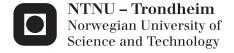Torgeir Rinke Bangstad

Defamiliarization, Conflict and Authenticity: Industrial Heritage and the Problem of Representation

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND SELECTED CASES

"However, it is less a question of an obvious, assertive identity, more a question of an uneasy identity that risks disappearing or is already largely forgotten, obliterated, or repressed: an identity in search of itself, to be exhumed, assembled, or even invented. In this way, heritage comes to define less that which one possesses, what one has, than circumscribing what one is, without having known, or even been capable of knowing" (Hartog 2005: 10).

Industrial heritage has important bearings on how we understand a place and its history once industrial production has become less pervasive part of its everyday life. As a form of history in the making it builds a powerful form of representation from abandoned materials, skills, traditions and sites of the industrial past. Industrial heritage is not a mirror where we catch a glimpse of a stable and unchanging past; it is more of a crowded agora where different notions of historical identity compete and where the priorities of our day will shape how the past looks. The selection process invariably engenders forms of disinheritance (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). This study of industrial heritage is a study of forms of cultural representations, of contemporary cultural memory and the process of making sense of the past in the present. The heritage phenomenon cannot be wholly accounted for in terms of nostalgic retrospection or historical interest. I will regard industrial heritage as a result of cultural and political priorities in the present (Harrison 2012; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) as well as a sense of indebtedness to the past (Hartog 2005; Ricoeur 1984, 1988, 2004).

It has become commonplace to claim that the past is forged in the present and will in time appear natural and taken for granted. The publication of the anthology *Invention of Tradition* (1983) edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Ranger led to an interest in how the past was revived to serve interests in the present, and particularly national interests. By inventing traditions and making them seem immemorial we establish continuity with a "suitable historic past" according to Hobsbawm (1983: 1). The idea that heritage is a product of the present more than

the past is derived inter alia from this groundbreaking study and is today part of the established habitus of much cultural heritage research.

The notion of cultural heritage also comprises traditions that are not unequivocally suitable in the Hobsbawmian sense. Industrial heritage is one such form of ambivalent heritage. It may serve as a testament to entrepreneurial ingenuity, technological progress, prosperity as well as class solidarity and powerful community bonds. On the other hand it is the story of hazardous working conditions, environmental degradation, class conflict and always a witness of economic decline. If one should isolate the common denominator of the industrial heritage cases presented in this study it is the experience of coming to terms with deindustrialization. More than mere accumulation of venerable possessions, it can be approached as a wide-ranging socio-material reconciliation effort.

I will treat industrial heritage first and foremost as a meaning-making practice and I want to examine how we make sense of and respond to the challenge of abandoned relics from the industrial era. In this chapter I will discuss relevant perspectives which I draw on in this work. I will introduce the theoretical and empirical background of the dissertation and introduce the research question toward the end of the chapter. In chapter 2 I will discuss the problematic ubiquity of heritage as a floating signifier and suggest an operational definition based on four dimensions which I regard as fundamental components of cultural heritage. This serves the purpose of delimiting the scope of this study and, moreover, to identify some key questions within the research of cultural heritage studies which will be introduced towards the end of chapter 2.

In outline I will proceed as follows: In chapter 1.1 I will introduce in general terms a turn to industry as heritage before I introduce, in chapter 1.2 the individual case studies Dortmund, Odda and Blaenavon and explain why these suit the purpose of studying site-specific articulations of this broader turn. In chapter 1.3 I will establish the methodological framework of this study and present an outline of its most relevant theoretical perspectives in chapter 1.4. In chapter 1.5 I introduce the subtitle of this dissertation and introduce the problem of representation as a persistent hermeneutic enigma of representing the past as making present something absent. The aim of this study and the research question will be stated in chapter 1.6

1.1 Background for the turn to industrial heritage

The tremendous power of heritage is not restricted to its ability to give the outmoded a new lease on life, a "second life as heritage as an exhibition of itself" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 168). Its institutions define thresholds of representation through which someone or something may retroactively gain accession into the nationally or internationally recognized Culture with a capital C. This is why we speak of the politics of heritage and politics of representation as a key concern of the late 20th and early 21st century. It is the ability to give delayed credit to forgotten cultures, revive traditions, restitute marginalized subjects of history, make present the absent and give a voice to the silenced which is explain why battles are waged over cultural heritage and it's "representational adequacy" (Bennett 1995: 45). The trust in the accessional and representational power of heritage gained particular momentum towards the end of the 20th century when identity politics of university curricula found expression in the call for reforms of museum and heritage institutions. Today it is widely accepted that the notion of heritage has undergone a shift within this period which can be described as a democratization of form, content and purpose (Fairclough 2008; Harvey 2008). The form is no longer restricted to lone standing monuments but comprise entire urban environments and landscapes. The content is not exclusively a documentation of the lives of extraordinary individuals and the purpose ranges from unashamed nostalgia to encouraging economic regeneration in the present.

Industrial heritage received wider recognition in the 1960s as a specialized branch of monument care and archaeology. The term industrial archaeology was coined by Michael Rix in the mid-1950s to describe the study of material remains of the industrial past as an extended arm of conventional archaeology. Later still in the 1960s and 1970s industrial heritage was influenced by those reforms in museology (ecomuseum, local history museums), and historiography (labor history, oral history, people's history) as well as activists who sought to rescue everyday culture, vernacular buildings and mundane material remains from oblivion. However there is nothing inherently progressive about the form of industrial heritage even if it is commonly opposed to dominant conceptions of cultural heritage because of its comparatively young age and its defiance of polite architecture.

This is, in broad strokes, the background of industrial heritage which concerns the politics of representation. There is also a background which has to do with our immediate surroundings and the material challenge of redundant objects and decrepit buildings left behind by

abandoned industries. A vast range of long-term material challenges is brought to light by the industrial decline and tangibly illustrated by expressions like "rust belt cities". Following Harrison I think it makes sense to think of industrial heritage as a response to industrial decline and a "pragmatic physical response to the problem of the *material excess of ruin*: what physically to do with the mine shafts, the ports, the factories, the vast material remnants of industry that were rapidly becoming defunct and lying derelict and useless" (Harrison 2012: 80-81). As I will demonstrate in this thesis, a combined material and social challenge has elicited three vastly different responses in the three places where I have conducted my research.

1.2 Introducing the case-studies - Dortmund, Odda and Blaenavon

The first case I present deals with the German Ruhr region which has become renowned for its innovative approach to the challenging industrial heritage. I will understand the aesthetics of the defunct coke plant Kokerei Hansa in the suburb of Huckarde in terms of defamiliarization. The central concern in this first case study is to investigate the aesthetic sublimation of industrial ruins and discuss what these ruins signify today. The central claim I make in chapter 3 is that defamiliarization is a means of challenging the limited notion of use-value derived from the regime of industrial production. The industrial ruin signifies a radical loss of context which heritage planning has consciously transformed into a myriad of new ways to make sense of a useless coke plant. The second case I will present has gained nationwide attention in Norway due to the level of conflict over the local industrial heritage. This investigation concerns the site of a carbide producer, Odda Smelteverk A/S, which went bankrupt in 2003 and caught the awareness of heritage interests as an icon of Norwegian energy-intensive industries and a potential World Heritage Site. In turn this has led to many debates about the form, extent and purpose of the local industrial heritage. The overriding aim of chapter 4 is to make sense of the resistance against industrial heritage which has occurred in Odda. I ground this analysis in the different attitudes which exist with regards to the valuation of industrial ruins. The final study I have conducted concerns the former coal mining community of Blaenavon in Wales which will be presented in chapter 5. Ex-miners are employed as tourist guides at the Big Pit National Coal Museum to share their personal account of life in the coal mines. This performance raises some important questions about representation and modes of authentication in contemporary industrial heritage. I claim that

this particular form of recovery of labor heritage consciously employs the subterranean heritage to perform the contrast between 'official' and 'unofficial' storytelling – as well as enacting a difference between the 'superficial' and the 'real' heritage experience. The ex-miner signifies the transition from a formal top-down interpretation to a history from below. Moreover, he functions as the authenticating agent in pointing to the flaws of the representation and inviting visitors "backstage" beyond the representation. I will see this contribution to the representation as something that is motivated by the desire for authenticity and the desire to take control over the interpretation of one's own heritage.

The case studies in this thesis represent themes which is my attempt of particularizing the fairly abstract and nondescript phenomenon of heritage. I have opted for a structure where each of the case studies probes into one overarching topic which will guide my investigation of the cases. Chapter 3 deals with the subject of defamiliarization; chapter 4 investigates the topic of conflict before I turn, in chapter 5, to the question of authenticity. These thematic foci reflects my intention to reflect the broad scope of the heritage phenomenon in general while also paying attention to what is distinct about local variants of industrial heritage. I develop accounts of defamiliarization, conflict and authenticity to investigate questions of representation, agency and sense of ownership. Beyond representing the industrial past accurately, defamiliarization is a way to embrace the creative potential in the gap between historic real and the aesthetic rendition of industrial sites in the present. By investigating heritage conflict I will draw on different conceptions of value relevant to the assessment of industrial sites and investigate why heritage valorization causes friction between affected stakeholders and sometimes lead to dismissal of the industrial heritage. Turning to the forbidden desire of authenticity in heritage representations I explore the persistent expectation that heritage should or could represent a local past in an unfiltered and true manner by drawing on authoritative witnesses. My treatment of these issues is not an exhaustive account of the heritage process in each of the contexts. The case studies are built around a specific theme meaning that important aspects have been omitted in favor of a more streamlined and coherent analytic account. The industrial heritage sites featured here have been selected because they shed light on the specific circumstances inspiring a local turn to industrial heritage at the same time as these themes also have a bearing on issues that are more general to cultural heritage in late modern societies. The case-study approach is valuable only in so far as it resists the tendency to draw on large-scale diagnostics which approaches heritage in terms of an overarching cultural pathology.

All attempts of creating industrial heritage imply raising complex questions of value. What are the criterions employed to decide which objects to include or exclude in preservation roster? The means of valuation vary tremendously. The process of aestheticization and defamiliarization is far more apparent in the Ruhr than elsewhere in Europe. This distance to the era of heavy industries is more apparent in Dortmund than in Odda. Similarly, the level of conflict in Odda is to my knowledge unparalleled in comparable industrial heritage processes. The prevalence of the discourse of a socially inclusive heritage and heritage as a tool of economic revitalization is more pronounced in the UK than in either Germany or Norway. These are some of the national disparities that become apparent upon comparison and these differences need to be taken into account by stressing context and specificity.

The emphasis on different modes of industrial heritage is my way of suggesting that industrial heritage operates to very different ends in different contexts. Far from being only a positive, manifest expression of things to remember it taps into cultural processes that are of equal importance. As a platform for the negotiation of new identities, a way to engender tolerance for cultural transience, or as a way to give rise to ways of dealing with cultural change - the widespread notion of heritage as identity affirmation is not adequate. To demonstrate the inadequacy of heritage as mere affirmation I stress the value of making strange – of defamiliarizing.

The presence of the past as heritage should be seen as a paradoxical and highly modern response to and a liberation from the past. The most apt description of this duality of heritage is provided by Octave Debary who thinks of industrial heritage as "the staging of history fading into oblivion" (Debary 2004). To Debary the duty of remembrance is accompanied by a strategy of forgetting. The same point has been stressed by Connerton on several occasions and he regards the formation of new identities as dependent on forms of forgetting (Connerton 2006, 2008). Forgetting, he claims, should not be automatically dismissed as a cultural failure. Even still the duty to remember informs practices of industrial heritage. Industrial heritage is both a commitment to preserve industrial culture and an attempt to form new perspectives on the industrial past. The tools that we have at our disposal are employed to respond to the challenging legacy of industrial production. We are increasingly "making a living in the present by cleaning up the mess of the past" (Evans 2004: 84). As a response to these challenges, industrial heritage is not restricted to preservation per se. It takes on responsibilities far beyond the traditional remits of preservation and addresses neighboring problem areas of urban planning, landscape design and job creation. Post-industrial areas

often experience population decline and suffer from severe environmental degradation. Whenever aesthetic means of transforming the industrial landscape are introduced they diverge from a purpose-centered reliance on use-value. This rupture is expressed in sharply divergent assessments of industrial buildings and sites. Who are the rightful custodians of these structures? Is it a responsibility of waste management or heritage management? The matter-of-factual and pragmatic view is different from the more emotionally grounded appropriation of industrial ruins. In any which way, industrial heritage is not always an affirmation of old values and status quo. It also has the capacity of turning its back on what it pertains to represent which actualizes the issue of conflict treated in chapter 4.

The sites I have studied are not undisturbed ruin sites; they belong to a highly reflexive culture of display and they also feature in public debates. They have come to signify something more than the original purpose they served. Common to all the industrial heritage sites analyzed in this thesis is the fact that have they have gained attention as ciphers of the industrial past and as signs of something new as well. This is reflected in their present form– as staged ruins, as landscape parks, as museums, or as heritage sites. Each of the selected sites are thoroughly mediated and mediatized and to varying degrees have they been recognized as significant visual landmarks of the industrial age in their respective locations. They are big, striking and unwieldy structures which make them stand out as eyesores or monuments or something in between. These structures sometimes force heritage practitioners to rethink how they conduct preservation and presentation. With regards to industrial heritage, it is often made up of what I have elsewhere referred to as sedentary and immobile objects (Bangstad 2011). Oftentimes large and frequently in need of expensive maintenance work, they pose a specific challenge to those involved in preservation. The quarrelsome process of industrial heritage preservation is occasioned by some simple questions without simple answers: "What can be done with the immense volume of a gas storage tank, the rusty giant of a blast furnace or the simmering mountain of a spoil heap?" (Raines 2011: 195).

In all of the three cases I have studied the industrial heritage is expected to deal with decline in a twofold manner: a) Foster greater pride in the industrial past, and, b) partake in a regeneration of de-industrializing communities. These expectations are discernible on a number of levels where heritage policies are designed and inform the priorities in the field. In Norway, cultural heritage has in general been appointed a more prominent as a facilitator for economic growth (Eriksen 2009a; Larsen and Berg 2009). In the UK, the notion of industrial heritage as a tool of social inclusion and regeneration is well-documented (Dicks 2000b;

Koziol 2008; Mason 2004a). In Germany, on the state level of North Rhine Westphalia the long-running attempts to aid structural change in the region has resulted in forms of conservation that have been credited across Europe as a new future for the Ruhr region's industrial past (Kunzmann 2011). This forward-oriented model of responding to social, environmental and economic decline accompanies industrial heritage in a contemporary world which seeks ways of fusing forms of the past with the requirements of the present in anticipation of future challenges. This gives industrial heritage its peculiar double role of celebrating *and* overcoming the industrial past in the same turn (Dicks 2000b).

The themes of defamiliarization, conflict and authenticity respectively are based on my intention to investigate the variety of ways that the industrial legacy is dealt with and investigate why it has elicited these widely different results and responses. I will demonstrate that dilemmas, paradoxes and discords are inherent to the process of making heritage. The three cases vary tremendously in terms of the funding, ambition, scale and form of industrial heritage. They differ widely also in terms of audacity and comprehensiveness. While the industrial heritage in the Ruhr has been backed by substantial funding on a local and state level and cities such as Dortmund and Bochum are located in one of the largest urban agglomerations in Europe, Odda and Blaenavon are more peripheral in geographic terms and more modest with regards to the fiscal means of realizing the ambitions of industrial heritage. The respective budgets allocated to the maintenance of industrial heritage also differ significantly. This means that each project will be approached on its own terms, not as cognate cases on a level playing field.

Respecting the differences between the selected cases does not imply treating them as insulated entities with no wider relevance and applicability. The study of a specific case may prove a fertile ground for bringing the local into dialogue with broader theoretical reflections on the topic of industrial heritage. Otherwise, the approach may prove to do little more than contributing uncritically to a "morass of case-studies" (Terry-Chandler in Harvey 2001: 321). That being said, I do not claim to have invented an overriding model for understanding the turn to heritage which will resolve the problem of asymmetry between the cases in this thesis. I have not attempted to find a vantage point which renders the cases more equal than they really are. The lack of an Archimedean point and one correct narrative where the different perspectives converge seamlessly should be treated as an advantage rather than as a restriction (Huyssen 1995a). From a methodological point-of-view one could also treat each case as a

chance to capitalize on the heterogeneity of heritage studies and allow the idiosyncratic local heritage to unsettle some predetermined intellectual schemas. It is not necessarily a failure if theory and the empirical are not wholly compatible. In the field of cultural heritage there is always a "surplus of meaning" which invites reflection beyond set boundaries (Huyssen 1995a: 15). However, there is a chance that the researcher reads too much into the forms she or he encounters. This balance is precarious, especially when one tries to be both methodically creative and present a fair account of the phenomena encountered.

To summarize; the structure of this thesis reflects my attempt to discern one prominent dimension in each of the industrial heritage sites I have studied. The aestheticized industrial ruins in Ruhr illustrate the potential of industrial heritage as a means of fostering acceptance for cultural transience and loss. Bearing also on the issue of loss, I will investigate the demolition of two carbide furnaces in Odda as an expression of the ambiguities which industrial heritage elicits as it is appointed the elevated position of a common material heritage. The third case deals with Blaenavon in South Wales where I will examine how ex-miners play an important role in authenticating the perspective change in industrial heritage by committing to the unvarnished social history rather than displaying machines. Defamiliarization, conflict and authenticity are the three lenses through which I will investigate industrial heritage in terms of the problem of representation. I claim that taken together these different articulations of industrial heritage demonstrate the quarrelsome process of reconciling the industrial past and the de-industrialized present. Heritage is a way of dealing with social, cultural and temporal ruptures according to Hartog (2005).

The three analyses are investigations into some of the overarching issues of cultural heritage and while these issues are distilled from my encounters with industrial heritage sites and those with a stake in them, I will argue for a wider theoretical relevance of this study. I will suggest that heritage is a means of addresses historical ruptures even if it does not deal explicitly with the traumatic or with dark heritage. By looking beyond what is normally associated with heritage, I claim that it has critical potential besides engendering a sense of coherence, stability, continuity and consistency. The negative foundational moment which is often a backbone of the remembrance in general is discontinuity (Assmann 2007). Hartog claims that this applies to heritage as well, a phenomenon that has "never thrived on continuity but on the contrary from ruptures" (Hartog 2005: 15). The quote from Hartog above points to how heritage can aid human beings in the process of dealing with the uncertainty of memory and

identity. Instead of resorting to a metaphysics of presence where past culture is restored and experienced as familiar and comfortable, Hartog makes us aware of the limits of knowledge and the limits of representation. The aim of heritage in his account is not to provide the public with tools of cultural affirmation through possession, rather Hartog sees heritage as a tool of self-invention born out of the condition of not-knowing and not-having. These matters are different for Lübbe (1989) who coins the term 'musealization' to describe a form of compensation for social and cultural upheavals following from technological and economic progress. He claimed that the extension of the museal sphere was a way of making amends for the rapid technological and economic development which engendered uncertainty and a sense of rootlessness. For Lübbe the museum which stores the material of one's cultural heritage becomes a firm foundation and a source of reassurance in times of uncertainty. The difference between Lübbe and Hartog notwithstanding they are theorists who explore phenomena as disparate as memory, museum and heritage with reference to cultural ruptures.

The experience of deindustrialization is one such obvious cultural rupture. With the passing of time the memories of monolithic industrial production regimes which permeated everyday life of communities fades. This is why the post-industrial society is often understood in terms of the experience of loss; loss of class-based political and cultural identities and loss of "historic confidence in the necessity and justice" of collective labor organization and the demise of mass-membership labor parties (Samuel 1994: 163). Class, according to Raphael Samuel, has been fragmented "into a thousand different splinters" (ibid). This sense of loss finds it material corollary in coal pit closures across Wales and the rundown of the coal and steel industry in the Ruhr region as well as the decline of traditional industries in Norwegian mono-industrial towns. What is the purpose of establishing sites of memory in this context of despair and decline?

The process involves both identification and distanciation. Preserving the memory of an industrial community before the fall may engender a stronger sense of rootedness in the present. On the other hand, it also contributes to the historicizing and aestheticizing of what was part of the everyday, of what belonged to the routine of leisure and work. This oscillation between distance and identification, between accepting loss and regretting major cultural upheavals is central to the paradoxical modern experience according to Marshall Berman (1983). Even more paradoxical are the ways in which the use of the past represents the crux of future-oriented urban policies. This mode of moving on while looking back, of "keeping while changing" (Bille 2011: 108), demonstrates that heritage has become a hybrid form

which treats preservation as renewal (Dicks 2000b). Industrial heritage can operate to very different ends in different contexts. Far from being only a positive, manifest expression of things to remember it taps into cultural processes that are of equal importance. As a platform for the negotiation of *new* identities, or as a way to engender tolerance for cultural transience, or as a way to give rise to public debates about complex issues of value and beauty – the purpose of this thesis is to analyze the diversity of forms under the aegis of industrial heritage as a response to the social and material challenge produced by deindustrialization.

1.3 Research methodology

My own position as a researcher is inspired by interdisciplinary approaches to cultural heritage. In memory studies, heritage studies as well as museology there are many contemporary authors who favor the anthropological perspective on the practices of commemorating, valorizing and exhibiting cultures of the past (Andrews 2010; Dicks 2000b; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Macdonald 2013; Smith 2006; Stanton 2006). The following study draws on these approaches and it employs the kind of methodological toolkit often found in anthropological studies of heritage based on a case-study approach. This involves inter alia the use of semi-structured interviews, documentation through photography and taking part in regularized on-site activities such as guided tours as well as observing and participating in a touristic consumption of the heritage experience. All of the sites and buildings as well as exhibitions have been documented photographically and I will include some illustrations of the most important parts of the heritage sites I describe in my analysis.

I have conducted interviews with civil servants, museum employees as well as project managers and others with a stake in the heritage process. These interviews will be part of this study alongside photos and more personal impressions from the sites. The most important pieces of information are which give us important clues about the mechanisms which sustain heritage value over time. Policy documents, preservation strategies and formal selection criteria are very central sources which suggest ways of establishing value in heritage. Documents like these also reflect the changing ideas and ambitions for the preservation practice and the practical considerations that are taken when dealing with industrial heritage. This approach has a closer affinity with traditional discourse analysis where the purpose is to show how a particular discourse constitute and sustain heritage as a distinctive area of specialized, expert knowledge (Waterton, Smith and Campbell 2006).

The specific decisions and approaches I discuss in this thesis are not final, even though they do represent ways to solidify and enhance the durability of a particular heritage site. It is interesting to look for factors which are likely to enhance the durability and acceptability of a form and similarly try to identify elements which work against the maintenance of a particular heritage. I am deliberately vague when I refer to forms, factors and elements. The raw material of heritage is complex in the sense that they are inclined to signify permanence but also adaptability. They resist the whims of the day at the same time as they have to be pick up on cultural change in order to stay relevant. They include material objects as well discursive elements. In response to the composite character of discourses, materials and agents required to create heritage my own corpus is a diffuse selection ranging from interviews through field notes from guided tours and texts describing preservation strategies.

Some of the policy documents and plans which describe the aspirations of heritage on a local, regional, national or international level are sources which can attest more precisely what guides and motivates the making of heritage. I have tried to make sense of industrial heritage as a complex form made of composite 'materials' – the actors, the objects and the framework or discourses which regulate the relationship between actors and objects. The influence of concepts borrowed from actor-network theory will be noticeable in my attempt of identifying some key issues relating to the materiality of industrial heritage. Does it matter that industrial heritage articulates an appreciation of superfluous, burdensome and obstinate objects? The discursive focus in heritage studies has not fully acknowledged material possibilities, or what is normally referred to as material "affordances" of things (Harrison 2012). After all, maybe the former industrial production sites I have visited are characterized by material excess which cannot be adequately contained and accounted for in terms of a focus on culture as text?

These questions will make more sense as I introduce actor-network theory as part of the theoretical framework of this thesis. An interest in the reciprocity of cultural discourse and material form is evident in so-called material-semiotic analyses of museums and cultural heritage (e.g. Bennett 2011). These are characteristic of a kind of research in the humanities and social sciences informed by assemblage theory and actor-network theory. The former refers both to objects and their associations in the widest possible sense, the latter seeks to map relations between things and concepts, actors and actants, employing the network as a way to understand the way that these associations are sustained (Harrison 2012; Murdoch 1998). These related theories are often contrasted with the traditional hermeneutic study of

meanings as an expression of interiority, or hidden meaning available only beyond a surface of appearance or apparent meaning. Actor-network theory has even been described as post- or anti-hermeneutic tradition (Fornäs 2012), which would imply a irreconcilable difference between these theoretical traditions as far as the purpose of cultural analysis is concerned. This begs the question whether we should approach the cultural field as a network of changing relations instead of assuming that cultural forms are signs of something substantial and profound which escapes our attention or is somehow covert? Instead of abandoning interpretation of cultural forms as outmoded or irrelevant I will suggest ways that hermeneutic approaches may in fact benefit from taking a wider range of materials into account and approach material and meaning in terms of their reciprocity rather than by presupposing a mutual exclusivity.

1.4 Theoretical background: actor-network theory and critical hermeneutics – tracing associations or interpreting meaning?

Heritage can be seen as a "discursive construction with material consequences" (Harvey 2008: 19). The reverse notion could encourage us to investigate the discursive and conceptual responses to the material challenge of industrial redundancy. The notion that materials are ultimately formed by our ways of seeing, our categories of systematization is a recurring idea in a constructivist reading of cultural heritage where heritage exists thanks to discourse (Smith 2006). In reaction to this prevailing episteme, some scholars have proposed a less anthropocentric view of cultural heritage by providing a theoretical framework of symmetry. By de-privileging humans as the locus of action, symmetrical theories consider humans and things as entangled in assemblages of "humans-things" where agency as well as ethical weight are no longer properties restricted to a human realm (Harrison 2012; Webmoor 2007).

Even in a discipline like archaeology there has been a need to vindicate the concern with things and ask why material culture has become de-emphasized in favor of discourse for such a long time (Olsen 2003). Bjørnar Olsen has enlisted for a "defense of things" and claims, in opposition to hegemonic, anti-materialist theories that things, materials, landscapes significantly shape our understanding of the world and that they "constitute a fundamental and persistent foundation for our existence" (Olsen 2010: 4). The material turn in the humanities entails renewed interest in the agency affordances and evoked by the material world. A clear-cut expression of this view is offered by Olsen who reminds us that despite the dominance of

the discursive approaches (always looking for the Indian behind the artefact) the world is not held together solely by human cognition alone (Olsen 2003, 2010).

Things, according to those spearheading a material turn, possess an otherness which we refuse them by subjecting things to neat and stable categories and inscribing them only instrumental purposes. By letting things be in and of themselves and by granting them an existence beyond our representational and calculative thinking we may envision ways to preserve the irreducible otherness of things (Carey 2000; Introna 2009). The material turn in social sciences and humanities implied a critique against the tendency to understand the meaning of things as bearing only on culturally produced discourse where non-human entities would just "sit in silence waiting to be embodied with socially constituted meanings" (Olsen 2006: 92). Things have been marginalized, according to Olsen who sees a tendency in social sciences to disregard things as active components in social life: "Meaning is something always being mapped onto things and landscapes, which themselves seem drained of all significance to facilitate their so-called cultural construction" (Olsen 2007: 580).

Harrison (2012) has suggested that the affective qualities of heritage and the material affects have been de-emphasized due to a comprehensive discursive turn in the study of heritage. As suggested by Berman (2010) a pure aesthetic and contemplative approach is equally dangerous, because it prevents us from considering the social and ethical dimensions of decline. To him, the ruin points back to the absent agent. Civilization erects an edifice and fails to care for it so that in the end "cosmic powers won dominion over the ruined body only because no protective hand was available to guard it" (Berman 2010: 106). Materials, as has recently been asserted by Macdonald (2013) have the ability to 'speak back' and sometimes upset our presuppositions.

The militant stance *for* or *against* discourse is something I find difficult to relate to. In this sense I think it is valid as Macdonald has claimed, that while it is both timely and important to look closer at what materials do *with* us it is equally clear that dismissing discourse means "that we ignore much that matters" (Macdonald 2013: 81). Heritage is a material and discursive practice through and through and not a question of either or. To me the most valuable contributions to the study of heritage are the ones who try to investigate how human meaning-making practices can be cohabitated by things that matter and shape us and make us rethink our approaches. Much current research on materials within the humanities and social sciences is indebted to actor-network theory as well as assemblage theory. One important

aspect to note with regards to these related traditions is that the social world should be understood as the tightly interwoven fabric of human and non-human agents. These are connected in complex ways and the entanglements are often described by actor-network theorists using network metaphors. In order to explain the nature of societies, actor-network theory expands the field to cover entities other than human agents. Things have a particularly prominent role on this new game board where humans and non-human actants are treated as interdependent. A network is "socio-material" and whereas traditional network analysis focused solely on human agency, the plane of analysis has been deliberately flattened in actor-network theory.

How does this relate to my research? We could tentatively say that the common denominator across all the case studies in the following chapters is the preoccupation with a particular site. This is conventionally understood as an archaeological term and is still most commonly encountered in that particular discipline. It is also reflected in the globalized heritage terminology where we hear of categories such as monuments, groups of buildings and sites (Jokilehto 2006). The site can, however, not be treated as a functional unit in the sense that it readily available object of study with clear boundaries. It is not a natural and self-preserving totality where the limits are intuitive and given in advance. Its boundaries are subject to ongoing revision and the sustenance of a heritage site requires hard work to keep diverse elements together in a working whole. A researcher may observe how a particular site has changed over time, how social agents influence and alter the boundaries of the site and redefine its functions. The researcher may note also how the constitution of a site and its materials restricts and co-shapes the cultural work occurring there. At the same time, the researcher faces the recognition that the site is shaped by external, global forces which pierce through these boundaries and make them less stable, more confusing, but also endlessly more exciting. This way the stable core of meaning is constantly on the move - deferred, emergent and undergoing construction. This way the local is never merely local. This way we cannot simply presuppose the purity of heritage, but have to account for the hyphenation of the cultural world and the hybrid character of the phenomena we study.

Despite its jargon-laden language, the insights of actor-network theory are valuable to a study of heritage which is both discursive and material, both global and local. This field of research where it is difficult to decide what to include and what to exclude and where, significantly, the social actors and reflect about what is said and written about a particular site is

characterized by mutual attention between researcher and the field. They too are able to 'speak back' and to scrutinize day-to-day activities based on popular reception or cultural critics in the academic domain. Self-reflexivity requires of the researcher that dream of the culture caught unaware is dismissed at the outset and that complexity is acknowledged and given analytic priority. Macdonald (2013) has noted how the 'memory complex' (resembling an assemblage or a network) gains a form of autonomy and that the variations of relations are seemingly endless.

In a related fashion actor-network theory looks at how material objects and social practices form heterogeneous networks. These complex relations are particularly important because they can explain the way in which things that are close sometimes feels distant and the distant sometimes feels close (Murdoch 1998). Significantly, actor-network theory tries to challenge unilinear explanations as well as causal explanations of the social and cultural world. As for the boundaries of a site, actor-network theory is likely to treat the site as made up of a great number of elements, some proximate to each other and others far apart or external to the site. The non-Euclidean notion of space reconfigures these relations so that distance and proximity can no longer be understood strictly in terms of a geometric measure of distance: "[T]hings that are very close, in terms of cultural affinity, for instance, can appear very distant from one another according to some (unilinear) measurement of time passed, while things that co-exist in time may be far removed in terms of their relationships" (Murdoch 1998: 359).

A heritage site would, according to such a scheme, be subject to influences from external forces that are remote, spatially or even temporally (diachronic). This realization implies that the network, the coming together of objects and subjects in complex assemblages, can become functional regardless of spatial remoteness. It opens up for the possibility of hubs where some agents can gain influence disproportional to their status in a hierarchy or despite their modest political influence. The ideology-critical approach to heritage describe its hidden agenda which ultimately served ruling nation-state interests geared towards production of 'bogus history' which would appeal to middle-class consumer in times of uncertainty (Hewison 1987). Today, scholars have realized that heritage may serve a reactionary, nationalistic political ideology heritage, but it is not to be understood as an inescapable part of the 'genre' of cultural heritage. There is no ideological center or intellectual powerhouse that can exert a frictionless form of authority over the way heritageisation is carried out locally. Instead of

dealing with a space of prescription, we are dealing with a space of negotiation (Murdoch 1998).

Clearly, there are influential and persistent methods for ordering, valuing and canonizing objects, buildings, traditions, beliefs. Some of these methods have been institutionalized in the form of national legislation, international conventions, committees and guidelines which practitioners can turn to for consultation. One could claim that these forms of institutionalizing of heritage serve *one* cause and prescribe distinct formulas for the appreciation of heritage. Actor-network theory claims that systems can remain durable but they are always imperfect: "[…] modes of ordering are never complete, closed totalities: they always generate uncertainties, ambivalences, transgressions and resistances (Murdoch 1998: 367). Macdonald (2013) has summarized the important contributions of actor-network theory to cultural anthropology in general and to the study of heritage and memory more specifically. It is a theory which according to Macdonald rejects assumptions of linear causality or singular agents and instead places more emphasis on the coming together of subjects and objects in networks. In short the spatial and temporal distribution of important elements shaping the social world becomes less intuitive and self-evident seen through the lenses of actor-network theory. However, even if it is unpredictable it is never wholly unpatterned (Macdonald 2013). Likewise, the complexity of the network does not mean that is completely impenetrable.

These insights have been important to this study in the sense that I have approached the site as an assemblage, or a collection of diverse materials "woven together in order to ensure the durability of the consolidated relations" (Murdoch 1998: 360). For me this has implied that the indistinct boundaries of my object of study, the industrial heritage site, have been reassuring rather than disheartening. The indistinct boundaries are moreover instrumental in keeping the motor of heritage running; revision of categories, reworking of guidelines, enhanced representativity and reevaluation of established cultural canons. What Bennett (1995) writes about the discourse of reform in modern public museums is equally true of cultural heritage. Once the principle of generality or representativity is introduced as a way of making amends for the history of classed, gendered or racial patterns of exclusion the "discourse of reform" becomes "insatiable" (Bennett 1995: 91). Any museum collection and every heritage register "could be held to be partial, incomplete, inadequate" (op.cit.: 97).

This dimension may explain the persistent appeal of cultural heritage as a global regime of comparative cultural (e)valuation (Bendix 2009). The fact that they are unfinished and incomplete necessitates reform, reflexivity and a response to criticism and external pressures. What more the discourse of reform allows current practice in the field of heritage to accrue public legitimacy as forward-oriented venture rather mere backward-looking and conservative impulse. The consistent appeal of heritage can thus be described in the following way: "We work and write in a present where valuing, protection, preservation, and competitive evaluation of heritages, on regional to global scales, are natural or obvious; UNESCO's lists of chosen sites and practices dangle before us, an ever-tempting option for actors in the realm of cultural and economic policymaking" (Bendix 2009: 257).

On the basis of this brief description of ANT, some of the materials, actors and components of a heritage assemblage are starting to appear more clearly before us. As do the mechanisms that make sure they are held together. Firstly, the materials which constitute the socio-material network are "made up of a host of elements that we tend to label technical, social, natural, political and so on. In study after study of science or technology in action, actor-network theorists have focused attention on *all* the elements - test tubes, organisms, machines, texts, and so on - that are juxtaposed in the building of networks" (Murdoch 1998: 360). The equivalents in the field of industrial heritage would include elements such as the abandoned production buildings, indiscernible pieces of rusty machinery, zoning plans, underground pollution, stakeholder groups, site-specific guidelines, museum exhibitions, visitors, World Heritage conventions, museum workers, and the touristic promotional material. All of these components form the site and the lesson we should learn from this assemblage of heterogeneous material is that it can never neatly ordered into either categories like dominant or marginal, global or local, valuable or worthless.

The mechanisms that hold the system together are more complex. Actor-network theory and assemblage theory is a productive alternative to the rigid dichotomy of local and global which tends to see the global only as abstraction and the local only as specificity (Macdonald 2009a). Instead, assemblage theory treats a global form as "one among a range of concrete elements" and promote knowledge about global forms in order to "replace dominant space, culture, and society-bound categories" (Collier 2006: 400). Collier (2006) also claims that global forms have a distinctive capacity for decontextualization and recontextualization, abstractability and movement across diverse social and cultural situations. In this sense, the

heritage site extends beyond the local but is not necessarily adversary to local practices. One expression of this is the global currency and universal desire for all things local. An assemblage universalizes the local, and despite the differences that exist between actor-netork theory and assemblage theory, this premise is something they have in common. Recall for instance Bruno Latour's understanding of the railroad – neither local or global, but instead "local at all points" (Latour 1993: 117). Or his understanding of metrology which he claims is "the paramount example of what it is to expand *locally everywhere*" (Latour 2005: 229). Similarly, the global heritage phenomenon, has a local specificity, which can only be revealed through micro-level approaches according to Bendix (2009). The most general function of an industrial heritage site is to articulate a response to the material redundancy that de-industrialization produces. Its more particular local purpose and ambition can only be established through some form of micro-, or meso-level analysis (Macdonald 2013). As Macdonald (2009b) has demonstrated the materiality of buildings, sites and objects co-determine the heritage practice and occasionally *constrain* the courses of action available to actors. So while heritage critique has been timely, it is important to resist the urge to overemphasize the stability, and coherence of heritage as a discourse of power and ideology. It is in relation to this that assemblage and actor-network concepts may be useful to account for how a variety of elements are momentarily brought together, or assembled to obtain a tentative stability as heritage. The question remains, however, in how far the ethical dimension of indebtedness can be accounted for in terms of assemblages and analyses tracing associations where human intentionality is no longer a privileged source of action. At any rate the self-declared anti-hermeneutic stance of Latour (2005) purportedly anticipating a return to the thing itself will not be echoed in this study where interpretation is the core activity. Interpretation however is not about revealing meaning located in the internal, hidden depths under the apparent real, but an attempt to look at mechanisms which allows some things of the past to persist and address us long after their demise. Rather than reaching back to their inner depth they commit us through debt to make sense over and over and over again.

1.5 The problem of representation

Viewed as "compensatory totality" the representation in museums and heritage will always be found wanting (Bennett 1995: 45). Counter-hegemonic influences and subaltern stories have influenced the code of ethics in the museum and heritage world for some time to the extent

even that Lowenthal (2006) claimed that in the Age of Apology heritage is increasingly fashioned by losers as compensation for past injustices. The one aspect that is emphasized with particular intensity in the discourse of compensation is the part of representation which concerns the standing-for (*vertreten*). Vertreten means "to be a representative" and being appointed the task of speaking or acting for someone (Grinell 2010). In the context of compensatory totality this dimension concerns the question of whether someone is adequately represented through the *vertreter* that is legitimately (s)elected to speak on behalf of someone or something. If we limit the analysis of representation to its democratic purpose, the form of heritage may end up resembling a stable container where constituencies are included or excluded.

The representative in the context of representation cannot be a self-less servant of the past who renders the past as it was. Pure imitation makes it difficult to generate new meaning from the past in the present for the future. Hence, some additional dimensions of representation besides standing-for enable a richer understanding of the representation beyond the compensatory mode. Representation of the past in the critical hermeneutics of Paul Ricoeur (1913-2005) mediates identity and difference and proposes a mode of engagement which stays clear both of uncommitted presentist renditions and dogmatic imitations of the past. For Ricoeur (1988) representation concerns both the dimension of standing-for something (*vertreten*) and being able to imagine (*vorstellen*). The potential of a representation of the past is to retrieve some potential or possibility that has been abandoned and be able to assume a critical stance vis-à-vis the past. As it is not enjoying perfect autonomy from the past nor is its mere obedient servant, representation can be understood in terms of both debt and innovation.

The strength of the critical hermeneutical approach of Paul Ricoeur is that it builds a dialectic form of representation of the past which allows for creative reworking in the present while also remaining bound by a commitment to the people and events of the past. For Ricoeur (1988) attempts at reenacting the past try to abolish its own difference vis-à-vis the original act of creation and wipe out temporal distance to in order to identify with the past. Ricoeur also dismisses a negative ontology of the past although it is important as preliminary move to perform a critique, a cleansing operation of the "totalizing intentions of history" it cannot account for "what seems to be positive in the persistence of the past in the presence" (Ricoeur 1988: 151). How can pure distance "take the place of what, although today absent and dead, was once real and alive?" (ibid.). How can the past be brought to matter in the form of representation? It is important to note here is that "past events exercises constraints on

historical discourse" (Ricoeur 1988: 154). The analogous mode introduced by Ricoeur is a mode of "being-as" which recognizes that representation is constrained by the reality of the past and also involves a departure from it in the sense that "being-as is both to be and not to be" (op.cit.: 155). A representation of the past involves "presencing absence"; bringing forward or materializing "that which is excessive" (Buchli and Lucas 2001: 171). The problem of representation will be understood in the following as the attempt to strike a balance between debt owed to the past and innovation required to make sense of the past in a new form.

1.6 Research question

The conundrum of representation makes one thing stand for another and it makes the absent present in a different form or medium. Industrial heritage is one such form. A common distinction concerns whether the representation acknowledges difference from or appeal to sameness with the thing itself. Modes like imitation, simulation and mimetic realism depend on the close correspondence to reality. Representation of the past as heritage can render itself natural and invisible by concealing the actual laborious process of heritage-making under the pretense of identity with the past. Alternatively it may refer back to itself and expose its inherent flaws or the impossibility of adequately representing the past for that matter.

The perspectives offered by critical hermeneutics and the rich array of humans-things introduced by assemblage perspectives will aid the analysis of defamiliarization, conflict and authenticity as specific responses to the problem of representation dealt with in this thesis. In the following study I will analyze the problem of representation in selected cases and discuss why defamiliarization, conflict and authenticity have become the predominant articulations of the response to the abundant matter of the industrial past.

CHAPTER 2 – CONTENT IN SEARCH OF A CONCEPT: DEFINING CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ITS LIMITS

2.1 The omnipotence of heritage

Cultural heritage has become a blanket term covering widely disparate phenomena. It has come to take on board so many responsibilities that a rigorous and stable meaning seems difficult to establish. It has mutated and grown to take account of *every* dimension of culture to the effect that the sustainability of the heritage growth has been questioned. Is it still meaningful, one might ask, to regard heritage as a "non-renewable resource" (Holtorf 2008) given the accumulation of memory and heritage as an "indiscriminate piling up of heterogeneous traces, places and practices" (Harrison 2012: 202)? David Harvey has claimed that "there seem to be as many definitions of the heritage concept as there are heritage practitioners" (Harvey 2001: 319). To him heritage is omnipresent, a "human condition" (Harvey 2008: 19): "[E]very society has had a relationship with its past, even those which have chosen to ignore it […]" (Harvey 2001: 320). The literature on heritage reflects that cultural heritage has become de-hierarchized and that the scope of cultural heritage has expanded significantly. As Waterton, Smith and Campbell (2006) notes, the currency that the word heritage has taken on in popular and scholarly discourse verges on the promiscuous. Harvey's all-encompassing notion of heritage makes it difficult to delimit the phenomenon we are dealing with as it seems to include practically everything with a tenuous connection to the past. One could of course claim, like Lowenthal, that "heritage is as old as humanity" (Lowenthal 1998: 1) and that "relics, histories, memories suffuse human experience" (Lowenthal 1985: xv). The general claim that all of humanity has at all times cultivated some kind of relationship with their ancestors is difficult to object, but it adds little to an operational definition of the term.

