physical blocks and local histories of use, empty buildings have an inherent affect; this affect may be of their own generation or, as I argue is the case in Tuzla, may be reflective of a broader affectual context.

In this chapter, I present the not-quite across two realms of articulation: at the city level through official heritage narratives and at the neighbourhood

level though interview responses. In the former, the city's self-narrative of continuity through the postsocialist and postconflict periods is in tension with the physical presence of abandoned buildings. In the latter, the affect of empty buildings remains largely unregistered in neighbourhoods. Finally, when interviewees perform identities through interview responses, competing articulations of the not-quite struggle for signification, prompting varying personal registers of noticing abandoned buildings.

In the following sections, I first discuss more-than-representational landscapes and describe my research methods, followed by a brief historical overview. I then elaborate on the not-quite and its presence in Tuzla. Finally, I discuss how interviewees display competing collective identities of city and neighbourhood under the not-quite.

## **Studying Ruins**

Empty buildings exist as concrete objects in the world – as things – so they are not necessarily abandoned (or vacant) in the complete sense of the word, but only by their removal from networks of practice. Thus:

Their meanings may become hollowed out but may still retain a presence as enigmatic signifiers ... Or they may find new uses in other networks. Or they may linger on as denaturalized reminders of past events and practices, purposely memorialized in various ways or simply present as ruins, as melancholy rem(a)inders. In other words, things can have a potent afterlife. (Thrift 2007: 8–9)

This afterlife is my point of departure. The ruin in the current literature is a dialectic existing via the convergence of nature/history, nature/culture, pleasure/disgust and the utopian past/the dystopian future (or vice versa). Contemporary studies on ruins uncover the depths of human existence in particularly compelling ways; however, these accounts theorize the ruin's meaning(s) and its representation as an object of significance. Meanwhile, a more-than-representational approach asks not about its meaning, but about the affective context in which the ruin is networked.

Macpherson (2010: 3) characterizes nonrepresentational landscape theory emphasizing the human body and landscape as 'dynamic and dependent entities that can be usefully thought through together'. The landscape affects the body – its feelings, thoughts, and actions – while the body simultaneously affects the landscape, either directly through actions or indirectly through narratives. These affections do not necessarily exist consciously, therefore approaches that move beyond representation 'help us to recognize that we are not simply rational actors in an inert landscape, but rather we are always in the process of formation with the landscape' (2010: 8). By viewing everyday bodily encounters with abandoned buildings as an ongoing process rather than a unique point of signification, we can set aside singular narratives of any particular building and instead investigate the broader scope of relationships between bodies and landscapes.

To look at this broader picture, I randomly sampled residents from three Tuzla neighbourhoods to capture variations in responses from those who more frequently and less frequently encounter abandoned buildings.<sup>3</sup> To ensure a diverse set of respondents, I conducted semi-structured interviews with three males and three females per neighbourhood, which further broke down into age categories of one young (eighteen to thirty-four), middleaged (thirty-five to fifty-four) and elderly (fifty-five and over) interviewee per gender. Participants were stopped in coffee shops or near building entrances and asked to participate in an interview about their neighbourhood. Interviews were conducted in public spaces, cafés or, when invited, in the interviewee's home, and lasted from twelve to fifty-six minutes. Each interview comprised thirty-five questions across four topics - basic demographics, perceptions of neighbourhood buildings, perceptions of neighbourhood community and participation in political activities. I did not ask about specific buildings, but had respondents name buildings themselves so that their salience was not artificially imposed during the interview.

The interviewees were selected from neighbourhoods with varying levels of relative dilapidation – low, medium and high. In order to determine these levels, I consulted an on-the-ground survey of buildings I conducted in the previous year, which used GPS coordinates to mark buildings on a map. Subjectively, I recorded the visual level of dilapidation, building size and an overall appearance on a scale from one to five. Objectively, I recorded the presence or absence of ongoing renovations, for-sale/rent signs, the state of the windows (broken, boarded), and the presence of graffiti, rubbish and overgrowth (vegetation). Combined, these characteristics created an indicator of the overall level of dilapidation for each building that, when connected to the map, provided a visual representation of decline across Tuzla.

However, the data showed no obvious visual trends, so I combined individual locations into neighbourhood clusters with a 500 m radius, approximating the distance a person would travel by foot within one neighbourhood. Clusters with greater scores showed neighbourhoods with greater dilapidation. The results showed the commercialized centre with the most dilapidation, and residential eastern neighbourhoods with the least.

From these, I selected three locations with greater, average and lesser dilapidation from which to interview eighteen residents (six each). Though the neighbourhood with the greatest level of dilapidation is the downtown core, its literal and conceptual centrality to the city distinguishes it from other neighbourhoods. Therefore, I instead selected Slatina and Centar (neighbourhoods near the core) as those with above-average levels of dilapidation. I also selected Bulevar and Stupine on the east side (below-average dilapidation), and Irac and Batva on the west side (average dilapidation).

The methods applied allow for a range of personal and locational characteristics– age, gender and experience with dilapidation. Unfortunately, failed technology prevented Interviewee 12's responses from being included, resulting in seventeen viable interviews. The small number of interviews, rather than providing statistically conclusive findings, allows for a glimpse into everyday experiences and provides guidance for future research.

## Tuzla, Bosnia

Located in the northeast of Bosnia, Tuzla was brought into the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878 following several centuries of Ottoman rule. The Austro-Hungarians ultimately brought industrial, imperial capitalism to the city through mining and chemical production activities. This rapid modernization caused massive demographic changes; the population initially increased by 140% between 1879 and 1910 before the Second World War devastated local industrial progress and reduced population growth (Selimović and Hadžić 2007: 197). Thus, the newly created socialist Yugoslav state invested heavily in rebuilding destroyed infrastructure and educating industrial workers to buttress the labour force (2007: 177). The programmes succeeded; by 1961, 44.1% of employed Tuzla residents worked in industry and mining, leading to further urban expansion (2007: 192).

The emphasis on industrial production was a hallmark of the Yugoslav market socialist economic model under Josip Broz Tito, the country's President and ideological leader. Tito's socialism was independent of both Soviet-style communism and Western capitalism, and combined 'socialist ideals and policies at home with openness to the capital needs of the world economy' (Woodward 2003: 74). Under this system, workers' employment status came to dominate 'the identities, economic interests, social status, and political loyalty of Yugoslav citizens' (2003: 76).

However, industry also brought with it environmental consequences. Between 1957 and 2003, mining caused Tuzla to sink by 12 metres, damaging water, sewage and traffic line systems, and having 'dramatic effects on the buildings of Tuzla (including damages and collapses) leading to the evacuation of parts of the city ... [with] a net balance of 835 buildings lost from 1965 to 2005' (Mancini et al 2009: 387). Furthermore, labour migration to Western and Central Europe led to urban depopulation.

In 1965, Yugoslavia's liberalizing economic reforms yielded projections for unemployment increases in manual labour and petty farming. To offset these increases, the country opened relationships with Western Europe, encouraging labour migration and remittances in furtherance of development. At the height of the migration period in the 1970s, Carl-Ulrik Schierup (1995: 286) found that almost 1.5 million Yugoslavs worked abroad, with an unanticipatedly large number of skilled labour and highly educated citizens comprising that workforce. Host countries quickly repatriated unskilled labourers and favoured integration of the highly educated, leading to a Yugoslav brain and skill drain. Compounding this problem, local elites were disinclined to implement reintegration policies, instead using patronage networks to fill open positions.

This migration, spurred by internal policies, overcrowding and high municipal unemployment, burdened Yugoslav national and local economies. The global oil and financial crises of the 1970s and 1980s, and the subsequent austerity policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, worsened already poor economic conditions. The economy floundered under an uneven distribution of regional economic development, unemployment, large debts and reliance on foreign aid (Pleština 1992; Singleton and Carter 1982; Woodward 1995). There is no single explanation for the break-up of Yugoslavia and the ensuing conflict, but the fragility of the political economic system and a series of external and internal shocks were key.<sup>4</sup>

The Bosnian war began in April 1992 following successive independence referendums from component Yugoslav republics. In Bosnia, the country's three dominant ethnic groups (Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks [Bosnian Muslims]) were co-opted by nationalist elites with ethnically motivated territorial claims. The Bosnian Serb army, supported by rump Yugoslavia, attempted to consolidate Serb-only enclaves through ethnic cleansing, rape, siege and genocide; nationalist Bosnian Croat and Bosniak forces used similar tactics, if less systematically.

The most infamous incident occurred in July 1995 at a United Nations (UN) safe zone in Srebrenica, when Bosnian Serb forces committed genocide by killing over 8,000 Bosniak men and boys. Just before the incident occurred, over 15,000 men fled the area, including members of the Bosnian Army, intending to reach Bosnian government territory near a second safe zone in Tuzla. The column, subject to multiple attacks by Serb forces, reached Tuzla after five days and six nights with only 3,000 survivors.

Tuzla itself remained relatively peaceful, and scholars argue that consolidation of an ethnically mixed workers identity underlay the city's resistance to pervasive ethnic nationalism (Armakolas 2011, 2015; Calori 2015; Jansen 2016; Weiss 2002). With around 130,000 residents in 1991, Tuzla claimed the highest proportion of self-defined Yugoslavs (21%) and the highest percentage of mixed marriages in Bosnia; before the conflict, 48% identified as Bosniak, 16% as Croat and 15% as Serb (Jansen 2016: 196). This identity had real political results – during the first multiparty elections in 1990 and the subsequent 1996 elections, Tuzla was the only municipality in Bosnia where non-nationalist, multiethnic parties won a decisive majority.

However, Tuzla did not escape unscathed. The city was subject to attacks from Serb soldiers in the surrounding hills, including blocks on humanitarian aid and the shelling of Tuzla's UN-controlled airport. Today, two major wartime catastrophes are still referenced – the 15 May 1992 Jugoslav People's Column Incident and the 25 May 1995 shelling of the city centre by the Bosnian Serb Army. This second incident, termed the Tuzla (or *Kapija*) Massacre, was the city's single most disruptive event, killing over seventy-one civilians and wounding at least 150 others, mainly youths, who had gathered at the main square (*kapija*). The site of the shelling was memorialized with a plaque, and the victims were buried together, regardless of religious affiliation, in the Slana Banja memorial complex north of the city centre.

Even though Tuzla's wartime mayor, Selim Bešlagić, lauded Tuzla's ability to remain undivided, approximately 10,000 of Tuzla's 20,000 Serb residents had left before the start of the war. As the conflict dragged on, the remaining Serbs also began to evacuate, citing a belief that Tuzla would be dominated by nationalist Bosniaks and would become unwelcoming to their families. Despite a distaste for Serb nationalism, they expressed growing cultural pressures and safety concerns following the influx of over 250,000 Bosniak refugees. The war left Tuzla depopulated and more ethnically homogeneous with effects that have lasted to the present day; according to the first postconflict census conducted in 2013, nearly 53% of Tuzla's 81,000 residents were born outside the city; furthermore, 73% identified as Bosniak, while only 3% identified as Serb.

Across the country, demographic changes are enshrined in the Dayton Accords, which ended the war in late 1995 and divided the country into a Bosniak-Croat Federation and a Serb Republic. Though halting the violence, the Accords are criticized for legitimizing ethnic cleansing and encouraging the relocation of minority ethnic groups. In 1996, Bešlagić foreshadowed the ensuing difficulty of maintaining Tuzla's prewar levels of multiculturalism in a polarized country: 'If there is no multi-ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina, Tuzla itself will not be able to bear the burden of multiethnicity' (McKinsey 1996).

The war's death toll reached approximately 100,000 throughout Bosnia, though accounts vary. Over 412,000 housing units (one-third of the housing stock) were damaged or destroyed, with issues of property reclamation and compensation remaining today. Industrial production, already affected by the preceding economic crises, all but halted. Eventually, cumulative demographic and economic effects, combined with destruction and the theft

of industrial equipment, 'left Bosnian industry in 1996 operating at as little as 10 percent of its pre-war capacity' (European Stability Initiative 2014: 13).

Such cumulative stressors are reflected by Schierup, and the difficulty of distinguishing between political and economic migration, as 'people flee, not only because of outright ethnic cleansing, but because of politically induced mass impoverishment and existential insecurity' (1995: 288). Years later, catastrophic floods hit Southeastern Europe in May 2014, affecting over a million Bosnian citizens and again engendering massive economic losses – estimated at US\$2.7 billion or 15% of Bosnian GDP (World Bank Group 2017).

The combined effects of subsidence, economic crises, conflict, emigration and environmental disaster have left numerous abandoned and unused buildings in their wake. Meanwhile, poverty, corruption, unemployment, and lack of capacity and political will work against efforts to carry out physical renovations or settle ownership disputes. In short, Tuzla's empty buildings are abandoned not just physically, but through government neglect and indifference as well.

## The Not-Quite

In many cases, and certainly in Tuzla, the so-called postsocialist era aligns with a so-called postindustrial era. Due to the historical period in which socialism emerged and socialism's emphasis on building a proletariat class, socialist cities grew via the processes of industrialization. By the end of the 1980s, growing global capitalism spurred the collapse of socialism and incited deindustrialization more broadly; former centres of industry (Western and postsocialist) found themselves gradually all at once on the periphery.

The prefix post has been critiqued in postcolonial literature (McClintock 1992), as well as in postcommunist studies, for collapsing differences and assuming the inexorable progression of a global (capitalist) modernity. Meanwhile, 'postindustrial' has come to encompass a range of outcomes, from a thriving service economy to the physically degraded landscape of a once industrial city. Traditionally, deindustrialization literature places the deindustrialized landscape in the context of forces of movement; as the economy changes or advances towards a (certain) postindustrial future, it undergoes a process of deindustrializing, moving from one state to another. However, removing the assumption of forward continuity, it helps to define the deindustrial as a spatial environment rather than a temporal process, which speaks to the idea of the not-quite: no longer industrial, but somehow not quite postindustrial either. The concept parallels postsocialism's processes of marketization, democratization, state building and nation building. Scholars have largely focused on a presumed postsocialist transition (sometimes transformation), diagnosing problems with corruption, failed democratization, weak civic participation or immobilizing nostalgia. Despite references to a rupture, or break, beginning with 1989 and the fall of the Berlin Wall, the general literature assumes path-dependent continuity and investigates deviations from an assumed ideal.

### Bosnia's Postconflict Not-Quite

Bosnia has been criticized for its slow progress towards state building, with blame largely assigned to the postconflict and postsocialist transitions. The Dayton Accords, which function as the country's constitution, created a highly complex and decentralized bureaucracy, dividing Bosnia into two entities (the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska) and a self-governing administrative unit (the Brčko District). The Federation further comprises ten administrative cantons, while municipality governments exist in both entities. The country's three constituent peoples (Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs) elect one president per group to form a rotating three-member presidency serving a four-year term; candidates and voters must declare only one of these three ethnicities, despite the country's history of mixed marriages. The inherent exclusion of nonconstituent peoples (for example, Roma and Jewish minorities) led the European Court of Human Rights in 2009 to find Bosnia's Constitution in violation of the European Convention on Human Rights. Further, the Dayton-mandated Office of the High Representative (OHR) gives the UN-appointed High Representative power to adopt binding decisions and remove public officials from office. The OHR has been condemned for lacking a legal basis, discouraging responsive local governments and violating sovereign democratic processes.

Finally, the postsocialist Bosnian state must contend with a postconflict one in which entrenched ethnic divisions and layers of bureaucracy suffocate efforts for political reforms. As such, the state is largely absent from everyday life, and identity politics fill the gaps. Kurtović and Hromadžić describe the current regime that Bosnians have:

come to know and experience as an alienated center of power. This regime engenders a state that is an 'empty container' – a vessel which holds up too little and fails to recognize, provide, and nurture pan and non-ethnic identifications, histories, and economic solidarities. (2017: 278)

Similarly, Andrew Gilbert (2006), in discussing truth-telling efforts with historians in Sarajevo, highlights the complications of Bosnia's co-existing postsocialist/postconflict status. Though such efforts should provide 'for a definitive break with state socialism and for democratic transition to be suc-

cessful, one [historian] replied: "But we are not in transition at all – nothing is moving!" (2006: 14). Gilbert argues that memories of state socialism and its abuses are distanced by the war's immediacy, especially via an articulation of nationalist politics:

The periodization of recent history for the people of Bosnia – bracketing off of state socialism from the present – is in part fixed by the total event of the war and its materiality: the empty hulks of factories (fallen idle or destroyed by the war, gutted by war profiteers), the massive demographic dislocations, the rubble of entire villages and neighbourhoods, the minefields, the mass graves. (2006: 17)

Of course, some of these 'empty hulks of factories' are the products not only of the war, but also of the failed Yugoslav economy and lack of present political capacity. Jansen (2015) offers a symbiotic look at citizen-state relations under the absence of a state-sponsored service provision. Through interviews with residents in the Sarajevo neighbourhood of Dobrinja, he diagnoses Bosnia with what he calls 'Daytonitis'. Under this affliction, the conditions of everyday life interfere with citizens' ability to lead what they believe to be 'normal lives' in which expected services are routinely provided and people can afford daily necessities. This dream of a normal life evokes not only promises of Western capitalism, but also, and perhaps more so, recollections of socialist Yugoslavia. With the failed delivery of capitalism and loss of socialism, residents have found themselves stuck waiting for this normal life in what Jansen terms 'the Meantime'. In short, Bosnia's geopolitical location on Europe's semi-periphery and its temporal location post-Dayton 'defied any solid qualification as "postwar" and engendered the concern that 'in this postsocialist and postwar constellation ... the state did not sufficiently exist yet and did not sufficiently exist anymore' (2015: 154).

Jansen's 'Meantime' has a ring of the not-quite, but there are subtle differences between them. Jansen uses the concept of yearning, a word full of affect, to describe desire for a functioning government, but the Meantime itself is not an affect so much as a state of being. According to Jansen, the Meantime is located at a particular spatiotemporal moment, 'not simply [evoking] topography ("BiH") but also a historical conjuncture ("Dayton")', thereby locking the Meantime into a specific iteration of space-time (2015: 19). This contrasts with the not-quite, which is not held to the Bosnian postsocialist/postconflict moment; instead, it may refer to a not-quite 'post' at any spatiotemporal location. Though Tuzla certainly presents a unique constellation of the not-quite, which I argue has framed interviewee responses, the underlying forces of globalization and liberalization increasingly affect communities worldwide.

In Tuzla, the postconflict not-quite is articulated differently than in Sarajevo, where international attention has compelled discussion of the conflict. Tuzla's conflict narrative emphasizes normality and unity through the conflict, resisting investigation into the war's effects. The city is therefore not-quite postconflict on two dimensions: on the one hand, the Meantime constraints of post-Dayton statehood lock Tuzla into the same not-quite as Bosnia more generally, while on the other hand, the narrative avoids the airing of past traumas, rejecting wholesale acceptance of the postconflict moment.

Jansen also describes citizens' affectual investment in Bosnian statehood, indicating the charged relationship that exists between the state and its subjects. Rather than identifying a particular affectual relationship and set of actions, the not-quite is the context in which competing iterations of its affects are performed. Here, Müller's more-than-representational approach is particularly compelling, where affect is described as:

Intensities of feeling that influence behaviour ... First, [affect is] something that *works in and through the body* and bodily experience. Second, affect *drives action* and produces visible conduct ... [Furthermore] affect is distributed and *exceeds the subject.* For it to come into existence, the human body must be entangled in a whole set of relations. Affect thus means the capacity to affect manifold others and, in turn, to be affected by manifold others. Last and most contentious, affect is said to be *precognitive, preconscious, and irrational.* It is untainted by measured reflection and discursive symbolization. (2015: 409–10, emphasis in the original)

While the Meantime, with is yearnings, affectual investments and performances of an everyday life, can certainly be approached from a morethan-representational framework, the not-quite exists in a layer above the Meantime – in effect, the not-quite is an affect under which the Meantime, or any set of citizen state relations, is produced.

## Heritage and the Not-Quite

The Meantime's focus on the state emphasizes the interconnectedness of politics and affect. Müller (2015: 418) calls for consideration of political affects, suggesting that 'exploring how the representational is tied up with the more-than-representational is critical'. With abandoned buildings, the relationships connecting affect, registration, signification and identity narratives – or between representational and nonrepresentational elements – are crucial.

Investigating heritage, an enshrined social narrative that seeks to make sense of the past, helps pull all these pieces together. The more-thanrepresentational study of heritage is rich with potential; attention shifts from the meaning of the heritage object or narrative itself toward affects and practices, constructions and performances of identity, and relationships between bodies (human and otherwise). Waterton (2014), summarizing Thrift, highlights the importance of embodied memory and affectual relations. When a visitor encounters a heritage site, the site itself harbours an affect that, depending on the visitor's own history, may or may not call forth embodied memories. The memories may be personal, related to the individual socio-political standing of the visitor (for example, gender, race or class), or they may be more generic, engineered by a greater political context. In this way, heritage can be manipulated via identity politics to communicate 'shared values and cohesion – sites that speak to, and on behalf of, the nation' and hold the power to validate or reject national narratives (Waterton 2014: 830).

Tuzla's heritage environment seems to fully embrace all aspects of the past, an exception to Gilbert's (2006) observation that Bosnian heritage focuses on the war at the expense of Yugoslav legacies. Postconflict political elites in the city 'were able to confidently formulate their own approach to cultural heritage ... maintaining a positive outlook towards the Socialist era legacy' (Armakolas 2015: 227). Heritage markers in Tuzla emphasize continuity of practices, incorporating the past (socialist and presocialist) into a present that is narratively no different from the past. The Slana Banja complex stands as an example of this. It began construction in 1958 and reflected operative Yugoslav values: the partisan struggle, the 'glorious revolution', and physical activity, emphasizing 'the "warrior-worker-sportsman" as the three inter-connected and cherished dimensions of the "socialist man"" (Armakolas 2015: 232). While a postconflict renovation added monuments to an independent Bosnia, the socialist focus did not fade. In 2001, Tuzla Mayor Jasmin Imamović added the Avenue of Heroes featuring busts, both preserved and newly commissioned, of key partisan and socialist figures.

