

Chapter 1

Introduction

I am sure you have seen them—post-industrial landscape scars. It might be a mountain irrevocably turned into an open-pit mine, surrounded by slag heaps. It could be polluted ground, abandoned, overgrown, and perhaps forgotten. It may be a dilapidated factory in a fading mono-industrial town, or in the midst of an otherwise bustling urban area, presenting a dangerous but attractive playground (figure 1.1). Post-industrial landscape scars are marks of sorrow and betrayal, of the abuse of power and latent hazards. At the same time, they bear tales of communities and dreams, of achievements and resistance. In short, the scars in the landscape, caused by industrial activity, constitute the flipside to the history of our modern society—integrated by necessity, yet not acknowledged accordingly.

A scar is a reminder, the trace of a wound. It is often ugly and stands for the pains of the past. Spontaneously, a scar is always understood as negative. However, some bodily wounds and scars are chosen, self-inflicted or at least positively laden. Caesarian section operation scars, Mensur scars, or body ornamentation through so-called scarification, carry different meanings and connotations, but they all have one thing in common—they are physical reminders of something of at least personal significance. A scar can be a hallmark for the veteran or the fictional hero. In a similar manner, the scar on the post-industrial landscape often conveys ambiguous and complex pasts about injustice and fear, along with survival, resilience, and courage. The story of a scar never concerns indifference; the narrative potential of the scar is a possibility and a promise we ought to embrace.

The metaphor of a scar here denotes a physical reality as well as a mental one—a mine or a factory, but also the associated narratives, experiences, and memories. Furthermore, the word “scar” is



Figure 1.1 A former Soviet military shipyard in Karosta, Latvia, raises questions about imperial dreams and hard work, lost jobs and vanished communities, as well as about contamination, new economies, and aestheticizing industrial romanticism. Photo: Anna Storm, 2001.

not only a noun but also a verb, implying a process or action taken. We can scar or become scarred, and scarring can take place. There is somebody behind the existence of a scar, responsibility and choices are involved, and in a scarring process, the open wound turns into a scab on its way to finally becoming a scar. The intermediate stage of a scab signifies a situation of undefined shapes and unsettled meanings, a liminal condition that is decisive for understanding the people and the places that will appear in the following chapters. While the scar often remains ambiguous, the scab is even more open to interpretation in a multitude of ways; here struggles over hierarchies of significance become particularly overt and discernible. Some wounds remain as scabs for a long time, because there is no room for healing and recovery.

This book will focus on the tight interrelation between our understanding of significant shared pasts and the physical structures that remind us of these pasts. I will argue for the importance of recognizing these understandings and physical structures in contemporary

politics and in processes of reconciliation and search for future hope. Accentuating post-industrial landscape scars as an important, yet underinvestigated category, the aim of this book is to explore the potential of the scar metaphor as an analytical tool in order to influence the contemporary heritage debate and practice, in order to draw more thorough attention to the ambiguous, painful, and damaging pasts, as well as to possible healing processes.

Temporality and Significance

The process of healing, from wound to scar, is neither linear nor automatic. Instead, as in individual psychological healing, the process may be cyclical, can happen in stages, and even demand active work. It brings difficult pasts to the fore as often as it leads away from them, and old wounds may reopen.¹ Thus, while a scar bears the potential capacity to heal, recover, and reconcile, this is not a self-evident outcome, especially since the metaphorical scar applies to processes of healing in the social, cultural, and political spheres, rather than the biological one.²

Furthermore, the scar metaphor offers a way to overcome the many dichotomies of change—before and after, winners and losers, progress and decline—and create integrality instead. It is organic and created on the basis of past significances entangled with present standpoints. Because of this integrative perspective, and because it acknowledges nonlinear temporalities, the scar can be regarded as an alternative to a palimpsestual approach.³