I believe that claims of the perpetuity of heritage, in fact, reflect ideas that are specific to the late 20th century when it was felt that the past was omnipresent and that Europe in particular was experiencing a "surfeit of memory" (Maier 1993). The 1980s has been referred to as the

"heritage-drenched decade" (Pendlebury 2009) and this tendency provoked many critical questions concerning the obsessive preoccupation with the past. Jean Baudrillard claimed in the same decade that the museum "is now everywhere, like a dimension of life itself" (Baudrillard 1983: 15). In the German context, Hermann Lübbe (1989) notes a similar thing; the number of museums had risen considerably and the museal sensibility had assumed a more pronounced role in public life in general. Assman (2011) has claimed that our age no longer believes sternly in the unidirectional forward thrust of history and that temporal ruptures are no longer perceived as regeneration in the vein of an optimistic modernism.

2.2 New tasks in old buildings – heritage as policy instrument

A strict binary of regeneration versus retrospection fails to take proper account of the ways that cultural heritage in many cases represents the way forward practically as well as mentally. Cultural heritage is rightly criticized for its potential limitlessness; as content in search of a concept. The new responsibilities of heritage may divert from what we expect from preservation but it is at the same time what makes it so attractive for those who seek recognition for something that has been neglected and to give it a new future. What falls outside the category of heritage today may qualify tomorrow. Consequently, a heritage designation is an inspiration for work to be carried out in a declining community or a way to target the accelerating decay of the built environment. Maintenance work carried out to inscribe a property on a heritage list can in fact be "the most visible, the least costly , and most conventional way to 'do something' – something symbolic – about neglected communities and traditions" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 170). Initiatives like these invest historic sites with every imaginable and well-meaning purpose ranging from social inclusion, over cultural diversity to gender equality. The broad range of responsibilities that cultural heritage has been granted reflects how policies and external discourses affect the practice and redefines heritage work which can no longer be understood as mere retrospection. Outreach activities, community participation and egalitarian notions of culture has become crucial in the museum and heritage world which currently promotes co-creation and co-curatorship (Mensch and Mensch 2010).

This is why a definition needs to be fairly comprehensive so that it can comprise the evolution of the concept of heritage itself (Andrews 2010). This can be done by pointing to the changing content, institutions and aims of cultural heritage in general. Fast-changing views about the

proper function of heritage has led, according to Lowenthal, to a "perpetual state of emergency" where institutions are hard put to cope with the range of new tasks (Lowenthal 2009: 19). To establish precisely when heritage took on this extended mandate is difficult, but there is ample evidence of the range of new forms (labor heritage, women's heritage, diaspora heritage, eco-museums, new museology, community archaeology and public heritage projects) as well as recurring debates about the current state of heritage which involves politicians, scholars, journalists and community members. The frustration over the definitional problems is at the same time a reflection of the success of eclecticism. Harrison (2012) has observed that the wide understanding of heritage used by governments, bureaucrats and non-governmental organizations has made memory seem overwhelming. He nevertheless claims that a return to the old, canonical definitions governed is not desirable because it would undermine the efforts that have been made to make cultural heritage more diverse and representative. The tremendous weight earlier ascribed to classic criterions like artistic value and old age has been complemented by a new eclecticism. It was, after all, only by sacrificing some of the epistemological stability of the conventional notion of heritage that it would become more publicly relevant. For the better part of its history cultural heritage was a practice governed by esoteric elite societies of academics, artists and connoisseurs. Today it is constituted by a broader civic platform where a much wider variety of stakeholders are active. This necessarily complicates our issue of definition. Like the museum it has seen a transformation "from fortress of the select few to mass medium" (Huyssen 1995a: 20).

2.3 Heritage and the loss of confidence

Scholars of heritage often start out by establishing what heritage is not, thus making us accomplices in what Andrews has labeled the "negative co-dependent sense" (2010: 13). As with most subjects of cultural theorizing after the postmodern turn, we look for the ways in which these dominant and hegemonic concepts have been challenged and resisted. It seems like we can only arrive at an understanding of heritage through a critique of notions like the canon, the authentic, the national, the unique, and of cultural heritage as the bedrock of the great and the good. Against this monumentality we tend to stress counter-hegemonic narratives and other(ed) voices of heritage as a contestation of triumphalist ideas about canonical Western culture. This critique sees heritage from the margins and claim that its history is a history also of marginalization and exclusion. Any understanding of heritage must acknowledge the blank spots which have historically occasioned a struggle for a more diverse

and representative idea of culture. One of the key developments of cultural heritage in the second part of the 20th century was the gradual recognition of industrial heritage, working class traditions and production sites as worthy of attention.

Beyond being a positive and coherent marker of historical continuity – heritage can also be understood as the creative effort triggered by a gap between the experienced past and the past as representation (Huyssen 1995b). This means that heritage always grapples with the limits of representation and has in recent decades incorporated concepts that are challenging in an epistemological sense. The idea that historical voids or gaps may be materialized into the visual language of memorial heritage is a way of bringing the preoccupancy with the marginalized, the excluded and the absent into the core of heritage aesthetics. This can be seen in Daniel Liebeskind's design of the *Jewish Museum* in Berlin as well as in the plans for *The National September 11 Memorial & Museum* which opened to the public in 2011. Whereas the first-mentioned museum incorporates the idea of a historical void in its design by making an incision in the actual physical structure, the second one has made the gaps left behind by the terrorist attacks on World Trade Center on September 11th 2001 permanent and palpable. While these decisions to materialize the problems of representing the absent are typical of the heritage of traumas and atrocities – the problem they address has to do with the more fundamental issues of representation and making present the absent. A critical understanding of heritage invokes the absent or not yet present as part of its effort to "re-member". The obligation to remember has been made universal as there are virtually no groups which do not make claims to heritage as part of a broader identity politics where old, nationalistic and canonical models clashes with radically different perspectives of heritage (Harrison 2012: 77).

Heritage was and still is widely perceived within critical theory as an arm of nation-state ideologies as an "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), a nostalgic "heritage industry" (Hewison 1987), or a powerful "authorized heritage discourse" (Smith 2006), warranting the search for alternative, subaltern and silenced voices of history and heritage which attempt to 'unsettle' this dominant paradigm (Hall 1999). Cultural heritage can be yet another lens through which we view the politics of recognition, i.e. how hegemonic forms of culture are challenged by post-colonialist, feminist, queer and minority perspectives. The claim is still heard that cultural heritage is too often restricted to the grand and old and serve to reinforce reactionary and self-congratulatory attitudes. The wave of new museums in the 1980s was seen as a sign of cultural decadence mirroring the widespread nostalgia for lost

empires. In his account of European post-war history, Tony Judt claims that the public fascination with the past had increased in the final decades of the century. This past however was in general seen not treated as a source for reflecting about the present, but rather an illustration of "how very different things had been" (Judt 2007: 768). The British nostalgic turn which Judt sees as a lack of confidence is rivaled only, he claims, by the French *patrimonie culturel* prone to celebrate the glory and grandeur of the national past. The reason for this pronounced nostalgic use of history in the United Kingdom and France may, according to Judt, be explained by the fact that both nations had entered the 20th century as proud imperial powers whose security and confidence was threatened by decolonization and wars stripping the empires of resources and territory and replacing pride with "uneasy memories and uncertain future prospects" (Judt 2007: 769).

Against these overriding claims which are as difficult to refute as they are hard to resist, we need to look into the particular form that this preoccupation with the past takes in the contemporary world, rather than "simply invoking the mantra of society's obsession with the past" (Dicks 2000b: 47). Cultural heritage has the mandate to include people, things and traditions that have been dismissed and it has the power to act as a corrective to hegemonic notions of culture. With the aim of arriving at some operational understanding of cultural heritage, I will outline four dimensions which I regard as crucial and which I keep returning to in the course of this work.

2.4 Four dimensions of heritage

a) cultural heritage requires inheritors

The generic English term (cultural) heritage includes a vast variety of practices, sites and artefacts. The term heritage derives from the French *heriter* which means to inherit. In the French practice *patrimoine* and similarly in Italy *patrimonio* is more commonly used. These refer to the Latin *patrimonium* - inheritance from a father. Central to all of these terms is the act of handing something over to ones successors, the inheritance of a property within the family. This element is also central in the German term, *Kulturerbe,* and in Norwegian where the term *kulturarv* also denotes cultural inheritance. All of these abovementioned terms are in the singular form suggesting that despite the diversity of elements comprised by the heritage designation, we aspire for unity in the diversity of cultural heritages. One example of a universal system of valuation which orders a diversity of heritages according to a set of

common principles and values is national heritage legislation. In most European countries this was established in the late 19th or early 20th century (Kowalski 2012). As a collective term, cultural heritage has subsumed terms like historic sites, ancient buildings, antiquities and ancient monuments. Eriksen (2009a) claims that the term is less useful for the sake of taxonomy and categorization. Heritage should be understood in terms of our *relations* to the past, rather than inherent features of things or categories where artefacts belong. Nevertheless, heritage has the capacity to make people feel responsible for safeguarding the past for the sake of future generations. We are not only constructing heritage; *it* also addresses *us* as a collective in the form of a public commitment. Whether a concept like "world heritage" has succeeded in establishing a coherent global heritage citizenry is subject to doubt. Its global address has arguably influenced how we think about heritage. It is something which occasionally transcends national borders and commits the world at large. This fact was made particularly apparent with the cases of heritage vandalism in recent years with Taliban's destruction of the Bamiyan Buddha statues in 2001 or the pillaging of ancient Sufi sites in Timbuktu in 2012. The outrage these events caused all over the world suggests that cultural heritage occasionally commits people on a global scale. Consequently we can assume that cultural heritage is not restricted to object culture, it also successfully creates the subjects of that culture (Eriksen 2009a; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006).

b) Cultural heritage is a public matter

The forerunners of today's cultural heritage discourse were more esoteric and elitist in nature. Preservation societies were often set up by privileged, well-educated men with a paternalistic streak often aimed at aesthetic education of the general population. The institutional history of cultural heritage is often told in terms of the gradual breaking down of the barriers which excluded large sections of the public to be part of history. I start from the premise that once relics of the ancient or recent past are designated heritage, it will address and commit a larger public in the public sphere. A family heritage can be made public and an individual (re)collection can be vital to a broader, collective memory – but only once it is moved from an enclosed, private realm and brought before the public eye or into public possession. In the course of the 18th century princely collections were turned into public (national) museums (Mensch and Mensch 2010). After all, the first accounts of the word *patrimoine* in its modern sense concerns the public appropriation (and secularization) of property in the wake of the French Revolution and in the name of the nation which shattered the symbolic order of the

ancien règime (Vecco 2010). Cultural heritage today retains the fundamental *modus operandi* of preserving objects for the benefit of a larger public. This public character is stressed in most official definitions of cultural heritage. The 1964 International Venice Charter states that ancient monuments are a common heritage and a common responsibility (ICOMOS 1964). It was as an influential national, public institution that the museum in Bennett's (1995) influential account of the "exhibitionary complex" could mold the behavior of the public and act as a powerful civilizing and educational agent. No target audience will automatically take the heritage representation at face value; it is a matter of negotiations in the public realm which may ultimately leave a heritage without inheritors. Public access to and the active use of sites and monuments is a crucial component of the understanding of cultural heritage.

c) Cultural heritage is tied to the notion of debt

Another important component in the way we speak of and think of cultural heritage concerns the notion of debt. This debt can be to those of forefathers who did not get proper recognition for their achievements or to ordinary people long neglected by conventional historiography. The latter is targeted by the historian Raphael Samuel who regarded people's history as a means of "opening the nation retrospectively to the excluded" (Samuel 1994: 163). In the same vein, Harvey concurs that a shift has taken place where greater value is ascribed to those that have been deprived of agency in the past – the downtrodden, the exploited and the defeated (Harvey 2008: 32). One advocate of this selfless concept of heritage and cultural memory is Paul Ricoeur who understands debt as the feeling of obligation to one's neighbor. He claimed it was in the last instance a question of justice: "The duty of memory is the duty to do justice, through memories, to an other than the self" (Ricoeur 2004: 89).

Here we cannot fail to recognize the impact of Shoah with regards to the ethical dimension of heritage. It is these atrocities which have made the most profound impact on the discourse of heritage and the duty to remember. It is an obligation to stay clear of commemorating only the comfortable and venerable aspects of history. The post-colonial turn has also greatly influenced this shift away from the glorious past towards a retrieval of the subaltern voices of history. After the Second World War, Hannah Arendt wrote eloquently about how anti-Semitism, imperialism, totalitarianism had changed the European idea of heritage forever. The old world could not be re-established and nostalgia was no longer a viable means of escaping the horrors of the past:

"We can no longer afford to take that which is good in the past and simply call it our heritage, to discard the bad and simply think of it as a dead load which by itself time will bury in oblivion. The subterranean stream of Western history has finally come to the surface and usurped the dignity of our tradition" (Arendt 1958: ix).

The criticism leveled at the romanticized view of the past is routinely invoked in the museum world and in the heritage practice; everyone, it seems, wants to avoid the complacent view of history. A second threat concerns forgetting; the fear of cultural amnesia looms large over the desire to revive what is absent. It reflects our deeply held conviction that forgetting involves a loss (Connerton 2006). The fourth dimension of "keeping while changing" is essential because it combines the desire for cultural stability with a promise of renewal.

d) Cultural heritage is about keeping while changing

Despite every human ambition of achieving permanence, stability and extending endlessly the life of relics of the past, cultural heritage is also, for better and for worse, an agent of change. While it is a way to commemorate traditions of a community, the work and toil of one's forefathers finally given due credit, it may also signal that a particular way of life is receding. The call to revive or rediscover the heritage of a proud past involves a paradoxical confirmation that this past is irredeemably past. Relating this to the turn to industrial heritage in communities that have suffered from economic decline, it is often expressed as call to take pride in sites, traditions and skills that are in danger. Our eagerness to save the vestiges of the past is according to Lowenthal a reflection of "how much we have overcome it" (1985: 406). Public dissent in cultural heritage issues is in part caused by its paradoxical mission of retaining a proud memory from which it will find ways to overcome its own past. Dicks (2000b) refers to this as the "hybrid form" of cultural heritage, understood as a form of preserving the local past and inventing forms of community renewal in one and the same turn. The phrase "revitalization through preservation" is a mainstay in cultural heritage policies. It implies that preservation has managed to reinvent itself in many contexts as an advocate of cultural change. As I will demonstrate this is one fundamental reason for the turn to industrial heritage in many former industrial communities and regions. Consequently, any analysis of the turn to the past must keep this modern hybridity in mind when confronted with overriding models which see cultural heritage as a form of regressive, cultural nostalgia. A balanced account of cultural heritage opens up for the possibility that it is *both* retrospection and a response to cultural upheavals in the present.

To summarize the approaches that are most relevant for this study I will understand cultural heritage in the following as a highly modern process of valuation which commits the public through a notion of debt and by appealing to a sense of common responsibility. The process reflects cultural discontinuity and its aim is to render present the past through a form of cultural representation which is both retrospective in scope and forward-looking in purpose. The first segment of this definition lies close to the idealized and consensual understanding of cultural heritage as a form of collective identity quest. The definition does not account for the ways in which heritage processes spark resistance and community dissent. A cultural heritage designation may be flatly rejected either out of sheer disinterest or radically divergent interpretations of the material in question. It will be left to individual case studies to account for the conflict which sometimes break out when an artefact, a site, a tradition or a landscape is designated heritage.

2.5 Current research in the field of cultural heritage studies

As a field of research, heritage studies have gained a stronger foothold in academia in recent decades. The journal International Journal of Heritage Studies has been published since 1994 and several universities now offer courses in heritage management, historic preservation, or the more theoretically oriented heritage studies. The field is interdisciplinary and comprises a broad range of perspectives on the subject cultural heritage. It may be compared with cultural studies as both share the characteristics of what Bennett (1998) calls a reluctant discipline which resists codification into a distinct institutional and methodological framework. Heritage studies is a new area of academic study which explores the idea of heritage "not so much as a 'thing', but as a cultural and social process, which engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present" (Smith 2006: 2). The scientific rigor of a distinct discipline or school is hard to trace, which makes it all the more interesting. It lacks any agreed upon manifesto (Harvey 2001). Despite the lack of a coherent program of research, some key concerns may nevertheless be identified.

a) Process-oriented

Cultural heritage was traditionally associated with permanence; monuments firmly expressed continuity with the past. But contrary to the connection made between cultural heritage and permanence, many studies have come to focus on heritage's construction by looking at how

the heritage process alters what monuments and sites signify. Cultural heritage is not something we passively possess. It also shapes the way we relate to the past and it changes our means of valuation. There is always a reason for a turn to heritage. As a field of scholarly inquiry the study of heritage practices in a contemporary context has recently gained a stronger foothold in the academic world (Smith 2006). It regards the effects of heritage as a result of our engagement with it and often entails protracted rounds of negotiation in the public sphere to establish a threshold of worthwhile objects. The advantages of a process-view on the contemporary construction of heritage is that it allows one to pay attention to the competing interests involved at every turn of the negotiations over competing notions of value and identity. This enables us to de-naturalize the canonized heritage which may have become taken-for-granted and ask instead how it has achieved prominence.

Several authors have emphasized cultural heritage as a process, including Macdonald (2009a), Breglia (2006), Smith (2006) and Storm (2008) and in investigating how heritage is made through processes of re-use and re-evaluation. This has most typically involved a shift of attention from the intrinsic value of materials to an understanding of value as culturally (re)produced and negotiated. An interest into the changing forms of valuation reflected *in* and created *by* cultural heritage is what this line of study has been preoccupied with for the past two decades. From perspectives as diverse as memory studies, museology, cultural geography, anthropology, history and archaeology *heritage* is a term which has enabled the study of how contemporary societies make active sense of the past in relation to identity. Macdonald (2009b) notes how the concern with cultural heritage in recent years has begun to stress the construction of heritage rather than to take its existence as a given. She examines the conditions for the coming into being and continuation of heritage and claims that we should account for the "highly specific actions and techniques involved in achieving and maintaining heritage" (Macdonald 2009b: 118). Heritage should not be traced back to an overarching 'magical' notion of ideology (Macdonald 2009b). The important thing to keep in mind is that the study of heritage as a process differs from regarding it as an 'expressive totality' where a unified set of meanings come together and "politics, culture and economics are all of a piece reinforcing one another's influence, reciprocating one another's effect" (Samuel 1994: 242-243). Regarding heritage as a process rather than as a coherent expression of a particular ideology means that it may be conservative, reactionary, pluralistic or even radical in political terms. Ashworth (2009) has claimed that a dominant ideology framework should be laid to rest, favoring a more piecemeal approach asking who does what and for

what reasons. This is not the same as rendering heritage any less powerful: "Heritage is an undoubtedly potent instrument of ideology, power, social control and management, and economic change. It is not, however, intrinsically an instrument of any specific version of any of these" (Ashworth 2009: 1271).

b) Present-centered

Heritage studies investigate the representation and valuation of the past and in most cases it approaches the object of study from a fairly contemporary point-of-view (Harvey 2001). It offers accounts of how the present deals with the remnants from the past by looking at ways of interpreting, understanding and valuing the past collectively as well as individually. Cultural heritage studies tend to look at cultural heritage, as Laurajane Smith notes, with the present-day activities at and around objects, buildings and sites in mind (Smith 2006). The study of cultural heritage has in recent years come to stress its unstable form, indeed a "marvelously malleable creation" (Lowenthal 1998: 226). Cultural heritage is motivated by present conducts, interests and objectives. Although this claim has been endlessly repeated as one of the basic tenets of much cultural theorizing it is a point that needs to be stressed. Heritage is according to this view fluid in the sense that it constitutes an "ongoing reconfiguration of the past as dictated by the needs of the present" (Burch 2005: 212-213). This fluidity can be ascribed to the fact that it is bound up in wider societal issues of memory, identity, history and place and heritage often becomes an expression of either of these. Research that sees cultural heritage as a "malleable creation" of the present often does so with a keen eye to the contestation which involves stakeholders with irreconcilable interests and opposing criteria of valuation. One of the most influential chroniclers of popular forms of heritage claimed that it was "the work in any given instance, of a thousand different hands" (Samuel 1994: 8). Starting from the premise that the production of heritage is a complex cultural process taking place in the present, heritage studies usually regard with suspicion attempts to attach a fixed, stable and coherent meaning to a heritage artefact or site.

2.6 Critique and beyond – making sense of change

Heritage studies' kinship with cultural studies is mirrored in the focus on issues of hegemony, power and exclusion. Waterton, Smith and Campbell (2006) claims that critical studies must be undertaken to show how a conservative and consensual approach to history often underpins

heritage work and naturalizes forms of dominance and power. Smith, who first conceptualized the notion of an 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith 2006) dismissed the idea of inherent value and claimed that there is no such thing as heritage, stressing instead the discursive power of heritage institutionalized by experts within archaeology, art history and architecture. The abstract and technical understanding of cultural heritage – as the inherent quality of artifacts and embodied by the authorized heritage discourse – has been challenged by the approach which looks at heritage as a popular cultural practice apparent in ranging from festivals, historic reenactments and steam railroad nostalgia. Thus, several studies conducted within heritage studies, emphasize the alternative practices and 'subaltern' histories as well as the more quotidian places of memory.

The heritage and museum boom in the 1980s was accompanied by a heritage critique in the UK in particular where a 'heritage industry' manufactured reactionary forms of escapism where issues of political tension and social conflict were shunned (Hewison 1987; Wright 2009). Heritage in this account was a powerful agent involved in creating comfortable illusions rather than promoting a critical understanding of the past. As Samuel has noted heritage according to its ardent critics was "Thatcherism in period dress" (Samuel 2008: 290). This critical attitude has influenced how we think, speak and conceive of cultural heritage and it has also influenced heritage practice in the sense that sanitized renditions of the past are widely discredited (cfr. Chapter 5). The political nature of heritage is highlighted in accounts that stress how it works as a tool in a wider politics of recognition. The premise is that cultural heritage has the ability both to strip social groups of their legitimate place in history and a duty to restore their dignity. The tremendous power of heritage as representation is acknowledged as is the importance of exposing the hegemonic, discursive conditions which support and constitute heritage and show how it may be 'unsettled' (Hall 1999).

I think that this kind of critique too often construes heritage as a field of cultural hegemony where dominant, elitist conceptions of history are exercised and then disclosed by the enlightened cultural critic who will reveal the duplicitous nature of display. Contemporary forms of heritage that have evolved in the course of the last two decades are more reflexive, inclusive and this means that analyses have to follow suit. If forms of heritage representation, as I argue, have become more reflexive, critical, self-referential and open-ended it means that critical theory cannot proceed unabatedly by conjuring up the same image of an instrument of power, ideology and hegemony. It is not enough from an analytic point of view to identify omissions in the official heritage and assume that the desire for heritage is evenly distributed

across the world as a way to gain a sense of stability in an unruly world. This assumption mirrored in the so-called compensation thesis equals heritage with a unifying reconstruction of the past which makes up for lack of direction caused by rapid economic, technological and cultural change (cfr. Huyssen 1995a; Lübbe 1989). Driven by the desire for wholeness, displays of the past act as chimeras of stability and totality in an otherwise fragmented world. This kind of critique has by no means been invalidated or made obsolete, but it could benefit from turning the critical lens on itself to make the all-seeing cultural critic less omnipotent, less confident and more aware. Can cultural heritage serve other ends besides providing the periled modern subject with a form of ersatz completeness? Can the modern subject find ways of reflecting upon, responding to and actively deal with social tension, temporal ruptures and cultural change? I suggest that heritage and museum critique needs to be redirected towards site-specific and perhaps more provisional ends so that it may be better equipped to yield intellectual curiosity and recognize the complexity of the field. Stability and permanence is but one dimension of preserving the residues of the past and it cannot be treated in isolation from the ways that cultural heritage also mirrors ruptures, fractions, frictions, doubts as part of the human condition. By this I do not suggest that complacent and reactionary forms of cultural heritage have been superseded by critical and reflexive historical consciousness, but that cultural heritage *as well as* its critique has to be sensitive to change. In this vein it is open for the possibility that a turn to the industrial past "reflects an attempt by ever more fragmented subject *to live with the fragments*, even to forge shifting and unfixed identities out of such fragments, rather than chasing some elusive unity or totality" (Huyssen 1995a: 28, my emphasis).

Paradoxically the unifying accounts of cultural heritage are more often than not rehearsed by the all-seeing cultural critic who move effortlessly from one site to the next and tie the loose ends, inconsistencies, contradictions together in a coherent narrative written in broad brush strokes. Of course any study should aspire to form a coherent account of events and practices on the ground, but it should also aspire to refine its analytical equipment rather than to seize the diagnostic tools which allow no leeway for reform or surprise. The old map is of little use or no use if the territory has altered beyond recognition. A decade ago, Bruno Latour identified clear signs of wear and tear in cultural critique performed in autopilot mode: "Are we not like those mechanical toys that endlessly make the same gesture when everything else has changed around them?" (2004: 225). I would like to extend the reservation of Latour and state that a critique of powerful heritage institutions and discourses is not by any means

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irrelevant, but it needs to look at how heritage has managed to reinvent itself in recent years and responded to the sustained critiques of its forms and functions.

Preservation movements, museums, heritage sites do not represent unified signifying systems with an unchanging essence. It is important as both Dicks (2000b) and Macdonald (2009b) have claimed that we analyze cultural heritage not at its most general level, but take into account how local attitudes and specific events have shaped the approaches to heritage *together* with a globalized memory discourse which stress the importance of recovery of history's 'other' voices. The counterweight offered by a reflexive heritage in the face of hegemonic ideologies does not invalidate cultural critique, but rather suggests that the analysis must account for aspects which undermine the idea of heritage as a cohesive and coherent whole whose covert, underlying structure can only be revealed by the enlightened critic. This thesis aims for the selected case-studies to be part of this attempt to approach industrial heritage in a piecemeal way by exploring the different forms it assumes and the purposes they serve. Constituted by and committed to the local industrial past, the practices I study in this thesis also bear witness to complex processes of transcending the local historic specificity and industrial past in the form of industrial heritage.

CHAPTER 3 - INDUSTRIENATUR: ON THE DEFAMILIARIZATION OF A FORMER COKE PLANT IN DORTMUND

"Las Vegas and the Alps are nothing compared to the artwork of the Ruhr"
(Kriwet 2010).

3.1 Introduction

The notion of defamiliarization will be central to the analysis of industrial heritage in this chapter. On the one hand the preservation of historic buildings may enhance a sense of continuity and identification. On the other hand heritage involves an aestheticization of the built environment which can turn familiar surroundings into something unexpected which breaks with accustomed ways of seeing. As cultural heritage a building, a site, or a landscape may outlive the historical circumstances which originally spawned them. In aesthetic theory the term defamiliarization describes a form of representation which breaks with the habitual and makes the familiar seem less familiar. It has been claimed that a degree of defamiliarization is already occurring when a building enters the agenda of preservationists (Sieverts 1999). According to such a view, preservation is not the neutral act of safeguarding and maintaining an important historic document, but a conscious strategy bound to change the way we perceive the building. To strike a balance between a respect for the otherness of historical buildings and sites on the one hand and the desire to make it relevant to a public in a different social and political reality on the other hand is a difficult exercise. The difference between the two can be seen as the difference between acknowledging the otherness of the past – "the radical undecidability of the past, its mystery" (Edensor 2005b: 330) and techniques we use to domesticate it, making it "appear both inevitable and benign" (Harrison 2011: 152).

How much restoration work should be allowed before the mystery and undecidability of industrial ruins are jeopardized? And in how far should on-site interpretation be exhaustive when the imagination of visitors can hold the key to what draws people to abandoned

industrial sites in the first place? These questions are significant because they influence how the industrial past is made comprehensible to us and in how far industrial heritage allows the epistemological uncertainty of obsolete buildings to persist. The caretakers of the coke plant Kokerei Hansa in the suburb Huckarde northwest of Dortmund have dealt with these questions since the mid-1990s. At the time plans were conceived to transform the abandoned plant into an "accessible gigantic sculpture" (Pfeiffer and Strunk 2010). The form of preservation pursued at Kokerei Hansa clearly resonates with the respect for the mystery that only the passing of time can produce. This is demonstrated in subtle forms of intervention which avoid restoring production plants to their former glory. Elements that normally signify ruination, such as nature's re-colonization of the built environment, are nurtured rather than curtailed. This ruin aesthetic places the industrial era firmly in the rear-view mirror and is, first and foremost, an expression of cultural distance. For at the same time as this form of ruination might come across as a spontaneous and uncontrolled it is of course elaborately planned and staged. It is a selective, designed and monitored process.

I will discuss the aesthetics of Kokerei Hansa with reference to defamiliarization and investigate in what ways the spectacle of ruins affect our understanding of industrial heritage. I will argue that defamiliarization is a way of dealing with the collapse of old industrial structures which kept buildings firmly in place in the productive realm where their sense of purpose was obvious. Defamiliarization, it can be argued, displaces the industrial buildings from one interpretive frame and asks of us to look at them anew from a different vantage point. In this chapter I will investigate this specific form of industrial heritage committed to enhance the public tolerance of redundant buildings and marginal spaces. I will look into the concept called *Industrienatur* which investigates the hybrid of industry and nature which have settled and developed in these industrial surroundings.

The ruin aesthetic and the sight of wildlife occupying a disused coke plant can be redemptive and offer a melancholic evasion of the uncomfortable aspects of industrial exploits in the area. I will claim that the ruin aesthetics at the site of Kokerei Hansa serves a more complex task. The preservation of the site is characterized by an experimental way of dealing with *Altlasten,* the environmental burdens inherited from the industrial era. This particular version of industrial heritage preservation makes the fairly recent industrial age seem less familiar and even exotic. The question is whether the apprehension of cultural and temporal distance is something which prevents a contemporary re-engagement with the industrial heritage. As I

hope to illustrate in this chapter the insight and appreciation of industrial heritage can be occasioned by making less familiar the already familiar and that this is a way of probing into the material inheritance from a new perspective. This aesthetic liberation from tradition cannot be the end point of this analysis, however, as it does not provide a satisfactory account of the scientific nature of resource management. Beyond aesthetics, I will investigate the eco-scientific underpinnings of recent industrial heritage preservation. I will attempt to bring the analysis one step further by introducing concepts borrowed from Latour (1993, 1998) and his take on the ecological turn and by approaching *Industrienatur* as an assemblage which provisionally binds together interests and attitudes with no deep, intrinsic connections (Bennett 2011; Harrison 2011). Under the aegis of sustainability and owing to the influence of ecology, a careful approach to industrial heritage preservation has gained credibility as a politically progressive attitude. Ruination is formed by a scientific, environmental and economic discourse and no longer exclusively a domain of aesthetic romanticism with its affiliation for cultural transience.

Beyond an aesthetic concern for ruination as the appealing intrusion of nature into the cultural domain, I will approach *Industrienatur* as an assemblage of different and partly related constituencies of resource management who have formed a new alliance. The deliberate confusion of boundaries between waste and value, material decay and natural regeneration can be tied to a notion of resource scarcity which makes it difficult to dismiss offhandedly what seems miniscule, provincial or marginal. The aesthetic detachment of objects from the domain of industry, make them amenable to reconfigurations in new techno-cultural systems or assemblages. By combining hermeneutic analysis with insights from assemblage theory and actor-network theory, I will address the junctions where an analysis might draw insights from these distinct research paradigms.

The first part of this chapter will give a very brief overview of the historical context of the Ruhr. Then I will deal with an artistic rendition of the industrial landscape as a total work of art - a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. This approach allows us to see the industrial landscape of the Ruhr through the eyes of an artist who engages, like so many artists before and after him, with material redundancy. The artist deals specifically with the question of what industrial ruins may gain from being aestheticized and regarded in a new way. This part ties in with an elaboration of the notion of defamiliarization which constitutes the red thread in my analysis. Next I will introduce the way defamiliarization applies to preservation strategies and the idea of *Industrienatur* at Kokerei Hansa. The final part of the analysis pays closer attention to the

burdensome material and mental inheritance of *Altlasten* and discusses how the present way of dealing with redundant material through reuse and revaluing is about creating a new representational inside which prevents weeds and waste from being permanently excluded. I will conclude this part by claiming that *Industrienatur* is a way of creating a context for those ill-defined hinterlands which do not fit easily into either nature or culture, urban or rural, wild or domestic.

3.2 Literary review: Industriekultur and the density of interpretations

In contrast to the fairly limited amount of theoretical research on Norwegian and Welsh industrial heritage, the situation with regards to Ruhr is entirely different. The preservation of industrial heritage in the Ruhr since the late 1960s has been accompanied by a great number of recent studies in different fields of research ranging from museology (Roeckner 2009), history (Oerters 2010), to cultural studies (Dittmar 2002; Hauser 2001; Storm 2008) and planning/architecture (Oevermann 2012). Recently published anthologies treat industrial heritage as a reflection of the cultural and economic change in the Ruhr (Hartmut and Mazzoni 2005; Schwarz 2008b). A number of English essays and journal articles (Barndt 2010a, 2010b; James-Chakraborty 2010; Raines 2011; Shaw 2002) reflect an increasing interest in Ruhr's response to de-industrialization well beyond German academia. My approach to industrial heritage preservation at Kokerei Hansa builds on the insights of several of these studies. I have found Kerstin Brandt's (2010b) approach to the post-industrial transformation of the Thyssen steel works in Duisburg instructive for the way it treats aestheticization as the intertwined affirmation of industry as well as a confirmation of its demise. From the entry-point of changing cultural conceptions of waste, Susanne Hauser (2001) builds a well-informed account of how the contemporary treatment fallow industrial land reflect broader processes of negotiating established categories of waste. It is with regards to this process that the insights from actor-network may prove helpful to account for how associations or assemblages operate across divisions and thrive on confusion of separate and distinct categories.

The current rate of publications in the field of industrial heritage demonstrates the busy traffic in the Ruhr between universities, research foundations, public bodies, museums, architects and preservation societies as well as a consistent preoccupation with a culture of history – *Geschichtskultur* - and *Industriekultur* more specifically. The latter term was coined by

Nuremberg minister of culture, Hermann Glaser, in the early 1980s to describe a growing interest in the material cultures of industrial regions and an effort to give ordinary people a more prominent place in the historical discourse and public awareness of post-war Germany. *Industriekultur* was from the outset tied to a discourse of political emancipation and an assertion of the right to history often driven by middle-class intellectuals, historians, architects, artists, authors and journalists.

The broader turn to the industrial past was precipitated by a new degree of social and cultural mobility within the region and the transformation of the built urban environment in the 1960s and 1970s which elicited protest movements and citizen initiatives to protect workers housings as well as production sites of the coal and steel era (Koshar 1998; Oerters 2010). In the 1960s new universities were established in several Ruhr cities and prepared the way for a new educated middle class and a future less dependent on the steel and coal industries. Sons and daughters of factory workers and miners took up university studies, often the first in their families to attend universities (Raines 2011).

The current multidisciplinary engagement with *Industriekultur* reflects a mode of engagement where practices on the ground are deeply saturated with concepts laid out by architects, geographers, planners, artists and curators at individual heritage sites. It reflects how the industrial past has become a matter of scientific enquiry entailing a range of different perspectives and disciplines. By now *Industriekultur* has outgrown the concern with history from below and now spans the whole range of initiatives ranging from intellectual historiography to event culture (Föhl 2005; Heinemann 2003; Roeckner 2009; Scwarz 2008). A large proportion of the international attention that Industriekultur in the Ruhr has gained over the years owes to the fact that it is not only a display of industrial history but also a display of how to stage and aestheticize industrial history. Karl Ganser who has been a key figure in the urban renewal schemes in the area argued that post-industrial transformation was in fact "a screen between matter and subjectivity" (Ganser in: Barndt 2010b: 277). In the following chapter I will emphasize this aspect rather than create the impression that the aesthetics of ruination at Kokerei Hansa has anything in common with an unmediated and undisturbed encounter with material decay. The density of interpretations already on offer might have spoiled the immediacy of ruins, but something is gained in surrendering the quest for pristine nature or deep, cultural origins and by rehabilitating the artificial as a creative capacity and not a threat against subjectivity.

3.3 Historical context of the Ruhr: cities united by smoke

The Ruhr area, *das Ruhrgebiet*, is located in the north-west of the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia. It is first and foremost associated with coal mining and the production of iron and steel. Goch (2008) maintains that even though medieval history has influenced the Ruhr area, it remains a product of the age of industrialization and later also the economic structural change. Named after the tributary of the Rhine River, the Ruhr area is a collection of small and medium-sized cities which grew into a larger urban agglomeration of coal, iron and steel-producing hubs. The large-scale transformation of the Ruhr area started in the mid-19th century, produced a landscape of a new kind in Germany; an industrial landscape (Blotevogel 2001). This landscape was perceived as chaotic. The mishmash of collieries, residential areas, factories and communications infrastructure challenged the traditional and orderly notions of landscape where the urban and the rural were clearly separated into cities and rural communes. Industry cut across these established boundaries and was associated with restlessness and rootlessness in terms both of its spatial organization and its mental disposition (Blotevogel 2001). The high demand for industrial workers resulted in a massive influx of workers from the eastern parts of Prussia particularly from the 1880s.

In the early 19th century the Ruhr area was still predominantly rural. But by 1900, the population of the Ruhr conurbation had outgrown that of Berlin (Jackson 1997). The foundation for this formidable growth was the rich supply of coal in the area. The Ruhr area is often seen as a coherent whole, a spatial unity integrated by the expansion of coal mining, iron smelting and steel manufacturing. The notion of a common historical experience which transcended city borders and municipalities under the emblematic sign of industry was common already in the late 19th century (Blotevogel 2001). Travelogues from the early 20th century also perceived the area as a greater whole "Here in the Ruhr area, smoke is a sky which unites the cities" (Roth in Heinemann 2003: 55, my translation).

In the decades following the post-war reconstruction and economic miracle of the 1960s, the area between Dortmund and Duisburg has seen a steady decline in coal mining, coke production and steel manufacturing. It has been claimed that the Ruhr area made both a great contribution *and a* sacrifice to the German reconstruction in the sense that old industrial structures were momentarily revived to aid the economic miracle in the late 1950s and 1960s. It would turn out not to be sustainable in the long run. This has been called the

Wiederaufbauopfer; a sacrifice made by the Ruhr population to serve the reconstruction of West Germany. Goch (2008) claims that the armament industry of Nazi-Germany, and later the reconstruction of the Federal Republic of Germany, frustrated attempts in the Ruhr area to diversify the economy. Governments pledged subsidy to keep the heavy industry on its feet at all costs (Raines 2011). Thus, in the expansive period following the Second World War, more than 800.000 new employees were recruited to work in the collieries during a period of only 9 years. Subsidies enlivened the mining industries and long-term challenges related to a mono-industrial structure were only partially acknowledged (Goch 2008).

As the industrial decline in the Ruhr area was recognized as a permanent structural problem, rather than a passing crisis – the physical structures came to be associated with recalcitrance – stubbornly clinging on to an uneconomic production regime. According to Schwarz (2008a) the outside impression was that the Ruhr area was defiant, sticking senselessly to the economic structure of coal mining and steel production. The buildings of the coal and steel industry embodied this defiant attitude: "Its buildings, the blast furnaces, smokestacks, workshops, were thought to materialize the backwardness and resistance against necessary modernization attempts" (Schwarz 2008a: 36, my translation). The emblems of technological modernity such as smokestacks, blast furnaces, workshops, collieries and silos were hollowed-out by the economic downturn and a vast range of industrial structures as well as workers' housing settlements were demolished in the 1960s and 1970s.

A legal basis for monument preservation was introduced quite late in North-Rhine Westphalia. The Law for the Protection and Preservation of Monuments in the Federal State of North-Rhine Westphalia was introduced as late as 1980 but it did include a clause on "craft-like and industrial places of production" (Ministerium für Inneres und Kommunales 2011: §2, 3). Later still the urban renewal scheme *Internationale Bauausstellung Emscher Park 1989-1999* was set up by the Ministry of Urban Development, Housing and Transport in North Rhine-Westphalia and upon its completion in 1999 it had realized 120 projects funded by both public and private money amounting to more than 2 billion euros (Dahlheimer 2008: 7). The aim of the project was improve the living environment through efforts of cleaning up polluted rivers, recover the industrial landscape, re-use industrial buildings and develop new residential and business areas. IBA Emscher Park treated the derelict industrial sites as potential future resources, thus urging a stay on demolition (Raines 2011). An important tenet of IBA Emscher park was to oppose the idea that affirmation of the past implies a rejection of modernity (Ganser 1999). To challenge the consistent opposition between "the ancients and

the moderns" attention was geared towards finding new purposes for abandoned industrial buildings and treating these as integral to urban renewal and as resources in a vein inspired by the idea of sustainable development which had gained headway in the 1980s. The other significant inspiration for the program was the idea that art could be employed for social purposes and to foster new ways of apprehending outworn industrial infrastructure (James-Chakraborty 2010). Opposing the timid veneration of all things past the idea was to teach inhabitants of the Ruhr to dance on the graves of the coal mining era - "auf den Gräbern der Montanzeit tanzen" (Scwarz 2008: 51). It is to this dance macabre I will now turn to present the notion of art as a way to defamiliarize the industrial landscape and conceive of the scarred landscape as a work of art.

3.4 The aesthetic gaze: Industrial landscapes seen through an artist's eyes

The manifesto of the artist Ferdinand Kriwet (born 1942) was published in Düsseldorf where he was part of a larger art scene of intellectuals, artists, publishers and authors. The manifesto was a commonly used literary genre in the radical 1960's, and Kriwet's manifesto was a plea to save the Ruhr area. It is entitled *Manifest zur Umstrukturierung des Ruhr-reviers zum Kunstwerk* (*Manifesto for the conversion of the Ruhr area into a work of art*) (Kriwet 2010). In it Kriwet takes on one of the major political and social questions of his time and sets out to examine how artists can aid the transformation of a large industrial area when the coal mines and steel works have become unprofitable. Rather than engaging in the subversive agitation, Kriwet seems genuinely alarmed about the industrial decline in the Ruhr area. To him the situation requires a radically new perspective on the industrial landscape. Rather than seeing it as an inexhaustible source of wealth, it is a landscape built on a resource of unstable value which makes the region particularly vulnerable.

In the manifesto, Kriwet dryly confirms that coal has become unprofitable, its processing equipment has become redundant and its cultural mythology has proven counter-productive in its disposition of romanticizing the Ruhr-tristesse. The decline, at the same time, allows Kriwet to indulge in the creative fantasies of broken machines and discarded industrial relics. He suggests that the empty pits can serve as recreational labyrinths. It is the fact that they are left empty and unprofitable which occasions, for him, the aesthetic gaze and the artistic impulse of turning the monuments against themselves; signifying something completely

different and novel. Like the travelogues had done in the early 20the century, Kriwet sees the industrial landscape as a greater whole connected by the arteries of railways and thoroughfares. He sees an ensemble of cities, streets, lakes and forests as an integral part of the large-scale industrial art work. It is already a landscape where the idea of wild and uncontrolled nature or a pre-industrial cultural landscape seems out of reach. The artificiality, for Kriwet, is exactly what needs to be embraced and cultivated.