The narrative of continuity sanctioned by Tuzla's heritage environment stems from a system that resists the periodization Gilbert identifies as 'bracketing'. However, both Tuzla's continuity and Gilbert's bracketing speak to an absent heritage narrative that would first acknowledge the socialist past and second mark its difference from the present. Trapped between past and present, both contribute to the affect of the not-quite. In the following analysis, I show how this affect is perpetuated in Tuzla, as interviewees' absence of a coherent narrative explaining abandoned buildings across the city, along with the denial of their neighbourhood presence, disallows collective acknowledgement of past heritage and present conditions.

## **Empty Buildings?**

Wartime Tuzla's resistance to ethnic nationalism underscored a dogmatic attempt to maintain normalcy throughout the conflict. Selim Bešlagić, the city's anti-nationalist mayor, built a narrative around this normalcy, boasting in 1995 that: Crime statistics were no higher in Tuzla under difficult wartime conditions than they were in the years before the war. Our interethnic relations throughout the war have been good ... [And] the number of interethnic marriages during the war was as high as in the prewar period. (Alispahić 1998: 246)

The lack of reliable data makes such claims difficult to disprove, incentivizing political leaders to stress their successes. The wartime Mayor of Sarajevo, Tarik Kupusović, spoke similar praises of the capital; at a commemoration marking 1,000 days under siege, his address to visiting dignitaries proclaimed that Sarajevo 'has been for half a millennium a true meeting place of nations, religions, cultures and customs' (Bosno 1995). Bešlagić, however, distinguished Tuzla's experience from that of other Bosnian cities:

I'm not saying that everything is ideal, but when ... you remember three and a half years of widespread interethnic hatred, you have to acknowledge that Tuzla is different. I am not saying that Sarajevo and Zenica have no feeling for interethnic cooperation. But there politics have prevented it from flowering. (Alispahić 1998: 494)

Later, during a 1997 speech at the Tuzla City Council, he more explicitly remarked that 'much has changed, especially in political thinking. *But Tuzla has not changed*' (Alispahić 1998: 299–300, emphasis added). The difference between Sarajevo and Tuzla's multiethnic narratives is their endurance; while Tuzla is still considered exceptional in its solidarity, Sarajevo is now studied as one of the world's divided cities.

Tuzla's official publications reflect this unified identity, despite the demographic trend towards greater homogenization. The Tuzla Canton's tourist brochure begins the Tuzla city article by claiming 'if you ask any Bosnian which city in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the most open, most tolerant, and most relaxed, you will surely get the same answer – Tuzla' (Tuzlanski Kanton). And a subsection on the city's website under the label Antifascist Tradition boasts of a critical eye towards ethnic nationalism:

The story of Tuzla is timeless and supranational. In all the critical moments of Europe, the Balkans, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the citizens of Tuzla took things 'with a grain of salt' ['Cum grano salis']. (Antifašistička tradicija n.d.)

Europe's 'critical moments' take centre stage in Tuzla's self-narrative, an allusion to both the Second World War and the war of the 1990s, while the selfreferential 'grain of salt' hints at industry, anti-fascism and anti-nationalism. The website further calls on Tuzla citizens to defend 'against human rights violations with the protection of human rights, against hatred with love, against nationalism with anti-nationalism, against fascism with anti-fascism, and against division with communal life', echoing Bešlagić, who in 1995 declared: 'We combat division with togetherness. We oppose fascism with antifascism. We resist violations of human rights and freedom with their protection. In a word we fight Evil with Good' (Alispahić 1998: 247). Tuzla resisted nationalism at the polls too as the only Bosnian city to elect non-nationalist parties in 1990 and 1996. Armakolas (2011) attributes Tuzla's resistance of fractional nationalism to high levels of civic and associational life, though the reality of wartime Tuzla was more complicated. For example, Armakolas (2011) found reports of municipal-sponsored anti-Serb activity in the early years of the war. Similarly, Jansen (2016) documents a conversation with Tuzla residents in which nationalist divisions and resentment *do* appear. And certainly, the state politics of nationalism *must* affect the city, given the country's informal and ethnicized bureaucracy.

But the story of a unified Tuzla is so strong that it obscures memory of past conflict, even to the extent of deflecting academic inquiries – excluding those that valorize Tuzla's unity. Notably, quantifiable and/or specific instances of shelling damage to industry remain elusive, with the memorial landscape reflecting a lack of narrative diversity. The Slana Banja complex, mentioned earlier, situates memorials to the Second World War Partisans, Yugoslav heroes and the 1990s side by side. Even the memorial cemetery from the 25 May 1995 shelling strengthens an anti-nationalist narrative as the victims were buried together, regardless of ethnicity, in defiance of national religious authorities (Armakolas 2015: 236).

The construction and maintenance of Tuzla's multicultural identity largely emerged from the narrative of Yugoslav solidarity. This too is embodied in the memorial landscape; the monument to the 1920 Husino miner rebellion, erected in 1954, valorizes 7,000 miners who went on strike against the post-First World War Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Horvatinčić 2014). While Tito used similar icons of the worker-turned-revolutionary to encourage a unified Yugoslav identity, it was co-opted during the 1990s to validate wartime tactics. In Tuzla, the struggle against an exploitative authoritarian state was linked narratively to defence against attacking (nationalist) Serb forces.

The Husino rebellion was again borrowed in February 2014 when disgruntled workers from the Dita chemical factory protested against the withholding of wages, pensions and other social benefits. Bosnian-language media outlets referred to the protests as 'a new Husino rebellion' and drew upon the city's self-proclaimed revolutionary spirit. The protests spread, resulting in the burning of the Sodaso building, which had housed the headquarters of the Sodaso salt mining company and the cantonal government. The protests were adopted around the country, eventually inspiring the Bosnian *plenums*, citizen forums mobilized around shared demands for political and economic reforms. The Sodaso building remained abandoned during my visit in the summer of 2018, though the municipal government announced renovation plans.

Taken together, the official narrative of Tuzla is one that combines several identities – industrialism, revolution, anti-fascism, socialism, antinationalism, and multiculturalism – into a continuous master narrative defining Tuzla's spirit. Doing so resists attempts to separate the past from the present, despite the multitude of changes and transitions/transformations faced by contemporary Tuzla, contributing to the affectual not-quite.

### Tuzla's Identity and Abandoned Buildings

Abandoned buildings and factories in Tuzla belong to many narratives – industrial heritage, socialist heritage, conflict (directly or indirectly via emigration), capital flight or recent protest. Without a unifying narrative, their affects are registered by citizens on an individual basis. Müller reminds us of the varying social contexts guiding the registration of affects as emotion: 'A political speech can affect a person, but whether it incites joy, hate, or pride has much to do with whether this person is male or female, white or black, belongs to the minority or the majority ethnicity, and so on' (2015: 412).

The diversity of my interviewees allows for an exploration of affect across these differences in background (in residency, gender, age, educational attainment, income and employment status). Still, each neighbourhood displayed specific trends in resident demographics, hinting at unique neighbourhood identities. Interviewees in the west tended to have lower average incomes, but generally lived in Tuzla five years longer than average, and reported the highest levels of neighbourhood social interactions.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, eastern residents have lived in Tuzla about four years fewer than average, but had higher overall incomes and higher satisfaction with their neighbourhood in general. This reflects residents' reports (and my own perception) that the eastern neighbourhoods were newer and better kept than the western ones (Figures 7.1 and 7.2 depict the visual differences between east and west neighbourhoods, respectively). Finally, the centre neighbourhoods (with the most dilapidation) had the highest levels of schooling and the lowest reported level of neighbourhood social interactions.

When discussing abandoned buildings around the city, most interviewees identified at least one location. However, large structures were usually not singled out, nor did many people name specific buildings; none identified the Sodaso building burned in the protests. Instead, responses largely identified offices that were not currently in use, scattered abandoned houses or buildings that were likely under demolition. Interviewee 6 (2018) even answered that the only abandoned buildings he noticed were those currently being built. Furthermore, in response to questions about neighbourhood life, interviewees hinted that buildings are abandoned in an indirect sense. Though people do live in them, their facades and interiors are not maintained by property owners, and three of the interviewees referenced a recent incident where falling facade struck and killed a local woman.



Figure 7.1. View of apartment buildings (east), Tuzla, Bosnia. © A. Lawnicki



Figure 7.2. View of apartment buildings (west), Tuzla, Bosnia. © A. Lawnicki

However, Interviewee 7 (2018), did specify buildings. When asked about buildings around the city (opposed to those in his neighbourhood), he replied:

That I notice, and that I have noticed and that I am noticing. I notice in the centre there are many dilapidated buildings near the Kabilov Bakery – I don't know what they are, if they're renovated. The music school is in such a state – I don't know if they've done anything with it yet. I notice plenty of these abandoned places that empty up – they are waiting, I don't know, for some better time.

He experiences, registers and signifies the empty buildings as 'waiting ... for some better time', a direct iteration of Jansen's Meantime and indicative of the not-quite.

Under this affective not-quite, abandoned buildings are explained by a multiplicity of narratives, which interviewees readily offered. Those who had trouble identifying specific buildings were not asked to elaborate, but those who answered affirmatively engaged economic and political dimensions. Some responses to the question 'In your opinion, why are these buildings abandoned?' are listed below:

Interviewee 5 (2018): There are many who leave in search of work [*odlaze trbuhom za kruhom*] because they do not have the means to live. Not us pensioners ... where would we go when we're already up in our years? The youth mainly leave because there isn't ... everyone wants to have their own job – something to live off of and such. People don't have anything to live off of – they must leave [*napuštati*].

Interviewee 7 (2018): If they are abandoned due to soil subsidence – then it's normal that people abandoned the building.

Interviewee 10 (2018): I think that they are too damaged for any investments in them to pay off  $\dots$  So it's probably easier and more cost-effective for them to build new ones with new construction – to build higher quality ones.

Interviewee 13 (2018): I think that it's because of unresolved property/legal relations [*imovinsko-pravni odnosi*]. With some new privateers [*privatnicima*] – wartime, and with the state – there are unresolved relations in half of these places. And there are some state-owned firms that failed under Yugoslavia ... [And] because of the lack of creativity on the part of the people who regulate the structure of the city to adapt to the needs of citizens, rather than constantly building these new structures [*hale*], which are cheaper ... where it's obvious that some money is laundered, that the numbers shown are greater than their total cost.<sup>6</sup>

Interviewee 17 (2018): Well I don't know – because people aren't ready to invest in that infrastructure. Second – people leave … And because of property/legal relations … no one knows what is whose. Every child knows about that in Tuzla. Is it the municipality's, the jeweller's, my mother's …? I think there's plenty that's unresolved.

Interviewee 18 (2018): Most of those buildings are those that were abandoned after the war ... Actually in the war. They were abandoned during wartime proceedings. That ... or elderly people lived there and then died. The children are abroad and whatnot.

Interviewee 13's comment is particularly illustrative. It captures first the transition from socialism to capitalism ('new private owners'), second the postconflict state ('wartime'), and third deindustrialization ('firms that failed'). Furthermore, he references these processes' interconnectedness – not just wartime profiteers, but also profiteers 'with the state' – signalling corruption during privatization and unequal access to resources engendered by the war. Other interviewees offer less comprehensive responses; though they are likely to be true, they do not capture the full potential for abandoned buildings in the city. And even Interviewee 13 left out one explanation – subsidence.

A unified master narrative for why abandoned buildings exist cannot be constructed without destroying the current narrative of continuity. If they are abandoned because of conflict, ethnic unity is challenged; if they are abandoned due to subsidence, pride in Tuzla's salt mines is challenged; if they are abandoned due to failed industry, worker solidarity is challenged. As a result, the affect of the not-quite continues to be supported. The buildings are not-quite abandoned because presumably someone, somewhere owns them, but also not-quite not abandoned because no one has done anything about them.

### Invisible Neighbourhood Buildings

Though the sample is too small for statistical conclusions, there was one trend – an identified difference between the west and east neighbourhoods (discussed previously). This does not directly reflect dilapidation, as it was the centre neighbourhoods that had the highest proliferation of abandoned buildings. Still, responses indicated dissatisfaction with neighbourhood quality in the centre and the west, and overall satisfaction in the east, where residents tended to describe neighbourhood quality as better than the others, both in terms of infrastructure and social life.

The previous section discussed buildings only in the context of the city because not a single interviewee, regardless of environmental perceptions, directly identified empty or abandoned buildings in their own neighbourhood. Meanwhile, all but one (Interviewee 8 (2018)) affirmed their existence in Tuzla as a whole. However, four interviewees (two each from the west and the centre) indirectly identified abandoned buildings. Interviewee 17 (2018), quoted in the introduction, only discussed abandoned buildings in his neighbourhood after considering the entire city. Meanwhile, Interviewees 3 (2018) and 4 (2018) attached qualifiers to the word building. Interviewee 3 said that no buildings were abandoned as such, but an apartment with unresolved inheritance issues has been there 'for several decades. God knows what's inside. But from the outside door you can see that something isn't right'. Interviewee 4 qualified the word *building* by reporting that no residential properties were abandoned, except maybe 'some small old houses that had collapsed and where it wasn't possible to live' due to dangerous conditions, but 'any others, no'. Finally, Interviewee 5 (2018) hesitated with the word 'abandoned': 'They're not really abandoned, but there are several little surrounding buildings where there haven't been shops or businesses ... and that's all abandoned.'

These interviewees all equivocate abandoned/not abandoned, but otherwise share few other characteristics. Interviewees 3, 4 and 5 are in the fifty-five and over age bracket, but Interviewee 17 is not. Interviewees 4 and 17 are generally positive about their neighbourhoods, while Interviewee 3 remains neutral and Interviewee 5 has many grievances. Therefore, in order to gain an insight into their responses, we must move beyond demographics and consider deeper relationships they have with their neighbourhood.

The affectual relationship with the neighbourhood already has a term: place attachment - or an affective bond between a person and a place. Place attachment involves precognitive affect and conscious processes of signification, as well as performances of identity, and fits nicely within a more-thanrepresentational framework (Lewicka 2012). Without delving too much into this literature, affective relationships between interviewees and their neighbourhoods may drive them to perform neighbourhood identity during the interview. In the case of Interviewee 5, abandoned buildings fit more easily into her neighbourhood narrative than others. She says the neighbourhood is declining, dangerous and alienating. She describes poor neighbourly relations, comments on building degradation, criticizes the lack of adequate lighting and laments the fact that she has nowhere else to go. When asked whether the neighbourhood has changed, she responds: 'This is now, for me, the twilight zone.' Yet she is hesitant to directly label the buildings as abandoned and displays strong positive associations as well. She reveals that her father was president of the housing council in her building.<sup>7</sup> When asked about whether she goes to church, she takes the opportunity to proclaim anti-nationalist sentiment: 'I love and appreciate equally the mosque, the church, and any other place of worship.' Though nostalgic, she shows pride in her socialist heritage and anti-nationalism, identities that are embedded in the city's master narrative.

Interviewee 5 similarly exhibits low levels of social cohesion (the closeness of interactions with neighbours) that appear to mediate overall neighbourhood narratives, though not perceptions of abandoned buildings. Those with greater social ties seem to see their neighbourhood in a better light. For example, Interviewees 4 (2018) and 11 (2018) are very similar demographically; Interviewee 4 is older, but both are males, have median incomes and have lived in Slatina (in the centre) for twenty-six years. But when asked to describe neighbourly relations, Interviewee 4 describes strong social ties, while Interviewee 11 describes neighbourly relations as 'alienation, in a word. Everyone is concerned with themselves and that's it. So there is no neighbourly contact'. They also show a correlating bifurcation in their neighbourhood descriptions:

Interviewee 4: I would say that here in this part it's a somewhat more densely populated space. We have a greater number of buildings and greater rates of occupancy, that's why here it's a bit livelier in comparison to others.

Interviewee 11: It's a little more depressing relative to other neighbourhoods. It's gloomy here [*Malo vlada veći mrak*]. It's much sadder than all the other neighbourhoods. Other neighbourhoods are brighter, here we have fewer lights and the city cares less about this neighbourhood. There is much less concern for Slatina than for other neighbourhoods.

Here, social cohesion seems to have a relationship with perceptions and interpretations of the physical environment. Social ties may therefore be reinforcing or even creating affective bonds with the neighbourhood. Yet social cohesion does not seem to be related to perceptions of abandoned buildings. Interviewees 4 (positive affective bonds with his neighbourhood) and 5 (negative affective bonds) both indirectly identified buildings in their neighbourhoods. Meanwhile, Interviewee 11 (negative affectual bonds) did not notice neighbourhood abandoned buildings, even indirectly.

Therefore, under the not-quite, it is not the registration of abandoned buildings that appears to fit with personal narratives, but their signification. Whereas Interviewee 5 attributes abandoned buildings to poverty and dire economic standing (a negative attribution), Interviewee 4 blames only subsidence (a neutral attribution). Meanwhile, Interviewees 11 and 17 (with negative and positive affectual bonds, respectively) both blame unresolved property ownership – the vagueness of the term making room for a variety of emotional registers.

The not-quite also functions in the east neighbourhoods, despite low levels of decline. Interviewee 7 (2018) describes his neighbourhood as full of nightlife, cafés and people. Most notably, he considers it to be 'definitely a European neighbourhood by all standards' and identifies more strongly with his neighbourhood than with the city. Later, he reveals his position as president of an association of building administrators (*predsjednik ulaza i predsjednik etažnih vlasnika*).<sup>8</sup> The contradictions between the city's

not-quite, abandoned buildings and his own neighbourhood identity are glaring. By identifying with a European centre, beyond Tuzla's affective not-quite, he situates the neighbourhood definitively after industry, socialism and conflict.

Therefore, while both the neighbourhood and city exist under the notquite, neighbourhood narratives may support or contradict the city's master narrative of continuity. Given the variety of responses, how interviewees choose to reconcile abandoned buildings with these competing narratives might depend on individual experiences and personality factors – the differing social contexts Müller reminds us of.

# Conclusion

The city exists under the affective not-quite, retaining dogmatic adherence to a narrative of continuity, but residents have formed their own neighbourhood narratives based on personal knowledge and histories. In many cases, abandoned buildings do not fit with these self-generated neighbourhood narratives and so their presence is either equivocated or shuffled outward to the city. In the realm of the city, the cause of their abandonment, and therefore attributed meaning, depends on personal experience rather than any unifying narrative. The physically empty buildings emerge as similarly hollow of any grand meaning.

Given interviewees' equivocation and denial of neighbourhood abandoned buildings, the more-than-representational approach taken above opens the door for a different layer of questions. By considering not what abandoned buildings represent, but rather how those representations come to be made, we may deconstruct the social and political narratives supporting collective and individual identities. Thrift's characterization of the body's 'reluctance to engage' emerges in response to the multiplicity of competing and conflicting narratives surrounding Tuzla's abandoned buildings. When the buildings are at a relative distance, registration and even signification may occur. But when the building is in the interviewee's own backyard, the narratives become so complicated and entangled that the overwhelmed body renders it invisible.

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#### Notes

1. All translations from Bosnian are my own.

2. I corrected for potential miscoding and conferred with my research assistant and transcriber, native Bosnian speakers, to ensure translations were interpreted as intended. I acknowledge other explanations, such as those based on sociology (neighborhood effects), psychology or other more-than-representational approaches. However, these might inform and enhance rather than compete with my discussion of identity/affect relations.

3. A special thanks to Selma Kešetović for her assistance in conducting the interviews, and Alen Kerić for transcribing them.

4. Including the death of Tito in 1980, increasingly stringent IMF constraints, global financial crises, the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and loss of its markets, and Western deprioritization of Yugoslavia.

5. Income corresponds to the following answers: 'I can afford ... 1. Expensive things (for example, an apartment or car); 2. Durable goods (for example, a television, refrigerator) but not very expensive things; 3. All types of food, hygiene products and clothing I want, but durable goods are too expensive for me; 4. All types of food and hygiene products I want, but not much more than that; 5. I cannot afford all types of food and hygiene products that I would like to purchase every month.' West neighbourhoods averaged 2.33 on a subjective income scale (average of 3.06); east neighbourhoods reported 3.67.

6. Translation note: hale connotes shoddy, warehouse-like structures.

7. In Yugoslavia, housing councils served to coordinate the needs of residents in a building.

8. Translation note: an elected representative for a housing unit serving as liaison to the *mjesna zajednica* (literally, local community), the smallest unit of municipal government (akin to a neighbourhood city council). Both are socialist holdovers.

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#### Interviews

- Interviewee 1. Male, twenty-one years old, residing in east neighbourhood; secondary education; unemployed; income level 2. Interviewed on 4 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 2. Female, twenty-nine years old, residing in centre neighbourhood; secondary education; self-employed; income level 2. Interviewed on 4 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 3. Female, fifty-nine years old, residing in centre neighbourhood; secondary education; unofficially employed; income level 3. Interviewed on 4 July 2018, Tuzla.