A palimpsest is a handwritten manuscript on parchment or papyrus, on which one text has been scraped away and replaced by a new one. This recycling practice of Antiquity and the Middle Ages was often used repeatedly in order to make use of valuable parchment, even though it was sometimes possible to discern the erased text behind the new addition. In postmodern contexts, the word has been used metaphorically to describe the different layers of significance that make up heritage.⁴ New layers are continuously added as time goes by, like new texts inscribed on a scraped, cleaned parchment. However, this metaphorical use of the palimpsest is misleading if one wishes to emphasize the interconnectedness, the linked relevance, between the different layers. If heritage consists of a multitude of parallel or successive stories and perspectives, all contributing to one another and to an overall picture, the palimpsest is a poor choice of metaphor, since the palimpsest in the original sense implies that new texts are added without regard or connection to those previously

erased, and thus the end result is a picture made up of fragments and additions without any mutuality or interrelated content.

Besides these metaphorical complications and diverging temporal approaches, the idea of landscape scars challenges a layered understanding of heritage *per se*. Instead of trying to uncover and acknowledge manifold layered stories of the past, the scar metaphor suggests that heritage is an integrated and crucial part of human living with all its inherent contradictions and ambiguities. It is a perspective that attempts to discern wholeness out of complexity and divergences. This is not to say that ambiguity is always and inherently good or liberating, but rather, as human geographer Shiloh Krupar pointed out, that “ambiguity is what must be explored to contest routinized recitations of evidence and established truths.”⁵ Even if the scar itself could be understood as dead, nonsensory skin, where the normal skin layers have been replaced by a dense new scar tissue, it forms a part of the living body. The scar is not a palimpsest.

Scars, Wounds, and Related Metaphors

Scars, wounds and other organic metaphors have been used in heritage or societal contexts before, primarily to describe large-scale transformations of natural landscapes, like hydropower plant dams, or traces of painful events like bombings.⁶ There are also concepts that resemble the idea of landscape scars, but with a more explicit indication of the fact that affluence inevitably comes at a cost, that is, concepts that denote something exclusively negative. Among these could be mentioned “sacrifice zones,” environments that have been deliberately damaged for industrial purposes in order to generate economic profit elsewhere; and “shadowed ground,” landscapes reminiscent of events of violence and tragedy.⁷

The empirical characteristics associated with sacrifice zones, shadowed grounds, and several previous uses of the scar as a metaphor, such as negative environmental impacts and invisibility in wider public imaginations, also apply to post-industrial scars. However, while the scar metaphor used in this book certainly emphasizes pains of the past, this pain can be mixed and intertwined with bright, positive experiences.

The metaphors of scars and wounds have been employed by architects and artists dealing with reconstruction or memorial projects. The Swedish artist Jonas Dahlberg, for example, won the competition to design a public memorial commemorating the 2011 Utøya massacre in Norway. The general idea of Dahlberg’s proposal is to

create a wound or a cut in nature by taking away a “slice” of a narrow cape at Utøya. This three-and-a-half-meter void, or artificial sound, will make it impossible to reach the end of the cape; it will interrupt visitors’ movement in order to “acknowledge what is forever irreplaceable.”⁸

Another example is the American architect Lebbeus Woods, who has designed several projects for places marked by different kinds of crisis. His best-known proposals are for Sarajevo after the Balkan War, a project to combat Havana’s deterioration after decades of an ongoing trade embargo, and for San Francisco after the 1989 earthquake.⁹ His overall approach in these three places is termed “radical reconstruction,” emanating from proposals called “scabs,” “tissues,” and “scars.”¹⁰ In many ways the architecture does resemble organic texture and form; it interplays with existing—damaged—buildings and sites, by means of contrast, mirroring, and outgrowth. In an essay, Woods articulates his ideas about this set of metaphors. He denotes a scab as “a first layer of reconstruction, shielding an exposed interior space or void, protecting it during its transformation.” A scar is a “deeper level of reconstruction that fuses the new and the old . . . a mark of pride and of honor, both for what has been lost and what has been gained. It cannot be erased . . . To accept a scar is to accept existence.”¹¹ In line with Woods’ description, I believe the scar metaphor highlights a potential process toward the reconciliation or acceptance of past events, closely related to perspectives developed within the field of heritage.