> "As the largest artificial landscape in Europe, Ruhr has the opportunity to become the largest artwork in the world. Next to an economical, structural reform, the region would benefit from an artistic reform. The abandoned mining pits, transport systems, blast furnaces, silos, machineries and factories, now allows, for the first time, an aesthetic mode of observation. The prejudiced idea of the hideousness of industrial plants will be proactively countered by the artists from the area" (Kriwet 2010).

The German version reads as follows:

MANIFEST ZUR UMSTRUKTURIERUNG DES RUHRREVIERS ZUM KUNSTWERK

Künstler aller Disziplinen vereinigt euch zur künstlerischen Revolution der konstruktiven Phantasie gegen die Gefahr einer politischen Radikalisierung durch einen destruktiven Fanatismus im Ruhrrevier.
Schluß mit der falschen Romantisierung der Ruhr-Tristesse.
Schluß mit der sentimentalen Schrebergarten- und Brieftaubenidylle. Schluß mit dem unproduktiven Mythos vom Steinkohlebergbau.
Das Ruhrrevier ist auf Kohle gebaut.

Die Kohle ist unrentabel geworden.
Sie unter Tage abzubauen, um sie über Tage aufzuschütten ist wirtschaftlich ruinös. Soll aus dem Ruhrrevier kein Ruinenrevier werden, muß es sich verändern.

Als größte künstliche Landschaft Europas hat das Ruhrrevier die Chance zum größten Kunstwerk der Welt zu werden.
An diesem Projekt einer Komposition aus Städten, Straßen, Verkehrswegen, Seen, Wäldern etc. sollen Maler, Bildhauer, Architekten, Städteplaner, Techniker, Ingenieure, Psychologen, Soziologen, Politiker, Gewerkschaftler, Dichter, Musiker, Filmer, Regisseure, Arbeiter, Unternehmer und all' jene mitarbeiten, deren schöpferische Phantasie über die Mauern der Museen, Bibliotheken und Konzertsäle hinausreicht.

Neben einer Wirtschaftlichen
STRUKTURREFORM
gewinnt das Ruhrrevier durch eine künstlerische.
Die stillgelegten Schacht- und Förderanlagen, Hochöfen, Silos, Maschinen und Fabriken erlauben zum erstenmal deren ästhetische Betrachtung. Dem Vorurteil von der Häßlichkeit der Industrieanlagen sollen die Künstler dieses Landes tatkräftig entgegenwirken.

Die künstlichen Berge, Hügel, Aufhäufungen der Kohlehalden sollen zu farbigen, leuchtenden, goldenen, silbernen Pyramiden, Kuben und Kegeln werden.
Brennende Hochöfen verwandeln das Ruhrrevier zusammen mit Lichttürmen, illuminierten Ölraffinerien, Projektionsanlagen in eine künstlerisch programmierte Komposition aus Licht und Bewegung.
Stillgelegte Zechen werden zu Vergnügungslabyrinthen, mobilen Theatern, endlosen Konzerträumen unter Tage usw.. Über Tage ermöglicht ein ausgedehnter Hubschrauberservice die Betrachtung des größten

Kunstwerks der Welt von oben. Den unterschiedlich gefärbten Rauch der noch betriebenen Schlote zerteilen Riesenscheinwerfer in ständig variierende Segmente.
Das rußige Konglomerat der Arbeitersiedlungen wird in farbige Parzellen aufgeteilt. Mit Leuchtfarbe angestrichene Häuser, Plätze und Straßen intensivieren das Nachtleben, wo es gewünscht wird.
Der Himmel über der Ruhr wird nicht nur blau. sondern auch rot und gelb und grün und weiß und grau und lila.
Taubenzucht und Fußballsport bleiben nicht die einzigen Hobbys der Ruhrkumpel in den klimatisierten Großräumen der nahen Zukunft.
Parallel zur Ansiedlung neuer Industrien im Revier erfolgt dessen partielle Umwandlung in eine Unterhaltungslandschaft zwischen Duisburg und Dortmund, die den vielfältigen Freizeitbedürfnissen der hier lebenden Menschen je nach Maßgabe der lokalen Verhältnisse Rechnung trägt.

Las Vegas und die Alpen sind nichts gegen das
RUHR-KUNSTWERK
Die Umwandlung der größten künstlichen Landschaft Europas in eine künstlerische bedeutet zugleich ihre Erschließung für den Internationalen Tourismus.

Zur Verwirklichung dieses Projekts sollte eine Arbeitsgemeinschaft gegründet werden, in deren Aufsichtsrat Vertreter aller interessierten Verbände und Institutionen, Heimatverbände, Landschaftsverbände, Ruhrsiedlungsverband etc. zu entsenden wären.
Die Ausarbeitung von konkreten Plänen sollte durch ein von der Landesregierung Nordrhein-Westfalen beauftragtes Künstler-Team in Zusammenarbeit mit den kommunalen Verwaltungen erfolgen.
Mit der Probe auf's Exempel könnte in Recklinghausen im Zusammenhang mit den Ruhrfestspielen oder in Oberhausen im Zusammenhang mit den Westdeutschen Kurzfilmtagen oder an jedem anderen Ort zu jeder Zeit begonnen werden. Glück auf. Düsseldorf. 22.1.1968. Ferdinand Kriwet" (Kriwet 2010).

Kriwet celebrates the profound and irrevocable artificiality of the industrial landscape and appeals to the power of the aesthetic gaze. It is important to stress that distance in this context is not identical with dry objectivity and cool disengagement. Kriwet seems genuinely committed to the subject matter, but he acknowledges that there is a lesson to be learnt from seeing the landscape of industries from above and from the outside. Kriwet willfully detaches the icons of the Ruhr from the utilitarian realm and claims that creative energy is released due to a radical loss of context. In order to understand the implications of this form of aesthetic defamiliarization I will discuss the term *Verfremdung* and establish more precisely how this applies to the analysis of Kokerei Hansa later in this chapter.

3.5 Entfremden – Verfremden

As an aesthetic tool which allows one to view the familiar world from an outside, from a perspective beyond or above tradition, defamiliarization can be liberating. It holds a promise of breaking with accustomed ways of seeing. The distinction between *Entfremdung* and *Verfremdung* is important to note, and even if they are connected by *Fremd* – something alien, foreign or strange, we normally refer to *Verfremdung* in aesthetic theory. *Entfremdung* (alienation) is primarily associated with Karl Marx and the idea that under capitalism man –

as dispossessed producer - becomes a stranger to himself and the goods he manufactures. Only the dispossessed worker remains when man is forced to sell his labor (Bloch 1970). In contrast, but not entirely unrelated to the idea of dispossession, the term *Verfremdung* (defamiliarization) in the way we think of it today, is tied to Bertolt Brecht's dramaturgic device in the Epic Theatre which was fundamentally opposed to the realist theatre's affinity for immersion in the drama. Brecht used the terms more or less interchangeably and up until 1935 he used the term *Entfremdung* rather than *Verfremdung* (Fischer-Lichte, Kolesch and Warstat 2005).

Prior to Brecht's ideas of techniques of defamiliarization, the term *ostranenie* featured prominently in the school of Russian formalism and in the theories of critic and writer Viktor Shklovsky (1893-1983). *Ostranenie* corresponds to defamiliarization and for Shklovsky the key was to complicate the form. The purpose was to break with the automatized modes of perception by revealing the powerful illusion of the self-enclosed dramatic universe. In this way the audience would attain new knowledge and adopt a critical stance vis-à-vis the representation. By breaking down the habitual and accustomed ways of thinking and seeing, the ordinary will seem less obvious. It seeks to give the audience the means of looking at the world in a novel way and to foster a new understanding of the social world. The familiar world could be grasped as changeable: "The familiar would no longer seem self-evident and for this reason it would be grasped in a new way or at least be understood in terms of its changeability" (Fischer-Lichte, Kolesch and Warstat 2005: 377, my translation).

The premise of defamiliarization is that clarity and insight is not attained through identification and realism in the manner of a naturalist play, but rather through critical distance and in seeing a situation from another vantage point. To lose oneself to the powerful, dramatic illusion on stage is what estrangement seeks to avoid. The Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch (1885-1977) has written the notion of *Verfremdung* as a method of revelation where the act of displacement is the important building block: "The Verfremdungseffekt now occurs as the displacement or removal of a character or action out of its usual context, so that the character or action can no longer be perceived as wholly self-evident" (Bloch 1970: 121). Bloch claims that this mode of dramaturgy is not antithesis of realism, but more real than realism because it entails understanding based on the gift of reflection (Bloch 1970).

For our purpose it will suffice to say that an object or site which is made to look strange through defamiliarization reveals more than it conceals. The spatial analogies employed by

Bloch give us an idea of how distance can provide insight. Sometimes the roundabout way proves to be the shortest and "[the] distant, the out-of-the-way, the displaced into heights" can be a way to foster understanding of "present reality" (Bloch 1970: 121). The numb way of viewing the world is besieged, for "the real function of estrangement is - and must be - the provision of a shocking and distancing mirror above the only too familiar reality" the purpose of which is to create "amazement and concern" (Bloch 1970: 125). The utopian element of defamiliarization is evident in Bloch's account. It has the potential of elevating our perspective above the plane of narrative identification in the fiction to a plane where the representation is revealed as incomplete and we acknowledge it as such.

Here I think an instructive contrast can be established to the idea of cultural heritage as an identity-producing machine or a mimetic tool where the representation of the past becomes a mirror for self-recognition (Rivière 1988). A common anticipation in industrial heritage initiatives is that sustained efforts of regeneration and ailment of depressed industrial sites provide an ersatz for an injured cultural identity (Bangstad 2014). This idea involves an affirmation of tradition where identification and a more stable sense of the cultural self is ultimately the aim. This commonsensical understanding of heritage is obsessed with presence and experiencing the past in a form which makes it feel close, familiar and similar to what we had anticipated. The awe for tradition is reinforced and not reinvestigated. What Kriwet suggests is that the dislocation of industrial objects and sites and is in fact a beneficial and necessary prerequisite for their aesthetic re-invention. To divorce the social situation from its habitual context is what allows us to see it (and ourselves) in a new light. To divorce the object from its natural situation is a way to reveal meaning in a way that is not immediately available to us.

The complete neglect of abandoned industrial plants might produce picturesque ruins where human presence is completely annulled. What we encounter at Kokerei is different. The power of defamiliarization as a condition for industrial heritage to enter into new configurations involves a conscious and long-term effort. The reason why it makes sense to regard the industrial monuments at Kokerei Hansa in terms of defamiliarization is because the strategies pursued on site further dislocates the industrial buildings from their natural habitat and into an artistic framework. It openly declares that this place should be read as an artwork – as an "accessible gigantic sculpture" (Pfeiffer and Strunk 2010). Estrangement in a theatre setting allows for different social situations and actors to be critically assessed from an analytical vantage point. In the same vein different preservation strategies are tested,

examined and evaluated by preservationists in charge of Kokerei Hansa. Where preservationists describe the strategy of a minimal intervention which would leave the abandoned coal bunkers dirty and dark it is stated that "[t]he resulting atmosphere has played a very important part in producing an emotional response to the coking plant and this has resulted in an increased interest in the work that once took place here" (Pfeiffer and Strunk 2010: 39). After introducing the site of Kokerei Hansa and explain how it looks today, I will look into how the different preservation strategies at Kokerei Hansa and investigate how they shape our understanding and experience of the disused coke plant. I will point to specific means which may contribute to a defamiliarization of this industrial ensemble. I assert that these different techniques further dislocate the industrial buildings from their natural habitat so that we can explore the full range of what they *may* be if we manage to destabilize the contexts in which they normally occur.

3.6 'To rise above local history': Kokerei Hansa in detail and at a distance

The main entry for visitors arriving at Kokerei Hansa is located at the Emscherallee to the south of the coke plant. The old administrative buildings and right opposite the pithead baths form the gate through which workers used to enter the plant. Today the baths accommodate the main exhibition at Kokerei Hansa. Unless you are accompanied by guide, information is available primarily in the form of leaflets and information boards next to the entrance. Due to safety hazards, large sections of the site are still not accessible for visitors to enter. The main emphasis of the on-site interpretation is to explain the production process from brown coal to finished coke and point out the role of individual buildings such as the bunkers, the coking batteries and the cooling towers in this process. This information is available in leaflets, audio tours as well as guided tours on the site. After entering through the main gates, you will immediately see a large brick stone with building where the all-important clock greeted workers all year round.

Figure 3.1 - Main entrance to Kokerei Hansa

The building is the old compressor hall where gas went through compression to be distributed onto to the household gas grid in the Ruhr for domestic heating. Behind the compressor hall something that looks almost like a courtyard gives visitors the first impression of the vast scale of the site. Next to a wooden water tower one sees the back of the endless row of ovens which constituted the core of the production. There are two parallel main streets called the white side and the black side which runs northeast from the yard. At the black side raw coal arrived and was sorted and coked by pouring it into batteries of ovens where it reached the temperature of 1000 degrees Celsius necessary to produce coke. The white side accommodated the chemical plant where byproducts of high-grade gas (released through coking) were processed.

Figure 3.2 - 'Black side' with rows of coke ovens. Quenching tower where coke was cooled with water in the background.

The remaining array of buildings on the site of the coke plant was built predominantly in the late 1920s and early 1930s after the merging of several smaller production units into the larger *Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG*. The coke plant is a result of this large-scale modernization of production which was carried out in the 1920s (Pfeiffer and Strunk 2010). Larger and more technologically advanced production units replaced older coke plants and contributed to a significant increase in coke production. Kokerei Hansa became the largest coke plant in the Ruhr in the 1930s and during its peak it employed more than 1000 people. Kokerei Hansa was part of the tripartite production structure which included coal mines in the vicinity, the coke plant itself and the smelter *Hüttenwerke Dortmunder Union* which was fired up with coke from Kokerei Hansa.

The site was designed by the architect Hellmuth von Stegemann und Stein (1892-1929) who was the director of construction at Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG and designed several coke plants in the Ruhr during the Weimar period (1918-1933). Kokerei Hansa was designed at a time when principles of the modernist movement influenced industrial architecture. The architectural modernism to which Kokerei Hansa belongs is often associated with an ideal

where form should reflect function. Stylization and ornamentation was subdued in favor of a more rigorous adherence to function and purpose. Consequently the individual buildings were organized in close accordance with the separate production lines on the white and the black side.

Compared with looming blast furnaces and winding towers at other industrial heritage sites, Kokerei Hansa has been described as fairly introvert and a less emblematic monument of the Ruhr region (Kastorff-Viehmann 1992). In line with the modernist search for ahistorical and universal validity the architect von Stegemann und Stein attempted to identify a set of basic forms – *Grundformen* – of the industrial ensemble. He refused to jump on the bandwagon of fashionable stylization and sought to arrive at a lasting architectural expression (Kastorff-Viehmann 1992). The solid brick stone buildings reflect the formalist aspirations of a crude and plain design. The monumental coal tower and the coal sorting tower constitute the most prominent landmarks on the so-called black side.

Figure 3.3 - Kokerei Hansa with navigable conveyor bridge to the right. Coal tower (left) and coal sorting tower (right) in the back.

The historic core of the heritage site is constituted by buildings from the 1920s. The industrial heritage value of Kokerei Hansa was officially recognized in 1998 by the city of Dortmund

and today it features among the many monuments of the Ruhr region that got a new lease on life as industrial heritage. It opened to the public in 1999.

The new life of Kokerei Hansa as an industrial monument needs to be seen in relation to the work that was done during the duration of *IBA Emscher Park* to enhance the public knowledge about the built environment in the region. In the second phase of IBA Emscher Park (1995-1999) the aestheticized approach of industrial monuments gained momentum. Efforts were being made to make people aware of the industrial landmarks that surrounded them and had been left dormant for many years. It was in this period that the idea of staging industrial sites as playgrounds or public parks gained momentum (cfr. Föhl 2005; Raines 2011; Sieverts 1999). Light shows and illuminations of the site would turn blast furnaces and pit head winding gears into landmarks and open up for new ways of experiencing these gargantuan structures. At Kokerei Hansa the conveyor bridge takes visitors from ground level constructed to guide visitors through the production line. A system of paths has been prepared at Kokerei Hansa in line with the primary objective of providing public access and opening the site for new perspectives:

> "In three building phases all the most important areas of production were linked by a system of paths consisting of accessible conveyor bridges, pipeline bridges and ramps. In order to open up the maximum number of different perspectives the monument was also made accessible on different levels" (Pfeiffer and Strunk 2010: 26).

What we can infer from this description of opening up Kokerei Hansa in terms of physical accessibility is that the range of "different perspectives" is important in a more figurative sense as well. By opening up the site and allowing a variety of perspectives on different altitudes we are provided means of looking at recalcitrant material structures from a more distant plane detached from the burdens of the steel corset. The idea of openness in terms of actual physical accessibility, anticipates a larger and more symbolically important gesture of allowing public to experience history, as it were, from a distance. Viewing the site from a vantage point high above the ground in the conveyor bridge clad in acrylic glass sheets the detached, aesthetic gaze is encouraged.

Figure 3.4 –The detached gaze. Kokerei Hansa from above. Navigable conveyor bridge to the left.

Kerstin Barndt has likened the many new lookouts and elevated walkways in the post-industrial Ruhr with a form of symbolic emancipation which allows the local population to "rise above local history" (Barndt 2010b: 278). This way of viewing the world from an external and elevated, birds-eye perspective has most commonly been associated with a form of visual mastery of the world. It featured as a crucial component of many museums and exhibitions where viewing platforms invited a distinctive way of seeing which crystallized in the 19th century (Macdonald 2003; Mitchell 1989). The key was to occasion a privileged,

objective vantage point where the viewing subject somehow took confidence at the sight of a well-ordered world. The question is in how far this understanding of the separation between the observer and the world through ordering and control is a reasonable way to understand the aesthetics of Kokerei Hansa. The potential of defamiliarization as we recall was not to instill reassurance and stability, but to make the world seem less self-evident and changeable. To assess in how far this applies to Kokerei we have to look at how the preservation strategies are executed and to what effect this is done.

3.7 Preservation strategies at Kokerei Hansa - Foundation for the Preservation of Industrial Monuments and Culture of History

One long-term contribution of IBA Emscher Park was to establish a permanent foundation for industrial heritage – *Stiftung Industriedenkmalpflege und Geschichtskultur* (Foundation for the Preservation of Industrial Monuments and Historical Culture). The foundation was established in 1995 and the director of IBA Emscher Park, Karl Ganser, was part of the board. Ganser describes the foundation's central preservation task in the following way: "First of all leave everything standing, to grant it time for historical value to unfold and ideas for a new purpose to be born" (Ganser 2005: 15, my translation). The main office of the foundation is located at Kokerei Hansa. Kokerei Hansa and eleven additional industrial monuments in the Ruhr are owned by the foundation which conducts research into different ways of preserving the industrial heritage of the Ruhr area. In my interview with Claus Stiens who is in charge of the educational work of the foundation, he described the basic tenets of the foundation's work in the following way:

> "The fundamental construct of the foundation is to give things their time
> and to remove them from this pressure of utilization and grant them time
> at first to consider what could be done with them. And in case this fails than
> inexpensive, fundamental safeguarding measures can protect the object"
> (Stiens 2010).

Once again the importance of granting the objects and buildings time is stressed. This can be crucial to stall owners or developers who are anxious to demolish buildings in order to start redevelopment. The approach of the foundation more specifically is to treat each object individually. Every building or site has its specific challenges can only be dealt with bit by bit and in a way that requires long term planning and a viable concept for reuse. This involves meeting with the owners and other affected stakeholders to discuss the possibility for reuse.

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The aim, ultimately, is to allow for industrial sites to be preserved in situ, for public access to be secured and allow for some form of on-site interpretation of the history. These tenets are reflected in the piecemeal approach to the restoration and reopening of Kokerei Hansa. The primary objective of the foundation has been to enable public access to the site.

> "Many different strategies are being pursued to preserve the Hansa coking plant, all of which are part of an overall plan. Because cleaning up such a huge monument can only take place step-by-step – not least for financial reasons – and therefore needs years of hard work, the Foundation for the Preservation of Industrial Monuments and Historical Culture has opted to deal with specific sections of the site, like the construction of visitor trails. The primary consideration was to ensure that the whole site was accessible to visitors" (Pfeiffer and Strunk 2010: 39).

The desire to make the site accessible has to be weighed against the costly and long-winding process of renovating and securing the site. A site like Kokerei Hansa covering a grand total of 11 hectares confronts preservationists with a range of challenges some of which are material and others relate to the mental images that a coke plant normally evoke.

The architectural historian Renate Kastorff-Viehmann claims that a wholly affirmative representation of the site was unrealistic (Kastorff-Viehmann 1992). Kokerei Hansa was associated with pollution and the idea of designating the coke plant as cultural heritage was met with reservation. Apart from the production of coke, a coke plant also manufactures byproducts such as tar, benzol, ammonia, hydrogen sulphide, making it a particularly dirty and polluting site (Kastorff-Viehmann 1992). The production of coke involves "baking" coal at high temperatures and subsequently cooling it down with water. This produced a characteristic cloud of smoke at regular intervals at Kokerei Hansa during its lifetime. At a coke plant like Kokerei Hansa the negative consequences of coke production were and still are apparent. The way coke production disturbed ground conditions are acknowledged and integrated into the presentation of the site. The soil at and around coke plants and foundries is made up of slag, dust and ashes which makes it warm, dry and nutrient deficient. In the bath house next to the main entrance, a row of photos show some of the plant species which currently inhabit the coke plant. The photos of the plants are taken next to rusty rails, pipelines and gratings. The purple loosestrife (*Bluteweiderich*) has settled next to the brick stone walls at the coke plant and it is this coexistence that is stressed.

Figure 3.5 - Images from Kokerei Hansa exhibition illustrating the variety of plant species on the site of the former coke plant

Industrial activity occasioned a mobility of species and brought non-native settlers to the site of the coke plant. Seeds were unknowingly transported to the Ruhr from faraway locations in raw material carriages and they managed to settle in harsh conditions. By stressing the coexistence of nature and industry the site is not exclusively a tribute to the industrial past; it also examines the long-term effects of industries on the immediate surroundings.

The precarious balance of interpretation work at a site like Kokerei Hansa is to secure the existence of listed historic buildings from the 1920s and 1930s and at the same time allow for a critical and vigilant attitude to the industrial past to be established. The preservation of listed core buildings, interior and machinery is the overriding priority of the foundation. It means that the scale of preservation in the present shapes our access to the past. What we see and what we may access is restricted by the priorities and selections of its caretakers as well as considerations of security, funding, architectural value, technological importance and not least the risk of contamination. On the other hand, the preservationists have taken precautions, they

claim, not to reduce the site to one single, authoritative meaning. The mode of preservation is one they describe as stepwise, careful and minimal, leaving it more to itself in order not to compromise the mystery of the abandoned buildings. The foundation describes the approach in the following way:

> "Thus cleaning up the areas beyond the trails, like the facades of the coal towers, could be postponed or even entirely disregarded. The same applied to the interiors of the building which, like the coal bunkers, were also only 'parsimoniously' cleaned up. Many visitors found this approach extremely attractive because the view from the trails allowed them to get a view of areas still blackened with coal dust which seemed to have been left almost untouched. This allowed them to get a much closer and intimate idea of the industrial history of the site. The resulting atmosphere has played a very important part in producing an emotional response to the coking plant and this has resulted in an increased interest in the work that once took place here" (Pfeiffer and Strunk 2010: 39).

The idea of preservation at Kokerei Hansa is one that accepts a less extensive restoration of some structures on the site. The foundation has recognized that the potency of the site may be found in what seems untouched rather than in what has been meticulously restored and sanitized. The emotional impact of the structures that seem almost untouched is also emphasized. The idea that ruins carry some trace of the undisturbed strikes a chord with both preservationists and the public. It is a balance between surrender and control, minimal intervention and active preservation. These dilemmas are even more apparent in the notion of *Industrienatur* which has influenced how the site is presented.

3.8 *Industrienatur*: dissolving the culture/nature divide

Industrienatur describes the ill-defined zones that have long been inaccessible because of industrial colonization and where traces of production are now intermingled with flora and fauna which thrives in even the most unlikely locations. After the coal and steel rundown in the Ruhr the problem of excess space produced by urban shrinkage and industrial decline became apparent. One problem was that the coal and steel had seized far more space than could ever be made economically purposeful again. As soon as the tide of intensive production ebbed, a dense network of defunct transport rails, pipelines and indistinct and inaccessible areas on the industrial fringes were exposed. This was described as a problem of the "non-landscape" (Hauser 2001: 278). For every practical purpose it was leftover space and the offer of land far outweighed the demand. The lacking economic interest in industrial

wastelands in the Ruhr represented a possibility to implement a different idea of landscape. The fusion of nature and industry is a phenomenon which reflects a concern with shrinking post-industrial cities and indeterminate spaces left behind when industries collapse. By considering the many places in the industrial backyard overgrown by weeds and birches as a possible valuable contribution to the post-industrial living environment, *Industrienatur* is a concept which attempts to open our eyes to neglected and overlooked spaces.

The strategy reflects an attempt to see industrial heritage in relation to a more comprehensive treatment of barren post-industrial landscapes. The idea of *Industrienatur* is one significant part of this shift, and the attempt to break with prejudice involved claiming that the Ruhr also has nature, and although it is disturbed and profoundly artificial, it is nature still. Cultural landscapes have for centuries been associated with cultivated agrarian landscapes and nature has, in contrast, been regarded as wild, dangerous and uncivilized counter-world. In the Ruhr it was important to introduce a category of cultural landscape which could combat these orthodoxies and raise awareness of the potential hidden in the industrial nature.

The comprehensive transformation of the surroundings in the era of coal and steel had created a "total industrial landscape" (Mazzoni 2005). *Industrienatur* is a form which allows us to examine the conjunctions of industry and nature when the stabilizing system of production has ceased and when it can evoke only a "shadow of order" as a "phantom network" (Edensor 2005c: 63). The ill-defined superfluous areas that surround production plants constitute the outer perimeter of a vast industrial heritage site like Kokerei Hansa is a challenge for both preservationists and planners. These areas are outside what monument care or the planning practice could normally count as their field of action (Nielsen 2002). For this reason it is tempting to think of these areas as the refuse which contradicts aspirations of spatial control in more designed and planned environments. Looking at the ruins that get the most attention in the examination of modern day ruins, it is often the abandoned sites of order and regulation. Mental asylums, prison complexes, Cold War military installations as well as industrial production sites have for a while been part of this renaissance of the ruin.

These sites can be theorized as the heterogeneity which disturbs the rational and systematic, and they can be idealized as the raw and unrefined excretion from homogenized space. By doing so, however, we inevitably give form to the formless. This paradox is central to understand the way categories like *Industrienatur* actually work; while reiterating the dream of an untamed ruin space, it signals a conscious intervention which also recognizes the

impossibility of surrendering industry to nature. The initial naming and mapping of uncontrolled space is but a call for the general public to become aware of, recognize and acknowledge the marginal spaces in a way that can only make them less marginal. Nielsen has addressed this dilemma in the context of landfills: "Describing and categorizing the superfluous urban matter in this way, as prototypes initially, is a way of appropriating them into the high field, an activity that is facilitating their conceptual disappearance as "other places"' (Nielsen 2002: 56)

This does not imply that these practices of naming and categorizing necessarily aim for homogenization where the ambiguity of these buffer zones is sought eradicated. Critical accounts of the domestication of ruins normally treat the idea of intentional ambiguity as ultimately unattainable. Edensor (2005c) describes heritage sites as places where things are confined to a stable place and where disorder by consequence is annulled. Many recent studies of ruin aesthetics all too often assume that ruins are pinnacles of an alternative aesthetic where negation is the yardstick of quality. Not only is this alternative aesthetic based on a simple dualism between order and chaos, where ruination allegedly signals the dismissal of grand narratives of technological and economic progress, but it can only "flourish in a position of opposition" (Trigg 2006: 121). To avoid becoming stuck in a position of opposition, one complicating layer needs to be added to the analysis given that *Industrienatur* is a consciously planned and executed strategy on the part of planners and preservationists. To discover the beauty hidden in the cracks we need certain cues and instructions which remind us what to look for so that disorder can become palpable and acted upon as material for representation. It is only in contrast to a controlled and exhaustive reconstruction of meaning that a more careful and precautionary intervention makes sense. These different choices have to be made apparent to us; the absence of order has to be made present at some point in the heritage representation.

Otherwise we would not pay attention to the gaps that preservationists have deliberately kept open. In terms of preservation strategies this creates some interesting compromises between the extreme ends of destruction and reconstruction. At Kokerei Hansa forms of controlled decay, minimal intervention as well as natural regrowth on the site raises complex questions concerning the extent of preservation. *Industrienatur* can be analyzed as a paradoxical designed ambiguity - a way to make the dissolution of habitual categories perceivable to us in a way similar to defamiliarization. But does this mean that once the disorderly *Industrienatur*

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has been named and described that it ceases to hold any aesthetic significance or ceases to act as a corrective to approaches where everything is confined to a stable place?

Let us have a look at how these dilemmas are played out in practice and how they find a material expression. Kokerei Hansa welcomes spontaneous regrowth and it illustrates that the once monolithic production regime is no longer 'the only game in town'. Vegetation is encouraged to reenter the premises and particularly during summer months the abundance of trees and plants serve as a contrast to the formal rigor of the buildings and the rational design of this modernist production complex.

Figure 3.6 - Birches are ruderal (lit.: 'of rubble) and grow in places where the ground conditions are disturbed

The cohabitation of industrial machinery vegetation re-conquering the site has created a spectacle which is reminiscent of romantic ruins of the 18th and 19th century. The core selection of historically significant buildings Kokerei Hansa will never be threatened by this regrowth. Tree growth is kept at bay and never allowed to destabilize any of the listed structures. In the more peripheral areas of the site the succession of flora is tolerated to a greater extent and here the cohabitation of nature and industry functions as a reciprocal form of valuation. Nature reframes the built environment and the former domination of heavy industry only makes the sight of nature more welcome. By retreating slightly and let nature unfold within designated boundaries, the careful balancing act between intervention and surrender can be reflected in a specific building or in a specific part of the site.

Figure 3.7 - 'Screening plant' adorned with vegetation

The view of the dilapidated brick building which used to accommodate the screening plant (*Sieberei*) where the coke was cut and sorted according to size illustrates this point. Here natural regrowth has gained the upper hand to the extent that birches pierce through the masonry. A part of the exterior brick wall has collapsed over the roof of the conveyor bridge. In other parts a more pristine layer of red bricks is revealed through a hole in the blackened wall. In these sections of the site classical ruin imagery springs to mind and the idea that ruins

reflect the fragile state between survival and decay, an "intermediate moment, a fragile equilibrium between persistence and decay" (Dillon 2005: 59). Endurance and decay interact to the effect that the "soul in its upward striving and nature in its gravity are held in balance" (Simmel 1958: 379). This distinct atmosphere of the ruin space is something which must be carefully nurtured, if it is perceived as forced or overly designed it risks undermining the emotional impact on its visitors.

We recognize the fact that this spectacle is prepared for us to look at from a safe distance. Being guided through the old coke plant in Huckarde we can desire the sensation of an untouched ruin which triggers a feeling of sublime melancholy, but we know that our encounter is the result of long-term engagement by preservationists who unlike the romantic landscape painter would never cede control of architecture to nature. Sublimity as it was understood by Edmund Burke (1812) entailed an element of horror produced by the inexplicable and the dangerous. While Kokerei Hansa certainly draws inspiration from the European cult of the ruin in art and philosophy it is also different in certain regards. It is not an invitation to read this site as an annulment of human agency akin to the romantic melancholic perspective of decay and the frailty of human civilizations. This would be tantamount to a self-effacing move on the part of the preservationists. The fact that some parts of the site has served as a testing ground for a more minimal intervention, only reaffirms the impression of a carefully monitored and differentiated approach where some sections of the site have allowed caretakers to recede somewhat.

It is important also to stress how openly the techniques and philosophies underpinning preservation strategies are communicated by the foundation. The booklet *Coke Plant Hansa – The history of the industrial monument* (Pfeiffer and Strunk 2010) introduces visitors to the ideas behind the preservation of the site and describes trials and error involved in the process. This is part of the corpus of a heritage site which we bring along in trying to decipher what the buildings meant historically and what they mean today. These different textual cues such as leaflets, information boards and preservation strategies are fairly transparent in the sense that intentions and hoped for emotional impact is part of the communication. They provide a set of interpretative keys to the visitors and explain the aim of *Industrienatur*.

Already at the entrance, we are given some hints as to what, more precisely, this assemblage of wild birches, rusty equipment and monumental brick stone buildings is meant to convey.

Figure 3.8 - At the main entrance illustration show the quenching tower colonized by plants

These information boards address the imagination and give visitors important hints as to how the site can be seen as something mysterious and out of the ordinary, the word 'bizarre' is used. By aligning a coke plant from the 20th century with the great civilizations of the Mayans and the Incas, these recent industrial ruins are framed as almost alien and otherworldly. This juxtaposition is illustrated with the image of the quenching tower at Kokerei Hansa overgrown by monster leaves. Flora and fauna play an important in the recent history of the

coke plant and it is the presence of wild nature adjacent to scheduled monuments that makes the preservation of Kokerei Hansa interesting as an attempt of consciously confusing established boundaries. It is a way of exploring the convergences of industry and nature and it investigates how nature can endow these industrial buildings and decrepit machinery with strangeness. By establishing this unlikely relation between a coke plant and the ruins of ancient civilizations we become more aware of the mysterious qualities of even recent and fairly familiar parts of history. The view of the abandoned coal tower, bordered by a green belt of birches which has sprung up after the closure in 1992 can make the age of coal and steel seem more obscure and exotic.

Figure 3.9 - *Industrienatur*

The industrial relics are thrown into sharper relief because of the lush green surroundings. The idea behind the natural regrowth scheme is explained by the foundation in the following way:

> "Visitors to this industrial monument are confronted with an exciting
> scenario of industrial history and newly evolving life, for we make no
> attempt to tame the rampant natural growth of the plants and trees which
> have sprung up amid the protected monuments, the rust and decay"
> (Stiftung Industriedenkmalpflege und Geschichtskultur n.d.).

Nature is *authorized* to reenter the premises and this makes the former coke plant suitable as an exploration of the strategy of minimal intervention. The sheer size of Kokerei Hansa means that it is impossible to keep all of the structures on the site and it is impossible to put all the buildings to new use. The leeway for action is restricted because of the grandiose scale of the plant, and preservation has been carried out in a more experimental and sustainable way. A limited budget makes it impossible to do everything at once. What is sought for is a feasible and sustainable form of preservation which can be viable in the longer run in social, economic and environmental terms.

Attempts at simply handing over the ruins to nature in a process of controlled decay would increase the risk of hazardous ground contamination. The fear of pollution forced preservationists to adjust their strategies and enter into a new round of negotiations with the material structures in question. The sought-after pleasing decay would ultimately challenge the fundamental imperative of preservation; namely to safeguard the actual buildings. To cede control to nature was impossible given the threat of contamination and the risk that buildings would collapse. This is how the foundation describes the attempt to find a balance between ruination and preservation:

> "At first the Foundation assumed that parts of the plant like the coke oven batteries, storage tanks and pipelines should be successively allowed to fall into a controlled state of dilapidation, and many ideas were thrown around concerning the picturesque images of overgrown oven ruins. But these ideas were not pursued further because those in charge realised that allowing the side [sic] to fall into a controlled state of disrepair would be tantamount to a continual process of dismantling" (Pfeiffer and Strunk 2010: 38).

The least preferred option in such a process is, of course, to risk the future of buildings owned by the foundation. From this brief excerpt we see how the process leading up to the present form of the heritage site involved many ideas of overgrown ruins and slow, controlled decay. These ambitions had to be adjusted to meet environmental standards and to secure the actual survival of the buildings. Ideas which look convincing on a drawing board can be impossible to carry out in practice due to financial, environmental and constructional concerns.

In this sense nature has to be curtailed. The combined landscape of industry and nature does not invite a return to nature or a more direct and immediate encounter with the industrial relics. Industry and nature are made available to us in the form of an aestheticized and meticulously planned intermediary. Nature is artificial and industrial culture is rendered more

strange and distant. What this notion of *Industrienatur* has in common with the more classical ruin is the ability to confuse fixed boundaries between past and present, culture and nature, representation and experience. It too can trigger the desire for the immediate, the authentic and the transgressive but it is destined to be unrewarding in this sense. The complete surrender is only apparent and nature is not free or wild but kept at bay and corrupted. It is not a privileged glimpse of the unmediated or an immediate encounter with a threatening otherness. Rather it is a self-conscious designed form which experiments with and acknowledges the emotional impact of ruins. It shares with the manifesto of Ferdinand Kriwet the conviction that anything can become subject to aestheticization. This aestheticization can be a way to attain further distance to the age of coal mining and coke production.

If we regard this strategy as a device of defamiliarization, the view of nature invading the premises of a modernist industrial ensemble implies that Kokerei Hansa is placed in a new interpretative frame. It can no longer convincingly epitomize the promise of endless economic growth. That particular story is challenged materially as well as symbolically by a resilient mutated nature. The view of flora encroaching on these industrial monuments renders the faith in unlimited expansion frail. The view of plants recolonizing the once triumphant emblems of the industrial modernity could of course be taken as an optimistic sign of nature as a healing force which ultimately corrects all of our wrongdoings. But instead of revisiting this naïve version of a rejuvenating counter-world or holding the promise of a return to a stable and benign origin, *Industrienatur* reflect ambitions to make everything part of an aesthetic realm. These indistinct pockets of suburban wilderness located beyond the urban and the wild are irredeemably man-made. The concept suggests that the division between the artificial and the natural is inadequate when we are confronted with a form of landscape that is profoundly shaped by the many overlaps of industry and nature. *Industrienatur* has been defined by the landscape planner Jörg Dettmar in the following way:

> "Industrial nature denotes those living environments in industrial areas
> where nature has unfolded. Industrial conditions have developed because
> of industrial activity. The natural soil condition has been completely altered.
> The 'industrial soil' often consists of artificial substrates like slag and ash
> which would not occur naturally" (Dettmar 1999: 68, my translation).

With this definition we are again reminded of Ferdinand Kriwet's understanding of the Ruhr as a profoundly artificial landscape. With time we may grow increasingly oblivious to the artificial origins of a landscape. It seems almost natural. Gradually the negative effects of

industrial exploitation are baked into this new idea of nature. Here the pristine can no longer be separated from the planned, and with time the non-native flora cannot be distinguished from the native flora. The artificial constitution of the landscape is so profound that categories like natural or cultural do not hold the same explanatory power. In line with this we should approach the Ruhr as a compact amalgam of nature and culture. As Hauser reminds us the mountain is not a mountain but a land fill or a slag heap, and what looks like a stream is in reality a channel without natural wetlands or lakes connected to it (Hauser 2001). A natural flora has grown out of unnatural soil conditioned by decades of iron, steel and coal production. This contrast between the industrial relics and the encroaching nature creates a magical atmosphere according to Dettmar (1999). This is the mystery of *Industrienatur* which needs to be carefully cultivated and treated with caution. Dettmar claims that this magic disappears if people intervene with a design intent that is too firm. The organic and spontaneous can be threatened by the overly purposeful. The understanding of *Industrienatur* as a category of nature which is neither natural nor strictly controlled by a specific purpose is something we can recognize at Kokerei Hansa where the regrowth which feels spontaneous and wild even if it is closely monitored.

This form of preservation explores and cultivates peculiar forms that occupy a middle ground between wild nature and purposeful culture. The important thing to note is that the preservation practice does not force the conventional separation of nature and culture on a site which belongs to both. *Industrienatur* does not belong either to the wilderness category or to agriculture or forms of designed nature such as gardening. For this reason Kowarik (2005) has suggested that it qualifies to nature of the fourth kind. This is a form of nature which,

> "encompasses the natural development that occurs independently on typical urban-industrial sites, without horticultural planning or design. This starts with cracks in sidewalks or in colonization of walls and buildings as "artificial cliffs" and leads to growth in abandoned areas and to impressive urban-industrial woodlands" (Kowarik 2005: 22).

The suggestive element of cracks in the sidewalk of this fourth form of nature is important. This addresses the element of neglect and the political failure to control the urban environment which is made apparent in processes of ruination and abandonment. It tells the story of a place where authorities have unwillingly ceded control over its territory. It seems almost dystopian. By contrast, what we experience in the form of *Industrienatur* is an exercise of control that is deliberately and by necessity cautious. Preservationists at Kokerei Hansa

have acknowledged that interventions in the natural processes of ruination can disturb what attracts us to these sites in the first place. Limited means also call for a piecemeal approach to preservation.

In more analytic terms Kokerei Hansa is an articulation of the attempt to walk the fine line between proactive intervention and mere persistence. The peripheral parts of the site where interventions are sparse are where we encounter the most vivid expression the junctions of the cultural commitment to preserve and the natural processes of decay. The limit of preservation work is addressed in the interpretation of industrial nature. It is a concept which acknowledges the long-running fascination with abandonment and surrendering man-made structures to the forces of nature. The structures cannot be left entirely to themselves entirely, because this jeopardizes the overarching public commitment to make them accessible and visible again. Like museum objects placed in storage, the ruinous buildings such as the artificial cliffs of the Sieberei are held in a state of abeyance which prevent them from being lost forever (Hetherington 2004). Unlike most stored museum objects they are on display, part of a substantially enlarged aesthetic realm where even dismembered rail lines lying in the grass can claim native soil.

Figure 3.10 - Temporary 'exhibition' of marginalia

The regional industrial rundown is part of a globalized and generalized ruin aesthetic where "derangement is safely framed and endlessly repeatable" (Dillon 2005: 59). But why would the aesthetic charge of a site like Kokerei Hansa need to conform to either form of transgression of order or meticulous reconstruction of order? The fringes of the heritage site, both in literal and figurative terms is where the uncertainty becomes striking. The not yet canonized, dormant objects like the rail lines casually disposed on the grass next to the plant causes disorientation as to where the representation begins and where it ends. Was it a conscious decision or not to place those rail lines at this precise spot? Do they carry any significance germane to the site at all? These mundane rail lines to me illustrate the comprehensive aesthetic treatment witnessed in the form of *Industrienatur* where not even marginalia can be automatically dismissed. As a tool which announces a more patient attitude towards the complex entanglements of industry and nature that industrial history has spawned, it can thrive on the confusion concerning where waste begins and value ends.

As witnessed at Kokerei Hansa, industrial heritage practices no longer deal exclusively with isolated monuments, but also with indistinct and overgrown areas on the fringes of colliery

and smelter plants. Many contemporary approaches which set out to deal with industrial obsolescence demonstrate the will to inclusion rather than exclusion of the unwanted and it is occasioned by the realization that this kind of waste often will not go away. Hauser (2001) thinks of this practice terms of a subtle change from borders to limits, and the ways in which industrial waste are treated today is different from how it used to be dealt with. The clear-cut divisions of pure and impure, of clean and dirty, and between the orderly and the disorderly realms have been revised and confused to the extent that it is difficult to speak of a clear transgression.