- Interviewee 4. Elderly male, unknown age, residing in centre neighbourhood; secondary education; pensioner; income level 3. Interviewed on 4 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 5. Female, sixty-two years old, residing in west neighbourhood; secondary education; pensioner; income level 5. Interviewed on 4 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 6. Male, twenty years old, residing in west neighbourhood; secondary school education; student; income level 3. Interviewed on 6 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 7. Male, thirty-eight years old, residing in east neighbourhood; primary education; officially employed; income level 2. Interviewed on 6 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 8. Female, sixty-four years old, residing in east neighbourhood; university education; pensioner; income level 2. Interviewed on 11 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 9. Female, twenty-one years old, residing in west neighbourhood; secondary education; unemployed; income level 3. Interviewed on 11 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 10. Female, thirty years old, residing in east neighbourhood; secondary education; unemployed; income level 5. Interviewed on 11 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 11. Male, forty-five years old, residing in centre neighbourhood; university education; officially employed; income level 3. Interviewed on 12 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 12. Male, unknown age, residing in centre neighbourhood; unknown education; unknown employment; income level 3. Interviewed on 14 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 13. Female, thirty-three years old, residing in centre neighbourhood; university education; unemployed; income level unknown. Interviewed on 14 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 14. Female, fifty-three years old, residing in west neighbourhood; university education; officially unemployed; income level 3. Interviewed on 14 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 15. Male, fifty-eight years old, residing in west neighbourhood; primary education; self-employed; income level 3. Interviewed on 14 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 16. Female, thirty-eight years old, residing in east neighbourhood; secondary education; unofficially employed; income level 2. Interviewed on 15 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 17. Male, forty-one years old, residing in west neighbourhood; secondary education; unemployed; income level 5. Interviewed on 15 July 2018, Tuzla.
- Interviewee 18. Male, fifty-nine years old, residing in east neighbourhood; university education; unemployed; income level 1. Interviewed on 16 July 2018, Tuzla.

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# Part III

# **Reimagining Futures**

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#### CHAPTER 8

# Made in Lincoln

# Making Meaning of a Deindustrialized Landscape

Abigail Hunt

# Introduction

As cities in Europe have faced changes in economic activity due to the deindustrialization of urban areas (Cooke et al. 2011), whether that be by a decline in industry or demands for new land uses (Tobe 2009b; Ferm and Jones 2015), many have had to reinvent themselves in order to find 'a new economic role' (Cooke et al. 2011: 6). Lincoln, in the East Midlands of England, United Kingdom, is a prime example of one of those cities whose economy from the Industrial Revolution to the late twentieth century was built on engineering, manufacturing and supply chain networks (Lincoln City Council 2008); however, the relative decline of these industries and the shift towards a more retail, leisure and education-based economy have resulted in changes in land use that have transformed parts of the city (Heritage Connect n.d.). The development of the University of Lincoln since the 1990s has converted what had become a postindustrial landscape, which embodied exactly what is understood, sometimes problematically, to comprise 'everything from polluted industrial landscapes to former factory buildings usually found in older, declining sections of a city' (Tobe 2009b: 35), into a vibrant leisure and educational zone (Lincoln City Council 2008; Walker 2012a).



**Figure 8.1.** View across the Brayford Pool to the University of Lincoln campus, 2020. © University of Lincoln

Development has taken place in partnership with those industries that once dominated, and are still part of, the local landscape, and industrial features are retained or emulated in the architecture within this landscape. In this way, Lincoln is a good example 'of how to make a city that will not only survive, but thrive [by] taking advantage of the existing physical and geographical attributes' rather than working in opposition to them (Tobe 2009b: 34). Lincoln is not unique in proactively moving to a knowledge economy to replace its dwindling industrial one, but the city's leaders were quick to see an opportunity to do so, and other cities have followed suit as universities continue to develop 'schemes to rejuvenate themselves that benefit the city' (Borsi 2009: 43). There is a clear pattern in the United Kingdom that the shift from the dominance of an economy based on industry to one based on services and more recently knowledge has propelled universities into having 'a key role in the cultural, economic, and social development of cities' (Borsi 2009: 43). In 2002, Simon Thurley, then Chief Executive of English Heritage, exemplified this point in relation to several historic cities that did not have universities before the 1960s when he wrote that:

The economic and social value of Bath or York, Lincoln or Chester is more obvious today than it was forty years ago. Thriving centres of commerce and tourism, these are places people want to visit and live in. (Thurley 2002: 2)

All of the example cities provided by Thurley feature universities created in the twentieth century and it is clear that they cannot exist within the urban landscape in isolation from their hosts, and part of their role has become to develop a mutually beneficial relationship with the city, as '[u]rban life itself is recognised as an essential resource for economic development and innovation' (Borsi 2009: 43).

Accepting that changing economies have shaped and reshaped the Brayford Pool area of Lincoln over millennia, this chapter seeks to demonstrate that whilst economic shifts can result in the transformation of industrial landscapes, a deindustrialized landscape does not equate to a nonindustrialized landscape. The chapter is not a straightforward account of the area's economic and landscape history through periods of preindustrialization, to industrialization, and deindustrialization rather, it is an exploration of why there may be a greater emphasis on particular aspects of the Brayford Pool and its surrounding area's history, why multiple narratives can exist simultaneously, and why past, present and future narratives can exist in the same temporal space (Tewdwr-Jones 2011; Adams et al. 2016). In this way, the work moves beyond merely the representational and into the realms of Thrift's idea that people, places and things are all interconnected and therefore must be looked at as a whole rather than separately (Thrift 1996). It is intended that this approach will offer the opportunity for new discussions on the area that stretch beyond the well-covered history and fit with newer ideas about landscape history that have 'sought to disrupt standard linear historical narratives' and have 'suggested a greater interest in alternative apprehensions of the world' (Harvey and Waterton 2015: 906). In this way, the chapter offers a new understanding of the Brayford Pool area and the impact of the University of Lincoln campus on the landscape, and how it is possible to remember, interact and build relationships with landscapes. In essence, this chapter attempts to move beyond traditional representational interpretations of the landscape to consider how the Brayford Pool area is 'represented, experienced, and ultimately, rendered meaningful' (Harvey and Waterton 2015: 907). To achieve this, the research looks at the urban landscape not only from the discipline of history, but also that of geography, treating it as 'a natural object, a phenomenon in space which is perfectly and perfectly comprehended by all those who form part of it or establish relations with it' (Carter 1980: 339). It is intended as the first part of a larger project that will 'attempt to provide spaces for more voices, alternative discourses, hidden narratives, or affective and experiential understandings' of the Brayford Pool area, and particularly the growth of the university and the impact it has had on individuals and groups over the last twenty years or so. This will be done through the collection of oral testimonies relating to the university,

which has been recognized as important, as many of those involved in the early phases of the development of the university and the redevelopment of the landscape in which it sits are now reaching retirement age (Walker 2019: personal communication). It is intended that individuals' memories, feelings and emotions, will aid in the production of a history that is not linear and factual, as this is well covered in the existing literature, but focuses more on the meaning made from landscapes. This is heavily influenced by Waterton's work, which looks at the landscape from a more-than-representational perspective and has considered 'immediacy performance, engagement, feelings, and emotions' when exploring historic landscapes (Waterton 2018: 221). In this respect, the chapter is a literature review of existing primary and secondary sources intended to provide a theoretical framework, historical and geographical contexts, and an identification of ideas to test in the future work.

# **Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework used to underpin the chapter is the notion of a sense of place. The term 'sense of place' is understood in this context to mean:

the way we perceive places such as streets, communities, cities or ecoregions [and how this] influences our wellbeing, how we describe and interact with a place, what we value in a place, our respect for eco systems and other species, how we perceive the affordances of a place, our desire to build more sustainable and just urban communities and how we choose to improve cities. (Adams et al. 2016)

Whilst this definition is accepted in its entirety, the key areas focussed on within this piece of work and in the context of the Brayford Pool area of Lincoln are:

- how individuals perceive places;
- why individuals perceive places in particular ways;
- what people value in a place;
- how individuals describe and interact with a place;
- the sustainability of places.

This chapter links to the overarching theme of the book – that the world is always in the making and that there are no fixed stable states. It explores the idea that our cities are never in one state, but are 'constantly evolving' and 'are either aggrading or degrading, sometimes both in different parts ... or for different reasons' (Tobe 2009b: 34), and that whilst a city might appear 'stable in general outlines for some time, it is ever changing in detail ...

There is no final result, only a continuous succession of phases' (Lynch 1960: 2). In historical terms, this falls under the auspices of the concept of continuity and change, and the idea that change is a constant feature related to time, but the rate and extent to which it takes place is not (Hunt 2013, 2016). Historians have been criticized in the past for accepting continuity with no explanation, focusing on change as being dramatic and revolutionary, or for overemphasizing either continuity or change during the periods under examination (Burke 1979; Cannadine 2008). In his key 1979 work, which still has relevance today, Burke described historical continuity as either representing no change or a particular type of change that had taken place that was even in terms of its pace and course, but my work rejects the idea that continuity is representative of a static society as society is constantly changing, just at different rates at different points in time (Hunt 2013, 2016, 2018). Sociocultural practices constantly change; it is just the extent and rate of change that differs, and thus the impact on our landscapes (including urban ones), everyday life, and society in general. Burke (1979) provided three models of sociocultural change: the first is that of a pattern of fluctuation of change around a fixed point in time; the second is a gradual rise and decline in trends; and the third is an abrupt change that is a turning point in history representing a clear discontinuity in sociocultural trends. This chapter perhaps best represents the second notion of change, one of a rise and decline in trends. In this case, it fits with the idea that:

cities mature, and 'are', they grow old, bear the signs of passing time, give birth to new playgrounds, extend into bridges, as the inhabitants weave their way through them, constantly remapping, and reasserting ownership over new routes and land. (Tobe 2009b: 35)

Much in the same way, the 'concept [of] landscape has transformed as it takes on new meanings and loses some at the same time' (Ozey et al. 2018) and it can be examined from the stand point that it is in a 'perpetual state of becoming' (Waterton 2019: 94).

# Discussion

#### Sense of Place

Sense of place can be thought of at its most basic level as a 'strong and recognisable character' of a landscape (Lock and Cole 2011). However, it is a more complex idea than just one relating to visual appearance and, if we are seeking to move beyond representation in order to better understand landscapes, it should be considered as the meaning ascribed to landscapes by people inhabiting them, the emotions people have relating to the landscape,

and the attachments they form with it (Lynch 1960; Lock and Cole 2011). Lynch is often cited as being the first academic to ask in his pivotal work The Image of the City (1960: 197) 'what does the city's form actually mean to the people who live there?'. This notion implies that meaning is collective, and Lynch has been critiqued (most notably by himself) for doing this. So, the individual nature of perception is crucial as 'every inhabitant has most certainly a partial and most probably an idiosyncratic, view of the urban environment in which [they] live' (Carter 1980: 339). As well as perception being individual, it is complex in its construction as it is a way in which people build a relationship with, or an attachment to, a place and then ascribe symbolic meaning to it (Lock and Cole 2011; Adams et al. 2016). Interaction with, and making meaning of, urban landscapes is equally as complex as building a relationship with the landscape, as the environment impacts on all the senses and is not 'experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, and the memory of past experiences' (Lynch 1960: 1). In addition to meanings being influenced by multiple experiences, they are arguably fragmentary and, much like cities themselves, constantly evolving, whilst simultaneously defining 'how people view, interpret, and interact with their world' (Adams et al. 2016; see also Lynch 1960). If it is accepted that a landscape's sense of place does not stand still across time, individuals and groups, then exploration of a sense of place in the landscape can lend itself to new ways of understanding landscapes that move beyond the boundaries of representation and into the realms of sociology and psychology. One example of this is in furthering our understanding of nostalgia not as a potentially debilitating or fatal painful malady or homesickness, a backward-looking melancholic stance (Davis 1979; Batcho 1998; Pickering and Keightley 2006; Boym 2007), or a longing for an imagined and mythical past (Chase 1986; Chase and Shaw 1989; Lowenthal 1985, 1989), but as a part of collective, individual and cultural memory that can be used as a means to democratize the representation of the past and enrich society's understanding of it (Samuel and Thompson 1990; Pickering and Keightley 2006), as a means by which to understand how we legitimately create, alter and share memories within particular sociocultural environments (Samuel 1996; Boym 2007), and as 'an historical emotion' (Boym 2007: 8). I have argued in previous works that nostalgia is indeed an emotion, or cognitive process, in which people engage when reading historical narratives, visiting museums or interacting with material culture, to make sense of the world in which they live (Pickering and Keightley 2006; Hunt 2013, 2018). Nostalgia then links to the aspect of sense of place that describes the relationship people have with places and that they express through their emotions, autobiographies and biographies (Adams et al. 2016). It also directly fits with the foundations of modern historical thought - that the past provides us with a mechanism

by which to understand the present and to conceptualize the future (Carr 1961; Samuel 1985, 1996; Brisbane and Wood 1996; Jenkins 2003; Butler 2011; Hunt 2013, 2018). This concept is particularly apt here if the 'post-industrial era [is] understood as a depository of memory, elements of which can be potentially redeployed' (Tobe 2009b: 36). It also allows us not just to regurgitate existing archaeological and historical narratives, but also to think about how people perceive landscapes and create their individual, nuanced histories (Hunt 2013).

Arguably utilizing sense of place as a framework in the context of exploring urban history is of particular importance as 'urban landscapes, periurban landscapes, townscapes, and urban greenspace are less researched in relation to landscape perceptions' (Lock and Cole 2011: 19). Therefore, not only can it add to the current body of knowledge (in this case Lincoln), but it can also create new knowledge regarding them. There is, then, the potential to use sense of place to look at a landscape that has been thoroughly researched by historians from a different view point, thus offering new ideas to historical and contemporary debates.

#### Understanding the Brayford Pool and Its Environs Using a Sense of Place

The Brayford Pool is nine acres in size, sits to the south of the city centre in the current Parish of Boultham in Lincoln, is listed as a monument in the Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record (HER) and is recognized as having 'played an important part in [Lincoln's] fortunes' (University of Lincoln 2010: 11). The impact of the roles that the Brayford Pool has played over time in Lincoln's economy has created rich, multilayered, historical narratives about the area. In this way, the same place is presented in texts in different ways, with the importance of different activities emphasized in line with various authors' interests. Co-existing narratives with varying emphasis on the type and importance of the role the Brayford Pool at a particular point in time can be seen threaded throughout existing literature on which this chapter is based and are used here to show how the current landscape represents complex natural, preindustrial, industrial and deindustrial pasts that remain in fragmentary form alongside one another.

#### How and Why Individuals Perceive Places in Particular Ways

Perception is a core tenet of sense of place, which is reflected in the Council of Europe's definition of a landscape being 'an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors' (2000: 2). Arguably, perception of the urban landscape can then be considered a product of 'many builders who are constantly modi-fying the structure for reasons of their own' (Lynch 1960: 2). However, perception is not just a spatial phenomenon; it is also temporal as it is 'per-

ceived over long spans of time' and is subject to alteration often encompassing the old and integrating the new (Lynch 1960: 1). The Brayford Pool and its surrounding area is challenged in this respect because there is no real evidence of prehistoric, Roman or early medieval interaction with the landscape. Whilst there has been continuous industrial activity in the area since the medieval period, the Industrial Revolution and post-Second World War deindustrialization resulted in the erasure of most medieval activity from the landscape. There are traces of medieval plot boundaries to the north of the Brayford Pool, and medieval street patterns to the north, northwest and east of the Brayford Pool are preserved in modern boundaries and roadways (Wragg 1994; Lincoln City Council 2008). But there is little tangible left in the landscape from the medieval period and therefore the longevity of the landscape is not visually apparent. The same is true of the early industrial period (1750-1845), as its physical remains were obliterated from the landscape during the Industrial Revolution. Conversely, whilst there are only fragmentary remains from the Industrial Revolution, it is a major temporal anchor that dominates the historical narratives examined in this chapter.

On an aesthetic level, human perception of landscapes occurs on a scale known as the perceptible realm and is key because 'this is the scale at which humans intentionally change landscapes' (Gobster et al. 2007: 960). It is accepted that this interaction causes people to develop an emotional attachment to the landscape (Lynch 1960; Gobster et al. 2007; Lock and Cole 2011; Tribot et al. 2018). The emotional attachment felt to the landscape is created in the moment of interaction by drawing on past memories of previous interactions, and is used by people to interpret their surroundings and to influence their subsequent actions. Interactions themselves are multisensory and can therefore cause intense experiences and emotional responses (Lynch 1960). Aesthetics and perception are, of course, personal and subjective, and 'preferences for certain characteristics, indicates [there are] numerous and complex influences on perception', which might include cultural elements such as 'demographic, situations, and awareness factors' (Lynch 1960; Lock and Cole 2011). But emotion plays a significant role in how human's perceive aesthetics, which shapes the notion that 'for the citizen, the objective city does not exist' (Carter 1980: 339) to a greater extent than other factors. It is reasonable to suggest that nostalgia is a key emotion and a cognitive process that people draw on as they move around the urban environment. Arguably, the medieval landscape of the Brayford Pool and its surroundings is not perceived in the same way as later periods because there is not enough physical evidence for it to fall into the realm of perception. This aspect of the Brayford Pool's history is a clear part of the written historic and archaeological narrative, but only in terms of expert interest. In addition, the 'uphill' area of Lincoln has a medieval area that is well preserved and has an aesthetic that is easier to interpret and promote to locals and visitors alike (Medievalists.net 2009; Visit Lincoln 2018a). The area has been labelled the Cathedral Quarter by tourism marketers and city planners, and exhibits obvious medieval features such as a cathedral, a castle and other medieval buildings. The same is true of the early industrial period, which was a time of important change in the Brayford Pool landscape as 'substantial wharves, warehouses, and coalyards [were] established on both north and east banks where gardens had earlier stood' (Wragg 1994: 4). However, very few of the buildings dating from this period still exist (Lincoln City Council 2008). Much like the medieval period, there is a lack of tangible evidence to be perceived and experienced. This phenomenon explains the reduced recognition of narratives about medieval and early industrial features, and the prominence of the narratives around the Brayford Pool of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where, although still fragmentary, there is more evidence in the landscape that falls into the perceivable realm. This is in line with the idea put forward by Shackel and Palus that the physical remains of the Industrial Revolution are a 'common sight' (2006: 49) and are often the focus of interpretation and the heritage identity of urban landscapes. This is certainly the case in the Brayford Pool area as significant landscape features left over from this period of urban economic growth and modernization were in situ within living memory and may have nostalgic meaning to individuals and groups, something that can be tested in the future. However, much of the evidence of the intense industrial activity that took place in the nineteenth century has been destroyed (City of Lincoln Council 2008), including most of the large warehouses and all of the mills, maltings and food processing factories (University of Lincoln 2010: 12; Wragg 1994; Hill 2001; City of Lincoln Council 2008; Tobe 2009b; Heritage Connect n.d.). As with remains from the early industrial period, there is little surviving evidence in today's landscape, except for plot boundaries and building footprints and alignments from that period that can still be traced in the landscape, particularly on Brayford Wharf North and to the south of the railway (City of Lincoln Council 2008). In addition, preindustrial field boundaries have influenced the development of the landscape, parcels of land and some streets; however, there are some features, linked to the still-operating railway, that dominate the landscape and continue to shape the character of the area. One important and imposing Victorian building still exists to the south of the Brayford Pool: the Great Central Goods and Grain Warehouse (now known as the Great Central Warehouse), built by the Great Central Railway in 1907 and now the University of Lincoln Library.

The Engine Shed, built by the Great Northern Railway in 1876, also remains and the Student Union is built around the original shell and is named after it. There is also a former railway office to the south of the pool that is



**Figure 8.2.** The former Great Central Warehouse, now the University of Lincoln Library, 2020. © University of Lincoln

still in use and, whilst defunct since 2008, the East Holmes Signal Box still stands and is well maintained (City of Lincoln Council 2008). The Holmes railway crossing that was built by the Great Northern Railway in 1848 is also still in use and is a busy transport crossing. It is the continued presence of the railway, the small buildings with a distinct character, the name used for the new building and the large warehouse that are at the centre of university life that mean the Industrial Revolution dominates the perceivable realm of the south of the Brayford Pool and therefore the historical narrative of the area in both physical and written forms (Gobster et al. 2007; Gieseking et al. 2014). There is another architectural phenomenon to the north of the Brayford Pool still existed by the 1990s, new buildings to the north were designed to create 'the suggestion in silhouette of a warehouse' (Tobe 2009b: 33) and give a clear example of architects and planners build-

ing 'faux warehouse roofs [that] pay homage to this imaginary and mythological industrial past' (Tobe 2009b: 35). These buildings were aesthetically designed to evoke a sense of nostalgia for the industrial period and to create an emotional attachment to the area, although they are poorly designed and a pastiche of the past. Emotional attachment is particularly important in relation to this part of the area because Brayford Wharf North is now a wellestablished and successful urban leisure landscape characterized by a mixture of modern hotels, pubs (historic and modern), restaurants and a cinema on its northern side (Lincoln City Council 2008; Davidson 2012; Walker 2012a). On the south side of the Brayford Pool, the most notable impact of the university has been on the built environment (Tobe 2009a), which has involved building a new campus with only a few historic buildings left in situ. The new, purpose-built educational facilities are large in scale and dominate the southern edge of the Brayford Pool as well as people's visual and physical experience whilst in the area.