Heritage and Scars

The concept of heritage is often used to signify something, usually an object, that our predecessors consciously passed on to us, or that happened to be left over from bygone days. It is also sometimes used to focus on a gift or a burden that we carry, light-hearted and proud or with difficulty and shame, to potentially hand over to our descendants. Lately, however, this conceptualization of the heritage “object” has proved to be insufficient to capture the complex interactions between humans and their physical artifacts and surroundings. Many scholars like, for example, human geographer Brian J. Graham and heritage scholar Peter Howard consider heritage as continuously changing, as an activity and a process centered primarily in the human mind rather than in the material world.¹² Heritage is defined and redefined by the present-day articulation and negotiation of values—connected to stories, places, actions, and events. This

implies that heritage is a highly time-subjective activity, drawing on the past and affected by tradition and customs, but nevertheless firmly based in the current situation.

In general, heritage tends to be understood primarily as something positive. Heritage processes are seen as enriching our lives “with depth and purpose” or even to partly replace religious longings for immortality in secular societies.¹³ In the best of worlds, heritage is conceived as providing a form for critical engagement in society, a way to give perceptions and identities meaning.¹⁴ However, “difficult” or “dark” heritage, for example, in connection to postconflict situations, has recently been recognized and analyzed as well, among others by anthropologist Sharon Macdonald, geographer Dietrich Soye, and heritage scholars William Stewart Logan, Keir Reeves, and John Giblin.¹⁵ In fact, the understanding of heritage as something only positive has been complemented by a perspective that regards it as inherently conflictual or dissonant, since the heritage process most often defines groups of people as superior or secondary, as victims or offenders; indeed, sometimes even new conflicts arise as a consequence of the narrative selection implied by heritage.¹⁶ In line with Giblin, I concur with the view that heritage essentially represents something neither positive nor negative, but forms an element and expression of intensified cultural negotiation.¹⁷

The argument of this book—to better articulate ambiguous pasts and possible processes of healing within a heritage discourse—thus connects well to the work of other scholars, but it proposes a slight change in emphasis and perspective. The empirical focus on post-industrial landscape scars makes clear that crucial memory and heritage processes can take place without any professional heritage actors involved, with the possible consequence that these processes may not be acknowledged as heritage at all. Also, similar processes can be regarded in completely different ways depending on the geographical and socioeconomic context. What is considered heritage from a Western point of view might not be laden with any such connotations at all in another part of the world, or in places where the necessities of life occupy the center of attention (figure 1.2).¹⁸

To grasp such processes, most of which are not recognized by the heritage profession, and to examine how they relate to already established understandings, I propose three categories of post-industrial landscape scars, representing different degrees of connection to contemporary heritage discourses. The first category, *reused* post-industrial landscape scars, is the one most closely linked to a



Figure 1.2 A team of workmen is on its way back from a shift. Past and present are entangled in many ways. Technology still in use at this steel works in Chusovoi, Russia, was consigned to the museum half a century ago in some other countries. Photo: Anna Storm, 2003.

canonized understanding of heritage. It denotes former industrial sites being redefined and reused for new purposes. The second category, *ruined* post-industrial landscape scars, denotes abandoned and decaying industrial sites, at once romanticized and considered a disgrace for modern society. The third category I call *undefined* post-industrial landscape scars, signifying places and processes that are not acknowledged as important from a memory or heritage perspective, that is, the ones that are left outside the arena of contemporary heritage recognition.

The three categories relate to one another in various ways. The reused and the ruined post-industrial landscape scars work as references and imaginary screens toward which I will try to capture the essence of the undefined scars. In some respect, the undefined scars are marked by a lack of identity and an integral potential to gravitate toward one or both of the other two categories. Some undefined scars are gradually turning into reused ones, reincorporated in the organized parts of cities and towns. Others become ruined and romanticized as a consequence of neglect. Toward the end of this introductory chapter I will describe and contextualize the three categories of post-industrial scars in more detail.