This change from borders to limits may be viewed as an expansion of the realm of visibility where nothing is automatically written off as useless. I think it makes sense to view the heritage site and *Industrienatur* of Kokerei Hansa in this light, because it too contributes to a blurring of established categories and realms of "purity and danger" (Douglas 1966). Hauser (2001) convincingly claims that the binary structure of clean and dirty has been challenged in old industrial areas where attempts are made to question these rigid zones and establish a more unstable category. The *Industrienatur* we encounter at Kokerei Hansa amounts to this unstable form where the sharp contours of natural and cultural dissolve. The industrial obsolescence and the excess matter is not disposed and removed for good, it rather becomes an important vehicle in the negotiation of visibility and borders. According to Hauser "waste, residue in its numerous forms has become a metaphor for and paradigmatic thing renders visible and allows us to see borders, the liquidation of borders and the transgression of borders" (Hauser 2001: 32, my translation). *Industrienatur* allows for a playful and provocative dissolution of borders which separate our world from the world of waste and pollution. For so-called junk artists waste is used as a raw material which can challenge conventional categories of things. Similarly *Industrienatur* is a clever invention to reintegrate the frequently ignored excess space into an aesthetic, recreational or representational realm. This is not a recipe for immediacy, but a call for aesthetic education and the defamiliarization of an undesired object, building or site. *Industrienatur* is a way of dealing with the superfluous in a way which questions the stability of categories like the natural and the artificial. While these ideas closely resemble catchphrases of much postmodern social and cultural theorizing, I think *Industrienatur* diverts from the obsession with origins and it also questions whether a resolute and final exclusion of the unwanted is even possible anymore. Today the old material burdens inherited from the industrial age are revealed and transformed rather than concealed and forgotten. This has to be understood as part of a wider cultural

commitment which I will now discuss in terms of the imperative which states that old industrial burdens must be dealt with.

3.9 *Altlasten* and sustainability

There is a word in German which describes an unresolved issue which is either of a material, economic or mental character. The term *Altlast* usually refers to contamination. With reference to old industrial sites it concerns remaining substances which causes ground contamination and seeps into the ground water. In a more figurative sense it describes a legacy and a burden of the past which sticks with a person or culture. In the legal and economic realm it is a liability connected to property. *Altlast* would translate directly into 'old load', and its opposite *Lastenfrei* implies that an object, relation or business is free from old debts. As for post-industrial brownfield sites the toxins buried in the ground makes it difficult to make a property marketable without extensive cleanup. This illustrates how the subsurface stores residues from industrial era which undermine present attempts of moving on. This dimension also relate to Altlasten in a more figurative sense. The past may be understood as a burden which haunts the present and makes people unable to the break the emotional attachment with the past. Hence, personal ads in newspapers sometimes state that the ideal partner is a person "ohne Altlasten".

In the present culture of memory, repression has been extensively discredited, politically as well as aesthetically. To cover over the misdemeanors of the past is seen as politically suspect and aesthetically dishonest. The alternative to this suspect practice is to acknowledge the burdens of the past and grant them presence by integrating them into an inflated idea of beauty that is *Industrienatur*. Very much like contemporary art tries to make the public question conventional orders of things and conventional notions of beauty the category of *Industrienatur* is a means of assembling burdensome and ill-defined sites into a postmodern panoply of confused boundaries.

In contrast to the heydays of coal and steel production, the pressing issue is no longer how to prepare for continued expansion and growth, but how to deal with economic decline, leftover space and the presence of burdensome objects and a comprehensively artificial landscape. The strategy is not to cover over, but to aestheticize the old burdens to make them stand out and be visible. Coal mining areas are characterized by a specific topography. Mining activity often

left vast empty pockets in the bedrock which made adjacent areas vulnerable as roads and buildings frequently sagged because of underground voids. On the other end mountains of stone have piled up from the residues of mining. These spoil tips were often covered with soil and revegetated in order to reduce erosion and the risk of slides or to prevent dust from spreading. In the longer run it would seamlessly integrate spoil tips in the lush scenery where an agreeable form of landscape could once again prevail. This came to be regarded as a conservative aesthetic practice which would be equated with effacing the historically specific constitution of the industrial landscape (Dettmar 1999). In contrast, the concept of *Industrienatur* is a way for planners and preservationists to counter old modes of landscaping and claim that to efface all traces of the industrial activity via traditional green space planning is a generic approach which disregards both local context and existing historical structures. It makes all slag heaps and fallow colliery areas look the same. Attempts to cover over the thoroughgoing artificiality of the local area may amount to a form of aesthetic dishonesty. For Claus Stiens at the foundation in charge of maintaining Kokerei Hansa this elicits the question of how one should approach the accumulated spoil tips with regards to the memories and insight they might harbor.

> "How honest is this treatment of the industrial heritage? One would not recognize it straight away as something man-made - that is 'artificial' [uses the English word] if it is recultivated, regreened and made accessible again. Should one not instead leave it as it is, yes, as a grey mountain, a deposit of rocks and stone, to make it evident that this is something artificial made by men as a result of coal mining activities" (Stiens 2010).

The legibility of the industrial landscape is at stake and the practice of regreening is treated as an approach which fosters forgetfulness. Here, an honest rendition of the industrially constituted landscape is contrasted with practices that cause the gradual disappearance of the industrial past.

If we contrast this idea with predominant attitudes during the heyday of industrial growth, the change of attitude is striking. The industrial society believes it can produce anything and turn back the clock again according to Karl Ganser (in Hauser 2001: 76). Today the repair of built environment and man-made landscape at hand (rather than inventing the new) has gained influence due to the wide-ranging influence of the sustainability discourse from the 1980s onward. It is not sufficient to appeal by way of pathos and sentiment to the safeguarding of the built environment; preservation has had to prove itself through other means as we will see. A new defense against demolition owing to the shift which occurred in the late 1980s owing

to the idea of sustainable development defined by the Brundtland Commission as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987: 41).

The shift was mirrored in the industrial heritage discourse in the 1990s and in Germany the prospect of a "repair society" (*Reparaturgesellschaft*) was discussed in a meeting of the German ICOMOS committee and chairs of heritage preservation and building research at the University of Dortmund in 1995. Their mandate was to address the challenges of resource scarcity and overconsumption in line with a clear focus on sustainable development. It was claimed that one important purpose for the preservation of built environment of the industrial era was to secure material witnesses of the age of exhaustive and ruthless exploitation of resources (Hassler 1996). The emphasis on repair, recycling and reuse of existing resources was stressed as a contrast to a modernity which believed and presupposed it could perpetually invent the new. The repair project of the postmodern is precisely a repair project and not a project of new constructions (*Neubautenprojekt*). A frugal treatment of existing resources was considered necessary from an ecological and economic perspective and the aim was to prepare for a continued use of the existing stock (*des vorhandenen Bestand*) of structures and objects (Hassler 1996: 107). The practice of industrial heritage preservation was described as particularly challenging field because it was not a question isolated to technical viability of preservation, but a question of funding, ecological considerations as well as questions pertaining to aesthetics (Petzet 1996). Moreover, the link between *Altlast* and contemporary art was established and it was conceived as way to prepare a museal presentation of unwieldy and burdensome relics (ibid).

Owing to the burgeoning influence of sustainable management of existing resources the cards were reshuffled and the modern construction project of rapid replacement was sharply contrasted with the modern preservation project of working with buildings already at hand. For the latter model to stabilize and accrue wider public legitimacy it had to operate not only according to aesthetic requirements and notions of beauty, but to prove financially viable, ecologically conscious and technically feasible. Kokerei Hansa clearly draws currency from this frame of ecological sustainability within the preservation discourse. Against an admittedly suitable opponent of reckless resource exploitation, any model which cares for the resources at hand will be judged in a more favorable light. The detachment or defamiliarization that I have discussed is one where the industrial monument is turned against

itself because of the introduction of aesthetics that are motivated by present concerns and in particular the idea of sustainable development. Present-day values are superimposed on the modernist ensemble and these are consciously contrasted with cost-intensive planning regimes or unsustainable resource exploits of earlier epochs: "The expensive and labour-intensive methods of conventional planning practice would now be replaced by nature-dominated development" (Dettmar 2005). This is how Jörg Dettmar describes the break from earlier regimes of planning and in this account the economic and ecological rationale behind *Industrienatur* is given a clear expression. Municipal budgets are limited in the Ruhr and the resource-demanding character of streamlined landscape practices or the comprehensive clean-sweep development has faced sustained criticism (Günter 1999).

The influence of sustainable development discourse means that minimal interventions, spontaneous regrowth and patient treatment of built structures are associated with sustainable development rather than political and cultural defeat. The idea that nature is about to reconquer the rationally planned and thoroughly regulated spaces of industry reflects this new idea of resource use, which can only thrive in opposition to an industrial regime that is by now often dismissed as unsustainable. Moreover, minimal intervention can even be justified with reference to nature conservation as the ruderal vegetation came to be seen as an important contribution to a specific and local expression of industrial nature. The fact that the brackish industrial areas hosted wildlife with a variety of plants, trees and even endangered species made it possible to conceive of these landscapes as reserves, as interstices, as mutated spaces between the meticulous order of the urban park and the cultural landscape of farming (Hauser 2001). Non-intervention or minimal intervention in this sense becomes a legitimate expression more careful management of natural as well as cultural resources. The commitment seen at Kokerei Hansa to work with the structures at hand, be it spontaneous vegetation or decrepit machinery, is based on the realization that the old cannot be wholly effaced and the new can no longer start from the clean slate.

It is not accurate to interpret Kokerei Hansa it as a celebration of the triumph of nature over technology, because this approach is a closely monitored and scientifically sanctioned design. Neither does it submit to the relativist idea that the past must be understood on its own accounts entirely. It reserves for itself the right to actually pass judgment on the past by stressing a form of resource use which stays clear of a romantic return to origins as well as the modernist confidence in new beginnings. The artificial is all there is and it should be made the

most of. The concept of industrial nature is a commitment to unveil and aestheticize the material burdens of the past. They are not covered over and forgotten; they are transformed and made visible albeit in a less familiar form. This method of dealing with industrial relics maintains that the burdens of the past cannot be entirely undone, but they can be gradually assimilated into a new conceptualization of beauty called *Industrienatur*.

The ruin aesthetic has for centuries signified cultural and political loss against the cosmic forces of time and the gravity of natural decay. What we encounter at Kokerei Hansa is a clear dissociation from the ancien industrial regime where tabula rasa paved the way for a wholesale transformation of the natural environment. This distance is achieved through the conscious staging of natural regrowth as a contrast to the controlled and exploited nature of the old order. At the same time the fusion between the two means that paradoxically the preservation of the industrial site has become indispensable for the preservation of ruderal species and the distinctive industrial nature. Dissolution of the boundaries between nature and culture is utilized to the effect that a conspicuous distance to *both* pristine nature and omnipotent industrialism is achieved. The sense of total neglect and cultural surrender in the ruin aesthetic is replaced with the more reassuring hybrid model of controlled decay or minimal intervention. As a new concept which has been carefully delineated, described, defined and documented, *Industrienatur* is part of the scientific and political transformation of resources - from abundance to scarcity - whereby sustainable development has become imperative. In this new form resource assessment - which is motivated by ecological concern as well as by economic interest – the old form of waste management is reconsidered and waste is treated as raw material and made subject to legal regulations. This is what Latour (1998) has called the industrial regime of justification of ecology and in this regime technology and regulations are introduced to reduce pollution and monitor the health of rivers, forests and lakes. In this regime of justification emphasis is placed on measures of controlling, monitoring and managing to the effect that ecology is not treated as a radically separate or novel concept but as an undertaking which can be integrated in the normal domain of political action. As stated in the introductory chapter the present is increasingly "making a living in the present by cleaning up the mess of the past" (Evans 2004: 84). Moreover the frame of ecology has granted preservation interests and activists a chance to be modern and reactionary at the same time (1998). It has revived the credibility of domestic and local interests in the face of a de-territorialized and de-sensitized character of industry and economy. This is how Latour explains the curious alliance between traditional monument care and nature conservation

which is active at Kokerei Hansa as well. The deliberate (con)fusion of boundaries which separate these distinct forms of resource management from each other, has made industrial heritage preservation gain credibility as a supplement to or even precondition for nature conservation. If the built environment of the coke plant is demolished it endangers the habitat of a wide range of species. As a carefully constructed assemblage consisting of seemingly inconsistent priorities they now seem proximate. Based on a shared interest the inseparable imbroglio of *Industrienatur* lends both preservationists and ecologists a progressive attribute. By relinquishing the veneration of pristine nature and deferring the subservient attitude to all things past *Industrienatur* allows for ecology to be part of industrial heritage as well as rendering nature conservation amenable to industrial landscapes.

This coalition serves the purpose of substantiating the claim that preservation as a cultural affirmation of past does not imply a rejection of progress, modernization or cultural change. It is only in contrast to the exhaustive use resources in the past that the careful, minimal, step-wise approaches to resources in the present seem imperative. By repairing rather than demolishing, preservation signals a change of attitude which undercuts the viability of the binary between the ancients and the moderns. By looking back and by caring for the resources at hand the present moves forward. Preservation, in effect, *is* change. The discourse of ecology and sustainable use of already existing resources undoubtedly makes Kokerei Hansa seem less exclusively occupied with the local sphere. The ability of agents, in our case preservationists, to translate the particular and local concern into a wider, public concern is something Latour ties to the civic regime where "worth is defined by the ability of one agent to disentangle oneself from particular and local interests so as to envision only the General Good" (Latour 1998: 224). Against the tabula rasa logic of industrial capital, the logic of industrial heritage in the form I have assessed here is an appeal to reframe domestic resources (local landmarks) as a global concern (caring for resources at hand). The marginal takes center stage and the separate layers of global and local seem less self-evident. The concern for the abstract entities like "biodiversity" and "the future" is translated into a specific, local and manageable task; the past thing, now here, close and at hand must be tended to and cared for. Without the conscious contrast the old industrial order and the aesthetic defamiliarization of the site, the disentanglement from the particular and the local would not have been as effective. The aesthetic of Kokerei Hansa is characterized by a double bind; it implies continuity with a past at the same time as its current form would not be possible without a conscious detachment from the past.

3.10 Beyond the heritage critique

In her classic anthropological account of pollution, disorder and danger, Mary Douglas (1966) claims that disorder spoils the pattern and at the same time is the very material of which the pattern consist. Where there is dirt there is system. The unwanted is disposed of so that order can be reestablished. This is a form of boundary maintenance and the context of the thing is fundamental to understand why it is perceived as an anomaly - as matter out of place. She guides our attention away from the thing itself and considers the context and the underlying systems of ordering and classification as the crucial element. It is difficult to write off the central importance of classifications and exclusions when dealing with industrial heritage sites like Kokerei Hansa. There some buildings are deemed more central than others. The compressor house from 1928 which holds the Demag gas compressors is one such gem "of particular value" at "the core" of the site that constitutes the "highlight of every tour" (Pfeiffer and Strunk 2010: 21, 50, 38).

Buildings that were added later have been defined as less central because they fell outside the listing decision from 1998 which focused on the buildings from the 1920s and 1930s. A huge gasometer was demolished in 2005 and other buildings have also been dispensed with. The practice of heritage listing can be likened with a sanctioned forgetting which makes the material legacy of the industrial past less overwhelming and more manageable. It is a form of boundary maintenance which make the remaining parts of the built environment seem even more indispensable. Any form of historic preservation is always already a form of prescribed forgetting. The authority vested in specialists to designate heritage allows some buildings, objects and sites to be defined as less important. With the assessment by art historians, historians of technology, archaeologists, architects and planners a threshold is established where certain objects fall within and others fall out and are destined to pass into oblivion. It was maintained during IBA Emscher Park that "to remember can also mean to admit transitoriness, not to create the impression that everything can be held onto" (in Raines 2011: 195). Debary (2004) goes further and claims that industrial heritage, more than a duty of remembrance is also a strategy of forgetfulness, a form of staging history fading into oblivion.

Subsequent to official heritage designation there are innumerable ways of going about preservation and making the industrial past sensible to visitors. These decisions range from the wording in phrase in a leaflet to prevent stones from falling from brick stone buildings.

Which action is more urgent and what decisions can wait? What can be done in the meantime to make a site accessible without intervening too hastily in the aura of a specific building or site? The critical view of cultural heritage as a negation of difference often exaggerates the stability of heritage both as a discursive and material practice. Kokerei Hansa illustrates how some things or buildings (like the compressor house) are confined to relative stability while others (such as the Sieberei) cannot be said to signify order or offer any stable, unilateral meaning.

The all too common binary of waste and heritage eclipses the compromises between man and matter, the provisional character, and the precautionary attitudes which sites like Kokerei Hansa actually bear witness of. This binary draws on the presumed violent antipathy to disorder, in the words of Douglas our condemnation of "any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications" (Douglas 1966). In a similar vein, the cultural geographer Tim Edensor understands heritage sites as commoditized memories which are grounded in spatially regulated and selective procedures which "banish epistemological and aesthetic ambiguity and disguise the innumerable ways of using objects, thereby limiting the interpretative and practical possibilities for those who encounter things" (Edensor 2005c: 312). Against this I will claim that specific instances of industrial heritage, either out of bare financial necessity or a more conscious conceptual approach - or probably both - include provisional solutions, trials and errors and minimal interventions. There is an innumerable range of choices and restrictions facing preservationists which escape the neat separation between canonized heritage and rejected waste. A professional tolerance for cognitive confusion and spatial ambiguity detract from the idea that a heritage site always occasion a spatial restructuring into "discrete, functional, single-purpose realms" (Edensor 2005c: 312).

Kokerei Hansa quite clearly provides a visual counterpoint to the modernist binaries that would suggest that such a rigid ordering of space could in fact be envisioned and it also implies that the discrete realms of things can be challenged with persuasive concepts like *Industrienatur* which actively encourages epistemological confusion. The core of the concept of *Industrienatur* as I have come to understand it is based on the recognition that the recession of the total industrial landscape produces irregularities which can never again be transformed into discrete, functional, single-purpose realms. In this regard it is important to take note of the of the foundation in charge of Kokerei which implied that the pressure of utilization can be stalled of in favor of a more precautionary approach which admits that we do not have the

full knowledge of potential uses, nor can we rule out the possibility of a buildings potential failure and inevitable demolition. To give things time is to admit the limited applicability of a strict rejection of the matter we call waste.

3.11 Conclusion

After a period of economic growth and optimism the giant smokestacks and blast furnaces of the Ruhr area gradually came to be regarded as part of a sustained structural economic crisis and were no longer the arbiters of future potential. As seen in this chapter the process of opening up and securing public access to former industrial plants has been an important part of the industrial heritage strategies in the Ruhr area. Public access to these sites is a key issue and at Kokerei Hansa this has been an overriding priority of the foundation in charge of the preservation of the former coke plant. In practice this entails securing the site structurally and making sure that physical obstacles to industrial sites have been removed. In the vicinity of abandoned production plants disused rail tracks and strips of fallow and contaminated land effectively hindered any systematic public encounter with the monuments of industry. Consequently the opening of Kokerei Hansa to a general public in the Ruhr is a crucial event for two interrelated reasons. Firstly, to designate former industrial plants as cultural heritage is to define them as a part of the larger public sphere. It is transformed from private property to a public asset. Although technically owned by a foundation, it is a public matter made accessible to anyone. Secondly, to designate former industrial plants as heritage makes them part of a wider public commitment.

The notion of *Industrienatur* which has been utilized as an important way to makes sense of the profoundly artificial nature of the Ruhr also raises some interesting questions concerning the limits of preservation in spatial, financial and aesthetic terms. At Kokerei Hansa *Industrienatur* has been employed as method of underscoring the convergences of industry and nature converge and over time form complex entanglements which challenges the idea of nature and culture preservation as two distinctly separate enterprises. This has recourse to classic ruin theory which describes the creative tension between culture and nature which is played out in the form of the ruin as a form oscillating between durability and decay, culture and nature. At Kokerei Hansa too, it has been important for preservationists to let the sense of mystery persist which is normally evoked by the sight of time passed by uninterrupted. At the same time it was acknowledged that the surrender of industrial machinery and buildings to

nature in practice was environmentally unviable and unjustifiable. The greater public commitment to take care of the old burdens means to prevent further contamination from taking place and in terms of preservation the actual survival of core buildings remains the overriding priority.

The preservation strategies at Kokerei Hansa range from full-fledged restoration to minimal intervention where some structures are less meticulously restored or are framed by the rapid growth of birches. The minimal intervention is meant to leave something to the imagination of the visitors. It is a puzzle where some pieces are deliberately left out. Although the original function of the coke plant is described in detail, the attraction of the site cannot be accounted for only in terms of a close correlation between the original function and its present form. Defamiliarization is a way of suspending our desire for immersion in the field of representations. The kind of defamiliarization known from the theatre or film where the actors turn to the audience to address them directly to create a shock effect can hardly be envisioned in the context of in situ industrial heritage preservation. However, the form of defamiliarization I think can apply to Kokerei Hansa is the way the surrounding regrowth makes the industrial structures seems strangely disjointed and out of place which again allows the aesthetic gaze to take a more prominent role. In situ preservation can certainly appeal to a close fit between representation and the represented creating an illusion of going back in time (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). The effect of Kokerei Hansa is wholly different in my opinion. There the curatorial efforts are emphasized and the novel ways in which the site can be interpreted is stressed repeatedly as are the new means of seeing the industrial landscape from a different perspective. The efforts of maintaining a volatile balance between forces of nature and a cultural legacy is communicated openly. The result of these interventions is that the authors of the site never attempt to hide behind the masterful illusion of realism, but instead choose to give us vital clues in how to approach the site as a giant art work. On the fringes and less distinct heritage areas where the concentration of listed buildings is less dense and the presence of trees and bushes is particularly apparent is also where we engage critically with the representation and inquire in how far the ruination is designed and controlled or if unchecked ruination is taking hold of the site. To lose oneself in the illusion is what the defamiliarization ultimately seeks to avoid and it does so by piercing through the privileged status of the representation. To this end I think Kokerei Hansa succeeds in making us critically interrogate the form of representation we see. Kokerei Hansa has been firmly and deliberately detached from its "in itselfness" (Bennett 2005: 527).

This changeability is a crucial dimension to be stressed here; it is a dimension important to the larger stakes of defamiliarization of an object, building site which increasingly appear as a stranger to itself. Any intervention dislocates the site's meaning from the exclusive associations with industrial production. The vast disparity between an industrial plant as a place of production and as a site designed for contemplation and excitement demonstrates this dilemma which arises where the productive forces no longer convincingly provide the exhaustive understanding of the site. The double bind of preservation is that historical relics are supposed both to resist change and acquire new properties to remain relevant. On the one hand, it is essential that they maintain a material concreteness regardless of changing cultural circumstances. On the other hand, they should be recognizable across different social situations and contexts. The desire to intervene as little as possible where possible and to let the material work with the forces of time and nature is a recognizable desire throughout the history of preservation.

The oxymoron concept of *Industrienatur* is different from the appeal of the untouched. It illustrates the impossibility of the immediate window onto the past. Instead it treats the redundant material as part of a tightly interwoven amalgam of nature and industry where the perception of nature as an idyllic refuge is thwarted. The new treatment of the industrial landscape, to which Kokerei Hansa belongs, is characterized by process of making visible, reopening and acknowledging the problems at hand. Aestheticization in this context is not something which works only to beautify and sanitize the industrial past. It also questions the given boundaries between waste and value and attempts to find the balance between consistency and changeability and between mere perseverance and active preservation. As I have claimed throughout this chapter, the tool of defamiliarization has been vital in this undertaking. The *Industrienatur* thriving at Kokerei Hansa offers a middle course between the controlled atmosphere of the museum and the indistinguishable, threatening chaos of a waste dump. As signs considered the industrial structures at Kokerei Hansa have been given a double coding; one the one hand they confirm the tremendous impact of the industrial modernity, on the other hand they admit its defeat. The green birches framing the coke battery at Kokerei Hansa might seem a minor detail, but it is essential to our understanding of the site.

CHAPTER 4 - THE 'MACHINE IN THE GARDEN': ODDA'S CONFLICTED INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

> "We can think of heritage as a negotiation between the present and the past conducted for the benefit of the future. Contrary to an inheritance where it is the donor who calls the shots, with heritage, the recipients can choose to accept or reject the legacy, or to select what they would like to preserve among what is on offer" (Schönle 2012: 737).

4.1 Introduction

The case which I will present in this chapter examines the disagreement over a long-abandoned smelter site in Odda in the southwestern part of Norway. The site of Odda Smelteverk hosted energy-intensive chemical production for close to a century and the bankruptcy of Odda Smelteverk in 2003 was a painful process. It meant not only the loss of a cornerstone in the local community, but also that the central area of the town would be occupied by abandoned buildings and decommissioned machinery. The bankruptcy also meant that whatever remained of marketable value at the site was likely to be sold in order to pay creditors. A conflict ensued; the short term mandate of the trustees to realize economic value clashed with the long term perspective of preservationists who claimed that the decommissioned smelter site represented a significant cultural asset of significant national importance. On the one hand preservationists would argue that important material remains of the industrial past are threatened and that it would be in the common, public interest to protect them, allowing for a discovery of an unacknowledged local heritage. On the other hand, business interests as well as many local politicians are more geared towards developing the site for commercial purposes.

As I will demonstrate in this chapter, the arguments used by heritage interests suggest that pride in the local past is something waiting to be rediscovered with expert aid and through a long-term commitment to an industrial heritage which would otherwise remain unacknowledged. The realization of industrial heritage requires both local enthusiasm and external support and validation. I will claim that the conflict is caused by the clash between a

long-term perspective on heritage value and more urgent concerns in the local community. The powerful discourse of heritage has altered the sense of ownership of the site and it has interfered with the habitual treatment of abandoned buildings. In contrast to the previous case where Kokerei Hansa in Dortmund was examined, the inhabitants of Odda have been more reluctant to commit wholeheartedly to the idea of industry as cultural heritage. Odda municipality still hosts successful industries such as two large enterprises in the metallurgic trade, Eramet Titanium & Iron AS in Tyssedal and Boliden Odda AS. We have to ask ourselves why one would want to preserve material relics and buildings of the industrial era, when they are still there, all around and perhaps not yet ready to be consigned to the scrap heap of history. If Latour (1996) is right in asserting that modernity needs a "public dump" where discarded and repressed material can be stored, we should maybe regard industrial heritage as a tool which prevents industrial relics from being buried as waste? In a similar vein, Hetherington (2004) sees museums as institutions which hold things in abeyance in the manner of unfinished disposal. We fail to get rid of things, dispose of them in a proper and irremediable way, and instead they are held in limbo between value and waste indefinitely.

The smelter site is both celebrated for its unrealized potential and derided for its exhausted opportunities. Our attitude has changed from considering heavy industry as a force which governs lives, mentalities and expectations to becoming more of a passive resource in need of recovery and protection. This cultural process of recovery presupposes that loss of the built environment entails a loss of cultural identity. Preservation work is seen as an attempt to compensate for the identity crisis which occurs when traditional industries decline. In this way the recovery of the material heritage of the industrial town enter into a reciprocal relationship with the reconstruction of identity (Dicks 2000b; Waterton 2011). Immense faith has been placed in the potential of valorization to occasion revitalization (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006). This is the raison d'être of contemporary industrial heritage geared towards the preservation of the smelter site in Odda. A culture is lost, neglected or underappreciated and the task at hand is to foster a wider recognition of this culture. This sense of loss is, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, not something we can assume a priori and it is also problematic to restrict heritage to an affirmative and consensual expression of shared and cherished identity.

The complexity of the case is a point worth stressing; not only does it involve numerous stakeholders and competing viewpoints which collectively have made the site look the way it does today; more an expression of political tug of war than an intact production site. In its

current state it is a site that has been shaped by years of neglect, negotiation, compromises and tense political conflict. The crucial issue concerns the extent of preservation: How much preservation can be sustained in a small municipality with a population of about 7.500 inhabitants? Preservation is one among several interests and its political presence has a bearing on the distribution of space and resources in a community. The opposing party is represented by property developers who oppose restrictions on site development and claim that heritage entails bureaucracy and overestimation of "old rubble". Although I will incorporate some of their arguments, my emphasis rests firmly on the discourse of preservation and the way it creates a new context of value for the abandoned smelter. This process alters the stakes in the conflict as the smelter site becomes tangled up in more abstract notions of ownership, responsibility and ideas of a shared heritage.

4.2 Previous research and key issues

This is, to my knowledge, the first comprehensive study of the heritage conflict in Odda from a cultural heritage studies perspective. Jørn Cruickshank (2009) has analyzed the conflict using discourse analytical approaches and a more recent study (Bakke 2013) looks at the conflict terms of its influence on local party politics in the municipality of Odda. A synopsis of the conflict with a focus on issues of codetermination in cultural heritage processes has been written by one of the central stakeholders in the process (Bårtvedt 2008). Ågotnes (2007a) claims that dominant, official narratives in industrial communities have been future-oriented and that this might explain the reluctance to address the industrial past in public discourse.

My contribution will also pay attention to the ways in which a sense of neglect of modern industrial heritage has contributed to a sense of urgency in safeguarding Odda Smelteverk and it will look at the ways that the specific materiality of industrial buildings represents a challenge to long-running ideas of value in cultural heritage management. The case provides ample evidence of the entanglements of heritage which will be considered in terms of the complex process of assembling categories, materials, discourses and expert statements from elsewhere to build a local industrial heritage. Moreover, it also a case which illustrates circumstances which may determine whether such assembling succeeds or fails.

I will focus on the demolition of two prominent disused lime kilns located on the southern end of the smelter site. I will discuss the process of valuation with regards to the lime kilns and I will show why they failed to become part of a final selection of listed structures. On the one hand the process of valuation requires a degree of universality so that several objects can be assessed according to some unchanging standards. On the other hand, every case of value assessment is unique and has to pay close attention to the local context and the specific requirements. Within this scope from universality to specificity, and from innate value to relative value, cultural heritage management makes compromises so that preservation is sensitive both to present-day popular opinion as well as the long-term interests of society. It involves questions about the sustainability of heritage designations and the limits of heritage growth (Harrison 2012). The notion of sustainability is one way to address how extensive a protection plan should be when weighed against other urgent concerns in a local context, such as the provision of jobs and allowing for commercial activities on the site. The vast scale of production plants makes it particularly challenging and the experiences of a broadened idea of heritage has made us acutely aware of a "crisis of accumulation" (Harrison 2012) and we have come to realize that "not everything can or should be preserved" (Buchli 2006).

This ties in closely with the view promoted by preservation that value is not settled once and for all but accommodate cultural change as well as changing conceptions of heritage (Riksantikvaren 1987, 1994). As already hinted at, it is important to investigate how and why identity has become so closely tied to historic preservation. The assumption that industrial heritage is a particularly privileged way to foster recognition of cultural identity will be analyzed with regards to the conflict in Odda. In order to fully grasp why industrial heritage has elicited a fierce rejection by members of the public in Odda we need to re-examine the prevailing understanding of industrial heritage as restitution of pride and affirmation of a distinct cultural identity. I search for the causes of the discord in preservation practice and examine why industrial heritage can turn out to be a source of disquiet and irreconcilable ideas of value. Why would industrial heritage - contrary to the idea of identity restitution - elicit a strong sense of 'disinheritance' (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996)?

The conflict potential, I will argue, is likely to increase when the property in question subtly shifts from descent to consent heritage and from a local to a non-local framework (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006). As Macdonald (2009b) has argued, cultural heritage anticipates notions such as globalism and universality at the same time as it is a way to accentuate and assert local culture. A balance between these two is difficult to establish and the local

understanding of self-determination and ownership has come under siege. To examine this issue further, I will borrow central concepts from Barbara Kirsehnblatt-Gimblett (2006) who has examined how and why heritage creates shifts in ownership. Temporally and spatially it is about merging two apparently separate functions into one and same heritage assemblage. This is us, but it is not us anymore. This is local but it also exceeds the local.

I will place the industrial heritage in a wider national context and address the issue of neglected heritage which is essential to understand the turn to industrial heritage in Odda. I will discuss key value criteria used to assess heritage value and point to the difficulties in establishing the symbolic importance and identity value of the smelter site before I proceed to a close analysis of the discord in Odda where I rely on the distinction between descent heritage and consent heritage developed by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006) and drawing on the idea of "scaling" whereby industrial heritage outgrows the local situation and is reassembled as a national and international concern (Macdonald 2009a, 2009b). The demolition of the two lime kilns in Odda allows us to investigate the issue of conflicted heritage. The notion of "creative destruction" in industrial modernity offers a contrasting view on the legacy of industrialism and it brings to the fore the conceptual and material challenges of preserving something that was perhaps never built to last (Bjerring Hansen 2009; Buchli 2006; Schumpeter 2010).

4.3 The historical context of Odda Smelteverk

For the most of its history the site discussed in this chapter was owned by the enterprise Odda Smelteverk (founded in 1924) that went bankrupt in 2003. Odda Smelteverk was an important enterprise in the Norwegian electrometallurgical industry and a cornerstone in the local community. The production of calcium carbide commenced in 1908 and in the following year cyanamide was produced by a British company called The North Western Cyanamide Company. Industrial production is still an essential part of community life in Odda, but the fall of Odda Smelteverk, confirmed a nationwide trend suggesting that the number of employees in the industrial sector has been declining steadily since the mid-1970s. In its prime in the early 1970s, more than 500 workers were employed at Odda Smelteverk. However, the liberalization of the energy market in the 1990s that government could no longer guarantee the provision of affordable hydro power which had been essential to the survival of energy-intensive industries (Angell 2006). The company Philipp Brothers

Chemicals acquired the smelter in 1998 but the demand for carbide had dropped and continued production was not regarded as viable. The new owners decided in 2003 not to meet the NOK 10 million loan requested by the board. Bankruptcy was declared on the 27th of March 2003 and the remaining 60 workers lost their jobs.

This was the end of a business that had been part of the Odda community for close to a century. After the dissolution of the political union between Norway and Sweden in 1905, business policies as well as the political climate ushered national industrial development. It was a decisive period for the preparation of the political framework of Norway which formed the industrial ambitions of the newly independent country. Many politicians wanted to retain domestic control over the vast supply of natural resources, and particularly the rivers and waterfalls. Against a backdrop of extensive presence of foreign capital, political elites sought to regulate the access to these natural resources through legislation. The Concession Act of 1908 meant that a licensing system was introduced whereby foreign capital had to fulfil certain requirements to be allowed access to the so-called white coal. The system implied that waters and rivers would be transferred to national government upon the expiry of a license. The laissez-faire attitude of the mid-19th-century where speculators could gain control over waterfalls and resell them with profit was replaced with a system of licensing which was meant to benefit public interests and domestic capital.

Technical innovation in the course of the 19th century had allowed for a more efficient production of hydroelectricity and access the huge reservoirs of water meant that power could be produced affordably and predictably. Several industrial towns in Norway emerged in close proximity to such water reservoirs. Examples include Sauda, Høyanger, Årdal, Ålvik and in all of these places electrometallurgical production commenced roughly around the turn of the 20th century. Earlier still, textile production had commenced in proximity to rivers and waterfalls which would be harnessed for power production. Odda's history is seen as typical of the so-called second industrial phase which was characterized by the utilization of affordable electricity for chemical and metallurgic production (Föhl and Höhmann 2010). The industrial venture in Odda started at the same time as other major industrial companies in Norway. The entrepreneur and industrial pioneer, Sam Eyde, who established the power company Aktieselskapet Tyssefaldene, was also one of the founders of major industrial enterprises like Norsk Hydro and Elkem. In 1906 Aktieselskabet Tyssefaldene commenced to produce power for the carbide factory which was being planned in Odda to start production in 1908. Sam Eyde had agreed with the British company Sun Gas Company that Tyssefaldene

would provide the factory in Odda with electricity from the power plant in Tyssedal. The most important reason for placing a huge carbide smelter in Odda was the ice-free harbor and the vast supply of water from the mountain plateau east of Tyssedal which has a rich supply of water. One local historian claims that the waters in the mountains east of Tyssedal were the source of everything which has happened since (Gravdal and Våde 2006). These waters and the technology required to harvest their energy made it possible for Odda to enter the industrial age.

Before foreign industrialists turned their attention to Odda, it was a major tourist destination with as many as ten hotels in the late 19th century. Odda is located in a region called Hardanger which held a position as the heartland of the national romantic imagination in the 19th century. Its dramatic landscape was characterized by the priest Mikael Hertzberg as "the source and breeding ground of romanticism" (Hertzberg quoted in Fossåskaret 2007: 17). He was a contemporary observer who regretted the burgeoning industrialization in Hardanger for aesthetic and moral reasons. The cultural upheavals caused by industrial development were regarded as a threat to the native culture. The sympathetic rural culture is "expelled by the brutal capital and modern heavy industry" (ibid). In contrast to the urban elites and official classes the freehold farmer was safely rooted and could still exhibit important traits of rooted Norwegian culture uninterrupted by centuries of Danish Rule (1536-1814). For a long time the rural culture were regarded as the quintessential Norwegian heritage and it is in line with this view that industrial development seemed like a "machine in the garden" (cfr. Marx 2000)

4.4 Odda Smelteverk after the bankruptcy

Travelling southeast from Bergen to Odda with car one catches a glimpse of the hydro power plant in Tyssedal on the east bank of Sørfjorden before arriving in Odda. Driving along the winding county road along Sørfjorden, the northern perimeter of the Folgefonna national park lies to the west and the steep mountains of Tyssedal to the east. Hidden from view are the vast water reservoirs on the mountain plateau which provided enough affordable energy to transform Tyssedal and Odda into industrial towns. The view of mountains and the bright turquoise fjord is suddenly interrupted by the large zinc smelting plant of Boliden at Eitrheimsneset. This zinc smelter replaced farm lands and fruit orchards in the late 1920s and

it is still in operation. A short drive later the town of Odda and the smelter site appears. It is not difficult to see why it has caused such dissent.

Figure 4.1 - The southern end of the smelter site as of September 2010. Lime kilns in the front and the red carbide furnace in the far back. Today the fences have been removed along with most of the buildings.

It covers about twenty-two acres and occupies a substantial part of the central town area, probably about one third of the town. The smelter sits between the main road and the river Opo which constitutes the eastern perimeter of the site. A pedestrian shopping street constitutes the boundaries of the site to the west. To the north, next to the estuary of the river, an import harbor is located where raw materials used in production arrived.

The site consists of a large range of buildings serving the three production lines of products carbide, cyanamide and dicyanamide. The cluster of buildings in the northern section hails from the early years of operation (1907-1912). These buildings are mainly brick stone-clad buildings and relate to the production of cyanamide. In addition to the main plant of the cyanamide production some smaller buildings are also located in the northern section. These

buildings leave an unobtrusive impression because of their fairly modest scale. They used to host facilities such as offices, workshops, a smithy and the factory showers. Most of these buildings have been reused for public cultural purposes or by small-scale entrepreneurs. A house of literature has been established in the bath house and the smithy currently hosts a science center run by the Museum of Hydropower and Industry. Further south a range of larger and more technical structures covered with steel plates offered a sharp contrast to the rustic appeal of older brick stone buildings. A large modernization effort was carried out in the 1950s and a number of buildings on the southern end hail from this period. The lime kilns were also part of this modernization in the 1950s when they replaced a line of older kilns. The vast shell roof structure where raw materials like lime and coke were stored before it was processed into carbide is designed in a clean modernist style and has been preserved.

Figure 4.2 - The raw material storage and reloading area, photo by NVIM/Bj. Eidnes AS, 1959.

The most striking structure of the entire site is a huge red building is located in the center of the site. The exteriors give away no hint of the central position it held in the production and why it was listed despite its young age. It was built in 1976 and it stores the largest carbide

furnace in the world. It was active for 25 years and production started in 1982 (Holme and Grønn 2011).

Figure 4.3 - Exterior shot of the house of furnace III. Built in 1976 and in operation from 1982, the furnace was listed in 2011 on the basis of technological importance. The red metal sheets store a furnace which was once the largest of its kind in the world.

This closed structure, clad on all four sides with steel plates meant a reduction of emissions. Two adjacent furnaces from the 1930s and 1950s respectively were demolished in 2008. This meant diminishing the legibility of the carbide production line. Similar to a large number of other structures they have been cleared from the site and we are left with only a very partial impression of the smelter. Production equipment has also been dismounted and sold abroad. Parts of the chemical production facilities were resurrected in Dawukou, China where the second largest producer of Cyanamide in the world is currently located.

Visiting the site in September of 2010, I noticed how the lime kilns had suffered from long-time neglect. Pending a final decision on the extent and form of preservation on the smelter site, the site was at the time caught in a deadlock between lofty ambitions of re-use for cultural tourism and a resolute down-to-earth pragmatism which questioned the viability of the heritage scheme. The condition of the structures at the time seemed like an apt reflection of the political standstill and indecision. Weeds and birch trees were clinging to the structure and the red sheet metal had turned grey over the years.

Figure 4.4 - Lime kilns

As I soon learned, there had for a long time been difficulties in agreeing on a plausible model for re-use of the buildings and not least find ways to finance such re-use. Industrial production in Odda paved the way for prosperity and high levels of municipal welfare, especially in the

post-war era when a hospital, a library and a cinema was established in the small town. Today however the municipal budgets do not offer the leeway for acquiring and maintaining all of the listed buildings on the site. Most of the buildings that are currently listed were sold cheaply in August of 2007 to a private enterprise called Smelteverket Næringsutivkling AS. The enterprise has been critical of extensive listing as it allegedly undermines the development of new business activity on the site. The listed buildings are still to a large extent owned privately by property developers. This means that the level of maintenance of historic buildings often reflects the ambitions or the financial abilities of the owner. The level of neglect in 2010 was more than anything a demonstration of political limbo and the uncertainty about the extent of the preservation plan.

4.5 Preservation of Odda Smelteverk

Heritage interests tried to communicate the cultural and historic value of the lot as early as 2003. The County Directorate for Cultural Heritage (*Fylkeskonservatoren i Hordaland*) informed the municipality of Odda that the site would be subject to partial protection that would cover about 4,5 acres of a grand total of 50 acres (Hardanger Folkeblad 2003). The decision coincided with the restoration of the cathedral-like Tyssedal hydro power station which had been legally protected since 2000 and was at the time still undergoing repair. Due to the close historical ties between the smelter in Odda and the power station in Tyssedal which supplied it with power, the idea was to reflect the close integration of the two sites. It is a common approach within industrial heritage preservation to think in terms of the production line so that the production process may be demonstrated for future generations in a legible and tangible manner. In Odda, this meant that the buildings, structures and production equipment had to be saved from demolition or from further disassembling. The County Directorate for Cultural Heritage claimed that the municipality of Odda was the best location for preservation of a heritage which attested to the industrial development in Norway in the early 20th century. They decided to include seven buildings on the list whilst the final decision concerning the future of the smelter was pending. The temporarily preserved buildings included the three lime kilns (in two separate structures), one coke dryer, a mixer for raw material, the cable house which connected the import docks with the production area, a bridge and a characteristic shell roof which served as storage and sorting area for raw materials. By preserving these buildings the production line would be secured with its most significant

elements. The decision would mean that the listed buildings could not be demolished or disassembled, and that every attempt at changing the structures would need advance approval by the county authority.

The ambition of the preservation interests in Odda has for years been to re-purpose the site as a testament to the importance of the town in the industrial development in Norway in the 20th century and allow the site to host new activities. Proponents of a far-ranging protection argue that re-use aids the rebirth not only of the site, but of a town which has experienced de-population after the demise of its key enterprise. The idea that the smelter could eventually be inscribed on the World Heritage list was given weight in 2007 when Hordaland county authority together with Odda municipality submitted an application for the smelter to be part of Norway's tentative list of world heritage properties. It was approved in 2009. A World Heritage status is not likely to be granted in the short run, however. The local conflict made the National Directorate for Cultural Heritage (Riksantikvaren) await local political consensus on the issue before any UNESCO application could be supported nationally. Due to the lack of public support and political consensus in Odda, the National Directorate for Cultural Heritage has stated that the joint nomination with Rjukan/Notodden will have to proceed without Odda/Tyssedal in the first round.