Perception can also be explained from a practical perspective, and Lynch's concept of imageability that humans primarily perceive a city as a built image in order to navigate their surroundings (Lynch 1960; Hospers 2010). Lynch (1960) proposed that humans perceive particular aspects of the landscape, denoted as paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks, in order to navigate through the urban landscape. He further suggested that they then take the features perceived to form cognitive maps that take the form of spatial frameworks or images to aid in their navigation around the urban environment (Lynch 1960; Carter 1980). This framework can be applied to look at the Brayford Pool area as there are paths that people can move along in the form of footpaths, roads, rivers, a canal and a railway cutting through the area. There are clear edges, or linear elements in the form of water and the railway. It might be considered a district that is identifiable by its distinct industrial and postindustrial character, and there are several nodes in the form of road junctions, bridges or the railway crossing that mark journey stages through the landscape. There are also landmarks to survive from the postwar, including the avant-garde, postindustrial and iconic 1959 Hugh Segar Scorer building on Brayford Wharf North and its hyperbolic roof, which was once a car showroom but is now a restaurant (Lincoln City Council 2008; Tobe 2009b; Sleight 2012). There are also elements, such as the educational zone created by the university to the south, east and west of the Brayford Pool and the leisure zone to the north, that can be used as markers in the landscape (Lynch 1960; Carter 1980). However, this model has limited application because it lends itself more to description rather than thinking about why this landscape is perceived in a particular way and why some narratives endure more than others. The answer to these questions can be found in the flawed way in which humans create mental maps and is linked back to perception and aesthetics. Appleyard (1973) argued in his operational perception theory that the human brain exaggerates particular features, especially when they are linked to a task that has to be performed in the movement through the landscape or if they are points in the landscape that are used for reference on a regular basis. Similarly, Downs' evaluation approach to perception discusses how human brains structure and evaluate the landscape in relation to the decisions and subsequent actions that need to be taken (Carter 1980; Downs and Stea 2011). In addition to exaggerating features, this also means that, paradoxically, other features remain unseen, even invisible, and are not recalled in the journey through an area (Appleyard 1973; Carter 1980). As Downs argued, humans can take a structural approach to their perception of the landscape, retaining information that is required to navigate through it and disregarding useless information, because it is impossible to recall all the data the urban landscape presents (Carter 1980; Downs and Stea 2011). Arguably, distinctive landmarks, such as the Sam Scorer building, the Great Central Warehouse and the modern purpose-built university buildings, have the potential to elicit responsive perception, as they stand out in the landscape and therefore could have more significance of their place in the landscape attributed to them by individuals, although this requires testing to establish its veracity. In essence, a particular landscape feature might also be seen as significant or ignored because of inferential perception, which is when past experience and parallel experiences are drawn on to make sense of the landscape in order to move through it (Appleyard 1973; Carter 1980). In fact, particular sets of markers may be preferred and given more importance in cognitive maps (Carter 1980; Downs and Stea 2011).

#### What People Value in a Place

In 2011, the Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs (Lock and Cole 2011) made the assumption that 'all landscapes (and ecosystems) are valued: "local places" (usually greenspaces) are highly valued'. However, other authors indicate that much like perception, value is a complex, individualized and contested concept 'of much discussion in contemporary society ... [and] the search for values and meaning has become a pressing concern' (The Getty Conservation Institution 2000: 1). Urban landscapes are made up of a number of distinct parts along with a community of people and so "place" is therefore a socio-physical construct' (Carmona 2019: 1), and within this construct, buildings have aesthetic, social, historic and economic values (The Getty Conservation Institution 2000). Arguably, the University of Lincoln, on the west, east, and south sides of the Brayford Pool, embodies these values; aesthetically, the 'university has undertaken a remarkable journey of development and self-discovery' (University of Lincoln 2010: 7) and has 'dramatically changed the face and life of the city

[with its] exciting new and renovated buildings' (Borsi 2009: 43). One of the underpinning values of the university from its creation has been to be a high-quality academic institution and this goal has resulted physically in large-scale building programmes 'whose scale and architectural language juxtapose themselves to the medieval fabric of the inner city and foremost to the cathedral' (Borsi 2009: 43) and represents 'one of the most notable developments in the city over the last forty years and restates the importance of this natural feature to Lincoln' (Davidson 2012: 3). Social development has fostered the university's development and in the last two years alone, the university has made a  $f_{140}$  million investment in new buildings and infrastructure (Marsh 2019). This recent development is driven by quality in terms of good design and the belief that the built environment can be utilized 'as a way of attracting and retaining the best students and staff' (University of Lincoln 2010: 18). This development has been moulded by egalitarian ideas about the nature of education and knowledge that have shaped the post-1992 higher education sector as '[t]he university built along the railways line and old rail yards, brings back what was previously the common space, this is Holmes Commons, and gives something back to the city' (Tobe 2009b: 34-35). In terms of historic value, there have been different approaches to buildings, including the alteration of the Great Central Warehouse, which was converted into the university's library (Tobe 2009a; Clarke 2012). This site was redeveloped sensitively, but has, to some extent, been reimagined to make it fit for purpose. The work not only required restoration of the existing fabric, but required new additions that were purposely designed to juxtapose to the original fabric of the building (University of Lincoln 2010). The university has also acquired other modern buildings that are excellent examples of the more recent architecture linked to the area's industrial past (Tobe 2009b) - for example, the former Lincolnshire Echo Building on Brayford Road East (Clarke 2012), transforming what had been home to offices and the printing press into the Business and Law Centre (now the Lincoln International Business School) (Clarke 2012). There are still remnants of the building's former use left in situ, including parts of the fabric of the building, the footprint of the printing press and even a crane on the top floor. In other areas, 'the replacement of older, even potentially, and perhaps outrageously, the replacement of listed buildings' (Tobe 2009a: 6) has taken place when no other option was available. However, what the university has not attempted to do is to re-create the former industrial landscape or historic 'fabric in contemporary times, but rather an expression of the social and economic underpinnings currently felt' (Tobe 2009b: 36). In this way, the development is quite different from the leisure development on the Brayford Wharf North, it is less nostalgic and more forward-looking, as one might expect from a new university. Finally, economically Tobe argued that the 'Brayford Pool represents a fascinating

study in postindustrial growth with the enlightenment of education replacing the working of an inland port' (2009b: 32). When the representation of these values is examined, it is possible to understand how the past, present and future can exist simultaneously in the urban landscape.

# How Individuals Describe and Interact with a Place

Sense of place can also describe a 'relationship with places, expressed in different dimensions of human life: emotions, biographies, imagination, stories, and personal experiences' (Adams et al. 2016). In this way, the city 'plays a social role as well, it can furnish the raw material for the symbols and collective memories of group communication' (Lynch 1960: 8); for example, it can be used to create myths and stories. In the case of the Brayford Pool, there is a strong collective cultural memory of the area that focuses on the dereliction of the area in the 1970s and 1980s rather than the destruction of the historic fabric that took place following the Second World War and dominates narratives about lived experiences around the Brayford Pool during the period (Middleton 2018; Visit Lincoln 2018b). The 1970s was the decade when many of the warehouses and industrial buildings and the long narrow plots in which these were situated were destroyed (Lincoln City Council 2008). This destruction was reported in the national news at the time because much of it was done with a flagrant disregard for the law, with listed buildings being demolished without appropriate permission, for example, and replaced with high-rise office blocks that were taller than local planning allowed (Walker 2012b). By the 1990s, the Wharves featured 'a mix of disused industrial relics, new office blocks and contaminated railway sidings' (University of Lincoln 2010: 12). The postindustrial era has an important part in the history of the area that was emphasized during the bidding for money to regenerate this part of the city, which could influence collective memories about the area. As Lincolnshire County Council wrote, it was 'an area that was once characterised by rundown derelict warehouses, wasteland and disused railway sidings around a small marina' (n.d.: 2), as if this was the most important part of its history. There is a sense from this statement that the landscape was simply industrial and then deindustrial, although the mention of the marina does acknowledge the emerging leisure economy that the Council was trying to develop at the time and perhaps hints at more complex economies and landscape narratives.

#### The Sustainability of Places

Urban landscapes often require reshaping and redeveloping to remain sustainable and to maintain their contributions to local, regional and national economies, whether those be industrial, services or knowledge-based. In fact, 'sustainable landscape is widely understood as a key contributor to urban sustainability' (Salem 2016: 419). Crucially, sustainability requires the reimagining of buildings as well as space; as Tobe argued, 'buildings should not remain as symbols, but as inhabitable usable spaces' (2009b: 38). This has occurred in the Brayford Pool area, first and to a small extent through the development of a marina on the southwestern part of the Pool for yachts, pleasures boats and canoes in the 1970s (University of Lincoln 2010; Hughes 2012). However, Lincoln did not follow the pattern of urban waterfront regeneration so common in Britain in the 1980s and epitomized by the regeneration of Liverpool's docks. It was not until the 1990s and the innovation of a 'waterside campus of the university makes Lincoln unique and paved the way for the wholesale regeneration of this once neglected part of the city centre' (University of Lincoln 2010: 40; Hughes 2012). The nowderelict and polluted parcel of land to the south of the Brayford Pool was purchased from British Rail and in 1996 '[a] single building on a derelict railway siding established a university campus' opened (Chiddick 2009: 3; Clarke 2012) on the south side of the Brayford Pool, with just 500 students, as the Lincoln campus for the University of Lincolnshire and Humberside (University of Lincoln 2010). The campus was 'the first to be built in a UK city centre for 25 years in 1996', but it was not until 2001 'when the focus shifted from Hull, that the University of Lincoln was born' (University of Lincoln 2010: 8) and a period 'of rapid transition' began (Tobe 2009b: 36). The first building on the site marked the start of an evolution and adaptation 'to industrial decline and respond to new economic imperatives' (Davidson 2012: 3), although there is an enduring anecdote within the university's community that this building was designed much like a shopping centre, so that it could be converted to a retail space if the university failed. The early development of the campus had an impact on former industrial land adjacent to the Brayford Pool area - for example, the St Marks Shopping area including a large Debenhams department store was built in the 1990s on the former St Marks train station and industrial area (Tobe 2009b). In effect, the area characterized primarily by its industrial past was transformed into a multi-use area, featuring both old and new buildings, focused on the retail and knowledge economies, and representing a shift from former planning practices that created a 'clear delineation of the city in time and space of functional processes' (Vorontsova et al. 2016: 1997). This reimagining of the area is a bold example of sustainable development in practice and has resulted in the area appearing and being used differently from what was the case in the past. The incorporation of historic buildings and the development of new ones allows narratives about former and current economic and social use to continue, and the place to exist in the past, present and future.

# Conclusions

This chapter has applied the concept of more-than-representational theory to look at the Brayford Pool area of Lincoln in a new way. It has taken the well-established linear histories and has disrupted them by looking at how meaning has been made through interactions, experiences and memories. It has sought to demonstrate that whilst economic shifts can result in the transformation of industrial landscapes, a deindustrialized landscape does not equate to a nonindustrialized landscape. Whilst the Brayford Pool and the surrounding landscape can be considered deindustrialized, it is not a nonindustrialized landscape, primarily because of the few buildings from the industrial period that have survived and been repurposed, but also because of the infrastructure that remains in the form of rail and road networks, the leisure buildings to the north that were designed to reflect the Brayford Pool's industrial past and represent the modern leisure industry, and the university buildings to the south that represent the education industry.

Perhaps more importantly, this chapter has sought to better understand this particular urban landscape by exploring why a stronger emphasis may be placed on the importance of the industrial or deindustrial history of the Brayford Pool and its surrounding area, why multiple narratives can exist simultaneously, and why past, present and future narratives can exist in the same temporal space (Tewdwr-Jones 2011; Adams et al. 2016). This was achieved by using sense of place as a framework to understand the following four points: how place is perceived, how elements of a place are valued, how people describe and interact with a place, and the sustainability of places (Adams et al. 2016). This framework, which is usually applied to the urban landscape by cultural geographers rather than historians, has highlighted that perception is not only spatial but also temporal (Lynch 1960). To be able to perceive spans of time, perceivable evidence is needed to still exist in the current landscape. In the case of the Brayford Pool, the only easily perceivable evidence is from the time of the Industrial Revolution onwards, which means that the longevity of the landscape is not apparent. In addition to a lack of apparent longevity, emphasis may be placed on the Industrial Revolution in common narratives because many of the built features of the period are part of a collective, nostalgic memory about the area, which can be seen in texts relating to the Brayford Pool area, but could be further ascertained by future research (Lynch 1960). It was also established that in aesthetic terms, the human perception of landscapes occurs at a scale known as the perceptible realm (Lynch 1960; Gobster et al. 2007; Lock and Cole 2011; Tribot et al. 2018). This results in the development of an emotional attachment to the landscape that is not only created in the moment, but draws on the past, and informs what happens in the immediate future (Lynch 1960; Lock and

Cole 2011; Adams et al. 2016). It is reasonable to suggest that nostalgia (as understood here) is a key emotion people draw upon as they navigate the urban landscape. The perceptible realm can be utilized to explain why the medieval and early industrial landscapes around the Brayford Pool might not be perceptible; there is quite simply not enough physical evidence left in the landscape for people to be able to 'see', experience and form a relationship with it (Gobster et al. 2007; Tobe 2009b; Gieseking et al. 2014). There is just enough large-scale evidence of the Industrial Revolution, in the form of historic buildings and railway infrastructure, left in the landscape for it to fall into the perceivable realm (Gobster et al. 2007; Gieseking et al. 2014). Nostalgia also plays an important part in the dominance of the Industrial Revolution as to the north of the Brayford Pool, modern leisure buildings were built to reflect a perhaps idealized and aesthetically pleasing version of the industrial buildings that once stood in their place (Tobe 2009b). Finally, the practical aspect of perception in terms of imageability shapes how humans perceive urban landscapes and has impacted on how the Brayford Pool area is perceived and understood (Lynch 1960). The ways in which humans create mental maps of a landscape is inherently flawed, as the brain exaggerates the significance of particular features, causing others to be rendered invisible (Appleyard 1973; Carter 1980), and disregards information it decides is useless for navigation because it cannot retain all the data in the landscape (Downs and Stea 2011). In the case of the area to the south of the Brayford Pool, there are distinct buildings such as the Great Central Warehouse and the modern university buildings, as well as the Sam Scorer building to the north that may cause this phenomenon and alter the perception of the area's history, although this idea requires further primary research to validate it.

The chapter also ascertained that place is a sociophysical construct in relation to urban landscapes, and urban buildings have aesthetic, social, historic and economic values, and that the University of Lincoln, which is to the south of the Brayford Pool, embodies each of these values (The Getty Conservation Institution 2000). Whilst it embodies values that are important in order to be able to make meaning of and build a relationship with the landscape, the development of the university is very different from the leisure development to the north of the Brayford Pool, in that it is less nostalgic and more futuristic, despite incorporating historic buildings (Tobe 2009b). In this way, the university campus provides a framework for how the past, present and future can exist simultaneously in the urban landscape. It might be argued that sociophysical constructs and relationships with landscapes through them have the potential to be expressed in a range of narratives, including biographies, stories and personal experiences (Adams et al. 2016). This appears to occur in relation to the Brayford Pool's period of dereliction in the 1970s and 1980s, when many of the remaining industrial buildings were destroyed (Lincoln City Council 2008) as society moved from the industrial to the postindustrial era. The narrative is more dominant than one might expect because the remains of the Industrial Revolution, their destruction and the period of dereliction were emphasized during bidding for funding for regeneration in the 1990s and 2000s (University of Lincoln 2010). This focus might also have led to a sense that the area was simply industrial as defined by the Industrial Revolution and then nonindustrial as defined by the postindustrial era.

Finally, the sustainability of places was considered in order to better understand why change had to take place and how this led to a reimagining of the area in terms of use. Reimagining the Brayford Pool and repurposing buildings for new uses, or erecting new buildings, has resulted not only in the area looking different, but also in it being perceived and experienced differently (Tobe 2009b). Sustainability allows narratives about former and current economic and social use to continue, and the place to exist in the past, present and future.

By drawing on cultural geography theory and historical knowledge, this chapter has sought to better understand why the landscape in the Brayford Pool area of Lincoln is the way it is at the time of writing, why certain aspects of its history are more prominent than others, why it has different meanings to different people, why it has multiple narratives about it and why it exists across time.

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#### CHAPTER 9

# The RiMaflow Project

A Laboratory to Study the New Cultural Meanings of Industrial Places

Dino Gavinelli, Eleonora Mastropietro and Giacomo Zanolin

This chapter proposes an investigation on the socioeconomic and spatial transformations that followed the decommissioning of an automotive production plant in the southern outskirts of Milan. The production stoppage, due to a relocation policy, obviously had an impact on the workers, who (as often happens) found themselves at a crossroads: they could either follow the production plant abroad or remain in Italy without an income for their family. In this specific case, they chose a third way by occupying the empty factory and starting a completely original process of industrial regeneration.

This case study presents many elements of interest, which can be studied from economic, social and cultural points of view. The geographical perspective of this study focuses on its value for introducing a practice that is capable of activating a type of place making acting in tension with local government and with factory owners. In particular, the case study shows how an industrial site can assume a specific cultural value based on the creative performances of the actors that actually become performances of the place. Through qualitative interviews with local actors, factory workers and people who are involved in the process, this chapter aims at studying a peculiar postindustrial place in a performative sense by focusing on bottom-up practices for the refunctionalization of an automotive factory. The attempt is

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to understand the new meanings that this place is taking on in relation to the performances of the actors of a nonconventional refunctionalization process.

# **Theoretical Insights**

The idea that place making has both economic and cultural value is well established in social studies (Lash and Urry 1994; Molotch 2002; Rota and Salone 2014). From a geographical point of view, this awareness entails focusing research not only on objective data but also on the discursive practices that are activated by the actors who are engaged in spatial processes. It also means searching for space beyond space and endowing it with fundamental value from a sociopolitical point of view (Soja 1971; Massey 2005).

This theoretical and methodological approach finds its roots in a school of thought that dates back to the 1970s and that we can investigate starting from two main theoretical axes of reference: humanistic geography and the territorial approach. The former is focused on human experience, awareness and knowledge. Humanistic geography aims at exploring material, immaterial and representational dynamics of spatial construction of places (Tuan 1974, 1976; Buttimer 1990). The territorial approach stems from the numerous studies that have been carried out in Italy (Vallega 2004; Magnaghi 2009; Saquet 2012) and proposes a specific elaboration of the concept of territory, understood not only as basic spatial data on which human groups act, but also as the result of a process (referred to as territorialization) that is constantly reproduced. From this point of view, a territory is no longer just a portion of the earth's surface or a stage for action, but rather a place of internal and external relations (on a small and large scale), an open space that undergoes constant transformation (Muscarà 1967). The territorial approach is rooted in the thinking of Gottmann (1973) and Deleuze and Guattari (1972), and derives from the study of the problems of sustainable development by emphasizing the central value of local heritage (in its environmental, urban, cultural and social components) as a fundamental element for the sustainable production of wealth. Territory is conceived as the historical product of long lasting co-evolutionary processes involving human settlement and environment that have been enacted by subsequent and stratified cycles of civilization. These processes produce places that are highly complex living systems with their own specific identity, typological characteristics and strong individuality. The Italian geographical scientific community first elaborated this approach in an original way in the groundbreaking works of Raffestin (1981, 1984), Dematteis (1985) and Turco (1988).

These studies have particularly stressed the importance of the political dimension of the territory, that is, the result of a process of appropriation of

space through the use and control of its resources. Territory can therefore be the result of a collective resistance against the dynamics of power that aims at controlling space based on new practices of structuring and symbolization (Magnaghi 1976). All this is useful in order to investigate some specific developments that have taken place in cultural geography in recent years (Jackson 2016). They have placed landscapes at the centre of as a category of thought that enables us to read territorial dynamics that are in progress, as well as their opening up to the simultaneous interpretation of social, cultural and territorial dimensions (Cosgrove 1984). In this context, the metaphor of the theatre has taken on a key role according to which all actors in the territory interact by implementing creative practices that give meaning to places (Turri 1998; Turco 2012). This leads to the need to adopt a performative approach (Gregson and Rose 2000) aimed at studying how subjects (considered as social and cultural actors) activate spatial processes to construct places that increasingly overlap with dynamics of power.

These interpretations of territorial processes allow the substantially unstable character of space (Thrift 2003) to be highlighted, thus demonstrating how the creativity of territorial actors sometimes exceeds the limits of representations, cognitions and discourses. This explains the increase in discussions about the need for a nonrepresentational or more-than-representational approach (Thrift 2008), whose overarching aim is to interpret the material dynamism of acted and performed interaction between humans and space, which are carried out through creative acts. Starting from this point, a further theoretical development is aimed at directing the research by opening up to a multisensorial approach for the interpretation of narratives (Lorimer 2005). The main point is to study territorial processes by analysing their evident manifestations within the surrounding landscape, trying to go beyond the representations themselves. As territorial theory has clearly explained in past years (Raffestin 2005), a strong bilateral relationship exists between landscape and territory because the former is the result of the territorial project, but at the same time, it is a specific idea of landscape, and this could be the reason why a specific territory is planned and eventually built. For this reason, landscape is no longer just an abstract concept or a representation, but rather a concrete object capable of inspiring and modifying the territorial project (Quaini 2006). Furthermore, approaching a landscape and trying to go beyond its meaning as the mere representation of territory implicates the consideration of its material dimension as a body that interacts with many other corporealities, thereby producing performances that can be directly attributed to places. By considering landscapes in this way, we can therefore study place performances that derive from a specific sense of place. When a landscape provides a sense of identity (Carolan 2008) in the local community, it becomes an

instrument for the appropriation of space because it transforms it into acted space and fosters its corporal embodiment.

Specific territorial-based place performances are therefore occasions to strengthen a bond with places themselves. By surpassing the idea of landscape as a mere representation, we can study how specific place performances can produce meanings that become parts of a territorial project because they are the effects of creative actions that disrupt consolidated schemes and propose new ways to create fondness for places (Waterton 2019).

All this is particularly significant in the case of postindustrial places because they are relevant examples of spaces that are involved in the Territorialization-Deterritorialization-Reterritorialization (TDR) process (Raffestin 1981). This is a prevalently economic phenomenon, but at the same time, it is a social and cultural opportunity to find new ways to relate to places through the creation of new methods of appropriation of space and to build affective relationships. From this perspective, a landscape assumes a specific role and becomes the expression of an affective relationship between local people and places that stems from a sense of belonging and the cultural appropriation of space resulting from concrete territorial actions and subjective feelings (Carolan 2008). Humanistic geography in this way becomes relevant again through a more-than-representational approach (Lorimer 2005) to study subjective and collective perceptions, performances and material practices (Anderson and Harrison 2010). The case study of RiMaflow offers an interesting point of discussion in relation to the creative actions and performances expressed by workers.