There are many indications of just how politicized the preservation issue has become. Business interests, property developers, trade unions, preservation bodies, a local museum and politicians on the local, regional and national level have all engaged in the issue. Many attempts of redefining the industrial built environment as important cultural heritage have been fiercely resisted by a number of local inhabitants, trade unions and politicians. Numerous claims have been made in local and regional newspapers that the site consists of a collection of useless, rusty old sheds which should be demolished (Bårtvedt 2008). Two thousand signatures were collected in a petition against extensive listing. A political party called Nye Odda as well as interest groups have formed because of the issue and in 2007 a consultative referendum was held in order for politicians to get a clearer idea of what the inhabitants thought of the prospect of a World Heritage application. Should the municipality continue working with the UNESCO World Heritage application which had commenced in 2005? The population was split even and the vote on the 10th of September 2007 there was only a very marginal majority (51%) against the UNESCO bid. It did not provide any unequivocal advice from the population whether a World Heritage status was in the interest of the inhabitants or not. Many locals were perplexed that these large, rusty relics could qualify

as national monuments of industry. Local industry and labor unions were far from convinced that industrial heritage was a preferred solution. One local union leader claimed that the smelter site had turned into a playpen of academics (Aftenposten 2007). The union leader did not agree with the idea that the smelter was worthy of protection status based on its historical value and added that "metal constructions of this kind cannot be what we are in want of after more than hundred years of heavy industry" (Aftenposten 2007: n. pag., my translation). Opposing the UNESCO bid, he felt that money should be invested in providing new work opportunities instead. The furnace houses were nothing but "empty shells" "What really matters", claimed the local union leader, "was the social working environment and the community of workers" (Bergens Tidende 2007: n. pag., my translation). This statement clearly challenges the notion that material relics constitute the best means of gaining a privileged access to the industrial past. The values stressed are rather immaterial values bound up in the fellowship of workers and in quotidian practices that are decidedly past and beyond our reach. It is a way of stating that only the insider can ever achieve the intimate and proper knowledge of the smelter.

Here, the innate understanding of place and tradition is reinforced against a more distanced and scientific material heritage evaluation. The difference between firsthand experience and specialists' acquired auxiliary knowledge of industrial culture is accentuated. The meaningful relationship between the buildings in question and the community of workers was severed when the smelter went bankrupt and work stopped. The physical presence of the structures in the central town area is today perceived as literally standing in the way of new development. The union leader regards preservation as an option which overemphasizes the importance of the built environment to the extent that it will undermine future development.

The interesting thing to note from the debate in Odda is how the material presence of industrial structures is seen either as a material confirmation of a common identity, or, on the contrary, as a physical presence which undermines self-determination and autonomy. The pragmatic perspective differs sharply from the commemorative perspective. Both preservation and local labor unions engage in a form of value assessment that is not immediately available to all of us. The union leader emphasizes the actual work experience which makes the physical relics seem like empty shells long devoid of any meaningful activity. Preservation stress that value assessment requires specialist competence and that the understanding of what counts as cultural heritage is changing rapidly. In my conversation with Per Morten Ekerhovd the point about the shifting idea of heritage value was stressed time and time again. He

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claimed that an assessment based on mere appearances would actually prevent us from recognizing their significance:

> "If we disregard the presence of scrap and rusty plates made of corrugated iron, then we will find that good and proper aesthetic qualities lie hidden at Odda Smelteverk. We should be a little cautious of employing an aesthetic idea of preservation as the idea of what is pleasing changes with time" (Ekerhovd 2010: , my translation).

The ability not to take the smelter at face value, but look instead for the proper value hidden behind rust and dust of an old, abandoned smelter is regarded as key to a de-aestheticized idea of heritage. In this sense, the smelter obtains the quality of a hidden treasure which can be unveiled by the able eye which sees beyond mere appearance. While this argument put forth by a specialist in preservation can easily be met with claims of snobbery, the argument from the local labor unions stress values that seem equally esoteric - immaterial and bound up in the actual work environment. To him, the physical structure in and of itself does not constitute anything significant. Its value is no longer available to any outsider but a question of lived experience. An unbridgeable gap seems to have opened up between preservationists and the wider public.

Preservation interests have claimed that the recognition of value requires long-term awareness-raising. In my conversation with Anne Gravdal at the Norwegian Museum of Hydropower and Industry the issue of awareness-raising was discussed. The museum has acted as a committed, public supporter of preservation at the smelter site. This has implied that a substantial amount of time and energy has been invested into convincing people about the unacknowledged value of the smelter site.

> "I am not surprised about the resistance [against preservation]. There will always be people who are unable to see that the site might become attractive[…].The 'ugly buildings' at the smelter - and of course they are ugly looking the way they do today - they might become attractive one day. It is about the art of seeing just that. And if you can't see it you will not be able to imagine [their appeal]. And then you might just as well demolish them. To convince people about [their potential] was clearly something that would present us with a challenge" (Gravdal 2010: , my translation).

Industrial heritage in this account is something which requires the ability to see buildings and landscapes, and practices in a certain way, with an eye to what they *might* become in the future. It takes persuasion and the premise is that without a long-term commitment of the

heritage sector, the local cultural heritage will remain unapproved by the general public. Heritage interests regard themselves as educators who translate the idle heritage into an acknowledged heritage. They are needed to assure that people actually *see* the heritage values present in a community. Gravdal also stresses the role played by arbiters of heritage in making the public aware of the potential value of the smelter in Odda.

In one of the first efforts to develop a comprehensive national policy for industrial heritage preservation in Norway called *Bevaring av tekniske og industrielle kulturminner* (Norsk kulturråd 1988) the point that industrial heritage will remain an unacknowledged resource without external and specialist guidance is reiterated. The result is a practice which depends on the approval and acknowledgment of the specialist. Awareness of one's own cultural heritage is apparently difficult to acquire in and of the local context alone. The question is dealt with in more detail in the document *Recent cultural heritage: Preservation value and selection criteria* (*Kulturminner fra nyere tid: Verneverdi og utvelgelseskriterier*) published by the National Directorate for Cultural Heritage in 1987. It gives an account of heritage values and selection criteria and it repeats the claim that external validation is required for local recognition to take root:

> "The cultural heritage's identity forming capacity - the identity value – depends on the feelings of individuals. This raises the question of who will assess the identity value. The most reasonable solution would be for the local society or the concerned parties to make this assessment. This requires however an awareness of cultural specificity which cannot always be expected. Support and inspiration from the outside seems to be necessary. The specialists that are usually found within cultural heritage management (ethnologists, art historians, historians, archaeologists, architects) are not educationally trained to assess the identity value. […] Identity value is something which is brought to people's attention when the identity forming values are gone" (Riksantikvaren 1987: 15, my translation).

The risk involved in this reservation is that what seems like a legitimate rejection of heritage ends up being mistaken for historical ignorance and lacking self-awareness. The local rejection of a particular perspective on local heritage seems excluded from the available courses of action. At the same time as local heritage is supposed to be sensitive to the local sphere, it distrusts the ability of the public to fully appreciate the values at hand. Here, we are reminded of a particular dynamic in the valuation process where 'local culture' is often the means and the aim of a heritage process, but needs external stimulus to materialize.

Conflicts over heritage values are to a certain degree anticipated by heritage interests because of what they perceive as the vanguard nature of the work. The self-imposed obligation of cultural heritage management is to expand, supplement, challenge, revise and broaden existing notions of cultural heritage. An internal logic like this renders dubious any simple buttressing of established categories of heritage or conventional understanding of cultural heritage.

Official policies seem to the warrant a role played by preservation and heritage authorities in a form of aesthetic education. The criteria employed by heritage management include a wide variety of different notions of value ranging from historic value, identity value, authenticity, age value, uniqueness, scientific value, architectural value, geographical value, milieu value, use value, learning value to symbolic value (Norsk kulturråd 1988: 48). To assess heritage value based on these criteria will only to a certain extent match the common and widespread notion of heritage according to the report:

> "The preservation criteria are incentives which may lead to listing. Some of the criteria currently in use reflect common and widespread ideas. Others, in contrast, emerge as a result of decoding more complex attitudes and considerations. In order to measure these, a specific professional knowledge is often required" (Norsk kulturråd 1988: 47, my translation).

What we can infer from these accounts is that preservation employs a set of criteria where some are more likely than others to cause debate and conflict. Identity value and symbolic value would be more difficult to establish than age value or notions of material authenticity and for this reason expert assessment "may at times clash with a more common conception of cultural heritage" (Norsk kulturråd 1988). The underlying and unresolved dilemma is that the cultural heritage of local community needs to be discovered with expert aid. When a preservation scheme seeks to safeguard a functional totality - like a fairly complete production line in our case – defunct technical structures, pipelines and conveyor belts can be deemed irreplaceable to interpret the production process later. This is particularly a challenge where a large range of buildings constitute a value, *en bloc*, because of their interdependence in a greater production line and every structure seems to play an indispensable role (Norsk kulturråd 1988).

4.6 Neglected heritage? The industrial past and the national canon

The turn to industrial heritage can be explained partly out of a sense of historical neglect as well as a gradual reworking of central concepts within preservation practice. Representativity has become a key issue in recent practice and initiatives aiming for a greater presence of industrial culture in the national heritage canon have become a central priority. Norway was industrialized, but not the Norwegians. This claim was made in the 1980s by an unnamed Norwegian Labour politician in a conversation with the German author Hans Magnus Enzensberger. The politician elaborates on his point:

> "We have only just industrialized the country to a certain extent. But ourselves? Are we industrialized? Our ways of thinking, our sense of time and our mentality? Not at all! For the Swedes and the Germans it is different. They love their industry. It has always been their advantage, and today it is their disadvantage […] We have never had a Ruhr, a Manchester or a Turin in this country. You will not find any industrial regions in Norway. Only occasionally do you arrive in a remote valley where everything - houses, trees, stones – is coloured white because of a cement factory" (Enzensberger 1987: 201, my translation).

Finally, the social democrat suggests that the omission of industrial culture extends to the very core of the national artistic canon

> "The only people you will see [in the National Gallery of Arts] are farmers, sailors and fishermen. The industry is missing. The idea of the modern is met with disdain. Not one single image will illustrate industrial production processes. The existence of city is disavowed. It has no place in our dreams" (Enzensberger 1987: 203, my translation).

The attempt of the politician of tapping into a collective unconscious is always prone to caricature, particularly on this level of abstraction. In historical terms, however, the attempt to make labor history and industrial production part of a larger national heritage is a fairly recent undertaking gaining headway in the 1980s. A common argument is that the story of industrial labor and foreign capital has been suppressed by other and more nation-specific histories and that this oversight has granted industrial heritage a particular urgency today. Greater attention was paid to the objects, technologies and sites of industry as heritage. Several key industries in Norway declined in the 1970s and in time became part of an effort of heritage authorities to salvage a representative selection of industrial sectors. Currently there are ten nationally prioritized industrial heritage sites. Among these we find museums that cover the wood pulp industry (Klevfos Industrimuseum est. 1980),

mining (Folldal Gruver, est. 1988), textile manufacturing (Salhus Tricotasjemuseum, est. 2001), wollen mills (Sjølingstad Uldvarefabrik, est. 1989) and the Norwegian Museum of Hydropower and Industry in Tyssedal.

The development of industrial heritage in Norway started comparatively late and it soon came to be seen as a sort of compensation for the marginal position of the industrial worker in the national historic imagination and the marginal role of industrial culture in social history museums and in the selection of cultural heritage properties more generally. This sense of neglect was reiterated in 2005 in the most recent national policy document on cultural heritage issued by the Ministry of Environment:

> "Cultural heritage related to businesses such as trade and industry is poorly represented in the body of preserved buildings, despite the importance of such businesses for the economy and settlement patterns in Norway since the 18th century" […] The period from 1850 until today is also poorly represented and this is unfortunate, given the growth of cities and communities during this period. The rapid changes in the contemporary society requires that greater attention is paid to the recent past (Miljøverndepartementet 2005: 22, my translation).

The sense of neglect can also be read as a demonstration of the ways in which industrial heritage challenges the traditional idea of a national heritage. It has been claimed on numerous occasions that industrial heritage in general and at Odda Smelteverk specifically deviates from the aesthetic orthodoxies of a national heritage (Bårtvedt 2008; Riksantikvaren 1994; Røyrane 2011). As head of the County Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Hordaland, Per Morten Ekerhovd has been involved in the process of safeguarding heritage values at the smelter site for several years. In 2006 when the county got involved in the case of Odda Smelteverk they had to argue that preservation was a legitimate stakeholder in the negotiation process. Not only was this opposed to the interests of the administrators of the bankrupt estate, it was also unlikely to meet popular approval in claiming Odda Smelteverk as a valuable piece of national heritage. There are several reasons for this, but Ekerhovd maintains that some aspects of the industrial culture and history make it different from a more common perception of national heritage. In my conversation with Ekerhovd he pointed out that Norwegian industrial heritage relied on international capital and foreign entrepreneurs:

> "Concerning industrial heritage, it clearly moves the national more into the background. What we encounter at Odda Smelteverk are the remains of a type of technology and economy and history of an era that changed large parts of the world." […] (Ekerhovd 2010: , my translation)

Ekerhovd demonstrates what makes the preservation of an industrial ensemble different from a more conventional notion of national heritage:

> "In Norway the cultural heritage has for a long time been based on national categories and entities and maybe like […], cultural monuments that have been quite national in character and that are supported by the Norwegian history and has to a limited degree been interested in seeking international comparison and international inspiration and suggestions on how to move forward" (ibid.)

Understandably, the turn towards industrial heritage is often seen in connection with the compensation for a historic neglect in the heritage practice and the museum sector. An overriding concern today is to secure a representative and sufficiently broad selection of different kinds of heritage. The apparent neglect of industrial heritage is usually seen in relation to the remarkably consistent idea of a national cultural identity favored by the national cultural elites in the 19th century and the robustness of the so-called "folk museum paradigm" (Eriksen 2009b; Ågotnes 2007b). The folk-museum paradigm stressed the idea of an authentic Norwegian culture reaching back to the heyday of the medieval period when Norway was not under foreign Danish rule (1536-1814) and it had clearly privileged folklore from the agricultural districts of Eastern Norway: "The real, the authentic Norwegian [identity] was easier to find in the long valleys of Eastern Norway than among the fishers in coastal areas or the workers in the cities" (Nilsen 2003: 222, my translation). The dominant trait of folk museum paradigm which continues to influence even a contemporary notion of cultural heritage is the idea that museums of cultural history are predominantly tools of identity formation (Eriksen 2009b).

In line with the antagonistic view of heritage as a battle of representations, Odda Smelteverk, has mobilized vastly different conceptions of cultural heritage and made them seem almost mutually exclusive. The contrast between industrial modernity and the traditional farm life has consistently been employed as a way to understand communities like Odda and to identify what makes them stand apart from their neighbors. In Odda local authors have consciously employed the contrast between the idyllic setting of national romanticism and the noisy industrial community of Odda to full extent. An enduring allegory likens Odda with "a monster in the middle of the national orchard" (Grytten in Wold 2005). This depiction is an attempt of consciously re-appropriating a derogative stigma and in a playful manner express

affection for the industrial town which diverts from the constricted ideals of national romanticism. Odda is the wrong stich in the Hardanger seam according to the local author Frode Grytten who writes compassionately about the rugged character of his home town. Without the industrial bastards of Odda and Ålvik, the Hardanger region would to him be "unbearable" (Grytten in Wold 2005). A similar kind of affection has developed in Odda as it has for the Ruhr area where it is claimed that a distinctive industrial aesthetic needs to be cultivated in a playful, self-reflexive and self-ironical way (Rieker and Zimmermann 2007). Proponents of a comprehensive preservation of the Odda smelter refer to it as the gem in the crown and a "sleeping beauty" (Bårtvedt 2008: 19). The clash of the natural scenery and the industrial town is highly apparent and something which forms the backbone of the by now self-confident idea of a machine in the garden". Any description of Odda will stress how it is characterized by a different rhythm, attitude and scenery than its neighboring and largely rural communities (Bårtvedt 1996). The legacy of industrial production seems a little rebellious compared to traditional notions of national heritage constituted by the folk museum paradigm.

The tenacity of this scheme of modern versus traditional culture is demonstrated in the fight for recognition of the industrial culture. While they had earlier endorsed industrial modernity, Norwegian preservation societies took a turn to a more reactionary and backward-looking attitude in the early 20th century, according to Christensen (2011). Industrial mass-production was scorned and instead the cultural, nation-building elite desired something "real, original and Norwegian" (Christensen 2011: 73, my translation). These particular qualities were embodied not by the expanding industrial working class, but rather by peasants. The great number of local village museums and local history museums that had been gathering headway since the early 1900s could have included a social history of modern industrial life, but according to Nilsen (2003) the inclusion of working class perspectives only succeeded in the late 1970s when labor unions collaborated with museums in a celebration of industrial working class culture. When the first museum dedicated the industrial worker opened to the public on the 20th of June 1988 at the site of Vemork Hydro Power Station, it was considered a long overdue commemoration of labor. The antagonistic model of heritage was reiterated. The museum director Bjørn Edvardsen (1988) noted that as many as 75 per cent of the social history museums in Norway were dedicated to the life in agricultural communities and consequently this implies that one particular idea of national heritage has been privileged at the cost of another. The neglect of the industrial working class culture warranted a belated commemoration of the industrial worker and his contribution to the development of the

modern welfare state. More recently it has been claimed that the Norwegian labor movement has destroyed the monuments to their own social democratic project whose purpose is either forgotten or repressed (Jakobsen 2014).

Whether or not this form of institutional neglect of labor heritage is empirically verifiable is beside the point. The sense of neglect has had a definite, real-life impact on preservation practice in recent years. The heritage of working men and women are emphasized more often and it has also become a national priority of the National Directorate for Cultural Heritage. In official policies as well, a new attitude towards industrial culture emerged from the 1980s onwards. Here too the neglect of industrial culture was identified and accounted for, at least partly, in terms of an excessive focus on life in traditional peasant communities. The traditional predominance of the folk-museum paradigm is more or less confirmed and challenged in official policy documents. A report from 1988 issued by the Arts Council of Norway (Norsk Kulturråd) stated that in contrast to the one-sided 19th century interest in peasant cultures, more emphasis had gradually been placed on the socio-historical and ethnographical variety of the national heritage (Norsk kulturråd 1988). This would benefit national maritime history and heritage. Efforts to preserve the industrial heritage, however, remained more sporadic and isolated. The report maintains that the notion of "industry" was regarded as an opposition to traditional crafts and inherited cultural traditions of peasant society. Mass production was always seen as something that would undermine the tradition of handcrafted goods and vernacular building techniques. While there was traditionally a marked interest by preservationists in the technology of saw mills, road constructions and milling plants, a polarization had allegedly developed between the culture of heavy industry and technologies of the primary industry. The former was always considered a threat to the remains of the primary industry and its associated crafts.

The same imbalance had already been noted in the White Paper *Bygnings- og fornminnevernet* which stated that cultural heritage management usually entailed focus on the preservation of large single objects "such as farm houses and monuments of the privileged strata of the population. To a larger extent the work will now concentrate on the life and work of ordinary people" (Miljøverndepartementet 1986-1987: 15, my translation). In essence, this sense of neglect has made industrial heritage seem far more urgent. It became a national priority in 1987 and the fact that material culture of the industrial community had been suppressed made it all the more justifiable. In another national policy document from 1988, Odda and Tyssedal were described as important icons of the Norwegian hydro-powered

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electrometallurgical industry (Norsk kulturråd 1988). At the time a museum was being planned. The work with the museum of the industrial town *Odda industristadsmuseum- og Arkiv*[1] commenced as a pilot study in Odda in 1985. Today what is currently known as *Norsk Vasskraft- og Industristadmuseum (Norwegian Museum of Hydropower and Industry)* has acted as one of the strongest supporters of preserving a wide specter of buildings from Odda Smelteverk.

The attempts of the preservation practice in the 1980s to break with the prevailing negative (and it was claimed "bourgeois") assessment of industrial culture was still in 1988 perceived as a vanguard activity; in the sense that it could "enter into conflict with common and widespread ideas of what is worthy of protection" (Norsk kulturråd 1988: 47, my translation). The primary interest of preservation in this context is to promote a wider and more representative socio-historical perspective on cultural heritage. In terms of content the national heritage has come to include a wider specter of cultural history in line in these policy documents. The criteria which determines value on a case-to-case basis does not necessarily entail a profound break with the earlier preservation policies. It would be wrong to claim that the preservation of Odda Smelteverk is motivated by a turn to "the life and work of ordinary people" or that industrial heritage preservation in any inherent or categorical way differs from the stress on singularity, age and technological/architectural prowess of other forms of preservation.

4.7 The final verdict – expendable structures

How was industrial heritage value of Odda Smelteverk substantiated by the National Directorate for Heritage in the final listing decision? Unlike the County Directorate for Cultural Heritage it did not grant the lime kilns any reprieve. This particular decision regarding Odda Smelteverk will act as the fundamental threshold regarding the physical appearance of the old smelter for years to come. The list of structures subject to legal protection will shape the form of the site and the activities taking place. It also gives us a clear idea of the value criteria that have influenced the extent of and purpose with industrial heritage preservation at Odda Smelteverk:

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[1] *Odda industristadsmuseum* [lit.:*Odda Industrial Town Museum*] changed its name in 1994 to *Vestnorsk industristadsmuseum* [lit.:*Western Norwegian Industrial Town Museum*] and finally in 2000 to *Norsk Vasskraft- og Industristadmuseum* [lit.: *Norwegian Hydro Power and Industrial Town Museum*, off.: *Norwegian Museum of Hydropower and Industry*] which is its current name.

"The purpose of the preservation is to secure an industrial monument of international and national value. The preservation of selected buildings/structures on the smelter is done with the purpose of protecting significant physical relics. These represent, on the one hand, particular techno-historical values in the plant and on the other hand they illustrate the historical importance and the activities of the site as a totality. The preservation will furthermore safeguard historic architectural values as well as the visual panoramic impact of the smelter in the townscape" (Holme and Grønn 2011: 2, my translation).

The stress here is clearly on the techno-historical values of the smelter site. The visual panoramic impact seems less important than the role played by a technical structure or building in the production of calcium carbide, cyanamide and dicyanamide. The issue is to establish how central the particular object/building was within a larger production sequence. These dimensions are fairly straightforward to determine. For how long was it in operation and how important was it to the production of a specific product and in how far did the enterprise contribute to technological innovation and economic development? The description above demonstrates the privilege that is given to technological/architectural significance in a national and international context.

The lime kilns were not covered by legal protection because they allegedly would not stand out significantly compared to other sites internationally (Holme and Grønn 2011). An important consideration in this decision was to assure that the minimum requirements for a World Heritage listing could be maintained in the future while also allowing for new development. It places the specific buildings and structures in relation with other comparable sites globally and emphasizes uniqueness as the most important criterion. In this context the lime kilns were not considered central as the carbide production line had already been severely reduced due to extensive demolition. The latter part of the justification which stresses the visual panoramic impact of the smelter in the townscape could open for a consideration of the symbolic significance or identity value of these structures. The lime kilns could be of greater relevance if the landmark quality and monumentality was given additional weight and it would be recognized as a vital part of the skyline. Precisely this line of reasoning was employed by the County Directorate for Cultural Heritage which stressed the visual impact in the townscape as a significant feature in favor of listing the lime kilns. The directorate suggested that the lime kilns should be made part of the final listing for the following reason:

> "The kilns are important parts of the production sequence from raw material to finished calcium carbide. They are conspicuous and tall and highly visible on the site. They have an important visual significance with a clear and undisclosed machinelike industrial look characterized by winding pipes and open steel constructions" (Hordaland fylkeskommune 2011: 7, my translation).

This approach would establish the landmark quality as a vital element on the site as it points to how the kilns are integral to the larger townscape. The facts that the functional core is visible and makes it stand out from other production buildings where the production purpose is not revealed by the exteriors. The open steel structure would however turn out to be a quality weighing heavily against preservation. Leading up to the final decision in 2011, a report requested by the National Directorate for Cultural Heritage was prepared by two international experts, Axel Föhl and Rolf Höhmann. It was called *Taming the Waterfalls* and it assessed electrometallurgical sites at Rjukan and in Notodden as well as in Odda with an eye to a joint World Heritage nomination. It left little hope for the lime kilns due to the maintenance problems one would encounter in the long run:

> "The three lime kilns are located in mostly open steel structures, which will pose another long term conservation problem. Exposed structures like these will heavily suffer from the elements, especially in hard wet climates and salty sea air. Anti-corrosion measures are costly because of the very complex construction, adaptive reuse is nearly impossible" (Föhl and Höhmann 2010: 23).

The National Directorate for Cultural Heritage followed up on this conclusion and made it clear that preservation of the lime kilns could not be legitimized on the basis of rarity in a wider context as they lacked the all-important "international dimension" (Holme and Grønn 2011: 14). They claimed they had balanced the concern for preservation with future development on the southern end of the site. Given that the owner would not take the financial responsibility of maintaining the lime kilns, it would pose a long-term challenge to the viability and sustainability of the heritage scheme. On the national level the proprietary right was emphasized as a fundamental aspect:

> "The listing allows for public use and business development in the southern section of the site [...] With regards to the extent of the total area and all of the other buildings at the smelter site, the listing will in our opinion, not lay down too severe restrictions on the owners' right to use the properties" (Holme and Grønn 2011: 14, my translation).

The decision reflects the ambitions of heritage authorities nationally to strike a balance between re-use of land and preservation. In order to meet the request to redevelop parts of the site the lime kilns were sacrificed. Having avoided the extensive listing in the southern end of the smelter site, Odda municipality could now grant owners the permission to demolish the lime kilns. The decision was based on the poor condition of the structures as well as the costly maintenance of the vertical ovens. The demolition permit was obtained 15.06.2011 and executed about one year later.

In July of 2012, both structures which had earned the moniker 'Odda's Eifel towers' were demolished one week apart. The demolition could be read as an attempt to end the debilitating standstill and uncertainty that had prevailed for such a long time. Several rounds of political negotiation, consultations, feasibility studies, expert evaluations, development plans and appeals from owners as well as heritage authorities had caused considerable impatience among the locals. A regional newspaper, Bergens Tidende, soon published a video of the demolition, attesting to the blast as a sort of public event which had caught the attention of many local inhabitants[2]. People gathered to observe and the atmosphere was celebratory rather than regretful. The blast was accompanied by gasps of excitement and rounds of applause. From the video, recorded by a camera on a tripod in a static and disengaged manner, one can see how the blast soon covers the site in a grey cloud of concrete and lime dust. As the final blast of dynamite was discharged on the 25th of July, the taller of the two structures toppled. Tall, cylindrical furnaces clad with pipes, steel landings and ladders collapsed in a matter of seconds.

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[2] "Kalkovnene sprengt i luften", Bergens Tidende, 25.07.2012:
http://www.bt.no/nyheter/innenriks/Kalkovnene-sprengt-i-luften-2739920.html#.Uhx2dX9YX3U

Figure 4.5 - The tallest of the two lime kilns was knocked down on the 25th of July 2012. The lime kilns lacked the international significance and were considered expendable in so far as the demolition of the kilns would not jeopardize the World Heritage bid. Photo: NVIM/Harald Hognerud.

The controversy and popular and political pressure for redevelopment and new activity on the site had made it difficult to release the structures from the pecuniary and utilitarian realm and make the transition to commemorative landmarks at home in the industrial townscape. The pressure to prepare the site for new business development was considerable. With mounting popular and political pressure the final listing decision bears witness of a compromise which reduces the scale and visual impact of the smelter site significantly. The protracted indecision concerning the responsibility and the extent of heritage protection had caused many built structures to fall into ruination. The attempts of reinterpreting the lime kilns as icons of the industrial age failed and the cost of securing and maintaining the kilns weighed heavily against this alternative. The more immediate (re-)use-value remained an overriding concern. Lime kilns are difficult to repurpose and their preservation was difficult to legitimize politically and economically. For this reason, the failure of the structures to attain lasting value beyond their utilitarian purpose offers a contrast to the more successful process of

defamiliarization of Kokerei Hansa which stressed the visual, sculptural and artistic qualities of the decommissioned plant in Dortmund.

The faith of the lime kilns aptly illustrates some of the conceptual shortcomings in preserving industrial heritage. Without any clear architectural pedigree or unique signature the lime kilns fails to live up to the expectations of the traditionally minded preservationist. The pure and unadorned functional structure without re-use potential except as sculpture or icon undermines its present-day value. Their young age and generic form makes them incompatible with some fundamental criteria of preservation based on uniqueness and aesthetic distinctiveness. So beyond a socio-political (class), or cultural (battle of representations) understanding of the conflict we should take note of the way this case challenges the process of coming to terms with industrial matter as heritage. The stress on material object authenticity and singularity is difficult to reconcile with the materiality of mass production.

4.8 Material challenges and anonymous sculptures

When pressure mounted against extensive preservation the National Directorate for Cultural heritage fell back on more conventional standards of origin, old age and uniqueness. Emphasis was given to buildings hailing from the pioneering phase in the early 20th century. "The largest carbide furnace in the world" signifies rarity whereas the lime kilns were deemed common and widespread. Despite their visual potency, the kilns were regarded as fairly unexceptional by German industrial heritage experts who claimed that they "seem to be of no specific value, because they are of common and widespread construction and still in use in many other places" (Föhl and Höhmann 2010: 23). This lack of distinction which settled the faith of the lime kilns is worth considering, because they point to the material challenge posed by uniform objects present in any form of modern mass production. Lime kilns represent the what the photographers Bernd and Hilla Becher referred to as "anonymous sculptures" of the industrial landscape (Lange 2007). By anonymous it is meant not that they are inexpressive, but rather that their architectural pedigree is uncertain and their form is generic and widespread. In this way they constitute a challenge to traditional preservation as far as criteria of uniqueness, origin and old age are concerned. For one lime kilns are not intended to be unique, but rather they had to conform to a standard of design that was "simple, economic and uniform in use" (Flament in Lange 2007: 60). No personal signature or sign of a distinct

artistic vision can be traced in these structures. They *are* function and challenge some important parameters of art historians. Lime kilns in general constitute a close-fit between form and function as "the functional necessities are transposed directly into the kiln shape" (Lange 2007: 61). The collapse of form and function in the lime kiln structure means that it was difficult to divorce form from the original purpose. An empty workshop can more readily be filled with a new sense of purpose and new and politically legitimate public use. The decommissioned lime kiln, on the other hand, is defined exhaustively by the production requirement. It is purpose-driven to the extent that it completely saturates the form and leaves little or no surplus space.

The desire for a unique masterpiece may in the end overlook an important feature of the industrial landscape constituted by the standardized and sheer and unadorned technical structure. For this reason the Danish museum director, Jacob Bjerring Hansen (2009), raised the pertinent question of whether industrialism can in fact be preserved. Bjerring Hansen claims that industrialism is characterized by a distinct materiality. The non-unique object represents a challenge for the avid collector searching for the rare gem and in the same way the generic structure like a recent lime kiln opposes the desire for singularity and uniqueness which has characterized and still characterizes our idea of industrial heritage. The preservationist impulse and its idea of material authenticity sometimes differ fundamentally from the intentions of the builders (Buchli 2006). If a building was designed to be added on to, retrofitted or continuously expanded, the preservationist impulse actually undermines this design by introducing "an entirely new and different materiality" (Buchli 2006: 263) For Buchli, this suggests that two competing imperatives of the modern come into conflict with one another. He does not explain what these imperatives actually are; we can only assume he is referring to innovation and preservation.

The lime kilns in Odda were witnesses of a succession of innovations and rationalization characteristic of the industrial enterprise. When the smelter site was modernized in the 1950s the lime kilns replaced a row of brick stone ovens dating back to the founding years of the factory. The first ovens were demolished around 1957 to give way for a more efficient production of lime. The chemical industry in particular cannibalized its production sites by feverishly assuming a new form to appropriate the latest technology, keeping only a few traces of its own history (Föhl and Höhmann 2010). Hauser (2001) notes that many industrial structures of the 20th century were perceived by industrialists as throwaway architecture and

destined for a short life due to the rapid pace of technological innovation. What makes industrial heritage seem like a contradiction in terms is that it is an attempt to render permanent something we associate with the transient, with passing ventures and with the coming and going of industries. In his famous reading of Marx's *The Communist Manifesto*, Marhsall Berman points to the constant flux of modern industrial capitalism where the forms are "made to be broken tomorrow, smashed or shredded or pulverized or dissolved, so they can be recycled or replaced next week, and the whole process can go on again and again, hopefully forever in ever more profitable forms" (Berman 1983: 99).

The lime kilns belong to a category of architecture appropriate for quick disposal. They were not designed to last for hundreds of years and their lacking uniqueness clash with the persistent museological desire for the irreplaceable and singular object. The appeal from preservationists to look beyond façade of rust and dust to discover hidden gems at Odda Smelteverk reflects the desire to disclose a unique thing with the aid of aesthetic education. We could imagine a different approach which stressed the fact that the material legacy of industrial life is an assemblage of successful investments as well as occasional failures, mass-produced parts as well as singular innovations. A selection of buildings which bears witness only to singular achievements and entrepreneurial prowess tells only half the story. The matter of the smelter site is in every way products of modernization, innovation and adjustment and rationalization. It is also a history of failed improvements, costly errors and short-lived successes. One of the lime kilns that were demolished in 2012 was inactive for more than ten years because it proved to waste to much valuable limestone in the production process. The current preservation practice evidently offers no leeway for the marginal elements and oddities. While it has been claimed that industrial heritage almost by definition challenges our preconceived notion of aesthetic value based on orthodoxies of national heritage, it can in fact also reproduce the same basic parameters based on material authenticity, distinguishable authorship and cultural continuity and origin.

The lime kilns allow us a glimpse of this shortcoming and for this reason they can be regarded as objects at the "fringes of the conservation practice" (DeSilvey 2006: 335). Their fate was undecided for several years and had become a nuisance for property developers. Prior to the settlement one dominant understanding has yet to occur and where things were for a long time "held in limbo before more formal arrangements around preservation and public access can take hold" (DeSilvey 2006: 335). The analysis of a site in a state of limbo reveals an

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important aspect. It demonstrates that industrial heritage is literally an unstable assemblage where compromises and conflicts make it difficult to proceed according to a predefined and universally applicable practice. Vernacular heritage is an ambivalent historical form whose outcomes cannot be assumed in advance (Dicks 2000b).

By taking these structures at the fringes of the preservation priorities into consideration we realize the dynamic and at times quite porous boundaries which separate heritage management from waste management. The common occurrence of these structures rendered them less important in a World Heritage context even if they were integral to the actual operation at Odda Smelteverk. On the regional level they were attributed heritage value, but this was later rejected on a national level. The lime kilns were listed temporarily by the County Directorate for Cultural Heritage in 2003 but were finally excluded by the National Directorate for Cultural Heritage in 2011. The final listing decision was motivated by their lack of uniqueness which made it clear a costly maintenance scheme could not be legitimized based on a future World Heritage application.

Industrial heritage preservation may clash with the unsentimental realization that persistent change and creative destruction is the nature industrial production. Regrettably, a built structure is unable to accommodate both the unsentimental celebration of relentless "creative destruction" (Schumpeter 2010), and the desire for material and cultural persistence. Neither can it always hope to represent the fertile grey zones between canonized historic value and forgettable waste. The result is an intellectual impasse manifested in the polemic zero-sum game of preservation versus development. The present extent and justification of the preservation suggests that some of the orthodoxies based on notions of age and architectural signature have to a certain degree prevailed. The more recent and generic technical structure without any clear architectural pedigree or uniqueness to show off were finally and excluded from the heritage realm. Objects of modern mass-production could be allowed to push the boundaries of preservation, but in the case of the lime kilns it turned out to be too difficult to legitimize.

4.9 From daily life to scientific life: black boxes, sustainability and expert assessments

Based on the analysis above we can maintain that what Sharon Macdonald has termed the "mediatory effects of materiality" has co-shaped the events at Odda Smelteverk (Macdonald 2009b: 131). The categorizations of industrial heritage proved unable to accommodate the most expressive structures at the site. The final range of listed structures suggests that some material qualities are preferred to make the heritage scheme worthwhile and viable in the longer run. The idle lime kilns did not fulfil the required re-use potential or the historic singularity to grant them a new lease on life. The critics of an extensive legal protection have claimed that the structures on the southern end of the site in particular represented a physical obstacle to development. To land users the lime kilns came to represent inertia and bureaucratic dilatoriness.

In this sense, the conflict in Odda cannot be understood solely in terms of a battle of cultural identities. Dicks (2000b) has claimed that representation can be understood in two ways. One concerns the 'authenticity' of local stories and the other concerns people's claims over economic and cultural resources. To understand heritage as restricted to the former would be to greatly underestimate its profound role in contemporary planning. It has since long been an instrument which influences the way a particular town, city or countryside looks. Preservation influences town planning, zoning regulations and business development. Heritage conflicts can resemble political struggle in the traditional sense where a range of players fight over the redistribution and access to economic resources. The resource in question in our case is the smelter site, which regardless of its potential heritage status has been considered as an asset for future development. It is a piece of centrally located land which has made it attractive to property developers. This makes the site resemble a battle ground between "culture and capital" (Røyrane 2011: 8). But it does not end there; in fact it resembles a battle ground of preservation against preservation where attempts are being made to transcend the historical inertia of traditional notions of value based on age, beauty and singularity for the benefit of hidden qualities in recent and taken-for-granted objects. The final listing decision which settles the faith of Odda Smelteverk for generations to come demonstrates that the relativist bent anticipated by a turn to the recent industrial past is not always reflected in practice when pressure is mounting and resources are scarce. This has made Brattli claim that the current cultural heritage management is characterized by pseudo-relativism: "The self-declared

relativism which characterizes some specialist histories is in this perspective more apparent than real, hence the term pseudo-relativism. The movement is never anything but alterations within a larger frame which in epistemological terms is static" (Brattli 2006: 55, my translation). As an attempt to elaborate on this point it is worth considering in how far the sanctioned removal of the lime kilns represents a reinforcement of those canonized notions of value that the preservation practice are struggling to transcend. As seen in the case-study of Kokerei Hansa, the notion of sustainability can be mobilized in defense of preservation, by stating, in a mode of precaution, that the present does not have the full knowledge of what the future has in store for a particular object and that it should be granted time for a new purpose to be born. A different scenario unfolds in Odda where stress is placed on the right of the present to pursuit new business ventures because the projected future value of the lime kilns was not sufficient to restrict land use or strain public resources.

The balancing attempt between preservation and development can be framed, as already suggested, in terms of sustainability where present and future resources are weighed against each other. The notion of sustainability has been significant in preservation policies for at least two decades, starting in the early 1990s (Brattli 2006). The perspective of sustainability has had a decisive impact on how preservation is conceived of as a question of responsible management of non-renewable resources. The ill-fated salvage attempt of the lime kilns can be ascribed to conflicting interests of stakeholders such as property owners and preservationists and the need to make compromises in the name of a sustainable and viable heritage scheme. The decision to list a particular building or object entails complex and long-term challenges related to maintenance and financing. Hence, sustainability should be understood in this context as a question of whether a future value of resources can justify the present public costs of their maintenance (Brattli 2006: 91).

Developers do not share the basic assumption of cultural heritage management that preservation of industry constitutes a progressive attitude and a forward-oriented practice. To developers the material relics of the past are believed to obstruct the possibility of leaving the past behind and as a consequence, site clearance is understood as necessary step towards development. The preservationists take on development on the other hand, is that the presence of the material relics is a component in the process of leaving the past behind. By carefully selecting the endangered species of the industrial age the passage from industry to something else can be accomplished.

These different paradigms are not easily reconciled. Developers claim that if only these pieces of scrap were removed than proper regeneration could be executed. Preservationists claim that proper regeneration can proceed only if development gets more attuned to notions of scarcity of historic resources. While the demolition of individual structures may be regretted, the salient point is that the creation of industrial heritage produces certain thresholds in order to take stock of the resources in question according to the ideal position of a distanced, holistic overview. Only by passing through these thresholds can the building or object be allowed to pass into oblivion. The idea of sustainability meant that terms like critical level, stock, resource appraisal and quantification enters the vocabulary of heritage management. These were adopted from nature conservation in the early 1990s (Brattli 2006). The fundamental balancing attempt of sustainability is to allow for development that meets the (social, cultural, economic) requirements of the present without depleting the resources of future generations (cfr. Chapter 3.9).

The overall assessment of industrial heritage values at Odda Smelteverk reflects the attempt to take stock of and assure a responsible maintenance of limited resources. The initial interest in the smelter as industrial heritage was based on the belief that listing could improve the geographic, social, ethnic and temporal scope of national heritage (Hordaland Fylkeskommune in: Holme and Grønn 2011: 7). The yardstick was the national cultural heritage inventory and the motivation was the existing lack of properties of the kind that Odda Smelteverk represented. In the final round, as we have seen, the yardstick was other comparable electrometallurgical sites worldwide which required comparison and stock-taking to identify the globally unique elements at Odda Smelteverk required for a World Heritage-nomination.

"When controversies flare up, the literature becomes technical" (Latour 1987: 30). This point made by Latour to illustrate how facts are made reverberates strongly in the case of Odda Smelteverk. It could not be settled through local party politics in the municipal council but had to mobilize numerous allies elsewhere. The process relocated the lime kilns from daily life to scientific activity, from politics to expert opinion and evidently there is "always a point in a discussion when the local resources of those involved are not enough to open or close a black box. It is necessary to fetch further resources coming from other places and times" (ibid.).

The National Directorate for Cultural Heritage mobilized external experts to establish a technical and scientific threshold which could settle the fundamental question of what to keep and what to let go off. The final listing decision resembles the prose of a detached, scientific perspective from above where all things have been considered and all objections have been taken into consideration with an eye to the site as a whole. The lime kilns were left without allies when the process spiraled beyond the local level and onward beyond the county level to be settled by the National Directorate for Cultural Heritage where it was granted no respite. What allowed the directorate to dismiss the lime kilns was the reference to a disengaged and unbiased authority in the form of an expert assessment collected from the outside. In so doing the final listing decision fills the requirements of technical literature in so far as it gathers a lot of resources from far away in time and space. Reference to a former text might attempt to qualify it, elaborate on it or otherwise contest its conclusions. When the external expert assessment is mobilized to fashion the World Heritage threshold in the preservation scheme of Odda Smelteverk the validity or accuracy of the external report is not questioned, it assumes the form of a scientific fact:

> "The selection of listed buildings/structures is of such a scope that the industrial town of Odda might qualify for a World Heritage application. The selection is done, inter alia, from a commissioned assessment undertaken by German/international World Heritage Experts. It is available in Axel Föhl and Rolf Höhmann (2010)" (Holme and Grønn 2011: 14).