### The Recovered Factories in the Italian Context

The RiMaflow case study could be considered as a Workers' Buyout (WBO) experience. WBOs occur when a group of employees of a company undertake its buyout or even rescue it from difficulties (Borzaga 2015). This could result in a restructuring or in a conversion and in the transfer of the full or partial ownership of the company to the employees. WBOs emerge as the result of a bottom-up procedure intended to find solutions to processes of deindustrialization and to the issues of unemployment emerging with the end of the traditional industrial era and during economic crisis. Two aspects of WBOs are of greater interest: the attribution of new meanings to space through the reuse of the industrial sites, thanks to what was defined as a 're-territorialization of the economy' (Martini and Vasquez Pizzi 2015: 1996); and the emergence of new forms of social organization based on cooperatives of workers. WBOs did not emerge only in Italy, but it is quite common abroad. The most noteworthy movement is the Empresas Recuperadas por sus Trabajadores (Companies Recovered by Their Workers) in Latin America (Vieta 2013), which started after the economic downturn in 2001 (Vigliarolo 2011).

After the economic crisis began in 2008, the number of WBOs increased in Southern European countries as a way to recover from job loss and company shutdowns, and in general to limit community degrowth (Azzellini 2014). Since 2010, France, Spain and Italy have thus witnessed a growth of startups and cooperatives of workers emerging from buyouts of firms in difficulty. In Italy, a large number of WBOs were implemented by the creation of cooperatives of workers, starting before the 2008 economic downturn. Some cases could be traced back to three decades ago after the 1985 Marcora Law<sup>1</sup> (L. 49/85) on the financing of cooperatives. Monni et al. (2017), in their research on WBOs in Italy, account for 250 cases from 1986 to 2016. After a first boost given by the Marcora Law, the phenomenon became less popular, particularly after pronunciations by the European Union that severely limited the effectiveness of public financing of cooperatives, in contrast to the rules of effective economic competition. After 2001, the number of cases rose again, caused by a revision of the Marcora law (l. 57/2001), which limited public funding of WBOs in accordance to European regulations.

Later on, the decrease in the number of WBOs was also connected to the economic downturn that began in 2008. The evolution of this phenomenon in Italy is related to the increase in unemployment, which was particularly severe after 2008 (Vieta and Depedri 2015); the phenomenon of WBOs is not homogeneous in Italy for the typologies and the territorial distribution. Vieta and Depredi (2014) noted different types of WBOs in Italy according to the process of creation and the internal management more or less based on cooperative principles. Moreover, it is possible to point out a regional differentiation: a greater occurrence in the regions of the north and the centre (Monni et al. 2017) could be related to the peculiarities of an industrial context that was more permeable to grassroots innovations (Antonazzo 2018). Among the WBOs, it is possible to individuate many different models. While some are tending towards production, in order to respond to the danger of job losses, others are implementing new business models and participating in wider social movements (Azzellini 2016). In this respect, some cases are less focused on the idea of a recovered factory and instead on the concept of recovered social places. For de Nardis and Antonazzo, 'in these cases what counts is not the actual production of means, but much more the production of economic alternatives and the production of social and symbolic capital' (de Nardis and Antonazzo 2017: 119); therefore, WBOs take part in wider processes of social innovation and struggle. The case of RiMaflow in Trezzano sul Naviglio (Milan), due to its history and specificity, is one of the most representative examples of these aspects in Italy.

# The Case Study: RiMaflow

### The Territorial Context

RiMaflow represents a peculiar experience enclosed in a specific context. The territorial context is Lombardia, one of the most industrialized areas in Italy, which has affected by the impact of industrial delocalization and by the economic downturn of the last few decades. According to Unioncamere Lombardia (the regional Chambers of Commerce), the number of active businesses in the traditional industries has been constantly decreasing for a decade, which has nowadays stabilized at a -1.2% annual decrease.<sup>2</sup> RiMaflow is located in Trezzano sul Naviglio, a municipality of the Metropolitan City of Milan located approximately nine kilometres southwest of the city centre, along the roads connecting Milan to Vigevano. The area of Trezzano sul Naviglio is a heavily industrialized one, characterized not only by a relevant permanence of productive industrial plants, but also by an increasing presence of service and commercial activities. The location significantly affects the ongoing processes of transformation. We could state that the geographical context has both positive and negative effects on the outcome of this experience. Trezzano sul Naviglio is part of the South Milan Agricultural Park, a natural park that preserves small rural areas within urbanized areas between the southwestern and the southeastern Milan metropolitan area (Ferraresi 2009). There is a high density of green areas and cultivated fields very close to the industrial area where the company is located. Finally, it is possible to take into account the role of the 'Ndrangheta (the Calabrian mafia), which is present in Lombardy and particularly in this area. The presence of the 'Ndrangheta has effects on political, economic, social and thus territorial activities (Meli 2015; Venturini and Branchi 2017).

#### The History of the Firm

RiMaflow is the last phase of a forty-year-long transformation of an industrial plant established in Trezzano sul Naviglio in the beginning of the 1970s. In 1973, the Murray company was established by two partners (Giorgio Sommariva and Roberto Marchetti) who were active in the production of the automotive parts. Production experienced rapid growth and with some changes to the name and the ownership in 2004, the plant became part of Maflow. Maflow is a global leader in the production of tubes for airconditioning systems. The Trezzano sul Naviglio plant was the head of a transnational company with twenty-three plants across the world. In 2009, however, a crisis began – a crisis that was not to be attributed to production, but to fraudulent bankruptcy and bad management. Since 2009, the plant had been gradually dismantled and relocated to Poland, which was necessary to maintain crucial production for the automotive sector for companies such



Figure 9.1. The entrance of the RiMaflow, Italy, 2017. © G. Zanolin

as BMW. In brief, after four years of trade union negotiations, the Italian plant was closed in 2013 and dismantled, with every removable part taken out. Our interviewees stated that they found the factory completely empty one day, and the location to which the material was taken to remains unknown. In 2013, the RiMaflow cooperative was established, gathering many former Maflow workers. The cooperative was born according to the strategy of the Marcora Law, but with a fundamental difference. According to the Marcora Law, the employees should become owners of the plant; in the case of RiMaflow, the workers instead occupied the premises, intentionally exceeding the scope foreseen by the Law.

Since the very beginning, RiMaflow has appeared as an innovative experience in the Italian context. More than 100 workers created a project that differed from the traditional labour struggles and was not led by the unions (Coscia and Perbellini 2014). In this case, it was the workers who started the process, with a bottom-up initiative, in contrast and in opposition to the owner and the government. This resulted in a legitimate organization illegally managing activities inside the industrial building. After the failure of the company, the buildings that were home to the plant were acquired by Unicredit Bank and by a leasing society as part of the company liquidation. The bank ultimately filed a lawsuit against the workers' cooperative for their occupancy of the properties, starting a dispute that is still ongoing, although in November 2018, the two parties reached an agreement, with the workers moving their activities to a location in agreement with the owner. The new building is not far from the original one: this means that the territorial context might remain the same.

The RiMaflow workers foster a project that, compared with other experiences in Italy, is not restricted to the rehabilitation of the former production, but is also intended for the creation of new activities in the plant area. Thus, the focus is on the reutilization of the industrial area in Trezzano sul Naviglio and its opening as a new place for socialization. As a matter of fact, RiMaflow is a WBO experience devoted 'to join forces with other sectors, such as the solidarity economy and social movements, in building non-capitalist relations' (Azzellini 2016: 11).

#### The Activities in RiMaflow

From the very beginning, the project expressed a specific vocation and an evident political intent to refunctionalize a manufacturing plant in an ecological way: on the one hand, by giving value to the workers' knowhow; and, on the other hand, by opening up to new activities which might generate revenue for the families, while at the same time, engaging the territory in ecological and social activities. The old plants of Maflow in Trezzano include three main buildings hosting different kinds of activities (Balduzzi 2018). The first building hosts the Cittadella dell'Altra Economia (Citadel of the Alternative Economy), offering spaces to artisan workshops that cannot afford other locations. Artisans are not asked to pay rent, but are expected to contribute to the general expenses. Users of the Cittadella, while sharing spaces in the building, also have the opportunity to exchange ideas and competences: the space emerges as a bottom-up business incubator, implementing the models of cooperation and mutual help. The second building is currently a garage for caravans, an activity intended to generate extra income to support the activities of the cooperative. The third building is devoted to the continuation of the mainstream activity of the former business, the recycling and reuse of waste material, such as paper, plastic and aluminium. This activity, as will be explained below, is currently on hold. Some areas of the RiMaflow plant are devoted to socialization and include a cafeteria and a small canteen for the workers. These areas frequently host cultural activities, performances, conferences and plays, which are very popular with the residents of the area and interested audiences from other cultural and social contexts.

The progressive opening of RiMaflow as an open and inclusive space, oriented towards socialization, allowed the cooperative to join the Fuorimercato project.<sup>3</sup> Fuorimercato is a network of agricultural producers (mainly producers of citrus fruits) who guarantee mutual support for activities aiming to resist the pervasiveness of the large-scale retail trade. The network tries to shorten the food production chain and guarantee a fair income for producers and farm workers, while keeping the commercial competitiveness of the products at market levels. The creation of the Fuorimercato network has projected RiMaflow's activities in the food sector onto a national scale.

Furthermore, in collaboration with associations led by Libera,<sup>4</sup> a project has been set up to reuse the fields reclaimed from criminal organizations in order to grow organic hop plants. This project addresses the growing need for artisanal breweries, a burgeoning sector in the Italian market. What is evident is the quest of the producers for niches in production that they may occupy, in a modest but not necessarily ineffectual way. In the same field, there is the construction of an organic malt house, the only one in northern Italy apart from those in the valleys surrounding Bologna. These activities open this industrial plant to the territory in a multiscale dimension, stimulating relations and collaborations with nearby areas, but at the same time aiming at the national and global contexts. What is even more interesting is the impact on the local territory of collateral activities performed within the Cittadella dell'Altra Economia. Though they may seem marginal at first glance, they are actually fundamental in establishing RiMaflow as an active territorial actor that is both multifunctional and multilevel.

A wide range of activities shows the ability of this project to give space to the performances of different actors that find room in the spaces once occupied by the production line for the automotive sector. As mentioned above, inside the Cittadella, there are many handicraft laboratories dealing with the reuse of disused tools (such as electrical appliances or pieces of furniture), but also rehearsal and recording studios for musicians, as well as a dog area for a local association called Agility. These examples show how RiMaflow applies the idea of mutualism through workers in practical terms; in fact, it strives to be an example of a no-owner factory, self-managed by the workers' cooperative and able to involve local actors in its activities: not just a productive place, but also a social place. In comparison with the recycling activity, this is obviously marginal, but it highlights the ability of RiMaflow to be a benchmark for local development and, as a consequence, for all the bottomup activities facing economic problems due to the speculative mechanisms driven by globalization and the concentration of the economic and political power in the hands of just a few of big world companies. The productive space is redefining itself, starting from resilient practices promoted by concerned actors aware of their role in a socioeconomic and territorial context that is quickly redefining itself. In this way, what is taking shape is a social place that is of use to local communities but is also open to regional, national and global processes.



Figure 9.2. An example of the creative reuse of productive spaces in RiMaflow. © G. Zanolin

#### The Current Crisis

RiMaflow is an innovative project, which gives new life to an area stripped of its original functions, configuring itself as a true process of reterritorialization. This process took place thanks to the creation of a heterogeneous set of economic activities, which found a location in RiMaflow, while they are mostly marginalised by traditional production cycles. This is the case for the experimental activity in recycling of raw materials, the artisans' workshops in the Cittadella dell'Altra Economia and the participation in anti-capitalist networks such as Fuorimercato; a set of activities that hardly fit the rules of standardized production systems and established labour law regulations. It must also be noted that the occupation of the plant, which is currently owned by Unicredit Bank, is per se an illegal act.

As noted above, after the failure of Maflow in 2013, the buildings in which the plant was located were acquired by Unicredit Bank, one of the most important investment banks in Italy, and by a leasing society as part of the company liquidation. The bank, from the very beginning, opposed the workers' occupancy by filling a lawsuit against the cooperative. Besides the legal action, the bank made several attempts to force the occupants to leave the RiMaflow premises. In fact, the set of activities carried out by RiMaflow's workers are performed without any authorization by the owners of the buildings. The formal actor, in order to carry out the workers' activities, is legally constituted and registered as a workers' cooperative. There are twenty members of the cooperative, but more than a hundred people are involved in its activities. It is thus a blurred context: it exists in a formally and legally recognized framework for commercial and entrepreneurial activities, but it is localized in an illegal context because of the conflict over the property. We are not able to know in depth the details of the ongoing contracts or business relations between the cooperative and larger number of workers, collaborators, volunteers, supporters and customers involved. However, as RiMaFlow is a legally constituted cooperative its members are the bodies responsible for every activity, including the contested appropriation of the building.

Notwithstanding its limitations, the RiMaflow project has been increasingly supported by citizens and institutional actors who appreciate its innovativeness and its importance as an experiment,<sup>5</sup> as well as for its impact on the local territory and for its symbolic aspects. Despite this widespread support, so far there has been no solution to the question of the ownership of the plant and the RiMaflow activities were threatened by eviction from the legal owner. In early November 2018, while resisting an eviction attempt, workers tried to negotiate a settlement with the bank. The event received significant attention from RiMaflow supporters and the press, and so in order to avoid the situation having a negative impact on its public image, the bank stopped the eviction. As this step involved the police authorities, they were able to organize talks between the bank and the cooperative, which resulted in an agreement. The bank finally proposed that the cooperative could purchase another industrial building in the area. The building into which RiMaflow will be moving into is being bought thanks to the financial support of different community organizations, foundations and individual supporters. Nevertheless, we might envisage a positive outcome with the continuation of the RiMaflow experience in a formally coherent and definitive framework.

## Discussion

This chapter presents fieldwork that was carried out with the aim of analysing the peculiarities of an industrial location due to the creative actions of local actors following a surprising factory closure. Following a more-thanrepresentational approach (Lorimer 2005), this chapter has concentrated on the bodily, material and discursive performances that were activated by local actors. Although the workers had been excluded from territorial processes due to the closure of the factory, they were able to reappropriate the territory's industrial spaces and transform them into areas that were not only productive spaces but also social and cultural places (Jackson 2016). The workers transformed RiMaflow into a place with a specific identity not only for the workers themselves, but also for other people in different territories. This is therefore an example of a multiscale effect because the RiMaflow model is spreading at the regional, national and international levels as an alternative way to refunctionalize a postindustrial place. All this has been accomplished despite political actions aiming to expel the workers and closing the factory for good. For this reason, RiMaflow may be described as a singular experience of territory transformation (reterritorialization, as seen above) in spite of the dynamics of power at work within the territory (Raffestin 1981).

What we have presented is the first step of a study devoted to investigating the performances of a group of workers who were involved in the transformation of a factory into a new kind of productive and social place that is connected to the territory in which it is located (Lash and Urry 1994; Molotch 2002). After a few years of activity, the performances of the local actors are assuming a wider meaning, pervading the landscape and endowing the place with a role of a subject with a specific identity (Azzellini 2016). Therefore, we can claim that RiMaflow is becoming a place that is capable of activating subjective and social performances, and is now considered an active part that contributes to the complexity of the territory thanks to the activities of its actors. We studied the RiMaflow project and focused on the practices that were performed by the various actors who were involved in an original refunctionalization process that is taking on an increasingly symbolic and socioeconomic importance within the Italian and international contexts. The results in this chapter refer specifically to this case study, which presents unique elements, at least within the Italian context. Nevertheless, some general remarks may be drawn from this study based on the theoretical framework presented above.

As it has come to define itself throughout the last two centuries, industrialization is the result of a reterritorialization process that is not limited to manifestations in the morphological features of the landscape (Raffestin 2005). Indeed, it has promoted a redefinition of technical, economic, social and cultural aspects that define the current meaning that is attributed (often in a nostalgic way) to industrial landscapes (Rota and Salone 2014). The decline of industries in Western countries has complicated the interpretation of those landscapes because it has redefined an entire value system that has constructed a narration that was so effective for decades as to defend the entire self-representational system of the local communities of workers and the nations' so-called industrial countries and self-promoted as leaders in the globalized market (Rossi and Vanolo 2010). As a result, the industrial decline has led to a redefinition of industrial spaces both in relation to their structures and the connotations that are attributed to factories and industrial employment. Such transformations interact with the complex system of immaterial values that define the significant narrative structure of deindustrialized or postindustrialized landscapes. Raffestin (2006) stated that landscapes are the instrument that triggers the shift from reality to representation, as well as being an instrument of knowledge that is necessary to understand reality. However, when analysing postindustrial spaces today, limiting oneself to studying the representations and material and immaterial features of a landscape is no longer sufficient. This case study could be read as a laboratory for studying postindustrial landscapes from a more-thanrepresentational perspective (Waterton 2019). The aim is to understand how specific and concrete practices can contribute to giving new meanings to a place by projecting it into a new dimension as an actor of the territory. From this perspective, the place assumes a specific corporeality by virtue of its ability to activate emotions and affect not only the people who are directly involved in the process (the former workers in the case of RiMaflow), but also a large number of people who find opportunities to look at the world in different ways. This case also produces a wider effect, because single and specific experiences like that of RiMaflow may represent an opportunity to adopt a divergent viewpoint. We are aware that RiMaflow is just a case study, but we think that it demonstrates that reterritorialization can happen through bottom-up creative acts and not only through plans imposed in a top-down manner.

The case of RiMaflow is peculiar because workers have found a specific strategy to cooperate and find a valid source of support in organized civil society (trade unions, associations, etc.). This effect is based on a performance involving traditional values connected to industrial landscapes (and referred to as nostalgic performance) and current values deriving from postindustrial landscapes (and referred to as creative performance). More specifically, because the promoters of the project are former industrial workers, they were able to become actors in a performance that was inspired by the industrial age by involving social actors who were historically bound to the labour movement (e.g. trade unionists, active citizens in popular movements and political actors). They are currently supporting a form of nonviolent resistance movement to consolidated subjects in positions of power (e.g. the local conservative political party, organized criminal associations with economic interests in these places and the owners of the former factory buildings) that are trying to shut down the RiMaflow project. At the same time, these former workers' actions are not simply past-oriented, for they have become creative actors who are aware of the social and territorial processes of contemporaneity and are capable of activating new performances that are

inspired by the postindustrial model through the various projects described above. This virtuous process was driven by the workers' essential needs or rather by the pressing need to invent a job in order to support their families. Thanks to a network of international contacts and therefore to the example of other similar experiences around the world,<sup>6</sup> they have reinvented the sense of place (Tuan 1974) through the reorganization of their work. In this way, they promote their specific role as protagonists of an experience that may be presented as an experiment for a potentially innovative way of developing the industrial sector in the twenty-first century not merely as a productive space, but also as a place that is open to territorial activities and the social and cultural needs of the resident population.

## Conclusions

In this chapter, we proposed RiMaflow as a case study to understand how and why we should study creative processes of refunctionalization by expanding our point of view beyond productive aspects. RiMaflow is a unique example of a place acted upon by creative actors, whose relationship with local governments and factory owners has endowed it with a specific role within the industrial landscape of the southern suburbs of Milan. The former workers are not only proposing an alternative way to produce earnings for themselves,7 but are also enacting an idea. In fact, after confirming a deal in November 2018 (see above), the RiMaflow project is moving from its original location to a new building not far from the original one to continue its economic, social and cultural activities. The project is expanding and becoming stronger; as we have seen, it was initially the place (the factory) itself that gave meaning to the project, but in its new location, RiMaflow (i.e. the actors and the ideas they promote) is giving meaning to the new place (the new building). This case study is also exceptional because it is a hybrid subject that is generated from the performances of creative actors in a concrete territory and with concrete needs in terms of wages. It represents a greater meaning and, as such, is an opportunity for the reconfiguration of postindustrial places by endowing them with new productive and affective meanings.

The territorialization-deterritorialization-reterritorialization process (Deleuze and Guattari 1972) is complete, not only because of its economic activities, but also because of the cultural and social processes that have been activated. RiMaflow is now part of the landscape of the southern suburbs of Milan and a place with a specific identity that stems from the performances of local actors and from their subjective emotions (Tuan 1976). Actors' performances and concrete practices (Anderson and Harrison 2010) therefore take on a specific role in the territory as the result of an alternative collective effort, aimed at controlling space to resist to the dynamics of power (Magnaghi 1976).

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## Notes

1. The Marcora Law promoted the creation of cooperatives by the laid-off workers of companies in crisis. The cooperatives were supported by special funds for the financing of projects for the recovery of firms, provided a share of co-financing by workers on a ratio of 3:1 between the amounts provided by the government and the funds provided by workers.

2. Retrieved 12 April 2021 from

http://www.unioncamerelombardia.it/images/file/OE%20Imprese/DEMO\_TOT\_1\_2018.pdf.

3. See www.fuorimercato.com.

4. Libera is a national association committed to the issues of legality, promoting projects against organized crime; see www.libera.it.

5. For example, the support given to RiMaflow by the local church and by the Archbishop of Milan Delpini, who visited the factory in May 2018, can be mentioned here (see http://giornaledeinavigli.it/attualita/arcivescovo-delpini-alla-RiMaflow-non-soluzioni-sos tegno, retrieved 12 April 2021).

6. RiMaflow is drawn from the workers' mutual aid societies and many different experiences that occurred at the beginning of the workers' movement. It is related to similar experiences of self-management at an international level, ranging from the Argentinean *fabricas recuperadas* to the Association pour l'autogestion francese (see, for example, www.autogestion .asso.fr).

7. They are still working in the factory and earning sufficient wages thanks to the activities that are promoted in and by the factory, and through a solidarity network connecting them with all the actors who are involved in the RiMaflow project. The activities that are promoted within the factory generate a small income for the cooperative, which is distributed among the workers.