This is about as far as qualifying the expert assessment goes. There is no longer any dispute, the report is there, on the outside, and it is unproblematic and certain. It has been turned into a black box. A black box is what Latour refers to as a process whereby the "assembly of disorderly and unreliable allies" resembles a whole and where the internal complexity of this assemblage is hidden (Latour 1987: 131). Similarly, the scientific foundation of the decision to demolish the lime kilns was black-boxed in the sense that the final responsibility was detached from local, regional and even national domain and outsourced to external experts who could assume the role of a stable and trustworthy source of proper, scientific assessment. The complex, provisional and uncertain status of *any* heritage assessment could not be made explicit because the need for a conclusion and a signal of political resolution had become too urgent. It was required for the sake of striking a balance between preservationists and developers that the expert assessment was black-boxed and the complexity of the evaluation was stylized into a "simplified positive modality" (Latour 1987: 42) which in our case reads

"international experts supports the selection". For opponents of the final decision to object the selection of listed of listed buildings it would no longer suffice to object the decision of the directorate, they would have to disprove the assessment undertaken by international World Heritage experts. The fact that the assessment came to have such a decisive impact on the final listing decision, even made the experts dispute the role they were appointed as "World Heritage experts" but this attempt to re-open the black box never made it into the public sphere and so the taken-for-granted quality of the international expertise was never questioned.

The prospect of World Heritage-application has become the central heritage threshold in Odda is a demonstration of a local/global dynamic in the production of heritage where the local is cultivated and sustained at the same time as it ties in with cosmopolitan and global elements (Macdonald 2009b: 119). The conflict between local self-determination and non-local evaluations demonstrates how heritage always extends beyond the local universe it pertains to represent. It is a question of turning the everyday thing into a resource whose value can be corroborated by allies far away. This has undeniably had an impact on the sense of ownership of the site legally as well as symbolically. Legally because the current owners learned that their leeway was considerably restricted due to the pending listing decision. Symbolically because the site which was embedded in local routine and workday reality, have by now become subject to interventions and scientific assessments that are alien to what characterizes the site in the first place (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006).

The World Heritage list exercises considerable political authority long before inscription. In Odda the still unrealized prospect of a World Heritage status to some represents a crucial recognition of the local industrial heritage and for others it is seen as an unwanted intrusion in local matters. The process of heritage valuation has been underway for a long time where a shift in the process of definition has occurred. It is the abstract, technical procedure of registration, quantification, inventorying and comparison which provides the local heritage with a brand new context of value mobilized by neglected heritage, gaps in the national cultural canon, or missing objects in the World Heritage register. The World Heritage list has constituted a shift from "localized descent heritage" to "translocal consent heritage" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006). A shift occurs from "a privileged relationship to a cultural good deriving from notions of ancestry, descent, and inheritance to a relationship based on interest, choice, freedom, democratic notions of inclusion, participation, consent, and investment"

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(Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 184). This stress on inclusion also means that, in the end, inhabitants may actively oppose or plainly ignore the call to take possession of and care for their material heritage. The freedom to actively choose a heritage to preserve also involves the possibility of "refusing a heritage and a cultural identity" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 183). People may disown their heritage which leaves the inheritance without inheritors (Eriksen 2009a).

The shift from localized descent heritage to translocal consent heritage that alters the sense of ownership and this is why industrial heritage should never be understood as a confirmation of status quo but a practice which involves a re-articulation of the past. Descent in our case is not primarily tied to traditional kinship, but rather a local professional and political network built around the local industry. According to one scholar, this explains why industrial heritage in Odda was perceived as an anomaly that was not rooted in the tight-knit local network which evolved around the factory and included local politicians, trade unions, workers and their families (Cruickshank 2009). The notion of heritage as non-renewable resources implies the prospect of depleting the reservoirs of cultural history and this makes preservation discourse rely on what Andrews (2010) has called the heritage deficiency presumption. For Andrews this presumption is questionable as it regards heritage as something that is validated by and exists thanks to museum and heritage practice, rather than always, already being present in our individual and collective lives. This is a kind of dilemma inherent in the shift from descent to consent heritage which challenges notions of local autonomy and the privilege of lineage and descent. Industrial heritage intervention might seek to confirm the local culture but the means and techniques of doing so are more often than not drawn from sources outside the local sphere as a way to mobilize a scientific and comparative view on heritage.

4.10 The value of conflict – 'discord value'

The stress on reaching a conclusion by way of scientific assessment, stock-taking and by employing the vocabulary of holistic resource appraisal in the preservation of Odda Smelteverk is understandable. It downplays epistemological uncertainty in favor of establishing a more stable threshold of value. The final listing decision of Odda Smelteverk is an attempt of reaching a compromise between different stakeholders to end the dispute. In academic literature in contrast, disagreement and discord has recently been elevated to a

position where it is regarded as important in its own right – as discord value. Here, discord is not something that should be settled; rather it can in fact act as a corrective to the notion of cultural heritage as consensual. Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper (2008) has suggested that we approach discord (German: *Streit*) as something which is more often than not part of the everyday of preservation practice. Discord to her may be regarded as a significant part of the public negotiation and it may even enhance the value of a site or an object. She claims that discord can be a criterion of value in its own right. A monument's capacity to cause discord is to her not a failure but an inherent quality which can even be quantified. It can be "measured in terms of both the fierceness of dispute and the intensity of the ensuing debate" (Dolff-Bonekämper 2008: 137). Dolff-Bonekämper claims that discord value is a present-day value which may strengthen the democratic bearings of heritage. The practice of preservation may counter financial interests and it may deal with certain monuments that are by nature conflict-ridden. What is particularly interesting with Dolff-Bonekämper's argument is that she claims discord value sometimes surpasses the historical value of a site before a compromise is reached and the conflict itself gradually becomes a point of historical interest.

Protracted conflict may offer a corrective to the view that heritage exists only to reaffirm a collective understanding of the past. The smelter site in Odda demonstrates that controversy occasions a wider public inquiry into the criterions, materials, institutions procedures engaged in heritage making and that this might question the taken for granted quality of heritage as a mirror of the past. This is why it has been claimed that heritage has "largely become an instrument, that defines the disturbances, irregularities, and uncertainties of the present much more than it truly represents the past" (Chambers in Smith 2011: 1).What has occurred in Odda is that the processes of cultural heritage management lost a great deal of its self-evident character and became questioned to a degree that was not anticipated. It was no longer an issue of a remote, scientific management of an industrial heritage; rather the actual processes of selection, designation and valuation started drawing attention to themselves.

The expert is the dubious character in this play, as she can both provide support and encouragement from a more distant point of view, but also be associated with bureaucracy and technocratic standards and an understanding of local culture which is acquired from a distance rather than through actual hands-on experience. In Odda the external expert was not automatically perceived as a credible advisor. Discussing this matter with a non-native, I was told that it was difficult to be taken seriously in a public debate on the preservation issue if you were not a native or a fifth generation industrial worker. The fact that external evaluation

had become a recurring event of the smelter quarrel did not seem to have much impact with regards to the public opinion. Anne Gravdal claimed that the local population as well as many local politicians in general were unaffected by encouragement and advice from the outside world. When I asked her if the external advice could represent a tipping point and make the locals more appreciative of the smelter site and its material relics, she responded: "Hardly among the local population. I cannot imagine that it would. The inhabitants of Odda in particular, or maybe it is not particular to [them], but here people say that if someone from the outside to give advice, they had better just leave it alone" (Gravdal 2010: , my translation).

As seen throughout this chapter, the heritage sector establishes a tight correlation between cultural identity and the historic built environment. Loss in the built environment seems to entail that cultural identity itself is under siege. A similar observation has been made by Waterton who identifies a therapeutic notion of industrial heritage initiatives in the UK seeing heritage as a way to recover cultural identity.

> "A central assumption underpinning this linkage is those areas characterised as 'post-industrial' will be lacking in identity and cohesion without the implementation of explicit reclamation and regeneration policies and practices that target heritage or 'the built environment'" (Waterton 2011: 344).

In our case, the initial heritage value ascribed to the lime kilns in Odda was not sufficient to frame its disappearance as a significant loss of culture or identity.

4.11 Conclusion

In our newfound and fascination with ruins of the industrial modernity we tend to treat them as a sublimated, aesthetic concern separate from mundane, everyday activities. This contemplative stance avoids the question of agency and guilt according to Berman:

> "Facing one dead body, we might call the police and peek out the window with voyeuristic curiosity. Facing signs of a dead civilization, we fall into a sublime melancholy that precludes our posing the question of justice: who did this deed, who undid this world?" (Berman 2010: 106).

Berman reminds us that the term "ruin" suggests human agency and points to the relationship between artefact and absent agent. The smelter site in Odda is a tangible expression of this question of responsibility. A bankruptcy effectively ends all liabilities of the former owner.

The party concerned loses all rights concerning the property and have no obligation to maintain it. One crucial difference between objects and buildings is that the best way to preserve a building is to give it a new function to assure continued use (van Mensch 1990). This is generally not the case with objects. If a building fails to find new use it often falls into disrepair and, more importantly, it is likely to be considered a nuisance. The lime kilns in Odda became ruins, quite simply, because they were allowed enough time to decay. At which point they had already become a political problem, a public nuisance and a thorn in the eye of property developers. The faith of the lime kilns was sealed when attempts failed to divorce meaning from their original purpose. The limited scope for functional reuse meant that they would have to serve some commemorative function rather than being guided by new use-value. Structures that for half a century have served a fairly mundane utilitarian purpose do not make the transition into the realm of public monuments that easily.

In this chapter I have attempted to show that abstract and long-term notions of value have clashed with local concerns of how preservation can be sustained over time and not impede future development. The smelter site has earned the moniker 'old rubble' in Odda. The lifespan of the site in this terminology is unsentimentally tied to the lifespan of industrial production and no afterlife life will be granted to it in a realm of cultural monuments. Creative destruction and an unsentimental attitude towards the built environment are integral to how we normally understand the laissez-faire ways of industrial modernity. "Old rubble" is one way to object the intellectualized and sentimentalized approach to abandoned industrial buildings.

However, the other reason for the contested value of the smelter site in Odda can be found in shifts in the preservation discourse itself. My analysis of the conception of value within cultural heritage management has demonstrated that the increased recognition of everyday cultures has led to a great expansion which makes it more difficult to establish value unambiguously and plainly. It also raises complex questions about the extent of preservation and its sustainability in the long run. The threshold of heritage has moved beyond a concern only with the great, the old and the beautiful. This fact also implies a potential relativization of value which makes the criteria of heritage valuation seem less obvious. The appeal to the public to discover and acknowledge the value of an abandoned smelter in this case accentuated the distinction between different paradigms of responsible resource use.

As I have demonstrated throughout this chapter, there seems to be an agreement among preservationists that the discovery of local heritage takes time and persuasion and requires a new way of looking or a new attitude towards one's own local history. The expectations of "the power of valorization to effect revitalization" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 170) are important, but even more so are the views that heritage is key agent in the reclamation of a lost history and a threatened culture. The industrial heritage discourse presupposes a notion of a cultural and material loss and prescribes a form of reconstruction of identity (Dicks 2000b; Waterton 2011). The legacy of Odda Smelteverk has yielded incommensurable perspectives concerning whether one should cultivate the relics of past achievements or move forward unsentimentally by discarding that which is no longer needed. I have claimed that two very different ideas of resource use are pitted against each other in this case; one privileges the clean slate and the other works with the already existing resources. In Odda, we have seen how this notion of loss of material heritage has been opposed by those who place greater emphasis on the actual work experience and the community of workers which renders the actual material remains less important.

The heritage process is evidently not "a zero-sum game and no single discursive embrace can wrap itself around heritage practice" (Breglia 2006: 50). The conflict in recent years has made Odda Smelteverk unable to command authority as a collective symbol of a common identity. Instead it has become a locus of friction, disagreement and protracted negotiations between politicians, unions, preservationists and local business interests. The smelter site which was for such a long time taken for granted ended up as a token of dispossession and political impotence as stakes were raised.

CHAPTER 5 - AUTHENTICITY IN COAL MINING HERITAGE REPRESENTATIONS: BIG PIT *AND THE UNDERGROUND TOUR*

5.1 Introduction

In contemporary industrial heritage tourism it is a common practice to employ former workers as tourist guides. The demise of coal mining in the South Wales Valleys makes the question of interpretation in coal mining heritage central. Whose is this heritage? Who should be entitled to speak on its behalf? The waning of a coal mining means that a transformation from living memory to a more abstract form of collective memory is about to take place. In this interval former coal miners have gained a central role in authenticating the local coal mining heritage. They are in touch with a past that at the same seems out of reach. These ex-miners provide a link between the official and publicly sanctioned history and a form of memory drawing on anecdotes and personal experiences. Their role in the coal mining heritage is to assure that present and future representation proceeds in accordance with and maintains a distinctive cultural identity. This form of heritage is based not so much on the possession of things but on a form of embodied knowledge and character traits which signals continuity with the past. Heritage in this sense becomes less of an artifact we passively store "locked away for its own good" (Breglia 2006: 14). As I will illustrate in this chapter the issue of a coal mining heritage without the ex-miner is a question already on the museum agenda. Who can represent the living tradition when the last Welsh miner is gone and in how far does this influence the museal commitment to authenticity?

The notion of authenticity employed in this chapter differs from a more technical understanding which is prevalent in cultural heritage management. There, in contrast, material authenticity is understood as originality in the sense that the form, building technique, construction materials, surface finishing, use and location belong to a given historical period (Riksantikvaren 1987: 19). In this form material object authenticity is normally a prominent dimension in formal listing decisions. This conception of authenticity stresses material

permanence and lasting qualities pointing back to an origin. The experiential understanding I employ in this chapter takes into account that a profound cultural shift has occurred which implies that the past can only be retrieved in a different medium (Bendix 1997). This makes the contemporary representation all the more important and in our case it is the underground tour at Big Pit National Coal Museum lead by former miners that is promoted as a hallmark of authenticity.

This chapter will deal with the question of how and why the former miner assumes such a central role in the representation of the coal mining heritage of the South Wales Valleys. The authority of the miner in the museum context will be discussed primarily with regards to the highly contested notion of authenticity. I will tie the theoretical discussion of authenticity to an analysis of how a commitment to authenticity influences display practices and the form of the underground tour at Big Pit National Coal Museum in Blaenavon. The study is based on my participation in a tour in June of 2012 and visits to the permanent exhibition on the surface in the pithead baths. I will furthermore refer to interviews I have conducted with a museum curator at Big Pit National Coal Museum and a project manager of industrial heritage in the town of Blaenavon. In these excerpts the role of former miners in live heritage interpretation is discussed with regards to different forms of authenticity.

5.2 Authenticity as representation: theoretical cues and previous research

It has been important for me to avoid the broad assumptions which often see heritage as a kind of cultural neurosis. I second the view of Bella Dicks who has observed that too many analyses of the phenomenon of heritage starts by "simply invoking the mantra of society's obsession with the past" (Dicks 2000b: 47). Instead of explaining the causes of the turn to heritage in terms of an overarching cultural pathology, I will deal with a specific form of storytelling to explore why the contested idea of authenticity is such a major concern in heritage practice. The ongoing engagement with the industrial past can serve a public purpose which is quite specific in nature and not governed by some ill-defined disease or obsession. I claim that former miners play the key role in bringing to life the otherwise inert material heritage of a coal mine and that this should be seen in relation to the ethics and aesthetics of "history from below". At the same time that we are dealing with something akin to a public

ritual where preservation of the past hinges on the continual exercise of established cultural values and norms of behavior.

A central claim with regards to authenticity is that it involves awareness of the potential inadequacy of a representation (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann 1997). In relation to this Harrison (2012) has noted that it is important for heritage visitors to be able to make judgments about the authenticity of a representation based on the transparency of techniques used in specific exhibitions. The degree of transparency and self-reflexivity are variables which can help us distinguish between different forms of authenticity according to the classification by Mohn, Strub and Wartemann that I draw on in this chapter. They claim that a difference between the represented and its representation is what raises the issue of authenticity in the first place. Otherwise, we can only speak of a magical authenticity where no distinction is made between representation and the represented (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann 1997).

The process of making the living memory of coal mining part of a wider collective memory will be considered in terms of Halbwachsian social frameworks of memory and Paul Ricoeur's term "traditionality" (Halbwachs 1992; Ricoeur 1984). The latter makes the complex relation between past and present palpable in a form that is dialectic and less presentist than Halbwachs' notion of collective memory. In Ricoeur's redemptive hermeneutics the past is brought to matter as an ethical commitment and the frame in which the present-day recollection occurs relies on a set of more or less explicit rules or paradigms of representation. This allows us to raise the question of authenticity in relation to the interplay between sedimentation and innovation (Ricoeur 1984). Innovation is not borne from nothing but conditioned by a debt to the past and at the same time a recollection of the past cannot rely on uncritical imitation or "servile application" (Ricoeur 1984: 69). Ricoeur's inquiry will be useful in approaching the fraught issue of authenticity as it avoids both the idea of profound cultural essence and an uninvolved post-structuralist approach.

To my knowledge, only a handful of studies have been devoted to the role of former miners in the representation industrial heritage. Among these we find Coupland, Garrett and Bishop's (2005) sociolinguistic study of miners industrial heritage tourism where the issue of authenticity is central. The authors have analyzed the importance of the former coal miners working as guides in terms of how they vivify the stories of mining life and partake in constructing "authenticities" in the plural. They regard authenticity as a culturally attributed

quality rather than something that should be approached as a pre-discursive, universalizing singularity. Authenticity here concerns a "particular social consensus" and they regard the "multiple discursive routes into authenticity" (2005: 220). They emphasize the degree to which something is *experienced* as authentic rather than a feature inherent to material objects. Another study of the ex-miner guides has been undertaken by Dicks (2008) who focuses on the way working-class identities are performed against the background of declining class-based identity. Dicks focuses on the degree to which ex-miners gain autonomy in a representation of working class identities otherwise "dominated by images of defeat" (Dicks 2008). I have taken cues from these studies in regarding the authenticity quest as a central component of the underground tours (Coupland, Garrett and Bishop 2005).

The role of the former the miner alternates between representing the larger coal mining community and recounting his own historically specific unique experiences. At the same time as we expect him to act naturally and be himself in the he is also playing the part of an archetypical coal miner. The question of who tells the story relates to the question of why this story is told. A persistent motivation for industrial heritage at Big Pit National Coal Museum is to tell the story of manual labor in a way that has not been sanitized and prettified. The honest rendition of working conditions underground is a way to commemorate the toils and labor and celebrate loyalty among workers. Ethics and aesthetics become intimately connected. In a larger museal and heritage context the aim of recovering of history's other voices has been important to the proliferation of history from below and vernacular heritage and I claim this is crucial with regards to Big Pit. As I will demonstrate the physical space of the abandoned coal mine offers an important contrast to the more conventional museum exhibitions on the surface. The notion of a history from below is made literal in the following case.

5.3 Historical context of coal mining in South Wales

The defeat of the miners in the longest strike in British history (March 1984 – March 1985) resulted in the closure of many deep-pit collieries in South Wales. It also meant the decimation of a particular way of life in the South Wales Valleys where 'King Coal' had reigned supreme for more than a century. In a typical coal mining community men often worked in the same industry as their fathers and grandfathers and the knowledge of mining was handed down through generations. Surrounded by hills, the coal mining communities of

the narrow South Wales Valleys were more isolated than the cities on the coast. The coal mines were a major source of work and community life depended heavily on it. In 1984 there were still 170 mines being worked in Britain, but in 2009 the number was less than ten (Bailey and Popple 2011).

Industrialization of Wales in the 19th century involved a massive migration of English workers and the industrialized south was opposed to traditional and predominantly agricultural Wales (Gruffudd 1994, 1995). Due to the immense influx of Englishmen, primarily from western and southwestern parts of England, Welsh had become a minority language in the Valleys by 1914. In 1850, by comparison, the people of the Valleys spoke almost exclusively Welsh (Berger 2008). The working class in the south was allegedly of a different breed "different in context, in manner, of thinking and speaking and organizing, different in language and culture" (Williams 1985: 239). What is referred to as the industrialized South, covers the coastal urban areas around Swansea, Cardiff and Newport to the south and to the north it includes the so-called Heads of the Valleys towns. The Rhondda Valleys, Rhymney Valley and the Ebbw Valley changed entirely because of coal mining and iron working. Coal was transported from the valleys to Cardiff which served as the main port for exports.

It has been claimed that South Wales is easily misinterpreted by the outsider who fails to recognize the historical impact of industrialization owing to the serenity of the landscape (Morris 2003). Extensive de-industrialization in the 1970s and 1980s caused many characteristic features of South Wales to disappear at a rapid pace. Coal production had been nationalized after the Second World War and the National Coal Board (NCB) was established in 1946. Wales was left with many inefficient, technologically inferior and high-cost mines and attempts were made under public ownership to modernize and overhaul existing pits and to close down uneconomic ones. The most extensive wave of closures occurred before the notorious strike in 1984-1985. It started already in the 1960s. In the course of only a decade the number of Welsh collieries had halved. A closure policy was initiated by NCB and the number of pits was reduced from 118 in 1960 to only 52 in 1970 (Rees 1978).

In the 1970s the Welsh economy was being diversified with the aim of employing people in new lines of light manufacturing and engineering (Morgan 1981). The quango Welsh Development Agency was established in 1976 to ail the Welsh economy and to attract

investment. The Welsh Development Agency was responsible for land reclamation of derelict land and this was a direct response to the tragic Aberfan disaster in 1996 which took the lives of 144 citizens. A mountain of slag had liquefied due to days of heavy rain and it buried a school building and killed 116 school children. The post-industrial landscape was not only dangerous it was considered anathema to investment, economic development and healthy communities (Davies 1983). An improvement of the dismal and desolate landscape produced by coal mining and metal working was part of an effort to reduce the dependency on traditional industries. Critics claimed that derelict land reclamation was only a superficial way to deal with impoverished mining communities producing a "cosmetically revitalized region" (Davies 1983: 79). The desire to restore the valleys to the natural beauty of the pre-industrial era was in some communities accompanied by a strong antipathy toward the industrial heritage (Alfrey and Putnam 1992; Trinder and Föhl 1992). Dicks claims that the fear of losing the distinctive industrial identity to extensive regeneration schemes haunted political sensibilities in the 1980s and hence the re-greening schemes were contested (Dicks 2000b). Reclamation of derelict industrial land involved the demolition of a great number of industrial buildings and re-vegetation made the brown spoil tips green but also forgetful in the sense that it blurred out the historical specificity and the characteristic identity of the coal mining landscape.

In Wales the unemployment rate is still significantly higher than the UK average and in some areas it is as high as 15%. The situation is particularly bad for young adults between 16 and 24 where as many as 16% of the population are unemployed (Kenway, Palmer and MacInnes 2009). The image of declining South Wales Valleys is something politicians have struggled with for years. The industrial heritage of Wales is not isolated from these wider socio-political issues. In fact, industrial heritage is perceived as a means of social and economic revival and the issue of regeneration is far more pronounced in British industrial heritage discourse than in Germany or Norway. After Labour took office in 2007 the anticipation that the public cultural sector could be employed to fulfill specific government goals was made more explicit (Mason 2004a). The contribution of industrial heritage to the social and economic regeneration is a recurring issue in the literature on the industrial heritage of Blaenavon as well (Jones and Munday 2001; Walker 2011).

Although closures had already been well underway before Thatcher's Conservative government (1979-1990), the demise of 'King Coal' was made definite in the 1980s. The

industry was wholly privatized in 1994. The last deep mine in South Wales, Tower Colliery in the Cynon Valley, was exhausted and closed down in 1994 but subsequently bought by the miners and worked until 2008 when it finally closed. The drift mine at Aberpergwm Colliery was reopened in 1996 and operated until 2012. The future of Unity Mine in Neath Valley is uncertain and as of 2013 it was placed under administration and 180 workers were made redundant. These occasional rebirths of Welsh collieries do not change the fact that the industry which employed close to a quarter of a million Welshmen in the early 20th century is virtually extinct.

5.4 Big Pit National Coal Museum

Big Pit National Coal Museum is located in Blaenavon in Monmouthshire, the easternmost historic county of Wales. Today Blaenavon is part of Torfaen County Borough. The former coal mining shafts pierce the mountainside of Coity Mountain southwest of the town of Blaenavon. Big Pit was originally sunk around 1860 for its iron ore resources and in 1880 coal mining started. Windings ceased in 1973 and Big Pit finally closed in 1980. It reopened as a mining museum in April 1983. Following the standstill it was acquired by local authorities for £1 and a museum trust was established to secure its maintenance. The National Coal Board funded part of the visitor center and made a donation to a development fund. Big Pit is one of Wales' oldest deep mines and during its peak it employed almost 1400 workers. In 2001 it became part of National Museum Wales (Amgueddfa Cymru) and the site was substantially upgraded in 2004. The museum draws around 180.000 visitors a year (Walker 2011). It is one of altogether three national coal mining museums in the UK (Torfaen County Borough Council 1999). The others are the Caphouse Colliery located in West Yorkshire and the Lady Victoria Colliery near Edinburgh.

Figure 5.1 - Big Pit National Coal Museum with the steel headgear to the left

Big Pit lies in a heritage area called Blaenavon Industrial Landscape which covers a grand total of 32.9 square kilometers. It gained World Heritage status in 2000. The heritage area includes Blaenavon Ironworks built in 1788 as well as the town of Blaenavon with a population of about 6300 inhabitants. The heritage area also covers a hilly landscape north of the Ironworks. Here one can still see traces of an early rail line where coaches drawn by horses allowed for limestone and iron ore to be transported to the ironworks. Within the boundaries of Blaenavon Industrial Landscape many of the natural resources required to produce iron were available. The area had deposits or iron ore, limestone, fireclay as well as coal. Despite its history of extensive industrial activity, the area is today very quiet and overwhelmingly rural.

Even though production at Big Pit was expanded after takeover by NCB in 1947 the population of Blaenavon has been declining since the 1920s. Depopulation, community deprivation and unemployment warrants a tremendous stress on social, cultural and economic recovery which is reflected in national policies as well as in the work done on county level with regards to the political ambitions of heritage (Torfaen County Borough Council 1999, 2011). We can approach it as a recovery effort with three interrelated folds. Firstly, it is a material question of recovering physical relics from the industrial era and granting them a heightened presence in the face of earlier regreening schemes. Secondly, restoration concerns

the economic recovery of South Wales Valley communities as active and productive communities. And thirdly, it concerns the recovery of history from below perspectives in the form of working class heritage.

5.5 Object authenticity and subjective authenticity

I arrive at Big Pit early one cloudy day in June of 2012. Apart from the occasional chatter from tourists the site is tremendously quiet. Fog hangs over the green hills to the south west and the view of Blaenavon to the north is reduced. The Welsh flag is placed on a pole on top of the steel headgear from 1921. It was in use until 1976. The site comprise buildings like a compressor house, two engine houses, offices, stables, a workshop, a workshop, a fan house and a sawmill where pit props which supported the roof in the underground workings were prepared. The site has all the recognizable markers of a modern tourist destination with a sizeable parking lot, information boards, a restaurant, and signs which direct visitors to the exhibitions. On the top of the hill, to the southwest, a bath house from 1939 serves as exhibition space. A medical center was established at the colliery in 1947 when health and safety regulations improved as consequence of the nationalization of the industry. In the pithead baths ranges of grey cabinets are today reused for exhibition purposes.

Figure 5.2 - View of Big Pit with the town of Blaenavon in the background

Figure 5.3 - Original lockers in the pithead baths at Big Pit National Coal Museum

In the metal lockers the museum has installed cases with tableaus of typical objects used by miners in the pit baths. The museum uses individual biographies to present the history of

mining. Next to mundane, everyday objects – a bar of soap, a towel, a jar of pomade, a hard hat helmet and a boiler suit – selected biographies are presented in more detail.

Figure 5.4 - Kenvin Thomas, 'ordinary bloke, extraordinary job'

The individual biography makes mining history legible through the close-up view which allows us to single out the story of one particular miner. From one of these bilingual biographies written in both Welsh and English, we learn more about the life of Kenvin Thomas who was born in 1927 started working as a blacksmith's striker at the age of 14 before moving on to becoming a shaftman (responsible for mine shaft inspections) at Big Pit in 1963. After transferring to Blaenserchan colliery in 1980 he quits six years later due to a

work accident. He loved his work, we learn, but hated the waterfalls in the shaft when it rained. Thomas worked in four different collieries during his career. The biography concludes with the phrase "ordinary bloke, extraordinary job". Other selected biographies cover the lives of more famous men such as the Welsh poet Idris Davies (1905-1953) and the union official and Labour politician Isaac James Hayward (1882-1976). The biography of Kenvin Thomas, however, stands out. It is the story of the common man, the ordinary bloke with the extraordinary job. He may serve as the focal point of the history from below tradition which has become quite common in industrial heritage exhibitions. At sites like Big Pit history tends to be presented from the point of view of individual workers rather than the boss or the manager (Dicks 2008). What does this imply in terms of the presentation of an 'ordinary' man? The orange uniform is anonymous; it could have belonged to anyone. The same applies to the bar of soap and the towel – the unique object is replaced with the typical object. In fact, the objects on display are props put there to illustrate the typical content of a locker. The bar of soap and the towel in a locker would mean that this person was working. Work clothes drying would mean that this person was at home.

In fact there is no indexical connection between the objects displayed and the persons featured. The objects in the cabinets never belonged to the individuals featured in the adjacent biography. Intuitively we make this connection and we assume that there is some kind of physical trace, a human imprint left by the individuals on each of the objects. But the jar of pomade never belonged to Isaac James Hayward. The orange overalls were never worn by Kenvin Thomas and the towels were never used by Idris Davies. The museum manager at Big Pit explained to me that accessioned objects from the museum's collection could have been installed in the lockers, but it would require proper display cases to prevent fluctuations in temperature and humidity. Besides the lockers were also original objects left at Big Pit when it closed in 1980 and they too needed to be treated with care and without introducing "too much artifice" (Walker 2013). The unnecessary artifice is here understood as being at odds with the approach of the museum and even though the option of installing collection objects into the lockers was discussed Peter Walker claimed it "just wouldn't look right" (ibid). This conscious attempt to avoid artifice contrived is an important part of the curatorial approach to authenticity at Big Pit. The premise here is that the presentation of the history of ordinary miners requires a form which seems natural. We do not question the naturalness of the content in the locker; in fact it seems reasonable that the display could reflect a typical, everyday situation in the changing rooms. Routinized work space is rarely set for musealization

according to Tim Edensor: "This was debris which was enfolded into the mundaneity of a shared everyday, and not regarded as sufficiently archetypal or symbolic and therefore not preserved or curated as memorable" (Edensor 2005a: 844). These everyday objects are what you would expect to find in an ordinary locker room: "Stickers, postcards, posters of footballers and pop stars, newspaper cuttings, photographs of work parties, cigarette cards, betting slips, and pictures of nudes […]" (Edensor 2005a: 842-843). What belongs to the everyday and the quotidian, is both the "most obvious and the best hidden" (Lefebvre and Levich 1987: 9).

The orange overalls are mass-produced, mundane objects, but does this mean that we accept a violation against the contract of authenticity - in this context that we expect that are actual belongings of the individuals portrayed? The stable, regulated environment of a display case could have allowed for the exhibition of original objects from the museum's collection. Instead objects have been installed to illustrate the content of an ordinary locker and the work life of the miners. Two aspects of authenticity can highlight the conflict between staged and natural at stake here. One concerns the relation between things and their context and the next concerns the relation between truthfulness and appearance. Firstly, the traditional museal concern with acquisition, preservation and exhibition of objects removed from their natural context is here at odds with the preservation and presentation of an original in situ environment (the bath house and its interior in the form of the metal lockers). Secondly, the dimension of authenticity as being natural rather than contrived is at odds with the sophisticated techniques of simulation in contemporary heritage. The dimension is based on the threat that representation becomes so conspicuous that the effect of spectacle destroys the naturalness intended by the slice of life tableau. The artifice may overwhelm the object and the curatorial intention (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991).

The first aspect concerns the fact that museum exhibits are material fragments removed from the original situation and cultural context which allegedly cripples a full understanding because display practices dissociates the object from the organic whole in which the object originally appeared. This form of critique has accompanied and influenced the museum institution at least since the 18th century (Adorno 1996; Hetherington 2012; Lending 2009; Maleuvre 1999). In our context it might explain the ascendency of heritage sites and with them a distinctive appeal to wholeness, context, landscape and holistic representations of community life. The atmosphere of an original, listed building where miners showered, stored

their clothes and donned the orange overalls, in this particular context outweighs the concern with putting only original objects on display. Museum exhibitions are informed by a poetics of detachment, but this effect is often sought minimized through minimalist style of exhibitions where curatorial intervention is made less apparent (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991). Heritage with its stress on sense of place and in situ preservation of a site with its original inventory, it might be suggested, trumps object authenticity. The tension between heritages' stress on in situ preservation, holistic representation of a way of life on the one hand and the museal aesthetic of fragments, detached objects on the other hand are played out in the case of the metal lockers. While the lockers act as a frame for the display of everyday objects, the frame is more valuable than the highlighted objects. At the National Coal Museum the collection comprises tools, equipment machinery from both England and Wales. The grade II listed buildings on site in Blaenavon are still in place where they were originally and in this way they appeal to the sense of wholeness often favored at the cost of museal detachment.

The stress on the context at the cost of the excised object should be seen in relation to the vernacular turn in forms of cultural representation. The "vernacular aesthetic" in much contemporary heritage calls for a display of everyday life that hinges on situated and grounded accounts of lives lived in particular localities (Dicks 2000a). This is, at least partly, a reaction to object fetishism which characterized earlier forms of industrial heritage preservation in South Wales. Displays of innovative technology were granted so much floor space that gear and equipment effectively obstructed the view of people's history (Berger 2008; Davies 1996; Dicks 2000a). According to Davies, this was a syndrome more common in the early years of industrial heritage preservation in Wales resulting in a curious display of work without workers and a history without people. Today the consensus is that energy should be invested in "peopling the past" to recuperate from the "shiny machines syndrome" (Bennett 1995; Davies 1996). The effort of placing more emphasis on the social and cultural situation of coal mining requires a form of representation which stands in direct opposition to the museal objectophilia and which would nevertheless be able to conjure up images of a whole culture even if only a part of it can be seen. This is why in situ representations often include live persons "preferably actual representatives of the cultures on display" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991: 389).

These may legitimately claim origin in the culture on display and offer a self-presentation that is perceived as natural rather than contrived. So while subject and object authenticity is seen

as separate concepts, there is arguably some overlap between the two in the concern with an inner essence, something beyond mere appearance and more profound than a surface matter. The subjective conception of authenticity pertains to the ability of a person to be true to that which makes up the core of selfhood and individuality. The second relates to the material question of genuine origins of an object whereas the other subjective and existential quality of being true to the self in the sense of uncontrived, not false and natural pertains to subjective or existential authenticity. As for the material authenticity, the art specialist investigates a particular artwork to determine whether it bears the physical trace of the artist whose personal touch makes it exceptional and irreplaceable. It would have to originate from the stated source and be what it claims to be (Jones 2010).

Scientific techniques such as chemical analyses, x-rays and CT-scanning are employed to establish and origin of objects and decide the internal structure and material composition which is not possible through surface inspection (Jones 2010). The parallel to the understanding of subjective and existential authenticity seems clear. The idea that the true inner being can be analyzed only by reaching beyond surface layers and look behind the social façade is widespread not least owing to the influence of psychoanalysis and repressed memories. The compelling idea of gaining access to some deeper and more profound truth about the lives of others is ingrained in ways of thinking about of authenticity, but more often than not a layer of reservations and reflexive critiques are wrapped around it. Authenticity is consequently approached with several reservations. We can speak of "the expectation of authenticity" (Harrison 2012) and "quest for authenticity" (MacCannell 1999), but the real thing is safely contained inside inverted commas (e.g. Dicks 2000a; Huyssen 2006; Minca 2007).

The curatorial approach to authenticity at Big Pit as keeping clear of unnecessary artifice has a long-running history in ethnographic valorization of folk art. In contrast to the elevation of the unique authorship of the ingenious artist-individual, folklorists would locate the source of authenticity within the anonymity of large social entities like a folk. These scholars would pay particular attention to how knowledge was carried across generations through a nameless tradition (Bendix 1997: 15). Here vernacular traditions could constitute authenticity and it was the intergenerational maintenance of skilled crafts rather than the extraordinary singular oeuvre that received attention. Bendix writes that a folkloristic canon involved cultural expressions that were perceived as raw, natural and devoid of artifice and "aristocratic

excesses" (Bendix 1997: 35). She describes a form of authenticity that ethnographers located in the anonymous and in the collective. Within this form of authenticity we notice a close resemblance with the frame of authentic cultural values in mining heritage where stress is placed on the rough and natural quality of the work. In one display at Big Pit we are introduced to the collier and we read how this occupation is understood as a craft passed down through generations. The caption reads: "Think of them as craftsmen, these 'coal hewers' who carved coal from the seam by the power of muscle and mandrel. In Wales the collier and his assistant, often his son, did all of the coal face tasks."

The presentation of the collier takes it cues from a repertoire of naturalness which is carried on to the guided tours underground. The stress on the experiences of the 'ordinary bloke' represents two interrelated currents in recent cultural heritage. Firstly, the ex-miner represents a turn away from the formal and factual history and to a history that is remembered and reenacted. His contribution is a result of the realization that there can be no absolute separation between official history and personal memory. Secondly, the stress on bottom-up perspectives and memories rather than factual knowledge transforms the former miner into a historical witness of a 'there and then' and he gains importance as a non-renewable heritage resource. The personal connection to the story of coal mining means that he may *gain* authenticity because historical accuracy is deferred. The lack of factual historical accuracy can in itself be treated as an authenticating characteristic (Krankenhagen 2001: 183).

The personal anecdotes cannot always be corroborated or verified by the historian and this partly explains the thrust of the bottom-up perspective. Aleida Assmann (2006) has suggested that history and memory form a kind of symmetrical and reciprocal relationship where memory allows for the ethical stance which the historian can then scrutinize and verify without assuming the role of a custodian of memory. This dialogic model seems to me to be too preoccupied with the verification of historical sources as the outcome of mutual attention between memory and history. In enacting history from below, the almost ritualistic form of the underground tour in and of itself seems to outweigh the concern with the production of always better and more reliable facts. The form of the underground tour both spatially, politically and symbolically mirrors the vernacular aesthetic (Dicks 2000a). Stress is firmly placed on depth rather than surface, miner rather than mine-owner and man rather than machine.

A whole range of metaphorical connections between depth and authenticity are mobilized during the underground tour as we will soon see. In coal mining heritage the promotional texts often refer to the life in mining communities as somewhat hidden and mysterious, an insular and organic whole nourished by community feeling, class solidarity and geographical isolation results in a distinct mining identity "*forged* by the nature of the industry" (Wray 2011: 107, my emphasis). The contrast to Kokerei Hansa and its acknowledgement and revalorization of artificial landscapes is interesting. If we recall how the walkable conveyor bridges at Kokerei Hansa brought visitors to a visual plane elevated above the structures of heavy industry to yield the aesthetic and detached gaze, the tone of Big Pit is, on the whole, very different. Here the key to interpretation is to offer visitors a profound engagement with the core of mining cultures deep beneath the surface. Owing to the conclusion that artificiality and aestheticization add to heritage's renewability, Kokerei Hansa was allowed to enter into new frames of understanding formed by a concern with the 'here and now'. Stressing how mining heritage is an immutable resource whose cultural substance resides in an unassailable, mythical past, Big Pit belongs to a different category of industrial heritage.

5.6 The close-up view: former miners and history from below

It has been claimed that popular forms of heritage may obscure a critical history. Vernacular heritage and a people's history favors the small-scale, the human document, the close-up view of history to the effect that it domesticates history "making politics seem irrelevant" (Samuel 1994: 163). Dicks (2008) has noted that collective entities such as community and class are only backdrops to industrial heritage exhibitions which tend to present history through the lives of individual characters. She claims that the ex-miner is "able to evoke only echoes of collective power" (Dicks 2008: 450). But it can be argued that it is only through the close-up view that the gravity of the individual worker is asserted against the grey mass of the collective. We do not expect the worker to be coincident with a collective, and the close up view can resist blurring out the unique individual existence in favor of more abstract history.

The present situation of the former miner working as guide is characterized by a double bind. The larger context of the performance which I will analyze is driven by a debt of gratitude to the miners, and simultaneously the decimation of coal mining industry has made the miner redundant. He is victim and hero in the same person. The potential pitfalls of this performance are numerous. Curating people is a particularly delicate task and the ex-miner will have to

wear more than one hat; archetype and individual, prepared but spontaneous. The former miners acting as tourist guides are both "contemporary entertainers and socio-historical icons" (2005: 219). A performance such as this is of course fraught with complex political issues that are never addressed explicitly. The coal mining heritage raises challenging questions of how miner can perform living tradition without a mining community (Dicks 2008). The problem Dicks claims is that the "spectre of decline is conjured up at the same time as the vibrancy of the culture is asserted" (Dicks 2008: 438).

At Big Pit the history from below perspective matters a great deal. It is rehearsed on a daily basis and it informs the curatorial approach to authenticity and the purpose of keeping tradition alive. The performance of the ex-miner is central in this effort; it fleshes out the details and particularities of a story which is told in more formal ways in the conventional object-centered exhibitions on the surface. The ex-miner alternate between testable historical facts about Big Pit and informal and anecdotal evidence. The miners enact living history between scripted information and more spontaneous visitor interaction. In that sense he juxtaposes history from below and official historiography. The mode of ex-miner in the underground mining tour can provisionally be described as "acting naturally". In the course of a guided tour of only about 50 minutes, quite naturally, the guide will employ some sort of framework of key elements to include in a presentation and how to deliver the performance. These are the tools of the trade which makes it possible to repeat while also adjusting the interpretation to a particular situation and to a new group of visitors. In the Big Pit underground tour the social reality of the miners is not recreated as a play or a reenactment where a closed diegetic world remains unaware of its spectators. Interaction with visitors necessarily breaks down the so-called fourth wall. We expect that the guide is himself but at the same time we are aware that he is playing a part. This precarious balance between being oneself and enacting one's self has been described in detail by Lionel Trilling:

> "Society requires of us that we present ourselves as being sincere, and the most efficacious way of satisfying this demand is to see to it that we really are sincere, that we actually are what we want our community to know we are. In short, we play the role of being ourselves, we sincerely act the part of the sincere person, with the result that a judgment may be passed upon our sincerity that it is not authentic" (Trilling 1973: 10-11).

The difference between sincerity and authenticity relates to the social sphere. Sincerity was about maintaining honest social relationships, whereas authenticity came to be regarded as a quality of core of being beyond and beneath the social (Jones 2010). In recent approaches to authenticity, the social and cultural dimension of the term has been restituted against the extra-social view which regarded authenticity as an internal attribute in perpetual conflict with the social outside. Authentication is not about transcending or refusing the status of representation or externalization, of reaching back to an unmediated state of perfect alignment of the core self with the enacted self. This would be to expect too much of authenticity. The powerful imperative and desire for authenticity cannot achieve the "downward movement through all the cultural superstructures to some place where all movement ends, and begins" (Trilling 1973: 12). This would be a place of total identification where everything is in its right place. The phantasy of origins preceding reflexive and mass-mediated self-representations in heritage means reveling in "nostalgia for authenticity" (Maleuvre 1999), or an "infinite regress of signification" (Coupland, Garrett and Bishop 2005: 219). The postmodern critique of essentialist notions of authenticity is built into the revision of the concept itself as the realization that historical experience and its representation are always already disjointed.