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#### CHAPTER 10

# Refining the Heritage Narrative of Post-oil Landscapes

CAROLA HEIN, TINO MAGER AND STEPHAN HAUSER

Petroleum and its products are omnipresent. They have reshaped the spatial and material characteristics of landscapes (Müller 1977) around the globe for almost two centuries, restructuring existing natural spaces, creating worldwide networks of infrastructure and even producing change on a microscopic level (Waters et al. 2016). Oil's spatial manifestation includes not just oil fields and refineries, but all of its material products, as well as the complex structures for their production. It is impossible to draw a complete picture: petroleum and its derivatives have become an integral part of nearly all types of humanmade objects. Even considering only the physical condition of landscapes, oil's influence is enormous. Many elements of the built environment are connected to oil: refineries, storage tanks and gas stations, but also headquarters and educational, cultural and leisure institutions. Petroleum is used to make insulation, paint, window frames, asphalt, roofing, solar cells, wind turbines, signposts, lighting and facade elements, to name but a few of the elements that are part of our daily life. These and other objects are connected by networks of oil-based materials, including roads, pipelines and electric cables. Petroleum is used to produce clothing, packaging, vehicles, smartphones, credit cards and sports equipment. In short, we have an environment so highly shaped by a complex network of oil-based products that it requires its own terminology to account for the phenomenon: the global petroleumscape (Hein 2009, 2013, 2017a, 2017b, 2018a).

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For much of the last century and a half, petroleum has been celebrated as a provider of work and wealth, facilitating mobility and everyday life, including through the widespread use of plastics. For many people, petroleum modernity evokes nostalgic feelings of freedom. These positive feelings are often related to what we may call the period of heroic oil. The seemingly positive side of oil consumption (the front end of petroleum) makes it more difficult to replace the petroleum-based energy system (the back end of petroleum) with sustainable energy sources and practices. Concrete plans to satisfy human energy needs in more sustainable ways include a far-reaching phase-out of fossil energy production. Structural changes affect production and consumption processes, and thus the behaviour of individuals and entire societies. They ultimately lead to closed chapters of human history, chapters that retrospectively represent a significant developmental step, which was elementary for groundbreaking developments, but no longer have a direct impact on the present. Even as the spaces of oil disappear, their cultural heritage continues in art, architecture, films, literature and everyday culture postulating oil as a source of pleasure.

Petroleum narratives are manifold and often celebratory: stories have long aided the successful emergence of companies like Standard Oil (the predecessor of today's Exxon Mobil Corporation). Oil ports, pipelines, refineries and storage tanks appeared prominently in national narratives in countries like China where Wang Jinxi, known as Iron Man, became the socialist hero of the Daqing Oil Fields, or Iran, where oil companies made films depicting their investments.<sup>1</sup> Petroleum has played an important part of postwar narratives in the port cities of Western Europe, such as the war destroyed cities of Rotterdam or Dunkirk that rebounded thanks to the oil industry. The era of heroic oil also included the freedom and individuality associated with the car, the many possibilities of air travel, and the auspicious consumption of new consumer and luxury items. However, more detailed analysis of the global petroleumscape also shows that it is extremely heterogeneous and that the nostalgic narratives associated with its diverse spaces convey a highly selective picture. Such an analysis must take into account the extreme differentiation between its front and back ends between consumption and production.

As much as oil has penetrated everyday human life, the places where oil is produced and processed are large in scale, but often out of sight, debranded and hidden, for example, in the industrial zones of ports where global shipping meets land-based national infrastructures. Refineries and petroleum storage sites have been regarded as important symbols of progress in earlier times and are still seen as in emerging markets, yet production facilities have become increasingly unrepresentative in times when global warming has become an issue. Refineries and their related oil storage facilities are the parts of the petroleumscape that have the most important staying power. Once established, the sites of petroleum transformation, and specifically the refineries, do not disappear (Hein 2018b). Due to the global networks of petroleum, refineries have managed to overcome periods of war and nationalization, of destruction and reappropriation, while redirecting petroleum flows over time. The refineries on the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia provide a good example here. Established in the 1870s, the Schuylkill facility has become the oldest continuously operating petroleum facility in the world. Surrounded by a metropolis of some five million people (Quivik 2015),<sup>2</sup> the site has become an environmental and security risk. Closure was on the table in 2011, but the shale oil boom revived the financial viability of the refineries. Local and regional forces pushed to keep the plants open and maintain employment for its remaining 850 workers (Hein 2016b).

To effectively transcend the shortsightedness in our relationship with oil, it is crucial to reconsider the spaces of petroleum and provide a better understanding of production sites, including how they emerged and shaped our built environment and everyday practices. Reusing and transforming the back ends of the petroleumscape, the sites of oil production, storage and distribution, and repositioning them as part of our cultural heritage requires a rewriting of nostalgic oil narratives, a more holistic version that encompasses the promises and commodities of oil and its derivatives, as well as its dangerous aspects and that transform the currently for humans rarely accessible non-places (Augé 1995) of its production. This chapter proposes that a historical understanding can help designers create spatial strategies to reuse production and processing sites, to develop transition strategies for their reuse as energy hubs or urban sites, and help to make them a part of current business or residential projects. Furthermore, these petroleum sites could even become a part of the heritage landscape. The end of the (heroic?) oil era means revealing the shortcomings and motivations of political and economic narratives, and it means addressing nostalgia for the oil age and its buildings. Following a brief reflection on oil-age nostalgia and its meaning, this chapter explores the oil history and oil-age narrative of Dunkirk, an industrial city on the French North Sea coast, through the lens of the petroleumscape. It also features Dunkirk specific design projects from the MSc2 Studio Architecture and Urbanism Beyond Oil from Delft University of Technology (TU Delft) as examples of how to address heritage in a post-oil landscape.

#### Transcending the Nostalgic of Oil

As explored by Nigel Thrift (1996: 13), the industrial petroleumscape is a space so unconnected with human nature, and so hostile and large in scale

that there seems to be no possibility for action and interaction between the human body and the world. One approach to overcoming this challenge requires studying the spatial characteristics of the petroleumscape. Conceptually linking oil consumption, with all its positive imagery, to production sites can further our understanding of the true scale of petroleum's impact and inspire efforts to overcome it. We take a spatial perspective (and understand architecture as spatial planning) with hopes of encouraging a specific understanding of locations as part of our cultural heritage. The architectural objective of creating habitable spaces can contribute to reintegrating these industrial sites with the human habitat. The inhospitable nature of these places, their stark contrast to everything that oil stands for in our cultural narratives, the dizzying dimensions of industrial areas that (again) transform into a human habitat have a physical reality that ultimately escapes purely intellectual investigation. Thrift (2007) proposes using a phenomenological approach to generate geographical knowledge that avoids the primacy of representationalism and can be helpful for understanding places of incomprehensible complexity. As Dewsbury and colleagues argue, the world is 'more excessive than we can theorize' (Dewsbury et al. 2002: 437), and this is of course particularly true of the production sites of a global landscape with ungraspable cultural, political and economic dimensions. Therefore, a more-than-representational approach to former sites of petroleum production seems plausible. How can we address the overcomplexity of these places by downplaying questions of representation? By seeing and experiencing the spatial conditions of the location through architectural and urban design, we can generate further usable knowledge. This spatial approach to understanding this vast heritage can help develop systemic post-oil frameworks and help overcome oil-era nostalgia.

Nostalgia is derived from the Greek vóστος (return, homecoming) and άλγος (pain). It describes an agonizing longing for something no longer present. This feeling can appear both individually and collectively, and the word implies that aspects of a closed past are perceived as positive. Historically, certain pasts, or selected aspects of these pasts, have often been imagined as ideal. Charlemagne glorified Roman antiquity, Rousseau the state of nature, Karl Friedrich Schinkel the German Middle Ages during the Gothic period and, most recently, a majority of the British the time before membership of the European Union. The idealization associated with nostalgia does not have to be truthful, nor must the eagerly awaited future even be part of one's own experience. Rather, collective nostalgia is based on narratives that, on the one hand, have a certain sovereignty of discourse and, on the other hand, stem from the partial nature of references to the past, which cannot present a complete picture, but only select aspects. Particularly in relation to heritage sites and objects, it is impossible to take into account every aspect of history.

Nostalgia for the oil past could have been overcome decades ago when oil's negative implications became visible. In 1972, the famous report of the Club of Rome warned of the depletion of natural resources. It was widely derided as a doomsday fantasy because of its primary conclusion: the planet cannot sustain current demographic and economic growth (Meadows et al. 1972). Even before 1972, scientists had highlighted the depletion of resources and the lack of rational governance to exploit them (Hardin 1968; Ostrom 1990). The Club of Rome's report was followed by more and more articles expressing similar concerns, especially with regard to oil; the term 'peaking of oil' began to appear (Hirsch 2005; Hirsch, Bezdek and Wendling 2005). What was attacked in 1972 as alarmist gradually came to be seen as realistic and prescient, yet, despite the early warnings, dependence on oil continued to increase to the point that it was no longer conceivable to do without it.

However, the oil age is coming to an end. Environmental organizations and governments are promoting the transition to green energy and are backing new attempts to clean up the oceans and replace plastics. Many people around the world are committed to supporting these efforts. Yet, individuals often find it difficult to see these initiatives as attractive to themselves as individuals, and to understand what their individual choices mean for global environmental, social and financial sustainability, or how their contribution can affect systemic change. The complex, evolving concept of sustainability underscores the need for new lifestyles, narratives and societal frameworks. The petroleum-based economy and its costs (including global heating, rising sea levels and the extinction of species) enable a desire to create sustainable societies. The attempt to change the system will result in limitations, as David MacKay notes: 'Have no illusions. To achieve our goal of getting off fossil fuels, these reductions in demand and increases in [renewable energy] supply must be big. Don't be distracted by the myth that "every little helps". If everyone does a little, we'll achieve only a little. We must do a lot' (MacKay 2008: 114).

The expansion of the currently marginal use of alternative resources and the future decline in the profitability of oil may put an end to the use of this affordable and polluting energy.<sup>3</sup> If past energy transitions have been gradual, the end of the oil age could be quite abrupt, mainly due to a lack of precautions taken by governments. Systemic change can only take place through a fundamental engagement with the global economic forces that shape our environment in order to manage the technological innovations that change our work and leisure so that ongoing social transitions work for the benefit of all. This process will be accompanied by the deindustrialization of former oil sites and the challenge of their transformation, on both spatial and social levels. Several institutions are faced with the problem of how to rehabilitate sites if they cease oil-related activities. The complex balance between Europe's energy security, the production of oil derivatives and the transition to new energies makes the transformation of these areas difficult and calls for creative and forward-looking solutions. They also represent an opportunity to overcome our nostalgic relationship to oil and to refine post-oil heritage sites and narratives.

Oil nostalgia conflicts with reality; consequently, representing the accompanying distortion is an effective means of transcending the nostalgia. The memories of the past age (embodied in last-man-standing refineries like that in Rotterdam, but also cleared industrial sites and contaminated soils like that in Dunkirk and vast infrastructures, adapted headquarters and reusable warehouses) will slowly become more visible as Europe's oil refineries close one by one, and illustrate the need to address difficult questions about this heritage and its acceptance, including pollution, reuse and aesthetics. But even if the actual and former sites of oil production, trade and refinement will be a new kind of heritage, they are not entirely new in their unwieldy aspects. Much that is inherited from the past serves a memory function and offers intellectual rather than purely aesthetic pleasures. In a few cases, we can already see how nostalgia can be overcome. For example, in the German Ruhr area, industrial production sites of the iron and coal era have become places of education and cultural encounters. The past is displayed in raw form, without distorting its unsustainability or even the social conditions of the workers at that time. Visitors encounter a past that led to the present, but no longer remains part of it.

The closure of refineries in Northwestern Europe provides an opportunity for similar rethinking. It requires their neighbouring cities to reassess their oil-based history, heritage and narratives, to design new post-oil landscapes and to select heritage spaces. The northern French city of Dunkirk is a prime example of how global and national oil interests have shaped a city and its port, and have created a kind of dependence of the citizens on this huge industry, the provider of jobs. The city also exemplifies the uncertain future in the wake of the energy transition. Following the closure of the Dunkirk refinery's commercial activities in 2016, former oil spaces lie abandoned and contaminated, yet they provide opportunities to develop new projects, visions and practices. Dunkirk shows how democratic and sustainable solutions demand the acceptance of diverse perspectives. Future projects, including the selection of petroleum heritage and carefully framed narratives, must help viewers understand the enormous scale of the global petroleum industry and the ways in which energy has shaped landscapes, knowledge that is essential for the creation of new energy landscapes and sustainable lifestyles of the future.<sup>4</sup>

## Dunkirk in the Heroic Age of Oil

The growth of oil refineries in Dunkirk, a city of about 90,000 inhabitants on the French North Sea coast, is typical of how oil has shaped cities and regions. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the history of the city has been closely linked to the ebb and flow of oil. In the second half of the twentieth century, only two major oil companies, BP and Total, shaped the form and function of the city. Their continuous reorganization of the port and its foreland and hinterland has confronted the local economy and decision makers with economic and spatial challenges.

As a country with limited oil resources within its borders and colonies, France, like the United Kingdom, was once a major oil importer. Oil was first used for lighting, lubrication of machines, tools and locomotives, then for automotive fuel and later for the manufacture of other products. Initially, companies built refineries along the northwestern coast of Europe to store and process oil from the United States. Oil importing and processing port cities, such as Dunkirk (along with Rotterdam, Antwerp, Hamburg and Wilhelmshaven), served other large cities and regions with raw materials and refinery products, and developed into places of national interest. Dunkirk was one of the most important importers of American crude oil on the northwestern coast of Europe. Entrepreneurs from Dunkirk were among the first to set up a coastal oil refinery in the region, where in 1861 Trystram and Crujeot built one in Petite-Synthe, along the canal of Mardyck, which is now part of Dunkirk.<sup>5</sup> This basic structure refined American crude oil, which was then sent through canals and railways to the hinterland, especially to Paris. In 1863, a first tax decree was issued, the first appearance of oil in the French customs tariff (Amphoux 1935). By taxing imports of refinery products, the state forced importing oil companies to build refineries in France. In this way, the government was able to ensure the production of this strategic resource on its own territory.

The dangers of oil were largely ignored by decision makers, where, under the leadership of the industrialist Jean-Baptiste Trystram, responsibility for locating housing near oil facilities was largely left to citizens rather than the industry. As President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Member of Parliament, member of the Provincial Council and Senator between 1870 and 1905, Trystram played a major role in this lack of public intervention. Support for the development of industry characterized French policy as evidenced by Charles-Louis de Saulces de Freycinet's 1878 National Plan for the Development and Improvement of Railways and Ports (Gonjo 1972). The Freycinet plan notably prevented local authorities from adopting regulations that could adversely affect the development of port areas or the proper implementation of the national plan. The legal framework for the protection of health, when it existed, was often disregarded. In the nineteenth century, when a warehouse or refinery in Dunkirk was closed, the site was reused for homes, schools and parks without taking polluted soil into account (Ministère de la Transition Ecologique et Solidaire 2018). Many of these oil-related sites in Dunkirk also disappeared from records and memories. Authorities lost track of their location, use, lifespan and size, leaving uncertainties on the condition of the ground, its use for inhabitants and the quality of the underground water (Hauser 2020). At the beginning of the twentieth century, health, safety and environmental concerns became public issues, but political actors only began taking industrial disasters seriously in the 1950s. Cities that hosted oil refineries relied on the formulation of national policy. The French state began to take control of oil imports in the 1920s. By 1930, a further seven industrial oil sites had been opened, integrating Dunkirk and other French ports in larger oil networks. The Chamber of Commerce in Dunkirk found these changes so important that it commissioned Hugo d'Alesi to document them in a monumental painting for the World Exhibition in Paris. In the painting, the city can be seen from the harbour with its various docks and storage facilities. In front, to the right of the entrance channel, it is possible to see the oil harbour, which is closed off by a floating barrier when an oil ship is in the harbour. This floating dam was a reaction to incidents involving oil in various ports, such as the fire that destroyed the port of Bordeaux in 1869,6 and the stricter enforcement of the 1810 decree regulating unhygienic or unpleasant odours from oil sites (Baillot D'Estivaux 2013). Accidents and other environmental considerations ultimately led to the relocation of deposits and transhipment operations outside the city centres, but municipal pride in the oil industry remained strong.

Since 1895, the harbour basin has had a pumping station and underground pipelines that transport oil to the refinery. Another monumental painting, this one by an anonymous painter, seems to have been inspired even more than d'Alesi's by pride in the storage and handling of oil. It looks at the scene from the sea and focuses on port activity. Several oil storage tanks are visible on both sides of the river, giving a first impression of the city's new industrial strength that developed after the First World War. The tanks illuminated by the sun and the new structures appear bright white, heralding a near future with large new refineries and deposits. The exact origin and date of the painting are unknown, but the oil installations depicted date from the early 1920s and continued to expand into the 1930s. According to the Port Museum, the painting was exhibited at the colonial exhibition in Antwerp in 1930 at the request of the Ministry of Public Works in order to promote better living through oil.



**Figure 10.1.** The Dunkirk refinery with the Cité des Ingénieurs, France. Photo: © CMUA-Archives de Dunkerque (fonds SRD), used with permission

After the war, the Monnet Plan (1947–53), which aimed to rebuild large-scale industry to revive economic activity in conjunction with the Marshall Plan, made it possible to rebuild the refinery in Dunkirk (which was bombed by the Germans in 1940) on the site of the Raffinerie du Nord. In 1948, the French sector of BP (SGHP-BP) began building the new refinery on the west side of the port of Dunkirk in the Saint-Pol-sur-Mer area. At the beginning of the 1950s, BP built a 600,000 m<sup>3</sup> warehouse there and transported the oil by rail, tanker and ship through canals to the hinterland (Thelliez 1957). BP's presence has also influenced urban development. The company needed housing for its employees and next to the refinery, SGHP-BP built a residential complex that became known as Cité des Ingénieurs.

Life in this front end of the petroleumscape was radiant. The Cité des Ingénieurs consisted of twenty-three houses with accommodation for the director, as well as driving engineers and foremen. With the housing estate and its park-like surroundings, the company had implemented both gardencity concepts and modernist ideas for linking work and home. There was a *cercle*, a place for celebrations, which also served as a restaurant. Public spaces made it possible for families to meet and included playgrounds for children. However, only executives and managers were able to enjoy this modern Cité, and employees living there followed a strict hierarchical division in the use of space and facilities (Lecuyer 2002). There was also a need for housing for the workers. Thus, the Cité Bayard in Saint-Pol-sur-Mer was built with more than 160 houses (333 apartments) 2 kilometres from the refinery, and separated from the Cité des Ingénieurs and its executives by railways; twelve more apartments were built in Rosendaël. The company also supported the workers in building their own homes in Petite-Synthe, demonstrating concern for their wellbeing (see Lecuyer 2002). For companies, employees and citizens alike, crude oil seemed at the time to be a unique opportunity and not an ecological challenge or industrial risk. Several decades passed before the environmental and health risks of the emerging technology became apparent. The City of Engineers was a popular place to live in the 1930s. When it was finally abandoned because of its location in an environmental danger zone, it was demolished in 2018.

The oil industry continued to exert a strong impact on the economy of the city. By the end of the 1960s, Dunkirk Port was the third most-important French commercial port (defined as a port devoted to shipment of steel, oil, and textiles) (Rubio I Tuduri 1948. The oil trade needed more space and deeper water, and the demand for oil increased in 1972. Until then, the BP refinery was the only one in operation and could not meet local demand. As a result, imports of refined oil from the Netherlands, Belgium and Great Britain increased significantly. The construction of a new port area, 13 kilometres from the old port in a sparsely populated area, made it possible to make the port much more efficient (Husser and Raison 2015). The aim of the Port Authority was to create an accessible port and an attractive industrial area. Deep fairways allowed container ships and oil tankers of 200,000 tonnes to moor there. The site attracted the Pechiney aluminium industry, and the establishment of the USINOR steel industry in 1963 was another sign of the state's commitment to revitalizing the local and regional economy. In 1974, the French oil company Total opened a Flemish refinery in the municipality of Mardyck, part of the industrial port of Dunkirk, near the existing heavy steel, metallurgical and petrochemical industries. The new refinery, the last to be built in France, covered 230 hectares along the large Dunkirk–Denain Canal. Pipelines connected the refinery to the port of Gravelines, 8 kilometres away, where tankers of 300,000 tonnes could berth. In 1976, BP participated in the construction of oil storage facilities in the Flandres refinery area and in the construction of pipelines (Maurois et al. 1952). Until the 1980s, the oil industry in Dunkirk had a positive impact on the urban economy and had even provided good housing, leaving an image that many locals fondly recall.

#### Dunkirk: The Post-oil Landscape

In the 1980s, the oil industry turned the tide of unchecked growth. The oil crisis had a strong impact on economic competition between BP and Total

in 1979. BP finally ended its oil refining operations in 1982 and dedicated its refinery exclusively to the refining of lubricants, waxes and bitumen. In 2010, the refineries of Flanders (Dunkirk), Reichstett, Berre and Petit-Couronne began their closures. The commercial activities of Total's refinery ceased in 2016, but the oil industry in Dunkirk still has an impact on the area. The refinery building still exists; part of it has become a training centre for the oil industry under the name Oleum (Total 2010). Together with Le Havre and Marseille, Dunkirk is the only port in France that can accommodate the largest container ships and large oil tankers. This is one of the reasons why the port authority intends to continue to use the port as a hub for oil transport.<sup>7</sup> Today, the former BP city is a brownfield site in Dunkirk. Local debates about maintaining the refinery site as a training ground are just one example of the difficulties in redefining both oil spaces and the relationships between global and local players. The closure of refineries in Dunkirk illustrates the declining interest of the oil industry in European locations due to the local overcapacity of the sector (Saudi Aramco 2018; British Petroleum 2019). It raises the question of how to reshape the primary petroleumscape, the growth of which has shaped cities for some 150 years, and what message to send to future citizens about the oil heritage. In addition to providing educational training sites for the education of oil workers, Dunkirk now contains an experimental area for biofuels. Some sites are being dismantled and decontaminated, and plans are being considered for an asphalt warehouse. But these transformations in Dunkirk only engage the contemporary oil heritage and legacy; they do not consider the full extent of the city's petroleum past. Public and private authorities are ignoring, involuntary or not, the pollution created by small industries before the First World War. The land use of these spaces changed, yet the threat caused by past oil activities on citizens' health remains.