Rather than offhandedly dismissing a performance with reference to something more profound, primitive and unbridled, we need to ask ourselves why and "how has authenticity been used?" (Bendix 1997: 21). The question is how a representation works to gain authenticity. In this effort, there is no substantial difference here between a cultural critic and the occasional weekend tourist. Neither is likely to be doped into a false touristic consciousness by the tantalizing simulation of a heritage spectacle. The point is to resist the temptation to play the role of the "all-seeing cultural critic" (Coupland, Garrett and Bishop 2005: 204). The critic would write this experience off as a hoax based on a critical assessment to which the regular tourist apparently has no access. This routinely exercised critical gesture tends to mobilized when the critic attempts to distance himself emotionally from the field or intellectually from the beliefs of the common tourist. This contributes to an intellectual deadlock where cultural representation is conceived of primarily in terms of a bleak and degraded, less-than-real copy of some remote and inaccessible cultural origin. Instead we should take into account that tourist, ex-miner, critic and curator alike know that the past is ineffaceable and beyond restoration. Authenticity, as I will show, resides *in* the representation, even if the magic screen of immediacy is hinted at when Big Pit promotes

itself as a 'real mine with real miners'. The hierarchization of surface appearances and a more profound cultural depth is ingrained in ways of thinking, writing and speaking about cultural heritage.

5.7 The Underground Tour

"Go 300 feet underground with a real miner and see what life was like for the thousands of men who worked at the coal face" (National Museum of Wales n.n)

Visitors who want to take the underground tour are directed towards the Miners Waiting Rooms next to the where the pit cage is lowered into the earth. Our party is greeted by a man in orange overalls and white helmet who says that this is a real mine and that there is a risk of gas deposits underground. This means that contraband needs to be left at the surface as a safety precaution. Cell phones, digital watches, cameras, lighters are handed over to an employee who stores the personal belongings of the visitors. Our party is made up of about twelve tourists, some students, a group of middle-aged day trippers as well as a few senior citizens. The group consists of curious and attentive people who ask a lot of questions at the locations where our guide stops to talk and answer questions. After leaving our personal belongings in lockers on surface level, we enter the elevators – the so-called pit cage. Descending down into the dark and damp underground, we are told that the shaft is 300 feet deep that the speed of the cage has been reduced for the convenience of the tourists. Whereas the cage originally travelled 18 feet per second, it today travels at only 7 feet per second. This information is vital in setting the tone of the guided tour underground. The fact that Big Pit is an actual mine makes the slight sensation of danger more apparent. It also places the ex-miner in a position that we are not likely to challenge; after all he is responsible for the security of his party and he is familiar with the routines in case of an emergency. Already at this stage the difference between the real and the simulated underground experience is forcibly made clear to the visitors. This allows the guide to lightly mock the convenience and comforts of the tourist experience. On the surface he has already made it clear that the new, white sneakers I am wearing will get dirty once we get underground.

The authority of the guide as a former miner thus allows him to poke fun at our naïve anticipation of truthfulness and verisimilitude. The insider's perspective triggers several remarks from the guide about the heritage representation from a point of view outside any

preformatted template. The guide relates personal stories from his own working life, but he also relies on historical information that the museum has prepared for the purpose of the tours. This is more of a template and a flexible form which allows for improvisation. The tour is organized around a number of stopping points where the guides are encouraged to include some basic historical facts about Big Pit. A tour typically includes topics such as the use of child labor, the use of horses in the mines, a ventilation system where trappers sat waiting in the dark to open the doors as coal trams approached. Other stopping points are there to tell us about the safety of the miners and how they could use oil lamps to detect methane gas. A substantial part of the narration concerns the early age of coal mining in Big Pit. Our guide would obviously not have worked in the mine when it was first sunk. His experience is from the automatized, nationalized and safer coal mine of late 20th century when the work carried out was vastly different from the mining experience in the Victorian era. He would have worked in an environment where machines hand electrified trams took a load of the miner. He would have worked shorter hours and get paid a more reasonable wage and he would see nothing of horse-carried trams, child labor or oil lamps. He too, is forced to rely on the accounts of early mining available through written sources.

The guided tour works as way to convey the feeling of what work life was like. At one point all the lights are turned off for visitors to experience the pitch-dark environment. The contrast to minute health and safety regulations of contemporary work life is obvious. However, although the tourist experience is comfortable compared to the harsh reality of the mining days, the museum management at Big Pit contrast the underground tour with commoditized and overly sanitized tourist spaces where all facilities are in place to make tourist feel comfortable. Minca (2007) has discussed the attraction of disorder in the contemporary touristic imagination. Tourists, he claim, have a desire to understand, map and put "places and people in their proper order" (Minca 2007: 434). This drive is rivaled by the fatal attraction of disorder and the need to venture "behind or beyond the map" (ibid.). This venture does play a part in the tour. The thrill of being underground in the dark and cold, in a location which feels less sanitized and comfortable, elicits a different mode of interpretation beyond the incessant search for historical accuracy.

Our guide reminds us that there are no toilets underground. This is something he ties to his own personal and professional experience of life at the coal face. He remarks that proper toilets were sorely missed, "especially after curry nights". This is typical of the way these

underground stories work. They take the built environment as their starting point in the form abandoned coal mine which becomes a cue for contrasting the tourist anticipation of comfort with the underground realm where other rules applied. The guide makes this contrast palpable and he ties the particular locations on the tour to his own experiences.

Moreover, the former miner makes the lack of realism palpable and includes it in the narration. Our guide tells his party that: "Today it is possible to talk quietly down here. That would be impossible when the mine was being worked and there was a terrible noise all around". The flaws in the realism of the heritage representation can invite both critical inquiry and creative imagination. These are vital to the effect of the underground tour not because they suggest a close correlation with the actual mining experience, but because the fissure between historical experience and represented memory "should be understood as a powerful stimulant for cultural and artistic creativity" (Huyssen 1995b: 3). Knowing that the glimpse we get of the pit is partial, fragmented, mediated and elaborately planned; we may nevertheless revel in the creative labor taking place at sites like this.

We become aware of the lack of noise and become more attentive to all the crossroads where representation and experience part company. The apparent lack of historical verisimilitude yields questions about the representation directed to the former miner who possesses the authoritative link to the past. The sources of authenticity flow from several separate sources which seem to converge in the specific and distinctive traits of the former miner. A distinctive language (extensive mining vocabulary), the characteristic Welsh accent, banter, specific character qualities (outspoken, frank and funny) as well as the bodily expressions ('blue scars', see below) are palpable traits. The continuity with the mining culture is corroborated through a conscious emphasis on how the individual miner has been shaped by the experience mentally, linguistically, socially and physically.

This is how the authenticity of the underground tour is understood by the museum director:

> "As you stand at the top of the mine shaft kitted out in helmet and cap lamp the realisation that this is no Disney-like simulation starts to strike home. And it's not just the hole in the ground that is authentic either – these 'costumed interpreters' are the real thing and they have the blue scars and personal experiences to prove it" (Walker 2008: 36).

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Some of the traits of authenticity mentioned by the director are fairly straightforward and refers to the conventional understanding of the authentic as something that is not a fake. The hole in the ground is a real coal mine, rather than a hole dug to resemble a pit. The guides all have a history as working miners and are not mere 'costumed interpreters'. The contrast to tourist simulations and theme parks is somewhat more genre-specific and belongs to the long-running heritage critique in the UK spearheaded by Robert Hewison (1987) who relied on a distinction between 'true history' and 'bogus history'. Robert Hewison coined the term 'heritage industry' to suggest that the representation of the past were sanitized to appeal to middle-class consumers. The distance between a lived history and represented heritage was particularly wide in the 1980s as the latter according to Hewison was driven by a specific right-wing political agenda of boosting national pride in a time of industrial decline. Hewison concluded that "heritage, for all its seductive delights, is 'bogus history'" (Hewison 1987: 144).

For the curators at Big Pit National Coal Museum the contrast between the place-specific approach and the detached, commoditized heritage is still important and it suggests that the heritage critique has formed attitudes in contemporary industrial heritage. The local heritage is opposed to the heritage industry. While the former can be vouched for by the community, the latter is regarded as a non-specific approach which is not sensitive to the community perspective or the historic specificity of the place.

5.8 When 'we' become 'they – local authenticity and first-hand knowledge as opposed to 'white elephants'

Big Pit has committed to forms of interpretation that is in keeping with the ideal of a local heritage from below, or what Dicks calls the "vernacular aesthetic" (Dicks 2000a). Two features of this commitment seem to stand out. Firstly, it is important that members of the mining community act as co-creators of heritage. Secondly, a local interpretation is contrasted with distorted heritage representations elsewhere and with past practices. It is important that the local community can vouch for the representation of 'their' history. Community in this context means Welsh coal mining communities and it does not exclusively denominate a geographical location, but also the historical experience of coal mining and the culture that emerged in relation to the industry. The coal mining heritage celebrates the specific cultural character of South Wales. It can contribute to the idea of a distinct and coherent local cultural

character based on trade unionism, classed identities, manual labor and community values. Berger (2008), Evans (2004), Dicks (2000b) and Morgan (1981) have all noted the strong resilience of the amalgam of community, class and coal mine in South Wales. Stefan Berger has compared the identity narratives of South Wales to those of the Ruhr and claims that the male, proletarian class identity was so predominant that it was practically without competition in the South Wales Valleys (Berger 2008: 55). Welsh mining communities are associated with a set of traits that seem to reinforce each other in the sense that geography (isolated valley towns, character of the work (taking place underground) influence values (close-knitted, solidarity, togetherness) which buttresses the sense of seclusion; of standing apart from the rest.

A common way to describe this esoteric and hidden life of coal mining societies would suggest that"[t]he work of miners takes place out of sight of the rest of society; they belong to a hidden world known and understood only by themselves, and the geographical isolation of their communities reinforced this difference" (Wray 2011: 109). Heritage can be employed to reinforce the idea of resolute cultural difference to the effect that the sources of authenticity are always beyond reach, hidden and esoteric. The emphasis that Big Pit places on the local endorsement of the interpretation of the coal-mining past means that the former miner is the legitimate spokesperson (a *Vertreter*) of the traditional coal mining communities and the cultural values they retain. The support for claiming to represent the local heritage is found, as we will learn, in the local sphere and it is crucial that the local stakeholders can claim the heritage as their own and acknowledge it. This local frame is central in the coal mining heritage partly because its living representatives are still around to contest the representation. This makes cultural heritage more overtly dependent upon its subject-community than traditional museums (Dicks 2001). The reciprocity between community and museum, between heritage and its host suggests that institutions need local support as much as the public needs the museum institution. This reciprocal relationship between museums and their communities has been promoted as a tool of inclusion and as a way to secure representational adequacy. The subtle distinctions between a heritage which is consistent with and one which detracts from the local self-understanding will be demonstrated in the interview excerpts from Ceri Thompson, curator at Big Pit National Coal Museum and John Rodger, project director of the World Heritage Site of Blaenavon Industrial Landscape. A qualitative difference is made between the first person account and the third person account. The first-person

interpretation is seen as bearing on the virtue of being in charge of the interpretation of one's own history. To Thompson this is the essential feature of heritage representation at Big Pit:

"Who was interpreting their history? Now, here we are all ex-mine workers, myself included. So we are interpreting my history, my father's history, my grandfather's history, my great-grandfather's history and most of the people of this site do it. You know, the women [working] here, they are usually from the Valleys. You know? But there was a point in some places, where there were someone just put in. Right? And not really much of a clue of what was going on. I won't name any names; I could actually tell you which one I am talking about. But, you know, somebody came in, from away, no background in industry altogether, no real interest in industry and not knowing what to do with the site. And a lot of money was wasted in that sort of way. And, ehm, the locals in the place I am talking about, used to call the bus stop the white elephant stop. The white elephant means... you know, you know what a white elephant is yeah? So that was another thing again, you know. How, how can they... you know they are not mine workers – how can they understand? Big difference there of course. [...] And I think it does need that. You need people coming in with a little bit of expertise, but you also need people who can talk to the locals [...] And in a way, unless you have actually been down there and seen it all, it is not the same (Thompson 2012).

This quote illustrates how a local background is pitted against a disengaged expert management of any heritage. This understanding of local authenticity which is made manifest in the underground tour and epitomized by the miner asserts both vertical and horizontal dimensions of local authenticity. The vertical dimension of authenticity relates to the distinctive cultural traits of a community which can effectively topple the authenticity claim if found wanting (dialect, personal affiliation with community, local knowledge etc.). The horizontal dimension of authenticity concerns time, origin and history (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann 1997). Vertical authenticity can also serve to legitimize the criterions of horizontal authenticity (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann 1997). The more difficult question is in how far local authenticity can still be claimed when the coal mining past as a form of living memory approaches its final phase and the pool of former miners diminishes. This ultimately concerns the rigor of the notion of authenticity and in how far the gap between personal experience and a more abstract form of collective memory solicits or allows a new form of interpretation. To Maurice Halbwachs who coined the term "collective memory" it implied a form of memory that was constituted by social frameworks. These frameworks are perceived as tools used to reconstruct the memories based on the interest of the present and in this sense Halbwachs' approach is clearly presentist in scope. He suggests that we should talk of a

reconstruction of the past rather than its preservation (Halbwachs 1992: 40). The frameworks are not an aggregate of individual memories nor are they empty or unstructured forms ready to be filled with content. The social context shapes the form of memory but this it is not to say that it only act as a constraint where people are "stretched springs" conforming passively to customs, tastes, beliefs and interests of society, but that "even at the moment of reproducing the past our imagination remains under the influence of the present social milieu" (Halbwachs 1992: 49 , cfr. 51).

The present-day reproductions in industrial heritage entail creative labor within a form where some implicit or explicit rules apply. In our case we are dealing with the institutional context of a museum which encourages an informal and entertaining atmosphere in the underground tour but also requires a personal connection to the subject matter. John Rodger views the issue slightly differently as he emphasizes qualities other than actual mining experience as a way to make the performance credible. He pays attention to the fact that the real Welsh miner will soon be gone and that secondary accounts have to take over the responsibility. To Rodger acquired skills may in the end allow for a transition where occupational experience no longer constitutes the make-or-break of a heritage interpretation:

> "I know how successful the miners are in talking to the public. They are personable. Each one of them has got this Welsh character, it's terrific. But the day will come when they aren't there. And I was referring to a situation in Zollverein [in Essen] where actually a French economics student took me around. And because he believed in it so much, and he was so enthusiastic he was also good with the visitors. So, it's actually the belief that you need. You can't always have a real miner, cause they won't exist" (Rodger 2012).

These excerpts demonstrate the stakes of the industrial heritage at Big Pit. It is perceived of as a commitment to the local community and it concerns the issue of who can be entrusted with the duty of passing on the memory of coal mining to future generations in a form considered appropriate. This practice is regarded, especially by Thompson, in contrast to a heritage interpretation which pays no attention to local perspective or has no actual tie to the history of coal mining. The coal mining heritage is in this way conceptualized in almost familial terms, as a passing on of heritage over generations in keeping with community values. It is a question of having acquired the proper knowledge of coal mining below the surface. A background in the coal mining industry and being from South Wales is considered by Thompson to be crucial for this experience to be conveyed accurately to visitors at Big Pit.

Where external experts have gained too extensive control in the running of things, it can result in a loss of confidence from the local community in the rendition of local heritage. Referring to the unnamed heritage site as a 'white elephant' with which Big Pit is contrasted, Ceri Thompson demonstrates how a local possession may end up being rejected by the locals as a burdensome and highly dubious piece of heritage which undermines the viable connection between the local community and their heritage.

The current practice of recollection we might suggest with Halbwachs is restricted by the social framework and the influence which the present social milieu exerts on the form of memory. In contrast to the widespread idea of universal cultural ownership this is *someone's* heritage in the sense that people who experienced the events personally are still around to rival the content and form of a particular interpretation. The premise here is that the past is not abstract, reducible to pure archaeological data or historical texts, it is someone's heritage with material consequences for community identity and belonging (Smith 2006: 29). Evidently, the question of the appropriate form of mining heritage has been debated extensively at Big Pit. By making it available to everyone at all costs it loses nourishment from the community supposed to vouch for its credibility.

The wider context of this discussion is worth noting because it ties the activity at Big Pit to the ethically conscious tradition of history from below where individual biographies play a central role. It is a tradition which stresses the value of personal, first-person accounts of events in the past and is concerned with the retrieval of stories of ordinary people. The aim of history from below is to restitute a more detailed, nuanced and personal account of major historic events by privileging the close-up view in a way which allows ordinary people both to become subjects of history and practice history. Raphael Samuel (1934-1996) who advocated a history from below perspective and meant that it would effectively be a way of "opening the nation retrospectively to the excluded" (Samuel 1994: 163). This is a double-edged sword, however, and it can shed light on why the tension between detached expert and local stakeholder occurs in the first place.

Bennett (1995) has noted how there is a permanent mismatch between the universalizing drive and the always already partial character of contemporary public museums which makes reform demands of representation and inclusion insatiable. Excluded constituencies demand inclusion or others do so on their behalf. Judged against the principle of generality any

museum could be deemed "partial, incomplete, inadequate" (Bennett 1995: 97). A call for museal reform in Wales occurred in the 1980s when it was claimed that the industrial history of Wales was poorly represented in national museums at the time. The fact that it had taken so long was inter alia because the experience of coal mining was so common and pervasive part of modern, everyday culture that it allegedly did not require representation in museums (Mason 2004b). Several scholars have noted the role of heritage in maintaining local idiosyncrasy in the face of threats against authenticity (Bendix 2002; Coupland, Garrett and Bishop 2005; Dicks 2000b). If we regard authenticity as an assertion of the particular against the general this cannot occur without some fundamental split or rupture where the common is seen as less common or indeed is perceived as threatened.

While curators can aspire to bring the formal, institutionalized history closer to those who personally experienced the mining in terms of the accuracy of historical content, the form of the underground tour also bears resemblance to a ritual where the public transmission of memory beyond the situation where first-hand experience can be claimed. The act over passing on knowledge from one generation to the next is a question of maintaining this ethical responsibility in a context where living memory is fading and a particular way of life is perceived as threatened. This interval between living memory and recollected memory, first-person and third-person accounts is precisely what Thompson and Rodger address. The transference from 'we' to 'they' is, I will claim, the central function of the act of recollection. I will now draw on some aspects of the hermeneutics developed by Paul Ricoeur to discuss the relation between innovation and tradition in acts of remembering and suggest that the transmission takes place.

5.9 Ricoeur and the recovery of past potential

To Ricoeur the gap between past and present, the distance between the event and the act of recounting an event can be indicative of the "[…] the dialectic of presence and absence at the heart of the representation of the past, to which is added the feeling of distance proper to memories" (Ricoeur 2004: 414). This gap can be experienced as a loss of foundations for cultural identity as values and customs forged by a particular way of life is on the wane. Otherwise it is this gap which solicits self-invention through differentiation from the traditional lifestyle.

Inspired by Ricoeur (1984: 68) I will now look at representation of the past as "the interplay between innovation and sedimentation", substance as well artifice which might have a bearing on the rigor with which we pass a judgment on authenticity claims. We cannot expect it to be profound substance of a deep past exposed in a pristine state and brought forward in an unaltered form. Neither can we dismiss the obligation felt towards the "reality of the past" (Ricoeur 1988) which is real regardless of the representation. The challenge is to recover the meaning of heritage even if we acknowledge that it is difficult to argue for a rehabilitation of cultural essence or a purely contingent set of signifying practices which shares no ground with the empirical real. The attempt to open up for a both-and conception of memory is Ricoeur's contribution in the sense that it mediates between the extreme ends of substantial core as uninterrupted self-coherence and uncommitted floating signifiers.

In the last instance the vehicle of transmission which makes the past carry particular weight for Ricoeur (2004) is the notion of debt. We are committed by the debt we owe to the people of the past. This ethical dimension of heritage, to its favor, does not preclude the possibility of self-invention within forms of representing the past. In fact it has a direct bearing on the issue of the appropriate form of heritage for the future *beyond* the privileged first-person perspective. This transition from 'we' to 'they' and the duration of the interval from living memory to a more abstract varies from case to case, but needless to say – it will occur at some point. For Ricoeur it is the figure of the other, who we may not have known, that calls us and commits us. This ethical obligation does not prescribe imitation or a blind repetition of inherited forms. While the idea of debt was inseparable from the notion of heritage; he underscores that productive imagination or an "interplay of sedimentation and innovation" is important to what he calls "traditionality" (Ricoeur 1984: 84). Traditionality describes the gap between the present and the past: "It signifies that the temporal distance separating us from the past is not a dead interval but a transmission that is generative of meaning" (Ricoeur 1988: 221).

The term can be tied to Ricoeur's oeuvre, a "hermeneutic of redemptive reminiscence" (Vandenberghe 2002: 64). Through memory some of the unfulfilled prospects of the historical past could be reactivated or redeemed for the future. This goes beyond the historiographical corrective of retrieving more detailed accounts of the past. "The duty of memory is the duty to do justice, through memories, to an other than the self" (Ricoeur 2004: 89). If we apply the notion of debt to the complex issue of 'we' as opposed to 'they' in the underground tour it is

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clear that sedimentation and preservation of a distinct set of cultural traits is more prevalent than the universality of heritage. The preservation of localized identities is more pronounced than a view of heritage as a symbol of universality and shared meaning. A remote, dispersed form of ownership is downplayed for heritage as the grounded expression of the local 'we'. The transition from 'we' to 'they' is postponed and the sense of distance proper to memories is not allowed to take hold (yet).

The poststructuralist privilege given to the reader at the cost of the author challenges the unity of a historical source as it is continuously remolded by new interpretations in new contexts where outsider as well as insider can be beneficiaries in the process of commemorating a particular tradition. A similar development is evident in the way the meaning and ownership of heritage is universalized available as to downplay the local possessive dimension of heritage for the sake of universality where "your culture becomes everyone's heritage" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 162), or for the sake of stressing exchange value whereby "the most intimate moment into a commercial one" (Bendix 2002: 474). Both of these threats have a bearing on the way authenticity is understood in our context as a reaction against commodification and generalization.

Clearly, Big Pit is set up for the outsider to experience the typical coal mining community, but it also serves the purpose of localizing the moral ownership of heritage resources firmly within the community context. When community, identity and heritage is challenged and when external professionals and experts impose on the way the local mining community understands its heritage, the representation is less likely to reverberate locally and instead yield 'white elephants'. It may be treated too generally, it may be seen as a commodity or it may be claimed by outsiders with no personal relation to the subject matter. Thompson brings attention to the ways in which a heritage interpretation matters to a specific group with a specific shared history. His understanding of heritage stresses personal, occupational experience as key to the authenticity of the underground tour. It is a way of suggesting that the legitimacy of the form of coal mining heritage hinges on its consistency with the community perspective.

The issue of who is in the end responsible for the narration in coal mining heritage during the underground tour is anything but arbitrary. The qualities requested in the approach to authenticity at Big Pit is a proper understanding of pit life acquired through personal

experience rather than through secondary sources. This has resulted in the development of an apprenticeship scheme where future staff at Big Pit may attend training in a form which resembles coal mine training in the years of National Coal Board. Apprentices are trained in engineering, rescue operations as well as in guiding visitors around in the coal mine. Currently two apprentices undergo this form of training to build a career in electrical engineering and mechanical engineering respectively. The difference between the current practice and training in the days of coal mining days is that training originally took eight months, will today take about three or four years to complete. The practice of offering training to future employers Big Pit is an attempt to assure that practical know-how is preserved as opposed to the passive knowledge of the industry. Beyond that it also aims to maintain and cultivate the distinct personality of the typical miner:

> "We have two apprentices, one electrical engineering and one mechanical engineering apprentice and they... they are the same types as when I started in the colliery, the same types of boys, the same enthusiasms, you know, and they, they fit in quite well. And of course, they are then learning the banter, they're getting used to listening to other people's stories, you know, because there is a lot of guys talking about mining techniques and the know it all themselves, but they've learned of other people, or they've read stuff as well. But because they can say 'I have worked underground on this machine', it gives them authenticity" (Thompson 2012).

The stress on practice means that heritage preserves occupational skills and social competence in a trade that is by now virtually extinct. Although operation has been revived in some Welsh collieries they have often failed to remain profitable in the longer run. Millions of tons of coal are still buried under the surface which has spurred ad-hoc commercial ventures, recently seen in the revival of Aberpergwm Colliery and Unity mine in Neath Valley. The apprenticeships at Big Pit are clearly not fueled by market demands in the industry, but signal a commitment to secure an appropriate form of storytelling which does not require hiring actors. It is an attempt to forge continuity with the coal mining past, although the economic and cultural situation has changed tremendously. The stress on proper interpretation is warranted by a specific notion of authenticity that is tied to having been there and having seen it all, a form of authenticity of authority (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann 1997). This authoritative form of authenticating recent history cannot be sustained when the living representatives are no longer around. We can infer that it will be difficult to safeguard the public transmission of the memory mining heritage given these strict requirements on interpretation. In about 15 years or

so no real miner will be around to represent coal mining heritage as "living memory" (Walker 2008).

5.10 Ritual and 'scriptural entombment'

A shift from recent past to historic past is anticipated by the fact that the era of coal mining conceived as living memory is fading. Soon there will be no living representatives of coal mining to act as authoritative and 'authentic' stand-ins of this particular way of life. The split between the dead and the still alive is one Ricoeur employs to distinguish recent past from historic past (Ricoeur 2002). It is this split that we are dealing with in the case of the Welsh miners and the question of the appropriate form of transmission. The issue of last surviving witnesses of a particular period or event in history, what de Jong (2012) has called "a witness to history" makes the question of the form of representation accrue significance. This is driven by the realization that the testimonies of the now-living will matter not as a sign of immediacy or authenticity of the personal renditions, but as a way to grant the people of the past presence in the form of historical narrative or social discourse. This is the contract that binds the dead and the still-alive. While it involves the acknowledgement of irretrievable loss it also aids the discovery of a potential that the past has left unaccomplished (Ricoeur 1988, 2004). How might this potential be revived?

Shanks (1992) claims that heritage resembles a form of symbolic exchange. We partake in the sacrifice where the desired qualities and things from the past can be appropriated and taken "within the self" (Shanks 1992: 108). There is a victim in the process; the past is surrendered in exchange for something else. We sacrifice the past for the sake of the present. At Big Pit one thing we can and actually do provide in return for the sacrifice is that we will commit to an ongoing commemoration so that the efforts of generations of coal miners will not pass unnoticed. The power of the sacrifice of heritage, writes Shanks, is the communion with the other. If the truth of local heritage is hidden deep and beyond reach of the living, this implies that the visitor can never understand or appropriate the qualities, cultural values and norms that the ex-miner communicates. It also means that the access to the past will be inconceivable when the last surviving coal miners are gone. This dead end can be avoided only if we consider the apparent and regular, in contrast to the hidden and unique as a building block of the performance in the underground tour.

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In the above-cited interview, John Rodger drew attention to the fact that at some point the reliance on personal witness accounts has to give way to interpretations from outside the community of miners. He stressed the performative aspects (enthusiasm and confidence) of credible talk even if the interpretation is not done by someone whose occupational experience maintains the fundamental personal link with the coal mining past. Admittedly this is the only way that the memory of coal mining can be transmitted to future generations. To this we might add that it is through the institutionalized and formalized repetition of prototypical values that the values outlive the cultural situation which produced them.

The symbolic exchange between the insider and the outsider, host and visitor, taking place in the form of a guided tour anticipates the future transmission of collective memory of a past which is irretrievably gone. The ritual character of the underground tour implies that it is encoded in a canon and this necessarily restricts the leeway of the individual ex-miner. Connerton notes that the invariance of a ritual is precisely the point of this form of remembering: "The utterances are not produced by performers but are already encoded in a canon and therefore exactly repeatable" (Connerton 1989: 58). They have been performed before and this regularity is central to the meaning making underground rather than the access to some unique, spontaneous and singular one-off occurrence. Connerton writes that we often tend to oppose "merely ritual" to authenticity and that this is misleading. Our participation or observation in a ritual means that at some level we assent to its meaning or at least that we agree that to violate it is not a "light matter" because it may harm a person or a group (Connerton 1989). By participating in the underground tour we agree to be addressed by someone whose experience is radically different from our own. For the symbolic exchange of values to succeed so that the present may appropriate qualities from the past we are assigned a central role in retrieving what the past has abolished. The shift from recent past to historic past means that we have a stake in the actual transmission, but also in reactivating its potential for the sake of the present (Ricoeur 2004; Shanks 1992).

Following Michel de Certeau, Paul Ricoeur in *Temporal Distance and Death in History* (2002) likens the writing of history with a burial which constructs a place for the dead for the sake of the living through scriptural entombment. This literary burial can be viewed positively because it anticipates action on the part of the readers who are the addressees. Ricoeur envisions a dynamic relationship between the dead and the living reader and the symbolic exchange he has in mind "goes beyond simple narrativity" and enters the domain of

performance in the sense that "performativity assigns to the reader a place, a place to be filled, a task to be undertaken" (Ricoeur 2002: 248). The stress on the reader here makes it possible to think of the contemporary heritage performance as simultaneously a form which remains fundamentally indebted to the past but not wholly determined by it as a form which must be obediently imitated. Ricoeur reserves an important role for the reader who is addressed by a history. The point is that although the debt to the past commits us and present is also obliged to invent forms of self-understanding which redeems past possibilities through creative labor in the present (Ricoeur 1988). This is why the underground tour at Big Pit can be meaningful not in spite of but because of its performativity. As outsiders we partake in a ritual-like commemoration which in reality has more to do with cultural transmission of memory than the preservation of some deep and remote cultural origin. No realistic simulation can bridge the gap between past and present, but the indebtedness can be given an expression, a present presence through what Ricoeur calls scriptural entombment. A visual expression of this can be found at Big Pit National Museum where an extensive list of once active Welsh collieries has been prepared. In a form resembling the memorial plaque the casualties of the coal rundown are named and made part of the public memory. This is a modest and simple form of presencing absence in contemporary industrial heritage which nevertheless commits us because it reserves a place for the disappeared in contemporary public life.

Figure 5.5 – A list of former collieries in Wales at Big Pit National Coal Museum

5.11 Revised authenticity?

Recent uses of the term authenticity have sought to understand it in terms of enactment, staging and performance. Put simply; authenticity according to this view is more contingent on social and cultural activities rather than some attribute existing in separation from it as a core of being. For one, Bendix (1997) thinks that authenticity can be seen as a quality of experience. We can treat authenticity as a property of representation, rather than have authenticity fuel the profound suspicion of representation. The argument that declaring something as authentic in itself will undermine the authentic object and turn it into a sign of itself (e.g. Culler 1990) is only viable if we consider authenticity as the opposite of representation. A more fruitful starting-point is to admit that in remembering - in recalling the past - representation can hardly be avoided (Huyssen 1995b). Mohn, Strub and Wartemann (1997) consider authenticity to be a form of representation – *Darstellung*. They draw up altogether five different forms of authenticity: Magical authenticity, authenticity of authority, authenticity of authorship, authenticity of dilemma and, lastly, instrumental authenticity.

The first form of authenticity discussed is magical authenticity. As a form of imagining a pre-cultural origin, magical authenticity does not really pertain to the understanding of authenticity espoused by the authors. They claim on the contrary that authenticity requires the issue of inadequate representation to make sense. A perfect correlation between the represented and representation (signified and signifier) does not allow for this doubt to occur and hence it is not part of the authenticity-as-representation view promoted here. A practical example can be provided. The mimetic mode of heritage representation according to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, refuses to acknowledge that it is guided by "representational conventions" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 21). Consequently, in some forms of heritage displays, a slice-of-life rhetoric is adopted to the effect that an illusion is produced of a "close fit, if not identity between the representation and that which is represented" (ibid.). This identity is ultimately nothing but a comfortable fantasy belonging to magical authenticity.

The second form of authenticity listed by Mohn et. al. is the authenticity of authority. They regard this kind of authenticity as bearing on the power of any responsible authority to certify something as genuine. In the case of secular or clerical courts these entities are responsible for the authorization of documents, objects, relics and evidence. Later, they claim, new topoi are added to the form of authenticity of authority. The topoi they introduce are the topoi of "having personally experienced, having been present, having personally discovered" (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann 1997: 2). Mohn et. al. are critical of this particular form of authority and claim that its main purpose is to undermine the discussion of possible fallacy of a recognized cultural authority. It is an expectation in our culture that the actions of personal experience are enacted in a way that seems spontaneous and unconscious. It is a kind of authority reinforced by acting naturally and being oneself.

The third form of authenticity is the authenticity of authorship. In contrast to the authenticity of authority which attempts to resist criticism, authenticity of authorship has gone through a process of ideological criticism Authenticity of authorship discloses the techniques employed in making something seem authentic. It is the act of revealing the means of representation which here constitutes authenticity. This form stresses honesty and transparency and challenges the authority of the real. Mohn et. al. claim that authenticity of authorship belongs to constructionism, asserting that a straightforward, immediate category of the real is inconceivable and that there is ultimately no such thing as authenticity.

The fourth form is the authenticity of dilemma which both asserts and deconstructs our desire for immediacy. It is critical both of the phantasy of an unmediated reality and of the authenticity of authorship. The authenticity of dilemma lays no claim to unmediated real but it accepts the Kantian "metaphysical need" for the unmediated encounter with the world. It counters the representation by attempting not to interfere with the appearance of the represented: "The authentic representation is still a representation, but it should be transparent rather than opaque" The world can be seen through the invisible glass rather than a cloudy window and "things can be left as they are" (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann 1997: 4)

The fifth form of authenticity is the instrumental authenticity. It is instrumental in the sense that it serves the purpose of sparking discussion, reflection and controversies of conventions and strategies. It exposes the contrast between the immediate and mediated for the sake of achieving an "authenticity effect" (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann 1997: 4). To reveal the artificial character – the constructed character of immediacy - is an important component in this form of authenticity.

While the different articulations of authenticity are sometimes polemically opposed to each other, there is a degree of overlap between some of the categories. One form of representation can pertain to several forms of authenticity rather than belonging exclusively to one category (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann 1997: 6). One important difference between these different forms of representation concerns their transparency. While some forms of cultural representations actively encourage doubt concerning the adequacy of a representation, others do not explicitly seek to challenge the status of the representation. Authenticity of authorship and the instrumental authenticity both expose the constructed nature of a representation. The authenticity of dilemma does not automatically conclude that this form of critique needs to be made present at the level of representation. And the authenticity of authority evades this issue altogether by relying firmly on an established cultural authority.

If we apply this framework to the underground tour at Big Pit, it seems we are dealing with a cultural authority that plays a crucial part in authenticating the heritage. The five forms of authenticity differ widely in terms of their respective transparency and reflexivity. The authenticity of authorship is suspicious of the representation and it tends to underline its own status as representation. The authenticity of the dilemma does not expose the means of

representation and it concentrates its efforts on representing the world in way which makes it look unaffected by and existing independently of representation. It is a means of turning the representation against representation itself. It must be seen in opposition to the authenticity of authorship where the self-critical gesture is far more pronounced and is incorporated into the signification. In the authenticity of authority the first-person account is crucial. Having been present at the time and having experienced something firsthand is the defining feature of this form of authenticity. Mohn et. al were critical of this form of authenticity as it was difficult to contest the authority of actual experience.

The ex-miner is the foremost symbol of this transformation from abstract phenomena to close-up view on history. He yields considerable control over the narration underground and this stems from the authenticity of authority. The second form of authenticity that is important in the underground tour is the authenticity of the dilemma. This is evident in the way the underground coal mine is *made* to look untouched: "Leave everything as it is" is the phrase used by Mohn et. al. to describe this mode of authenticity (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann 1997: 3). It is a representation, nonetheless, but one which avoids clouding the view with layers information and instead presents us with the invisible window. At Big Pit the authenticity of the underground tour flows from two separate sources: Historical experience of the miner (authority) and minimal intervention in the actual surviving coal mine (authenticity of dilemma).

In the following I will rely on the notions of authenticity developed above to demonstrate how the desire for authenticity and criticism of authenticity enter into a productive relationship. The issue of recovery pertains both to the material level and to my analysis as such. We have established that it is difficult to vouch for the underground experience as authentic based on its close correspondence with the historic real. The difference between real and representation, I argued, geared our attention to personal experiences and personal memories of our guide. These are essentially different from authenticity understood as truth. The contrast between formal history and personal recollection is a central element of the tour. The memories of the former miner produce a different story than the one which relies on the exact historical knowledge of the tonnage of coal hauled or the date when a particular mining legislation was passed. A piece of historical information can be true, but that does not mean that it makes sense to claim its authenticity. To substantiate this view Christian Strub has

demonstrated that a true claim is not automatically an authentic claim. The claim '7+5=12' is true, but never authentic (Strub 1997).

Emphasizing the personal experiences of the ordinary miner is an overriding concern at Big Pit. It is this broader ethical commitment of heritage to redeem the perspectives of ordinary people which runs through the aesthetics of display. It is an example of what Ricoeur (1970) refers to as a hermeneutics of restoration which stress that personal accounts can yield meanings that are central. The hermeneutics of suspicion, in contrast, emphasize the omissions, disjunctions and inconsistencies in an account. The hermeneutics of suspicion approaches the manifest real with distrust and the symbol is seen as a "dissimulation of the real" (Josselson 2004: 3). The reason why I have introduced Ricoeur's notions of a "hermeneutics of restoration" and "hermeneutics of suspicion" is because we can make sense of the underground tour as part of a larger recovery effort mentioned in the first part of this chapter (cfr. chapter 5.4). Ricoeur asks us what interest we would have in an object if we do not expect it to address us (Ricoeur 1970: 29).

Ricoeur is not talking about the naïve faith in meaning but a faith that has undergone criticism - a "postcritical faith" (Ricoeur 1970: 28). What Ricoeur does is to unearth a space for the restoration of meaning against the widespread doubt confessed by a hermeneutics of suspicion. As I have already demonstrated, the representation of history in cultural heritage has been vehemently criticized as faux and distorted. With Ricoeur we can suggest that representation cannot be approached in terms of a deep mistrust of latent, apparent meaning and formed by the insistence on some deep, covert and suppressed meaning which escapes our attention. There must also be, according to Ricoeur, a willingness and openness to listen to that which addresses itself to us: "Believe in order to understand, and understand in order to believe" (op.cit.: 28). Scott Lash has later taken up the torch in a critique of deconstruction and the sweeping away of ontological foundations in "ever more rapid cycles" (Lash 1994: 146). He claims that an operation of retrieval is needed against the tendency in postmodern social science to "chronically defer and deny meaning" (ibid.). Lash seeks to restore meaning beyond the free floating play of signification and by claiming that shared meanings and practices of a 'we' exist.

According to Raphael Samuel the "half-remembered incidents and events" are part of an oft-forgotten oral tradition which "wells up from those lower depths - history's nether-world –

where memory and myth intermingle, and the imaginary rubs shoulders with the real"
(Samuel 1994: 6). The authority of the former miner as the rightful interpreter' is not derived
exclusively from a tie to the historical content in question. The performance is understood as
playing a part in keeping tradition alive. The crucial realization here is that the social and
cultural context of the "to-be-restored" tradition is gone and that continuity can be guaranteed
only "in a different medium" (Bendix 1997: 202). What Bendix writes about the performance
paradigm also applies to the underground tour at Big Pit: "If expressive culture lived in the
fleeting moment of enactment, than authenticity should have been recognized as experiential,
rather than static and lasting" (Bendix 1997: 198).

The underground tour is a one-off occurrence that is nevertheless rehearsed and repeatable.
The performance is the primary means through which something is transformed into a new
medium and clearly it occurs in a different key, in a radically different setting and in a
different medium – but the reality and meaning of this event cannot be denied simply because
it is staged. At Big Pit the dictum of 'keeping tradition alive' is central and its clearest
expression is the performance of the ex-miner. He embodies a kind of knowledge and
experience by 'having been there' and 'having seen it personally' which makes his testimony
authoritative. It is clearly and quite naturally these qualities that are sought after when
employing a new guide. The greatest asset of the former miner is his first-hand experience
which makes the performance credible. In their taxonomy of different forms of authenticity,
Strub et. al. are critical of this particular form of authenticity. The discursive power of a
testimony which relied primarily on the first person account to gain credibility implied a
deferral of the discussion they feel is required. The spontaneity of the performance is crucial
to the authenticity of authority. It is expected to flow naturally, in a reflex-like manner from
the person who delivers the performance. The idea is that he can act naturally and relate his
experiences without any fundamental critique integrated into the performance. As Strub et. al
claims, the main qualifier of the authority of authenticity is to prevent a discussion of a
potential deceit from occurring. The purpose is to give an appearance of immediacy and resort
from undermining the credibility of the natural communication. The natural, spontaneous and
reflex-like attitude is privileged because the body does not lie (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann
1997). The means and end of an authenticity of authority is this impression of immediacy and
its (re)presentation techniques rely on physical presence (Wartemann 2002). No attempt is
being made to challenge the power of the representation. The authenticity of authority fails to

problematize the representation itself and the issue of maintaining the unbroken link between past and present is more acute.

During the underground tour the authenticity of authority of the former miner is reinforced, not challenged. The authority is energized by the natural and uncontrived narration. The understanding of authenticity which has informed the aesthetics of the underground tour is one of natural, immediate, straightforward appearances. It is as if the natural and spontaneous manners of working miners are transposed to the heritage performance where it pierces through the omnipotent threat of artifice and inauthenticity. It is ethically and politically more urgent to restitute a shared sense of pride in the traditional coal mining community than to exercise the intellectual critique of representation. One might claim that the imperative of recovering worker's history renders the kind of reflexive representation and self-critical attitude less pronounced. To question the first-hand knowledge and occupational authority of the coal miner seems only analytically forced. We defer the reflex of critique of representation because the aesthetics of redemption request that we let the other address us.

The critical and deconstructive attitude to practices of cultural representation is given pause in favor of lending an ear to the coal miner's story. The proximity of the miner-guide to the events portrayed and the uninterrupted past-present relation embodied by the authenticity of authority join forces. The purpose of the miner is to give the coal mining heritage the required appearance of immediacy. The influence from oral history is appreciable. It too has stressed the immediacy of the oral culture in opposition to a written (and printed) account of the world. The immediacy of the performance requires that the talk seems unscripted and natural even if it is standardized and performed frequently.

5.12 Conclusion

The demise of coal mining in South Wales means that the intergenerational lineage of male miners will be broken and this makes the stories of surviving miners all the more important. The consistent stress on the living, breathing ex-miner as the primary resource of the coal mining heritage, has created a problem for the sustainability of this particular form of heritage interpretation. The ex-miner is a non-renewable heritage resource. The traditional mining village and the coal mining working class in the Valleys is a 'vanishing other' (Dicks 2000b). The practice of offering coal mine training to future employees is a way to resuscitate the

extensive knowledge that was passed on from experienced miners to apprentices in terms of safety procedures, mine rescue and handling machines and equipment underground. It was also a practice of passing on social and cultural knowledge to freshmen. The practice today will inevitably be marked by the realization that the fundamental economic purpose of these apprenticeships has disintegrated as practically no coal is being extracted in the valleys of South Wales. If the true authentic expression of a cultural character is hidden deep and forged in isolation from the outside world, it forecloses the vital ability to act, so to speak, out of character and differentiate oneself from the past.

In 1973 Dean Maccannel noted the importance of backstage performance in contemporary tourism and suggested a continuum from front regions to back regions of social interaction in tourist spaces based on the template of the sociologist Ervin Goffman. The extreme ends in this continuum are the sanitized front regions and the authentic back regions. The former is something that the enlightened tourists desperately attempt to go behind and the latter, the back region, is what "motivates the touristic consciousness" according to Maccannel (1973: 598). He criticized many intellectuals who scorned mass tourism for its duplicity. He felt that such writers based their analyses on the nostalgic desire clear-cut view of what is false and what is real. The favor of Maccannel was that he problematized the distinction between false and real and made it clear the run of the mill-critique of tourism architected an absolute division between the intellectual and the touristic attitude. This division is difficult to sustain as both tourists and intellectuals were demanding authenticity. However, in trying to propose a way out of this rigid dichotomy, Maccannel observes how difficult it is to "penetrate the true inner workings of other individuals or societies. What is taken to be real might, in fact, be a show that is based on the structure of reality" (MacCannell 1999: 95).

He more or less confirms the idea that the real is in peril and that what we think is true is in reality a mere show. The way out of this impasse is to treat performed heritage as a phenomenon which has real-life consequences that may be accounted for more eloquently outside the real and the false. We know that the underground tour is prepared for our sake and that it is not actual coal mining unfolding in front of our eyes. It is not a vehicle through which we can penetrate these "true inner workings" of any individual or society. But that does not make it 'unreal'. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to conceptualize authenticity without paying attention to the crisis of representation. At the point where doubt arises in relation to the adequacy of a representation we acknowledge the discrepancy between a historic real and

its contemporary representation. I have claimed that a representation is reality-forming and should be seen as part of the history of a site and not as a dubious extraneous practice. The practice of taking visitors underground to see the coal mine has been ongoing at Big Pit for some thirty years. This in fact makes it a substantial part of the history of the site and the community, rather than some ephemeral simulation or pseudo-event. By this I mean that authenticity must be analyzed in terms of the aesthetic expression of social interaction in a given context. I have claimed that the underground tour at Big Pit relies on some distinct features of the authenticity of authority while also being oriented towards interaction and dialogue to subject the authority of the ex-miner to some tests. The former miner "having been present" can point to the inconsistencies in the current state of the mine as historic representation and this makes his testimony fundamental in the authentication of the site. The process of authentication was understood as an oscillation between critical questioning and creative imagination. In order to make sense of authenticity as a matter of representation and interpretation I employed Ricoeur's distinction between an exercise of suspicion and restoration of meaning. This informs us about the possibility and necessity of restoring faith in the meaning of heritage after it has undergone critique.: Not for one second do we believe this miner to be unaffected by the stage and the setting where his performance takes place. The critical attitude does not change the fact we are there to be addressed by a history that is different from our own. We see no reason not to trust the intentions of the narrator. A story which is not tangential to the emotional core of an individual is still far from equivalent of a lie. We trust that he is the expert of his own story.

The authenticity of authority is central to the representation analyzed in this chapter. It is far more pronounced than any self-reflexive critique on the textual level of the narration. One important assertion at the Big Pit is that it is a real mine with real miners. The centrality of the authority of the former miner is something I have understood with reference to a wider redemptive discourse of industrial heritage. The topoi of history-from-below and first person interpretation are important means in the recovery of working class experiences in the public historic consciousness. This process is partly internal in the sense that it is part of an institutional reform of the museum and heritage sectors and partly external in the sense that it asserts the value and persistence of coal mining communities to the outside world. Firstly, recovery hinges on the internal dynamics of museum and heritage institutions in the sense that opting for the people's perspective signals a reformed practice clearly different from earlier

approaches that rested on the display of shiny objects and generic approaches to the themed heritage experience. Heritage was mocked by scholars for its artifice and contrived aesthetics and this critique has since long been appropriated and re-rehearsed by the heritage sector itself (e.g. "Cymru Disney"). Artifice is avoided and the ex-miner represents the opposite by being plainspoken, frank and spontaneous. Secondly, recovery in accordance with the history from below aesthetics means that at Big Pit the form of the tour is essential. Spatially, politically and symbolically it takes the form of a bottom-up perspective on history. Being in charge of the performance is also an act of taking possession of history at a level where conventional historiography is sidelined. The purpose is not to produce better and more reliable facts, but to allow for a deeper and more personal experience of the coal mining heritage.

Against this stress on the idiosyncratic against the standardized, or the deep encounter with the authentic, defying the forces of time and cultural change, I have proposed a way to look at heritage performances as rehearsed and standardized acts of transmission of collective memory. It is a ritual-like performance which anticipates a situation where no surviving stand-ins can corroborate or contest the content of the heritage display. Regarded in this way the efficacy of the form is not due to the way it pierces through the artificial façade of contemporary heritage culture, but rather that it builds on canonized and agreed-upon virtues of coal mining communities which is encoded in present-day performances. In the context of debt owed to the past, the waning of living memory makes the question of form matters more and not less.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION – PAST OTHERS AND THE OTHERNESS OF THE PAST

6.1 The burdensome industrial past and its sustainable management

In the course of this thesis I have analyzed three industrial heritage sites where defamiliarization, conflict and authenticity respectively were treated as dominant articulations of a process of dealing with the residues of the industrial era and of coming to terms with deindustrialization. Looking more analytically at the cases of industrial heritage I have chosen as a starting point for my analyses, we can discern some important differences between the sites in terms of the problem of representation. The problem of representation as we recall refers to making the absent past present in a form which is both different from and committed to events in the past. The representation does not leave the past entirely aside but recalls it in a form which is potentially meaningful albeit different from the past as such.

In order to make sense of the representation of the past in the form of industrial heritage we may consider the ways in which the past exerts influence on the present forms of preservation in terms of material recalcitrance, material or the gravity of past events. Dimensions such as these severely restrict the leeway in contemporary material and aesthetic responses to the residues of the industrial past. In a context of deindustrialization which provides the common ground for the cases of industrial heritage preservation analyzed in this thesis, the industrial past is not a pristine treasure waiting to be uncovered which the pervasive ontology of discovery seems to imply (Buchli). The past is also burden in many regards (financially, materially, environmentally and socially) which weighs down attempts of moving on in the old-fashioned way through demolition and redevelopment. Certainly demolition and redevelopment still occurs but this mode of conduct has changed in fundamental regards and

is different from the heydays of industrial modernity characterized by technological optimism, rational planning and economic growth. If industrial heritage can be seen as a sanctioned form of forgetting, which I claim is fairly sensible, it is because removal and demolition makes a lengthy detour through the techno-cultural assemblage of cultural resource management. Only

after passing through - in a roundabout way - the stages of resource assessment can the heritage be assembled to accrue stability through cultural prestige as rare, unique, and significant or otherwise be deemed ordinary, costly, insignificant and unsustainable and be removed in a secure, responsible and prescribed way. The act of making heritage through this form of systematic, large-scale stock taking is in any regard significantly different from the notion that preservation only extends, stretches past ways and past materials unto the future under the guise of keeping tradition alive. Extensive bureaucracy is derided for slowing down processes of redevelopment and moving on in pursuit of the new, but this sign of inertia seems to be the point with regard to resource management as a question of resource scarcity and heritage in danger. The hasty, inconsiderate and unsustainable resource exploitation of industrial modernity provides a common intellectual background for the preservation of industrial heritage. We cherish the welfare it yielded, the technology it spawned and the culture it produced, but industrial heritage is also effectively an institutionalized form of resource management which opposes the heedless exploitation of natural, material and human resources which characterized the industrial age. By assembling value from industrial residue, preservationists might want to restore pride and establish a sense of continuity with the industrial past, but their modus operandi rests on a wholly different approach to resources.

The forms of industrial heritage analyzed in this thesis have outlived rigorous conceptions of redundancy by reflecting change more than resisting it. Their significance is not determined by a near-correspondence to the prevailing attitudes of the day they purport to represent, but are means to articulate and appropriate cultural change and as a response to present political concerns. This is why the former coal miner, the notion of *Industrienatur* and the former lime kilns were brought to bear on the issue of sustainability as a means of establishing the limits of preservation as well as finding a new purpose for what had been made redundant in the past. The commitment to preserve industrial heritage could suggest that new forms of resource use are discovered in the midst of residual matter and marginalia of industrial modernity serving as a negative foundational event.

The lime kilns at Odda Smelteverk were demolished, but only after they had been dealt with in a systematic, evaluative, scientifically appropriate manner with an eye to the question of sustainability in all its different facets. It was made manageable and its maintenance was not considered sustainable in the long run. The lime kilns were considered expendable as their demolition allegedly did not jeopardize the success of a future World Heritage application and because their removal would provide space for new economic development. The notion of *Industrienatur* examined at Kokerei Hansa was not a wild and threatening nature signifying human surrender; rather it is a cultural and scientific innovation, politically legitimized as a viable and sustainable alternative to resource-intensive landscape uses in the past. Similar to the process in Odda, *Industrienatur* is an attempt to take into account and assess the viability of maintaining and resuscitating marginalized cultural resources without compromising the needs of future generations. The ex-miners employed as tour guides were also treated as a heritage resource in the face of the rapid decimation of the Welsh coal industry which was taken for granted to such an extent that it was not deemed worthy of museal attention. The current stature of the ex-miner in the museal context is a result of resource scarcity which made his testimony all the more central. He maintains a solid lineage to the once vibrant Welsh coal mining communities and the performance I analyzed relied on cultural roots and asserting local values to regain pride in the industrial heritage. By now Big Pit National Coal Museum acknowledge that the supply of real miners is rapidly diminishing which have made it clear that the core resources of heritage have to be redefined to encompass new voices and new interpretations of the coal mining legacy.

All three cases studied suggest the different ways in which the process of making industrial heritage establishes thresholds where a balance between permanence and transience is sought in the name of sustainability. The limited means of preservation is weighed against the limited pool of remaining historical resources and the respect for the people of the past is weighed against the need for cultural innovation and economic development in the present. In order for heritage to become tolerable and not put undue burdens on future generations it is categorized and classified through processes of assembling which acknowledge the limits of preservation. Past events may exert considerable influence on the form in which a representation unfolds as dogmatism or prescribed but that the past is unremittingly past and that relative autonomy vis-à-vis the historic real is also an occasion for critical distance and creative reinterpretation to occur.

In certain regards David Lowenthal is right in claiming that preserving the past is also an expression of "how much we have overcome it" (1985: 406). The urge to save the industrial past is a way of announcing that the contemporary world has accounted for and attempted resource thinking beyond laissez faire attitudes which made it possible for industries to be granted unlimited access to the natural world primarily as an unlimited pool of resources for us to harvest. This move from a society building everything anew to a "society of repair" (Hassler 1996), was important in my analysis of Kokerei Hansa where a conscious detachment from the industrial past was articulated in conducts of minimal intervention and in the idea of granting things time. Through the concept of *Industrienatur* it was possible to ascribe value to the marginalized spaces of post-industrial environment and, more importantly, signal a commitment to treat resources in a more careful and piecemeal manner compared to the conduct in the past. I claimed that a strategy of aesthetic defamiliarization was apparent at Kokerei Hansa, whereas Big Pit National Coal Museum relied more heavily on what I referred to as the authenticity of authority which draws on a vocabulary living tradition and having been present at the time. Here the preservation of coal mining heritage was understood in a more literal fashion as a way to maintain traditional skills and social values in old mining communities in spite of the havocs caused by comprehensive decline in the South Wales Valleys. In a mode of paying homage to the coal mining traditions the industrial heritage here was concerned with the issue of sustainability in a different fashion than Kokerei Hansa. The limited pool of heritage resources in the form of ex-miners means that the past as burden was felt in a different way. For the present to come to terms with the past in a proper and responsible way it has to be attuned to the ethical weight of the task at hand. The burden of the past in the present was articulated as a commitment to find adequate forms in which the coal mining legacy could be transmitted to future generations.

While this form of industrial heritage addressed representation primarily in the form of standing-for, being a representative of or a legitimate heir to the coal mining heritage - it was in the performance of difference between past and present that visitors could recreate a sense of what life was like in the Welsh coal mines. The question of how to perform authenticity was shaped by debt to retrieve some qualities germane to coal mining communities that were threatened by the demise of coal mining. Odda Smelteverk for the time being hovers somewhere between the dominant modes observed at Kokerei Hansa and at Big Pit; not yet a proud affirmation of traditional values, and not the detached art-like monument. A form of aesthetic sublimation was attempted in Odda, but it failed to gain local legitimacy and matters

remained tied to more pragmatic questions of re-use and maintenance responsibility. The preservation of Odda Smelteverk was accompanied by an attempt to build consensus locally and make people look beyond the sorry state of the rusty and decrepit smelter buildings. This attempt met with severe resistance from key stakeholders. Expert opinions and advice from the outside was perceived by many as an attempt to disregard and disqualify local opinion on the matter. The notion of Odda Smelteverk as a sleeping beauty of industrial heritage was not met with widespread acclaim. The dilemma that is made apparent in this case is that the making of heritage relies on external systems of valorization which challenge the cultural self-reliance that local heritage often seeks to commemorate in the first place (Cruickshank 2009).

6.2 Embracing artificiality and going deep – forms of heritage

A sense of obligation to the people of the past often involves the expectation of veracity and truthfulness of representing the industrial past as it really was and by swearing loyalty to original use, traditional practice or authorial intentions. In this regard the cases I have examined are different from one another. By suggesting that the old disused coke plant of may be read as large-scale artwork, the approach to industrial heritage is radically different from the appeal to natural, realistic and uncontrived representation at Big Pit National Coal Museum. The former asserts a degree of present autonomy for the sake of cultural innovation, while the latter asserts the debt owed to the past in a way that restricts the leeway for representation. The failure to save the lime kilns in Odda owes to the fact that both the alternative of present-centered aestheticization and a past-oriented tribute failed to gain support.

At Kokerei Hansa preservation and repair of old material structures offered a stark contrast to earlier industrial exploits. The authority of Kokerei Hansa as an industrial heritage site resides in the way present aesthetics and resource use enables visitors to place the industrial past in the rear-view mirror. In contrast the Big Pit National Coal Museum relied on a form of authorization of the heritage that was anchored in the local cultural understanding of life in the South Welsh coal mining communities. At Kokerei Hansa the representation of the past attempted to cut across time and space in conceiving the monument in relation to ancient ruins and distant cultures. Interpretation at Big Pit should be seen as an attempt to reduce the gap between laymen and experts to the extent where the ex-miner in the capacity of being an 'ordinary man with an extraordinary job' can authenticate the heritage. In contrast, the

analysis of the heritage process in Odda exposed the gulf that still exists between experts and the general public concerning heritage value. There, the process of transforming preservation of the lime kilns from an interest restricted to experts into a broader public commitment failed for a number of reasons. They slipped between local revaluation and universal value. Kokerei Hansa appeals to abstraction and distance and can hardly be understood in terms of a possession of one particular social group. No longer quite itself, no longer a coke plant but something else as well, the process of making sense of the industrial heritage is not sanctioned by a prescribed reading.

The core issue in my analysis of Kokerei Hansa was the way that the artificial nature of the industrial landscape was a precondition for a new way of apprehending one's surroundings where the nature/culture divide was deliberately challenged. The idea of turning the old coke plant into a large, accessible sculpture was reflected in the techniques of spatial detachment of the viewer through the provision of trails, panoramas and walkable conveyor bridges which opened up for the aesthetic gaze. My study has demonstrated how central defamiliarization can be in trying to deal the material burdens of the past, allowing even the fallow lands around a production plant to be understood as significant component of *Industrienatur*. We can conclude that this form of industrial heritage employs flexible notion of industrial relics less fixated with the sanctified and historically given, true meaning. Rendering the coke plant as something akin to a giant artwork is to suggest that the ongoing public production of meaning may allow people to frame it as a renewable resource which is not set once and for all. Important traces of industrial activity are meticulously safeguarded and remain the crucial concern at Kokerei Hansa. Nevertheless industrial nature makes visitors realize that nature has become relentlessly artificial and that this artificiality is the raw material for new cultural practices. In conceptual terms, this is an approach which may challenge the understanding of a non-renewable resource that needs to be locked away to prevent further derangement.

To justify this broader claim we can contrast Kokerei Hansa with how the heritage resource was conceptualized at Big Pit. Here quite clearly the idea of local possession was a crucial concern which was reflected in the specific take on the notion of authenticity. Authenticity was regarded by museum workers as a crucial bulwark against the tendency in contemporary heritage to present sanitized renditions of the lives of hard working miners. The underground tour, where personal anecdotes were recounted to visitors, was a central stage for the bottom-up authentication of the coal mining heritage. The ex-miner was the central figure in preventing a heritage representation which was removed from the realities of underground

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work life. The ex-miner retained the crucial link to the local constituency and to the coal mining tradition which Big Pit represents. This form of representation places the local possession of heritage at the center of the contemporary heritage practices. The notion of a 'white elephant' served as a warning against a remote and abstract understanding where the local heritage becomes a dubious and burdensome piece of heritage to which the local community can no longer relate. The predominant emphasis on heritage interpretation carried out by the true heirs to the coal mining heritage led to what has been identified as a form of authenticity of authority (Mohn, Strub and Wartemann 1997). This form of authenticity relies on a set of cultural attributes which are tied to the experience of having been present at the time and having gained knowledge through personal experience and being able to make the most of this connection through performance. The current stress on work experience has made museum staff undergo underground training to be able to convey a more realistic impression of what it is like working a coal mine. This frames the coal mining heritage as a highly specific geographical, social and cultural asset with requires an innate understanding of tradition to be carried on to future generations. The combination of embodied knowledge and the aim of keeping the tradition alive is a resource short in supply and high in demand.

A similar stress on the innate, embodied understanding of industrial heritage was demonstrated in the case of Odda Smelteverk. There opponents of an extensive heritage preservation claimed that the revaluation of the smelter diverted attention away from a proper understanding of local culture that was grounded in everyday work practices and the colleagues of workers who inhabited the structures that bankruptcy had allegedly reduced to empty shells. This was particularly apparent in the case of two lime kilns structures that could not easily merit the ambitions of preservation through re-use. Many appeals were made to acknowledge the symbolic value of the lime kilns in the overall townscape, but the final listing by the National Directorate for Cultural Heritage remained loyal to the principle of balancing preservation with development and as a consequence did not find leeway for the listing of the widespread and fairly ordinary lime kilns. The role of expert was initially to plead people to look beyond appearance and tap into the resources hidden behind the rusted steel plates of the abandoned smelter. The stress on functional value remained an overriding concern for local politicians and local stakeholders. Preservationists acknowledged the problems involved in and conflict with regards to the smelter site was anticipated. Once the lime kilns had fallen out from the register of non-renewable industrial heritage, their present maintenance could not be legitimized with reference to their future value.

My approach to the analysis of industrial heritage as a form of cultural valuation was that while it prompts new possibilities and imposes a set of particular requirements which determines the leeway for heritage making. Industrial heritage, we can suggest, acts both as an enablement as well as a constraint; in offering a platform for revaluation it enables new relations between former industrial sites and a contemporary public. At the same time, by adhering to specific procedures of selection, industrial heritage preservation involves narrowing down the array of objects and approaches according to some overarching value criteria and with an eye to sustainability.

6.3 Clarity and confusion – complexity of the field and coherence of theory

The attempt to retrace significant turning points in the biographies of these industrial heritage sites is one way of examining the process of making of heritage before it fixates and becomes a place that is taken for granted. To consider industrial heritage as a process implies that the approaches that are taken, those that are considered and those that are ruled out are can be enrolled as constituent parts in a larger negotiation process (Macdonald 2009a: 186). Preservation of industrial heritage is quite often seen by scholars as well as policy-makers as a particularly urgent concern, because it has been neglected and ignored for such a long time. Hence a historic momentum in the 1970s and 1980s of recording, and securing a selection of industrial heritage sites is part of the self-feeding collection logic whereby flaws, gaps and omissions motivates new acquisitions and engenders new priorities. This self-imposed duty is based on the acknowledgment of the incompleteness of a canon, or lists, registers and collections. The revision and/or rejection of earlier heritage paradigms only affirms the relevance of the present practice as groundbreaking given that the ground is usually historicized by the institutions themselves (Brattli 2006). In interviews many of the actors have explained to me that industrial heritage differs from the conventional and more conservative categories of cultural heritage and approaches to heritage with which they contrast their own work.

This understanding of earlier practices and practices in other places are not peripheral to the production of a local heritage, in fact it takes part in it and it was this realization that first alerted me to the metaphor of assemblage. First and foremost, I turned to assemblage to account for how materials, practices, categories and texts were enlisted from a wide variety of

sources both geographically and temporally remote from one another were enlisted as co-functioning members of the heritage assemblage. Secondly, assemblage brings to mind the raw material of industrial heritage which is the production process often understood in terms of the assembly line and it is akin to the museal enterprise of collecting, categorization, ordering and reordering. Thirdly, the advantage of the assemblage perspective in trying to make sense of the complexity of local cultural entities is that it does not stratify the local and the global in a spatial hierarchy nor does it seek to depth as the ultimate concern of cultural analysis. The strength of analysis is not proportional to how much agency can be ascribed to a single agent or discourse; rather it looks at the associations between actors at different levels without expecting a neat distribution of relative strength. Distant points can be assembled in the process and even if they only rarely end up as part of the actual heritage representation, an awareness of their role in the process is a way to supplement prevailing paradigms of heritage research which all too readily assume power and domination.

The strength of assemblage theory is that it employs a more piecemeal and careful approach to issues such as globalization. It does not care so much for the broad cultural diagnoses, but rather "minor histories that address themselves to the 'big' questions of globalizations in a careful and limited manner" (Collier and Ong 2005: 15). I have taken cues from notions of assemblage in approaching the industrial heritage as a complex socio-material assemblage. Recent publications within heritage studies similarly attempts to recognize and analyze complexity in the field by enrolling the intersecting discourses, processes, materials, and experts in the fields of art, history, tourism, law, geography, archaeology, economy and planning which have a stake in the making of heritage. This approach has inspired my work with regards to variety of components, discourses, materials and actors assembling a local industrial heritage site and making it durable.

I see this as a way to complement the binary conceptualization of heritage which is ingrained in much theorization of the phenomenon which abides primarily to the view of heritage representation as a struggle for recognition; "the tendency for cultural analyses to cleave towards a conservative, categorical politics of identity" (Lorimer 2005: 83). Here heritage reflects political questions exclusion or inclusion and the incessant struggle between marginal and dominant, local and universal forms of heritage. The political reading of heritage means that meaning is derived from a larger emancipatory project in which heritage is always already a weapon in the fight for recognition. Visiting a heritage can is seen as a political statement and remembering can entail a "politicized reworking of meanings" (Smith 2006:

66). The act of interpretation is always already fraught with larger political issues which in the end seem to grant heritage studies its wider political and social relevance and legitimacy. In recent years warnings have been issued against the tendency of ideology critique to see power and domination as "mysterious containers" which make participants act in a certain way (Latour 2005: 83).

Similarly, a central point of dissent in the study of cultural heritage is how much weight should be attributed to discursive practices as hegemonic stabilizing factors. The preoccupation with ideology critique overemphasizes the stability of the form and deemphasizes the trials and errors, the failed attempts and the numerous compromises which go into stabilizing the industrial heritage assemblage. Industrial heritage is made up of a range of components and it is difficult to ascribe the ultimate authority and explanatory power to either one of the factors politics, economy, law, technology, the market or the nation-state.

The idea that heritage ultimately entails a reproduction of hegemonic discourses has resurfaced in a recently established research initiative called Association of Critical Heritage Studies at the University of Gothenburg. The critical heritage studies adopt a long-held view on cultural heritage as politically dubious and culturally reactionary manifestation of nostalgia for things past. Heritage it seems is always already a reflection of colonial, Western and elitist conceptions of culture. In the manifesto of critical heritage studies written in connection with the inaugural conference in 2012 the following idea of heritage was suggested:

> "Heritage is, as much as anything, a political act and we need to ask serious questions about the power relations that 'heritage' has all too often been invoked to sustain. Nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, cultural elitism, Western triumphalism, social exclusion based on class and ethnicity, and the fetishizing of expert knowledge have all exerted strong influences on how heritage is used, defined and managed" (Association of Critical Heritage Studies 2013).

As evident in this quote, the assumption is that a kernel of hegemonic ideologies exerts considerable influence on how cultural heritage is made and to what end it is made. Undoubtedly, heritage critique has been and still is important to compel a more diverse understanding of heritage which does not adhere blindly to the Eurocentric and elitist notions of culture as the great and the good. The problem is that cultural critique all too often is rehearsed according to a rigid, precast form which replaces the complexity of cultural phenomena with a set of uniform and hegemonic discourses. The same suspects are rounded up time after time to give the study of culture a more critical, political edge. Bruno Latour has

been critical of this tendency in social sciences and the humanities to incessantly look for the work of a hidden, dominant ideology. A point made by Latour (2005) is that actor-network theory seeks to disembarrass this narrow repertoire of critical sociology with a more comprehensive range of entities that populate the social world. The dictum of ANT is to follow the actors (materials, texts, experts, definitions, categories etc.) in order to explore how alliances are formed through stages of translation whereby common interests are enrolled and obtain stability and durability. The purpose of such a take on the social world is to flatten the field so that power and domination is not assumed a priori, but can make sense only by retracing the processes of enrolment.

Psychoanalytical, feminist, post-colonial and Marxist analyses of culture often presuppose a structure of which the actors cannot have the full knowledge. These are "structures which overdetermine the form which the assemblage of elements can or cannot take" (Vandenberghe 2002: 61). These structures are not allowed to take precedence within ANT or assemblage perspective. Instead this body of theory questions the explanatory model of elitism, ideology, nation-state or patriarchy as the necessary end-point of analysis. Latour suggests that following the actors can be a way to prevent analysis from being cut off too soon. Why cannot sociology not only begin but "also *end* in wonder", asks Latour (2005: 220). The critical view, instead of trying to make analysis sensitive to noise and avoid the "premature closure of the social sphere" invokes a set of readily available explanations – "power, domination, exploitation, legitimization, fetishization, reification" (Latour 2005: 260, 249).

Despite these important distinctions, a common denominator of assemblage perspective and critical theory is to disentangle a cultural and social phenomenon from its taken-for granted ("hegemonic", "naturalized", "black-boxed") constitution. The *purpose* of disentangling a phenomenon which has "sunk into common sense" differs (Latour 2005: 257) . The former seeks to flatten the field so that analyses can become more sensitive to multifarious and complex ways that humans and non-humans are jumbled together. The latter seeks to unravel the political and ideological underpinnings that have become obscured through the naturalization of a particular discourse. Another central point made by Latour is that actors themselves should be allowed to deploy their own world and engage in definition and ordering work, *before* any analysis can proceed to make sense of how controversies are settled or dealt with. Actors too have their own elaborate and fully reflexive meta-language" (Latour 2005: 30). This would imply that we cannot simply assume the predominance across

individual case studies of power, domination, nation-state and similar narratives that the researcher will reveal and expose.

While not a coherent methodological toolkit, the assemblage perspective – understood as a close relative of ANT - alerts us to not to assume a central authority extending across a whole and being able to co-ordinate the parts exhaustively. The question for me in working with this thesis has been how the complexity of the field can be mapped out in a way which avoids falling into dry description of events when pursuing the actors. Obediently registering associations between actors in the field could seem an attempt of sidestepping the way any account of the cultural practices engages in reinterpreting the chain of events and the meaning derived from an industrial heritage site. The author, me, is brought into the play. The process of making sense of a cultural phenomenon, while it can aspire to remain close to world of the actors, has to entail interpretative flexibility and allow for speculation and the occasional over-interpretation. Clearly, the limits of reasonable interpretation can be exceeded, but an attempt to describe the matter-of-factual accounts of instrumental action can be equally deadening.

The unease caused by ANT and the assemblage view in the humanities is that symbolic actions and ethical capacities singular to human beings are reduced to a strategic enrolment of beneficial partners in a way which reduces ethical questions to a disinterested matter-of-factly description (cfr. Vandenberghe 2002). This is particularly problematic in a field like industrial heritage saturated with the ethical commitment to redeem cultures and initiate what is regularly understood as a belated commemoration of the heritages of ordinary working men and women. The understanding of industrial heritage employed by the heritage practitioners in this thesis is consistently one of uncovering hidden treasures and of preventing that neglected heritage is completely forgotten. It is seen as an ethical imperative of restoring objects and sites and granting them a heightened presence in a wider public, historical consciousness. In official policies the legitimacy of industrial heritage tends to be accounted for in terms of how it constitutes an anchorage for identity and belonging in the face of rapid economic and cultural development. The possession of a distinct heritage serves as the cultural affirmation of the subject or the social group. Heritage artifacts can serve as visible proof of one's place in history and they can serve as a reassurance of rootedness, a collective self-preservation. Heritage is often promoted as "an experience of identification" (Wright 2009: xxi) and the function of "presencing absence" remains a crucial function of cultural heritage (Buchli and Lucas 2001). This understanding of the purpose of industrial heritage is

part of that elaborate and reflexive meta-language of actors that Latour refers to. It is a vocabulary which contributes to make sense of and lend urgency as well as importance to the practice. Moreover it is a reassuring device in the sense that it allows industrial heritage to be seen as an ongoing attempt to revise earlier practices and restitute overlooked dimensions of cultural heritage.

The desire to attain enhanced visibility and present in the public realm is a powerful and persistent motivation for much heritage work. The activity of making the absent present does not need to be about a plain material or monumental presence. However, the desire to commemorate a particular historical era or cultural tradition is often given a material articulation. The problem encountered by the researcher who these polemically opposed academic worldviews of flattened surfaces (ANT and assemblage perspective) and hierarchies of power (critical theory) is that a dogmatic and determined agenda of research runs the risk of favoring those elements that fit a distinct research program. While the assemblage perspective and ANT through flattening seeks to re-theorize prevailing concepts of culture which builds on the modernist metaphor of stratum (e.g. deep past and archaeology-as-excavation) (Harrison 2011), there is no sense denying that these metaphors matters a great deal in the making of heritage. And while critical theory presupposes mechanisms of exclusion there is no reason to disqualify a consideration of complexity for the sake of theoretical clarity. To provide one brief illustration of how the mess of the world may cloud theoretical presuppositions we can consider the case of Odda Smelteverk once more. We could suggest that this was a case in which a conservative material understanding of heritage executed by specialists excluded or marginalized the alternative conception of industrial heritage as immaterial lived working-class realities. This would be to assume that there exists a disparity between experts and layman which relies on the historical inertia of the institutions themselves. Otherwise we could suggest that is a flattened field where acts of assembling should be grasped not in terms of a central hierarchy but by a minutiae consideration of how the heterogeneous parts come together and are maintained as a working entity which is wholly contemporary.

Both of these descriptions are inadequate, the former because it fixates on structural and institutional production of asymmetry as a rule and the latter because it sees no deeper core; no profound 'inside' only connections which are strategically assembled. A description of reality which mattered to heritage practitioners in Odda involved a slow, tedious process of making apparent the value, beauty or significance which has remained hidden, neglected,

forgotten or disregarded. The modernist dichotomy of depth versus surface assumes a particular relevance in the field and provides a clear sense of purpose; it is an abstract drive of bringing the past to presence and as such it can be seen as veritable excavation work. So while the critical view tends to overemphasize the capacity of a hierarchy to police and hold steady the boundaries of cultural value, the assemblage view runs the risk of dismissing the deep-seated, symbolic and ethical human capacities which fuels the enterprise of heritage. This inconsistency is mirrored throughout this thesis and I have made no attempt of solving this problem by adhering blindly to one distinct school of thought. I claim that valuable insights can be found in these apparently opposing paradigms of thinking without buying into to the idea that they are interpretive dogmas waged in the science wars. As soon as a theoretical regime comes with a complete vocabulary and ready-set range of opponents and preferred objects of study it will fail to stimulate wonder and intellectual friction. Elements from diverse bodies of social theory can be activated and theoretical fragments can be employed without adhering to "an entire positioned corpus of thinking" (Olsen 2010: 14).

Industrial heritage can be a way to claim cultural continuity with past generations. It can also be a platform for a creative and critical reexamination of the past. It may create an awareness of loss and signal an unequivocal break with the past. The case to case approach I have pursued in this thesis has been criticized for hindering theoretical debate and synthetic analysis (Smith 2012). At the same time it should be pointed out that by studying local processes, purposes and ambitions of heritage, the case study can prevent the premature invocation of patterns, structures and powers which overdetermine the cultural expression in question. This piecemeal approach may lead to the realization that no dominant ideology can be mobilized to account exhaustively for the multifarious local processes at hand. That is simply another way of stating that the generalization from one to the many should be carried out with caution. As I stated in the introduction we can maintain that in recent decades it has become important to safeguard vestiges of industrial culture and to deal with material excess of de-industrialization. It is a different exercise entirely to claim causality and to be able to isolate one overarching dimension which motivates the preservation strategies and ensuing events on the ground.

In chapter x I claimed that Kokerei Hansa demonstrate how it may in fact encourage forms of ambiguity and stress an emotional engagement with industrial buildings that involved careful or minimal interventions on the part of the preservationists. The texts that introduced the coke plant to visitors also included notes on preservation strategies and the compromises that

preservation had reached between securing buildings and allowing for some ruination to occur. While a heritage process always involves failed experiments, omissions and inconsistencies there is a difference from case to case with regards to whether these failures are addressed in texts which are part of the corpus of heritage and whether the present process of making heritage is communicated or simply taken for granted. At Kokerei Hansa, the foundation in change of preservation of industrial heritage brought our attention to different preservation strategies in a way which encourages debate and reflection.

We have seen that the situation in Odda did not necessarily favor the option of letting things stay. The final listing decision does not make explicit the conflict that has characterized the site for so many years. Rather it tries to employ a set of scientific and objective criteria which attempts to detach value assessment from the political and cultural controversies and make it self-evident. The discord and long-running debate is not reflected in the final assessment of value. The fact that the smelter site located in the middle of the town of Odda meant that the pressure to repurpose the site was and still is tremendous. This implied that the final form of the industrial heritage assemblage was determined by an attempt to fall back on a limited understanding of site totality at Odda Smelteverk. The liminal and more ambiguous parts of the site were dismissed with reference to their commonplace construction and lack of historical significance. The remaining structures sit more comfortably with the celebration of entrepreneurial prowess and the origins of the industrial venture in Odda and Tyssedal.

In South Wales a challenge was to prevent the local industrial heritage from being disowned by the locals and in this undertaking the real miner was a central stakeholder in a more authoritative form of industrial heritage. A proper understanding of local heritage was stressed time and time again. This form of representation relies on an identity paradigm where heritage becomes in effect an extension of the local cultural tradition and the present practice is not explicitly challenged or made subject to critical interference. I claimed that the trope of restoration of tradition was deemed far more urgent than the reflexive critique of representation. The proximity to the actual hands-on experience of coal mining was considered a key dimension at Big Pit National Coal Museum. The stress on first person interpretation was significant and I interpreted this as a question of the appropriate form of interpretation of the coal mining past. It is a form which presupposes that cultural identity based on origin can be conveyed in a natural manner by minimizing the distortion of representation. The notion of authenticity rehearsed at Big Pit rests heavily on the topoi of personal experience and having been present at the time. It is a form of representation which

sees the ex-miner as something akin to a witness of history. The wider context for this particular approach is that industrial history has often been populated by machines rather than workers and that the heritage seeks increasingly to commemorate the toils and experiences of worker. The implicit duty of memory has been to remind coming generations about the contributions of ordinary people would otherwise slip through the pages of history books. The stress that is placed on the autobiographical account at Big Pit is understandable; it is a form that is contrasted with more generic approaches where local history is administered by professionals without any practical knowledge of coal mining. This form reaffirms the foundations of a local culture at a time when it seems particularly threatened.

6.4 The renewable heritage resource?

One fundamental premise of *Stiftung Industriedenkmalpflege und Geschichtskultur* in Dortmund was to leave everything standing and to grant it time for value to develop and new purposes to be born. What this demonstrates in my opinion is a willingness to take things seriously and do so in a way that restrains the feverish pursuit of a new and stable instrumental purpose. Things that are granted a second chance may enter a meaningful constellation that the short-sighted calculative evaluation would effectively hinder. An insistence on the ready-to-hand notion of objects defines their life cycle narrowly in terms of single-purpose existence; they either work or they do not.

The modernist industrial buildings that are preserved *in situ* in Dortmund-Huckarde no longer belong to one discrete semantic field or one distinct function. The de-contextualization of industrial buildings from one historically sanctioned interpretation into a larger conceptual frame of *Industrienatur* means that the artificial landscape is what allows the industrial heritage to gain credibility as work in progress, as a heritage resource that keeps changing according to seasonal variations, funding and the changing priorities and approaches of preservationists. Hence, the site is less a sign of finality and more tokens of the cultural obsession with recycling and aestheticization. They are framed less as stable, non-renewable resources from a sealed off past and more as forms that emphasize how industrial heritage is interspersed with natural regrowth and creative work in the present.

As resources considered, the industrial heritage sites in Odda and Blaenavon were framed differently. The case of Big Pit demonstrates an allegiance to the proper, truthful and

veracious representation of the past, and a commitment to eternalize the miner which resulted in a more rigid idea of authenticity and ownership. Credibility of the representation was understood in terms of proximity to a cultural origin temporally as well as culturally. This approach became a problem when the limited resource of living, breathing ex-miners was fully acknowledged and the sustainability of this particular model was questioned. Industrial heritage which relies on a locally authorized truth claim was in this case contrasted with distorted heritage interpretation which had lost the all-important connection with the local past. The form and purpose of the local heritage was defined in opposition to the non-local, artificial and generic representation of industrial heritage. The mass-produced heritage was opposed to the non-repeatable combination of descent and experience manifested in the miner. It is a coal mining heritage where former workers are expected to be themselves and act naturally. The question is in how far a coal mine training mobilized by heritage is consistent with a situation which generates "real miners" or if this can be an occasion to profoundly rethinks the doctrine of cultural continuity. In South Wales, the imminent disappearance of the real Welsh coal miners has resulted in a non-reproducible form of authenticity of authority.

In Odda the idea of lime kilns as icons of a proud industrial past failed to strike the right chord with the general public. I claimed that the faith of the lime kilns was sealed when the attempts failed to divorce meaning from their original purpose. Other buildings located on the smelter site have successfully been re-used for other purposes, but the kilns could not be transformed that easily. The lack of floor space meant that kilns would have to serve as monuments rather than being filled with new content and thus serving a new purpose. The unsentimental assessment of the kilns as dispensable waste shows us that re-use remained the predominant legitimizing criteria when historical value and architectural significance was found lacking. The material relics at the site of Odda Smelteverk has yielded incommensurable perspectives concerning whether one should cultivate the relics of past achievements or move forward unsentimentally by discarding that which is no longer needed. Sustainability was understood by the national directorate for cultural heritage as a question of in how far present resource allocation could be legitimized on the basis of future value. The attempt to balance preservation with development meant that the lime kilns as anonymous sculptures with an uncertain pedigree could not stand the test of time. The idea of sustainable management of resources in the heritage practice combined with reluctant owners implied that clear architectural pedigree and historic importance was privileged at the cost of visual prominence

of the lime kilns. The final selection was a compromise, a sanctioned removal of the ordinary and replaceable, which made the remaining structures seem even more indispensable.

6.5 Letting things be: a final remark

My aim in writing this thesis has been to contribute to an advanced theoretical understanding of industrial heritage as the amalgam of material and discursive practices. In the introduction to this study, I claimed that it makes sense to think of industrial heritage as an assemblage made up of both physical components as well as the practices of categorization, interpretation and valuation which occurs in relation to objects, sites and landscapes. Contrary to attempts to construe heritage and history as radically dissimilar and wholly incompatible, a heritage site is not something I regard as extra-historical, non-historical or post-historical. History does not end when a production plant is removed from the context of industrial culture. This implies that the activities occurring at a site today, as a museum or heritage site, are potentially meaningful and never outside history. The differences are obvious but even still heritage should be considered an important part of the biography or history of a site (Shanks 1992).

Literally as well as figuratively all of the sites examined in the preceding chapters have been reopened to offer us something – knowledge, experience, introspection or inspiration – that is fundamentally different from the calculative, profit-driven ventures which made Kokerei Hansa, Odda Smelteverk and Big Pit. The act of reopening is the ultimate expression of securing public access to and granting the wider public a stake in the industrial heritage where the absence of the old order commits new generations of pupils, tourists, inhabitants and scholars. These sites are not merely standing- in (*vertreten*) or speaking on behalf of the absent past; they also acquire new meaning through the blanks that we try to make sense of by employing the creative faculties of imagination (*vorstellen*). Finally there is the potential of allowing these sites to retain their incomprehensible otherness and mystery to issue a warning against a sense of comprehensive knowledge.

It is this possibility that Lucas Introna has argued for in his account of the term *Gelassenheit*. Introna (2009) attempts to reexamine the status of things beyond a stable object/subject dichotomy and claims that the impossible possibility of letting things be is an alternative to our calculative and instrumental relation to things. He develops his argument around the Heideggerian term *Gelassenheit*. *Gelassenheit* is a way of being that will let things be. Introna

builds on Heidegger's distinction between *Zuhanden* and *Vorhanden* as distinct ways of relating to things and argues that *Zuhanden* (present-to-hand) represents the more theoretical and detached awareness of things whereas V*orhanden* (ready-to-hand) describes a practical relationship with things as tools (Introna 2009). Things that are ready-to-hand are there for us in the capacity of achieving a specific task. Introna makes a plea to let the other be as other, and claims that this 'letting be' should be cultivated and cared for. "*Gelassenheit* is the abandonment of that representational and calculative thinking (or comportment) by which human beings dispose of things *as this or that being*" (Introna 2009: 37).

While it is difficult to imagine ways of voluntarily ceasing the way we order, sort and dispose of things, Introna questions the definitive boundaries between the objects and us and tries to figure out ways to rethink this relationship. Things are not given enough weight as *things-for-us* he claims. The waste dumps and endless accumulation of scrap at the outskirts of our cities demonstrate how we dump things as our projects "drift or shift" and that, "we can dispose of them because we author-ized [*sic*] them in the first place" (Introna 2009: 31). A spoil tip can be covered with lush, green blankets or it can be preserved as a reminder of the excess matter which accompanies industrialization. The first option is a device of amnesia, as the once-brown piles of slag will, given enough time, fuse unnoticeably with the larger scenery. The second option is a mark of distinction and a device of remembering, which allows the refuse to address us and make us aware of its biography every time we pass by. But it is something else as well; the decision to let it be signals a commitment not to undermine its otherness by making it entirely purpose-driven again. The paradoxical notion of designed *Gelassenheit* – a purposeful purposelessness – is a way of intentionally letting things be and voluntary cede our mastery over things. In caring for industrial ruins an attempt can be made to appreciate the mysterious and unassailable qualities of the past as an option beyond forgetfulness and domestication. The ethos of Gelassenheit is translatable to an ethos of preservation exercised with regards to the otherness of things: "It is exactly the impossibility that leads us to keep decisions open, to listen, to wait, and to reconsider again and again our choices – to let things be" (Introna 2009: 42). To allow the sordid industrial buildings to persist not despite, but because of their uselessness is to embark on a project which may ultimately reform our idea of development. By allowing ourselves to be addressed by something we do not quite master or do not quite get just yet, we can enroll the others of the past and the otherness of things in a more vigilant, inclusive and sustainable notion of progress.

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