Dunkirk now faces the challenge of reinventing itself by repairing and recycling its port, its port industries, its port heritage, and the abandoned and unused areas between the port and the city. It also faces the opportunity to provide an example of experiments with transitions in energy, technology, society and their spatial impact. All stakeholders, public and private, professional and lay, have an opportunity to consider the issues surrounding the dismantling, transformation and reuse of important parts of existing oil-based industrial cities, including their refineries, docks and infrastructures (Hein 2017a, 2017b).

With the support of the metropolitan area of Dunkirk, the Hauts-de-France region and European funds and programmes, several actors have begun urban and architectural renewal. Since 2010, the Port Authority of Dunkirk has been pursuing a comprehensive strategy to protect its natural heritage with a masterplan. This instrument has led to a number of initiatives to preserve and improve nature in the port area, such as the development of the former St Georges railway line between Bourbourg and Gravelines as an eco-landscape corridor. In addition, several actors aim to connect port and city where, for example, the Port Authority of Dunkirk has opened the port to the city by allowing visits, including projects and activities in schools. The Learning Centre Halle aux Sucres educates the local community on issues of sustainability. A new Port Centre aims to communicate with the citizens and to encourage collaboration between the port authority, the city of Dunkirk and the port museum. These activities made Dunkirk one of the five finalists for the European Sea Port Organization Award in 2016.

### Refining the Heritage Narrative of Post-oil Landscapes

Understanding the historical importance of oil and the role of the heroic narrative in the growth of Dunkirk represented a first step for the MSc2 Studio Architecture and Urbanism Beyond Oil at TU Delft. We argue that a historical analysis can help students identify new spaces of intervention and new design perspectives. Supported by analytical readings of maps, historical documents and materials from the historical archive and documentation centre of the port museum in Dunkirk, students translated their individual impressions and research into individual approaches and methods, and created visual representations, as well as new projects for the future of the former refinery sites. They produced possible developments that tie in with the history of the site while also giving it a completely new future, one that makes industrial spaces of oil available for new practices, that uses historical narratives to pave the way for postindustrial futures and that relegates petroleum to a non-nostalgic past. Students took up the assignment in diverse ways. Some of them opted to write alternative histories or utopias that aimed at provoking public debate, others developed transition strategies and yet others focused on building materials. Rashid Ayoubi provided perhaps the most critical and dystopian project. He imagined a future where four companies (Oil Arch, GreenLeaf, Every Drop Matters and MADInc.) created a giant mountain over an abandoned refinery for the production of the last drops of oil. While the refinery satisfies society's needs for petroleum as a component in medicine, this hidden back end serves the people of Dunkirk, who use the global container trade and additional green energies to devote themselves to superfluous consumption and play.

Transition strategies were key to a number of projects. Ege Cakir proposed large autonomous animals that will roam the site of the Total refinery to clean up the soil and to make the changing remediation landscape a recreational park. Select oil structures, such as refinery elements and storage

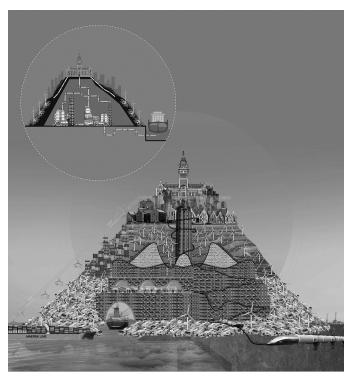


Figure 10.2. Rashid Ayoubi's dystopian vision of post-oil Dunkirk. © R. Ayoubi

tanks, remain as sculptures in the landscape, a strong reminder of the industrial petroleumscape and its negative impact on the environment and health. Thomas Bianchi proposed a phased and economically feasible plan to clean up the land of the former BP Refinery in Dunkirk. Five phases create an interactive and changing landscape that communicates with the visitor. The production of biomass as a transition fuel generates a revenue stream, while also providing incentives for third parties to contribute to this development. By 2050, the site is free of oil and biomass-related processes. A dune landscape serves as coastal protection and hosts renewable energies and a research centre. A new understanding of logistics in landscape characterizes Casper Kraai's proposal for a Rolling Farm that uses Dunkirk's extensive railroad network to produce and distribute vegetables and fish locally, providing employment and a more sustainable food source. The Rolling Farm will use the railroad tracks of the Gare des Dunes railroad yard to grow crops on railroad carriages and currently unused tracks. As the crops grow, the carriages move further down the tracks. After harvest, they circle around the city and return to their starting point, completing the production cycle. Other students focused on building materials. Lea Scholze proposed a park for mycelium production and research on the rewilded site north of Fort-Mardyck, bordering Arcelor Mittal. Mycelium, the roots of mushrooms, is widespread where fungi thrive on organic and inorganic materials, including oil, and are able to clean the terrain. They can also serve as a replacement for plastic. The new small-scale redevelopment connects to the adjacent neighbourhood, offers publicly accessible buildings for research, education and work, and enables private and cooperative use. Gemma Galeno suggested the use of bamboo as a low-energy material that is produced without the use of oil and does not contain oil. She developed a new connection system, a bamboo plantation and a high-rise building for the bamboo research centre.

These projects, developed within the framework of the MSc2 Studio Architecture and Urbanism Beyond Oil at Delft University of Technology, represent just a few possibilities. They are early attempts to conceptualize the impact of energy, technology and living environments on our future built environment. Addressing the possibilities of new materials, technologies, lifestyles, and utopian and dystopian narratives can contribute to a necessary conversation about a future beyond oil. The designs and future scenarios reflect a wide range of ideas. What they have in common is that they form the basis for a necessary examination of the spatial, chemical and economic legacy of the oil age. It is now up to the local population, policy makers and new industries to find and support a sustainable and meaningful use of these desolate areas.

## Conclusion

Over the past 150 years, the oil industry has created a narrative of oil-based freedom and progress, creating products for all areas of life. The general public may retain positive feelings about the heroic oil period. But the oil industry has also polluted the water, soil and air around its facilities. Toxic material has seeped deep into the soil. The problematic and costly remediation is partly or often entirely left to local public partners. So far, the cost of such remediation is often prohibitive, especially where land values are low. Oil companies focused the public's attention on the industry's front end and tried to keep the back end hidden from view. Now, these front and back ends of the petroleum industry must be examined and transformed in the post-oil landscape itself. The world's fossil energy sources are indeed finite and the dominant Western lifestyle does not promote health or wellbeing; above all, it has endangered the survival of a habitable planet. The resulting call for individuals to live more sustainably and resist oil-based systems requires a lot of strength. It is almost foreseeable that the focus on individual

action will fail because it does not concern entrepreneurial or systemic measures. Reduction and restraint in the use of resources (water, food, energy and materials) and a fair reduction in production and consumption are of paramount importance. Industry, research and leisure must intertwine to create the necessary economic, social and cultural circularities. To this end, new narratives must be created, narratives that overcome the glorification of oilrelated commodities and that promote new materials, transport and lifestyles that are not oil-dependent. New approaches, technologies and practices can help stimulate discussions of the post-oil future as a process that generates money, promotes innovation and responds to collective needs. Therefore, we argue that the transition must be systematic and post-oil spaces must be wrapped in narratives as heroic and fun as those dominant in oil's heyday.

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## Notes

1. Regarding films celebrating the oil industry in Iran, see British Movietone (1951), Persian Story (1952) and Damluji (2013).

2. 'Revived Sunoco Refinery Could Be Worth \$1 Billion Plus', *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 6 August 2015.

3. A total of 15% of the total of energy use comes from alternative sources or nuclear power (Internation Energy Agency 2014).

4. The MSc2 Studio Architecture and Urbanism Beyond Oil from Delft University of Technology (TU Delft) is taught by the Chair of History of Architecture and Urban Planning at Delft University of Technology.

5. The date of the construction of the Trystram refinery in 1861 does not necessarily coincide with the start of refining of petroleum from Pennsylvania, established through documents on arrival of ships starting in 1863. However, the data on cargo is not always complete. Trystram himself mentions a construction date in 1861 and specifies that the refinery treated petroleum from Pennsylvania, see Port de Dunkerque (1884) and Durin (1899).

6. From a discussion with C. Stroobandt, project manager in the Port Museum of Dunkirk.

7. Interview with the President of the Management Board of Dunkirk Port. Retrieved 13 April 2021 from https://www.meretmarine.com/fr/content/interview-stephaneraison-president-du-directoire-du-port-de-dunkerque.

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#### EPILOGUE

## A Coda for the 'Left Behind'

Heritage and More-Than-Representational Theories

EMMA WATERTON

#### Prologue

It is 3 March 2010, a Wednesday evening, exactly twenty-five years since the year-long miners' strike of 1984-85 in the United Kingdom officially ended. I am sitting in the Forum Theatre in the Cultural Quarter of Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, as an audience member for a twenty-fifth anniversary event that has adopted a format similar to the BBC's live debate series Question Time. Much like Question Time, the evening's event is guided by a Chair, Oliver Speight, and revolves around the perspectives put forward by a panel of five public figures: Edwina Currie, a Conservative Member of Parliament (MP) for South Derbyshire from 1983 to 1997; George Galloway, an MP for four constituencies between 1987 and 2015; Ken Loach, an English filmmaker who directed Which Side Are You On?<sup>1</sup> in 1985; David Hencke, an investigative journalist and author of Marching to the Fault Line: The Miners' Strike and the Battle for Industrial Britain; and Mike Nattrass, a Member of the European Parliament (MEP) for the West Midlands from 2004 to 2014 and Deputy Leader of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) from 2002 to 2006. I am in the audience because I am fairly new to the region and I want to better understand the impacts of deindustrialization, as well as its enduring legacies, some of which I have come to recognize through my engagement with the

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city's distinctive heritage, which has created a landscape dotted with derelict bottle ovens that continue to haunt with their visual intimations of the past.

Though I have only resided in Stoke-on-Trent (located in a region affectionately referred to as 'the Potteries') for four years, I know that the miners' strike occupies a prominent position in the area's collective memory and is recalled as being long and bitter, triggering a process of systematic colliery closures, job losses and associated socioeconomic ruination from which the region is yet to recover. It is therefore a fitting backdrop for tonight's debate; abundant coal, alongside lead, salt and clay, supported the development of a robust and prominent centre of ceramic production here - the largest in Britain. Skilled labour associated with that industry stretched across generations, with entire families making a living in the mines, working on the canal systems to shift goods in and out, and labouring in production facilities, mixing slip, stacking saggars, glazing, decorating and gilding by hand. The resultant pottery has been used to 'set the table' in an unfathomable number of homes across the globe for centuries, and although the industry itself has all but disappeared, it is an area that still strongly affiliates itself with prominent manufacturing companies like Wedgwood, Minton, Spode and Royal Doulton. It is also an area that has struggled to come to terms with the pit closures, which in turn saw the wider collapse of pottery manufacturing. Following the cessation of the strike, jobs that had at one point been badged as 'for life' disappeared, taking with them a sense of family and community stability, as well as a belief in the ability of strong unions to agitate for workers' rights. Slipping away at the same time was confidence that any of the United Kingdom's major political parties would remember those left behind.

Though precisely twenty-five years have passed since the Conservative Party claimed victory over the strike under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher, tonight's debate is proving to be a dramatic and emotional disruption for the audience. Initially quite relaxed, the atmosphere is now fierce and tense. Panel and audience members who at first took turns to provoke and ask questions are interrupting, pushing back, expressing their distress and raising their voices. Edwina Curry's presence in particular seems to produce a feeling of rage that rips through the theatre like wildfire (see Thrift 2009). Her time as a Conservative MP and her legacy live on this evening as a roomful of people confront their material fears of survival in an area where rates of employment and salaries remain significantly below the national average. In the space of 45 minutes, the debate pushes the strike and subsequent industrial closures from the background to the foreground of so many individual lives, bringing with them a palpable and collective force of feelings: despair for the crippling of livelihoods; a mourning for the perceived death of communities; and fury at the way in which the area has

been silenced and forgotten ever since. The history of the strike continues to haunt and disrupt, crossing generations and enduring in 'bodies, materialities and memories' (Emery 2018: 80). But there is a clear sense that those in the audience – a predominantly white working-class group that is a mix of ages and genders – want to do things differently, driven by a complex and troubling history that continues to fuel their concerns in the present.

It is now 13 December 2019. It is a Friday, the morning after the United Kingdom's General Election. Looking at the results, I can see that a lot has changed in Stoke-on-Trent, though plenty has stayed the same. I no longer live in the area, but I have kept track of its political moods from afar. It is, after all, one of those places - those with 'raw charm' and 'rough edges', as DeSilvey (2012: 46) describes them - that remain with you even when you leave. Remain and Leave: these are two words that have taken on profoundly new meaning in the decade since I left the United Kingdom. Both were key to the discourses anchored to yesterday's election, and they have relentlessly peppered the everyday lives of those living in the United Kingdom and abroad since the United Kingdom European Union Membership Referendum of 2016,<sup>2</sup> surfacing 'in school playgrounds, on public buses and at the dinner table', as Anderson and Wilson (2017: 294) argue (see also Evans 2017). The use of 'Leave' by so many on 23 June 2016 sent a powerful message to Westminster: something wasn't quite right. With a 65.7% turnout, Stoke-on-Trent became Britain's 'Brexit Capital' in the aftermath of the Referendum, an area overwhelmingly in support of exiting the European Union with 69.4% of the vote. The crisis of disaffection, delegitimization and discontent so palpable in the Forum Theatre almost ten years ago continues to resurface and remains a key component of the area's legacy of deindustrialization. It surfaced in 2016 and it has resurfaced again. Looking at the 2019 election results, I am reminded of Bright's (2016) interpretation of the concept of social haunting: 'Often manifest only through "barely visible, or highly symbolized" means', he writes, 'a social haunting ... "registers the harm inflicted or the loss sustained by a social violence done in the past" (Bright 2016: n.p., citing Gordon 2008: 50 and xvi). Drawing on the work of Avery Gordon, he goes on to argue that such harm or loss simultaneously produces a present imperative where something different, 'different from before, seems like it must be done' (Gordon 2008: xvi). Once a core component of Labour's 'heartland', yesterday's election saw the party wiped out in the Potteries, a simmering anger prompting 'something different' in the form of a change in political allegiances. All three parliamentary constituencies for the area, created for the General Election in 1950 and each represented by a single MP, are now held by the Conservative Party. Stoke-on-Trent South, a safe Labour seat since its creation, had already fallen in the 2017 election,

at which time Jack Brereton was voted in as the Conservative MP. He held on to his seat in 2019 and now works alongside Jo Gideon, the first ever successful Conservative candidate for the Stoke-on-Trent Central constituency. Stoke-on-Trent North has likewise historically always been held by Labour. In 2019, it too swung to the Conservatives, with candidate Jonathan Gullis securing victory with 52.3% of the vote. After three years of political wrangling, misinformation, false starts and internal bickering, Stoke-on-Trent, along with the rest of the country, is now on track to 'get Brexit done'.

These election results act as a reminder that heritage - or our shared use of the past in the present – is always part of a complex assemblage that links individuals with the politics of 'larger' assemblages: a community, a region or the state (Dittmer and Waterton 2021). Such assemblages often collapse the time and space between 'pasts' and 'presents', and, as Hetherington argues, produce a sort of agency that is 'performed not only around what is there but sometimes also around the presence of what is not' (2004: 159, emphasis in original). This is an argument that borrows from Derrida's (1993: 48) notions of the spectre and spectrality, both of which disrupt a linear understanding of time, placing in doubt the 'reassuring order of presents and, especially, the border between the present, the actual or present reality of the present, and everything that can be opposed to it: absence, non-presence, non-effectivity, inactuality, virtuality, or even the simulacrum in general, and so forth' (see also Waterton and Saul 2021). As Stoke-on-Trent so clearly illustrates, the past itself 'is always already present'; it 'both passes and does not pass' and thus is never 'exclusively past', as Hill (2015: 420) has argued. In other words, the great dualism of 'past' and 'present' is collapsed, along with the attendant state of being 'other' (see Buchli and Lucas 2001: 9). The highly emotional events in the Forum Theatre in 2010 were a powerful reminder of this for me. In that example, the industrial past was rendered present by its absence, surviving and rearing up as an integral part of the experience. The evoking of the miners' strike, along with its emotional-affective potency, unsettled, to borrow from Hill (2015: 423), 'any linear understanding of time, disturbing our sense of place and self through the arrival of haunting memories' (see also Maddrell 2013; Drozdzewski et al. 2021). This sense of a haunting past, as Jones (2015: 1) argues, may be 'provoked by something overheard or a scene, a place, an object, a tune, a scent even. It is inescapable' (Dittmer and Waterton 2021). But part of that 'something' will also always be held in reserve - there, but not quite there, understood, as Hill (2015: 423) describes it, as 'the impossibility of the fullness of presence' (Lawnicki, Chapter 7 in this volume). As Dittmer and Waterton (2021) have argued, work must be done to render those absences present, which is, of course, precisely the purview of heritage and history.

## Rethinking Deindustrialization through More-Than-Representational Landscapes

Though initially the concern of Marxist scholars and labour historians, an interest in the study of industrial pasts has been with us for quite some time. Those working in the academic field of archaeology in Britain were among the first to turn their attention to such pasts, with the term 'industrial archaeology' initially introduced by Michael Rix in 1955 largely in response to the destruction he had personally witnessed to the landscapes of the Black Country<sup>3</sup> (Palmer 2018). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, significant upheavals within Britain's manufacturing and coal mining industries saw the abandonment of a significant number of sites, buildings and precincts (as was the case in other parts of the world, as the chapters in this volume aptly convey), and, in response, the burgeoning of a scholarly interest, led largely by engineers and other working professionals (Cranstone 2005). In response, the heritage industry - as part of a wider conservation impulse - started to incorporate industrial places into its remit, drawing such pasts into documentation projects, museum exhibitions and specifically designated tourism sites (Storm 2014; Berger and High 2019). However, with a focus squarely on the 'objects' and 'places' of heritage themselves, these earlier attempts to understand and represent industrial pasts were done in isolation from their social contexts, with people viewed as receivers (visitors or consumers) of this newly emerging segment of the sector (Waterton and Watson 2013, 2015). As the pace of social and economic change escalated, so too did an appetite for industrial heritage, geographically and conceptually, eventually consolidating into a popular and definable 'area of interest' in the 1990s via the tethering of debates to new thinking in social theory (Casella 2005). Spearheaded by the work of Raphael Samuel (1994) and his encyclopaedic exploration of popular heritage, scholarly interest in heritage moved away from iconic and high-status objects and places towards their social and cultural context and significance. The rapid industrial changes and attendant structural crises in Britain, Europe and North America during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s had prompted a critical interrogation of the representational role of heritage - and the cultural work it does - as well as an acknowledgement that the idea of heritage that had come to dominate tended to privilege elite and middle-class cultural experiences, while actively marginalizing alternative perspectives (Storm 2014). While the role of heritage as an economic resource in regeneration projects and related tourism enterprises remained a clear focus of concern, milestone publications by Graham et al. (2000), Harvey (2001) and Smith (2006) revealed heritage to be a selective process, fuelled by expressions of power, identity and control. The rich seam

of research emerging at this time thus helped to locate heritage as a social and cultural process – something more than a collection of things or, indeed, resources – and prompted a concomitant interest in 'ordinary', 'living' 'subaltern' and 'working-class' pasts. This was a heritage far removed from the stately homes, castles and designed landscapes that had already found their way into the sector and were instead 'often of a mundane character, consisting of complicated, large-scale, polluted, or otherwise devastated landscapes ... too dilapidated, or too commodified, or too complicated to be easily recognized within a heritage perspective' (Storm 2014: 11).

Monographs, edited collections and themed special issues have continued to converge on the topic, casting out from those initially interested in the history of particular industries to those working in heritage, tourism, sociology, anthropology, geography and memory studies. Each successive wave of publication has sought to redress shortcomings perceived in previous iterations, getting us closer to understanding how both industrial pasts and deindustrialization affect social and political life. But there is still more work to be done. In order to advance this area of research, the editors of this volume have successfully brought together a collection of chapters that are united in their interest in the processes and realities of deindustrialization and concomitant industrial heritage initiatives. Focusing on the provision of transregional comparisons, the editors have curated a series of case studies (a panorama, as they aptly describe it) from across the United Kingdom and Europe - Germany, Italy, the West Balkans and Sweden - in order to reinvigorate our examinations of the disappearance of industry and its (re-)embedding in heritage landscapes. The volume thus brings into view a range of very different case studies, in many ways providing a thorough response to Berger and High's compelling question of whether or not it makes a difference 'if we are studying or interpreting (de-)industrial history in single-heritage industrial towns, in regions of heavy industry, or in multiheritage towns, where industrial heritage has never been the only "show" in town' (2019: 5). A variety of voices are heard throughout, including from heritage tourists, retired miners and factory workers, heritage professionals, artists, political figures and representatives, as well as members of nearby and online communities.

A decision that distinguishes this from other volumes focused on (de)industrial heritage is that by the editors to ask their authors to hinge their carefully conducted empirical work around a common framework, one I have elsewhere termed 'more-than-representational landscapes' (Waterton 2019). At a base level, the turn to more-than-representational thinking was fuelled by a frustration with the way in which people and their lived experiences, or everyday life, had been reduced to semiotics, discourse and representation (Walkerdine 2020). This is an observation that certainly rings true for heritage studies. Adopting a more-than-representational approach in order to think about landscape, then, has allowed each contributor to flesh out their understandings of deindustrialization and the complexities of its associated heritage in ways that do not completely dispense with that which has gone before, but that instead add to the framework: they have brought into the mix a focus on our encounters with industrial pasts and their landscapes in ways that exceed textual and visual registers, and include the sensual, haptic, corporeal and kinaesthetic in theoretically and politically useful ways (Cromby 2007). Given the prevalence of Britain in deindustrialization studies, it is unsurprising to find in this volume a series of case studies that focus on British experiences. However, it is the work of Davis (Chapter 1) that first introduces the reader to that country's varied encounters with deindustrialization via a set of autoethnographic reflections trained on a more localized and unexpected site: the military-academic-industrial complex of Orford Ness. An example of what Berger and High (2019) might term 'multiheritage', Orford Ness is a landscape now managed by the National Trust and afforded a number of heritage designations such as a National Nature Reserve, a Site of Special Scientific Interest, a Special Area of Conservation and an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. As Davis argues, the beauty of the site is dramatically disrupted by a careful strategy of controlled ruination, one that has attracted considerable attention from visitors, artists and heritage scholars alike, and that provides a powerful and increasingly persuasive alternative to more dominant approaches to conservation. As a military-academic-industrial complex, the lived experiences of displaced workers are themselves not especially prominent; indeed, Davis' autoethnographic accounts work to expose an absence of a different kind - a sense of isolation and loneliness, to quote Davis, that emerges out of 'a rumination on memory, the past and, above all, destruction'.

Orange (Chapter 2), by contrast, homes in on the internationally recognized former mining landscapes of Cornwall, an area intensely focused on tin and copper mining in eighteenth-century Britain and a focus of the 2006 World Heritage serial inscription titled 'Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape'. Here, the dual narratives of industrial pasts and deindustrialization are more obvious and familiar (see Berger and High 2019). A transnational space, the Cornish landscape was not only mined for its geological treasures, but also produced a diaspora of tens of thousands of Cornish miners who, following the crash of tin and copper prices in the late nineteenth century, left the region in search of work in Australia, South Africa and North America. However, as Orange points out, the area and its industrial past(s) were never entirely abandoned and instead remain deeply and bodily connected to a range of local people. At first glance, quite a different story is told by Hunt (Chapter 8), who provides an illustration of extensive regenerative processes in the city of Lincoln. There are similarities here to the controlled ruinations recounted by Davis, with the reshaping of the Brayford Pool – via the wholesale transformation of an industrial landscape into a newly orchestrated leisure and entertainment zone – highlighting the constantly evolving nature of our world. Hunt's work echoes my own observations at the outset of this chapter, and points to the existence of multiple narratives in multiple times. Here, her focus on a framework of 'sense of place' disrupts more linear understandings of the city and allows for a simultaneous investment in past(s), present(s) and future(s).

My own attempts to fill out the spaces in heritage theory in more-thanrepresentational ways also began in Britain, at the centre of one of the country's industrial heartlands, while I was conducting interviews with visitors to three museums in Stoke-on-Trent: the Etruria Industrial Museum, the Gladstone Pottery Museum, and the Potteries Museum and Art Gallery. All three are located within the Potteries in the West Midlands, the area with which I opened this chapter. Though referred to as a city, Stoke-on-Trent is actually the linear configuration of six confederated towns - Tunstall, Burslem, Hanley, Stoke, Fenton and Longton. During its peak, the area's pottery industry was fuelled by a large and skilled workforce necessary not only for the production of ceramics as finished products, but also for the supply and distribution of raw materials via mills, mines and canals. The manufacturing process itself called upon a range of different skillsets: the preparation of clay; shaping and assembly; and firing and decorating. Collectively, these skills and associated manufacturing processes led to the formation of a peculiar urban landscape, dotted with the distinct shapes of pot-banks, cobbled yards and smoking bottle ovens, and, in more recent years, a suite of heritage sites that seek to convey an impression (nostalgic or otherwise) of the industry in its heyday. The area's lexicon is similarly littered with a strangely iconic language that is still used in the area today, including expressions such as 'saggers', 'muffle kilns', 'bottom knockers', 'mould runners', 'slag heaps' and 'handle-makers'. When I initially commenced my fieldwork in 2009, I thought I was interested in the intersection between heritage, identity and belonging in an area that had historically been overlooked and underexplored. But instead, I was immediately drawn towards the more-thanrepresentational, or the affective and emotional dimensions of remembering and encountering heritage - feelings that sometimes lingered beyond the inexpressible and that hinted at both the sociality of memory and its highly individual nature, as the following interviewee so eloquently describes:

Here you can feel the history, you can almost hear them walking about and what, what they were ... You can almost feel them here, and you take that away and you've got nothing ... It feels almost a part, a part of us, it's like if this was, if this was ever knocked down or people were trying to destroy it I would

have very strong views about it because we feel it belongs to us. You know, our ancestors made this place what it is so, you know, it belongs to us really, we've all got a share in it, if you like... (Interview, Gladstone Pottery Museum)

As I tried to convey in my opening remarks, emotions triggered by the industrial past are never confined solely to those spaces of heritage that have been deliberately prepared to remember them, though they undoubtedly evoke many powerful responses. Places of industrial heritage are, after all, places of violence, witnesses not only to physical injury, but also to the very act of 'closure' and the concomitant feelings of 'moral and political rage felt by those left behind' (Berger and High 2019: 3). In this, I initially saw the potential for some similarities between my own work in Britain and the former coal mining regions of Leipzig in Eastern Germany, which is the focus of Chapter 3 (Pérez-Sindín), and the mining and steel industries of the Ruhr Valley, also in Germany, which is the focus of Chapter 4 (Huszka) and which, as Berger (2019) has argued, has become an industrial heritage 'superpower'. Like Stoke, the Ruhr Valley faced deep structural crises in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, with widespread pit and steel factory closures. For Leipzig, the industrial closures and subsequent attempts at reinvention came later, with the region's industries - chemical factories and coal mining - largely demolished or declining during the 1990s. In both, the sustained unemployment and outward migration of youth that swiftly followed in Stoke played out quite differently, with state interventions working just enough to avoid similar social deprivation in the Ruhr and the transition to new economies in Leipzig (coupled with investments in public infrastructure) eventually giving way to better prospects (Power and Herden 2016). In Stoke, such disenfranchisement eventually led to the rejection of the Labour Party, with a surge towards UKIP in the mid-2000s later giving way to support for the Conservative Party in 2019. While the wider region of Saxony in Eastern Germany similarly embraced the populist Right, gifting the anti-migrant party, the Alternative für Deutschland, the largest share of the vote in the 2019 state elections, the same cannot be said of the city of Leipzig or the Ruhr Valley, where right-wing politics have gained little support. And so, it was with great interest that I read about the impact of green space on community health and wellbeing in Leipzig, triggered by a suite of educational and ecological initiatives put forward by new actors in the area. Likewise, the environmental transformations of the Ruhr Valley, supported by proud narratives of 'healing', have prompted the emergence of a new regional imaginary and economic future for the region.

These ruminations on how industrial landscapes might 'become otherwise' take us back to ideas of the more-than-representational and the import of such a style of thinking for transregional analyses of deindustrialization. 'Becoming-otherwise' is a phrase that references generative force and excess, and the accompanying idea that we are all equipped with differing capacities (based on class, gender, economics, age, collective experience and personal histories) to be drawn into other possible worlds. My own brief attempt to consider the experiences of Stoke alongside those of Leipzig and the Ruhr Valley underscores the limits of such possibilities brought about by different contexts and their ability to produce different political subjectivities. As the editors suggest in the Introduction to this volume, understanding these constraints requires moving forward with an interest in questions of representation that are coupled with or enhanced by a concern for performance, embodiment and encounter. In a brief epilogue at the end of this volume, I cannot do justice to the full history and literature on more-thanrepresentational thinking. Suffice to say that it is an area of philosophical debate with a long history, though it only really took hold in the humanities and social sciences in the mid-2000s (there are of course important pioneers whose work precedes that date) and arrived shortly thereafter into the field of heritage studies.

One of my earlier explorations of this style of thinking came with the co-authored monograph The Semiotics of Heritage Tourism, which I wrote with Steve Watson and was published in 2014. In that volume, we introduced the idea of a 'semiotic landscape', which we used to broaden the parameters of semiotic analysis so as to include the more-than-representational. While remaining interested in language, discourse, visuality, representation and signification - or all those things generally assumed to sit within the remit of 'semiosis' - we were also inclined towards immediacy, performance, engagement and affect. Indeed, we see the representational and nonrepresentational as inseparable pragmatically. Thus, by adopting the term 'semiotic landscape', we have attempted to weave together cognition, habits, discourses and affect, and offer a means of analysing both within the field of heritage. While initially adopting the term 'nonrepresentational', which we borrowed from Nigel Thrift, we quickly turned to the more broadly defined 'more-thanrepresentational' in an attempt to halt, as Wetherell et al. (2015: 59) have put it, affect becoming some 'kind of "other" to semiosis'. As the editors pointed out at the start of this volume, a more-than-representational approach advocates for the inclusion of everyday, relational and affective encounters, while simultaneously acknowledging the discursive and the cognitive. In addition, my work with Steve has also pointed to the need to recognize that human actors and their affective capacities are also influenced by personal history, as well as a range of social, cultural and institutional processes of meaning making (Wetherell et al. 2020). In short, we are never 'fully autonomous nor entirely free of social forces' (Wetherell et al. 2020: 18).

To understand this attentiveness to the more-than-representational, Steve and I adopted the notion of 'encounter', which seems to resonate with many of the chapters in this volume. Our use of the term is an advocation for an approach that homes in on the representational qualities that accrete around heritage as well as the felt, embodied and emotional experiences it engenders in moments of engagement (Waterton and Watson 2014). Bull and Leyshon (2010: 126) point out that 'individuals are always encountering their own lives, in places and in moments'. Going further, DeSilvey (2012: 47) sees heritage encounters as a 'momentary alignment between person and place' or, as Stewart (2007: 56) has argued, 'traces of a past still resonant in things'; traces that surprise and only become legible through moments of recognition or that sense that 'something' has happened (see DeSilvey 2012). I find these intimations of 'encounter' to be particularly useful for thinking about the contours of intensity that define places of industrial heritage and their meanings. This is because acknowledging the idea of an 'encounter' opens up the possibility of questioning what a heritage place means and what feelings it evokes, or which emotions stick to it over time as people interact with it. In other words, as Wetherell et al. (2020: 18) advocate, it allows 'the making of meaning and the embodied cascade of emotion [to remain] inextricably linked'.

Each chapter in this volume alludes to the way in which emotions and affects 'stick' to particular places over time, prompting feelings of promise (Huszka), pride (Pérez-Sindín), isolation and loneliness (Davis), a sense of the 'not quite' (Lawnicki), mourning (Sjöholm), frustration and annoyance (Orange). These sit alongside intimations of a haunting (Davis), transformation (Šentevska) and reinvention (Gavinelli et al.), along with new understandings of nostalgia (Hunt) and futurity (Hein et al.). Importantly, as the prelude to this chapter hopefully illustrates, a more-than-representational approach also enables us to think about heritage as places or things that attract other sorts of feelings or intensities, feelings that are not touristic in nature, but are sponsored by some other sort of interest, bodily memory and history of contact (see Laliberté and Schurr 2016). Šentevska's (Chapter 6) assessment of a sugar mill in Belgrade provides a particularly clear example of this in its attempts to explore the synergies, conflicts and long struggles that exist between agents of cultural production, war-induced social and political transitions, and deindustrialized landscapes. Indeed, the picture Šentevska paints of the interactions between 'artists involved in KPGT projects, their staff and audiences, office and industrial workers, security staff and gatherers of used metal' is a compelling one, pointing to the complex interrelations between industrial pasts and their future(s).

As will have become clear by this point, the notion of 'encounter' developed by Steve and I that I introduced earlier is philosophically linked to notions of affect and the concomitant idea that bodily experiences are key to understanding a person's power to act when interacting with other bodies, events and places. The basic nature of 'affect', as Leys argues in her recent book, *The Ascent of Affect: Genealogy and Critique* (2017), is notoriously difficult to define. There now exists a number of pathways for understanding it, each with their own conceptual and empirical difficulties. While Steve and I have tended towards Spinozian understandings of affect, reinvigorated relatively recently via the work of Brian Massumi (1987: xvi), we have also found Sara Ahmed's (2004) reflections on emotional work instructive for this discussion. Summing up her position in the opening pages of her 2004 article 'Affective Economies', Ahmed writes:

How do emotions work to align some subjects with some others and against other others? How do emotions move between bodies? ... I argue that emotions play a crucial role in the 'surfacing' of individual and collective bodies through the way in which emotions circulate between bodies and signs. Such an argument clearly challenges any assumption that emotions are a private matter, that they simply belong to individuals, or even that they come from within and *then* move outwards towards others. It suggests that emotions are not simply 'within' or 'without' but that they create the very effect of the surfaces or boundaries of bodies and worlds. (2004: 117, emphasis in original).

I agree that no exploration of heritage and affect can close off the social, the shared and the political that make heritage a significant cultural form. Ahmed's work in particular enables us, as heritage researchers, to see affect not as something that specifically and only resides in individuals, but as something that circulates among and between people and/or objects, human and nonhuman, sticking to one or other, slipping sideways or backward in time, and leaving traces in the present (Šentevska, Chapter 6 in this volume). But Ahmed's insistence that a cultural politics is also at play is a reminder that affect does not travel mindlessly, but can be challenged, thereby helping to explain acts of resistance, subversion, dissent and dissonance.

There is, of course, an empirical problem with affect, which is to say that it is very difficult to capture methodologically. Each contributor to this volume must surely have grappled with this as they attempted to explore what is so often referred to as the inexpressible. Both editors and authors have been successful in bringing together a variety of methods and modes of analysis, drawing in visual and linguistic data alongside a concern for bodies, both individual and as part of wider assemblages. In the chapter by Lawnicki (Chapter 7), for example, which explores the absence and presence of abandoned buildings in Tulza, Bosnia and Herzegovina – or the invisibility of the visible, as she describes it – we see explorations of what bodies *do*, how they *move*, how they *live*, become and interact, and with what idiosyncrasies. In other words – and to borrow from Willis and Cromby (2020: 2) – we see attempts to locate 'concrete instances of affective phenomena' through observations of lived experience, both autoethnographic and otherwise, alongside the expressions made by randomly selected residents in three different Tuzla

neighbourhoods. Introducing the evocative concept of the 'not-quite', or landscapes that are 'no longer industrial', but 'somehow *not quite* postindustrial either', Lawnicki carefully describes the braiding together of a number of conflicting narratives about pride, continuity, conflict and abandonment that collectively support the affect of the 'not-quite' and a concomitant 'reluctance to engage'. Not at all surprisingly, like so many of us who appeal to an understanding of neurosciences in their theorizations of affect, Lawnicki excludes direct consideration of the body in biological terms, though she underscores that affect is rooted there nonetheless.

In grappling with the more-than-representational, some contributors to this volume have gravitated towards the adoption of quite novel approaches to data collection. Orange and Pérez-Sindín, for instance, adopt the 'go-along' or similar, whereas Davis has worked with narrations of walking. Hein et al. steer towards examinations of visual representations, created by students in their analyses of the post-oil landscapes of Dunkirk on the French North Sea coast, whereas Gavinelli et al. provide early observations of the RiMaflow project in Milan, Italy, exploring the persistent and creative responses of exfactory workers as they reimagine both place, and their own roles within it, in a postindustrial landscape. Both case studies provide extraordinary insight into myriad of processes of reinvention at both the individual and collective levels. In an interesting turn towards textual analysis, Sjöholm considers the affective-discursive entanglements forged during processes of heritagization and the attendant urban transformations in two mining towns in northern Sweden - Malmberget and Kiruna. Drawing on a corpus of publicly available documents (such as development plans, conservation plans, media reports and so forth) alongside on-the-ground observations, Sjöholm teases out the voices of a range of stakeholders, ranging from the two local councils, the mining company LKAB, private homeowners, consultants, the National Heritage Board and the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning. Added to these are those voices appearing online to mourn the loss of the towns and to agitate for the right to feel sad in the face of loss.

The volume as a whole has in large part stayed with the trend of using interviews as a primary method in heritage studies. This is despite the tricky relationship between discourse and affect, made trickier still by the latter's ineffability. What this signals to me is that the more typical and established forms of data collection – interviews, focus groups and ethnographic observation – continue to remain useful to the field, though there is certainly scope, and an appetite, to expand our methodological toolkits. I see their continued inclusion as a good thing because, as I outlined earlier, it enables the field to continue to contemplate affect in conjunction with an empirical treatment of discourse and meaning. We see this entwining in every chapter of the volume: moments of encounter, of embodied intensities signalled by the choice of words such as 'frustration', 'pride' and 'anxiety', that are more comprehensively understood only through their connection with an area's history and the cartography of meanings most heritage places produce, in guidebooks or tourist maps that point to intensities signified as tourist attractions.

In reading over the chapters in this volume, I was also struck by a recurring desire to attend to the temporal and spatial dimensions of affect, which is usefully at odds with those almost stereotypical accounts that see deindustrialization as a process that creates spaces for nostalgia, and where postindustrial decline is seen to 'fix' and transfix a place and its people. By contrast, each chapter, and the volume itself, is predicated on a sense of change or transformation, whilst also taking account of those times when moving forward can feel too hard. Of course, the notions of change and transformation are entirely contingent on context. Both have always been inherent to the notion of deindustrialization – the cessation of entire industries (and the aftermath) is nothing short of transformational, after all - but there are new tensions evident in the case studies provided, where change is no longer connected to an 'end point', but is seen as a continuous process of 'coming into being' or 'becoming', a process that is shared and distributed, but sensed differently. In the context of this book, change and transformation are connected to any one of a number of acts of reinvention common to deindustrializing areas, whether it be intentional decay, regeneration, neglect, gentrification and adaptive reuse. But in all such examples, there is a refusal to cleave apart stasis and movement, a refusal that sits alongside the potential for dreamed of futures. As Wetherell et al. (2020: 29) point out, this sense of continuity and its generative force require that our analyses look not only at the 'affecting moment', but also at the 'intertwining of past practices, identities, positions, material social locations, forms of privilege and disadvantage, and so on which embed that affect and make it consequential'. This harks back to one of the more serious risks involved with more-than-representational thinking and the concomitant talk of 'becoming', which was first raised by Tolia-Kelly (2006) over a decade ago: everything seems possible to anyone. Walkerdine's more recent attempts to temper this are therefore of interest, with her insistence that such becoming needs 'a clear path' and a feeling of safety, of 'being able to move beyond a personal world of constraints, limits and coordinates' (2016: 759), where such constraints, in deindustrialized communities, are so often connected to the hugely significant issues of class, gender and the raft of structural disadvantages that have yet to be explored and reworked to satisfaction.

In closing, it is probably fair to say that reflecting on the way in which this volume has pulled together affect, place and becoming has caused me to take stock. I started this epilogue with flashbacks to two 'scenes' from my past because I was struggling to find a coherent way to explain my understanding of the relationship between deindustrialization and heritage. In adopting this approach, I was borrowing from Kathleen C. Stewart, who argues that using such scenes can provide 'a tangent that performs the sensation that something is happening – something that needs attending to' (2007: 5). I therefore started the chapter by talking about two encounters or events that point to an engagement with landscapes, heritage and theories of affect, applied to an area recovering from processes of deindustrialization, a place that feels abandoned and betrayed, because I wanted to focus attention not only on what heritage places are and mean, but also what they can do. Although I have always been cautious about cleaving apart the past and the present, reading back over my earlier work on the Potteries (Waterton 2011), I was struck by the absence of a clearer impression of the past (or pasts) and futurity in my interpretations (but see Hunt, and Hein et al., Chapters 8 and 10 in this volume respectively). I was so concerned with the politics of the present that my accounts were somewhat clumsier when it came to interlinking individual bodies with past/future timespaces. I provided brief but accurate snapshots of the Potteries' pasts, but remained more mindful of how those pasts were being used in the present by visitors and residents. That is not to say that I didn't see how each encounter was 'pre-reflexively constituted by history, cultural and social relations' (Willis and Cromby 2020: 1); rather, my approach was underpinned by a belief that any place of heritage, along with its intangible meanings and the intensities of feeling it fosters, is significant because of the role it plays in contemporary society. This was an argument I had mustered in direct opposition to earlier propositions that 'value' and 'meaning' were innate or inherent, which, I argued, worked to exclude contemporary populations from positions of power and control in the management process. By contrast, my point was that the evocative power of places of heritage lies in their ability to help people make sense of the physical spaces in which they stand and what is known to have happened there. The way in which such sites are officially framed and represented undoubtedly plays a significant role too, hinting at the cultural, economic and political agendas that sit behind them, but, I argued, there were important affective forces at work, forces that were not always immediately expressible, but were deeply felt and constituted in moments of performance.

Writing the epilogue to this volume presented me with an opportunity to revisit my previous work on a deinstrustialized area in England. The 2019 General Election was fresh in my mind and I realized that my accounts of heritage in the Potteries weren't quite 'finished' without accounting in some way for the future. Nor could I fully understand the election of three Conservative MPs without thinking more deeply about the area's complex history and its influence on voters' concerns in the present. Walkerdine's (2016: 700) concept of 'affective history' suddenly seems extremely useful, along with her suggestion that it is 'the legacies of the past in the present and how that past lives on in the embodied present of community' that is of concern (see also Walkerdine 2013, 2015) – a concept for the next edited collection, perhaps?

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## Notes

1. Which Side Are You On? is an English film documenting the miners' strike of 1984–85, directed and produced by Ken Loach. It was released in 1984 and features a number of songs, poems and reflections on the strike action.

2. Commonly referred to as the EU referendum, with the country's subsequent withdrawal from the EU referred to as 'Brexit'.

3. The Black Country was one of Britain's most industrialized areas, located in the West Midlands, and has a history of extensive factories, brickworks and rich coal seams. The coal itself, along with the thick black smog associated with the area's furnaces, gave rise to the name 'Black Country'.

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