In addition to emphasizing heritage processes taking place outside professional recognition, the idea of the scar challenges understandings of heritage as regards the relationship between the mental and the physical. A scar is something you live with. It is a bodily experience, a physical memory. If shown, it is also evocative and can trigger narration: Where did you get that one? As such it can work as a crucial part of a heritage process, resembling what heritage scholar Laurajane Smith describes as a heritage “tool” or “facilitator.”¹⁹ However, the terms “tool” and “facilitator” denote only the physical artifacts or surroundings that affect heritage processes. Therefore, to describe something as a “tool” for a heritage process is to pinpoint its secondary function in the “actual” process—which takes place in the human mind. A scar, on the other hand, is an organic metaphor. It is not a tool for human beings, but an integrated part of human experience. It is both physical and mental, and by using this metaphor I intend to accentuate the closeness and mutuality between these two aspects.

Others have argued along similar lines, for example, by describing storytelling as a material practice, by asserting that places are in fact processes and moments in a network of social relations and understandings, or by claiming that buildings could be “incorporated in an urban space like a narrative in an inter-textual environment.”²⁰ From the methodological perspective of anthropology, Amiria J. M. Henare, Martin Holbraad, and Sari Wastell suggest that we should treat meaning and thing as one identity.²¹ By engaging with things, by experiencing things in a conceptual way and through metaphorical “vision,” we might be able to reach beyond predefined categories of understanding.²² Memories need footholds, and the scar metaphor provides a conceptual tool to capture both the memories and the footholds in a cohesive way.

Post-Industrial Landscapes

The notion of a “post-industrial” society gained traction in the 1970s, mainly through sociologist Daniel Bell’s work, and was instantly debated.²³ The notion suggests the emergence of a new era, marked by a major transition in economies from the production of goods to the provision of services. Both the general relevance and the proposed chronological setting of the post-industrial era have been widely disputed, but one crucial turning point often mentioned is the 1973 oil crisis and its economic and political consequences. The key question was not whether the 1970s brought thorough changes, but rather whether or not these changes indicated a clear break. Many

have emphasized the long lines and continuities, while others, like sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, have claimed that a definitive break in history occurred. Bauman describes how people who believed they were “forever settled” in a place—be it in geography, in society or in life—suddenly woke up to find that place no longer existing or accommodating: a situation where neat streets “turn mean, factories vanish together with jobs, skills no longer find buyers, knowledge turns into ignorance, professional experience becomes liability, secure networks of relations fall apart and foul the place with putrid waste.”²⁴

In the following chapters, we will explore both experiences of such dramatic changes and persisting structures that suggest societal continuity and even resilience. Post-industrial landscape scars are definitely connected with an understanding of a post-industrial society at large, but the crucial point here is not to assert that these scars are evidence of a post-industrial Western society, but to highlight people and places experiencing a post-industrial *situation*, in locations where industrial production once happened but no longer does. The scars represent specific places and communities, forming an often overlooked category in our contemporary society—whatever label we would like to assign to this society.

The word “landscape” has its etymological origin in the Germanic languages. While “land” referred to a region, territory, or environment, the suffix “scape” referred first to creation, and later, from the seventeenth century, to scenery.²⁵ The two parts of the word remain. We can understand landscape both as “material and territorial entity” and as a culturally defined perception of this entity.²⁶ While the material aspect, among other things, acknowledged a perspective of “being in the landscape” as a physical interaction of people and things, the visual emphasis brought “landscape” close to the world of art and imagination.²⁷

Another way to approach the concept of “landscape” is to relate it to “land.” Both of these concepts signify places full of meanings, but in different ways. Sociologist John Urry has denoted “land” as places based in the everyday, in production of goods and in the understanding of home, while “landscape” in his view is the same piece of land, also full of meaning, albeit with other connotations. Urry has showed how lands were turned into landscapes, into places of visual desire and emotion, of travel and new encounters. His examples are gleaned primarily from the agrarian countryside in the early twentieth century that became “postcarded” through the emergence of the tourist’s gaze, with the technology of photography playing a key role.²⁸ I would argue that a similar process has also turned the industrial

"land" of home and production into post-industrial "landscapes," defined by a touristic visual experience of abandonment, rust, and growing vegetation.

Urry asserts that the transformation from land to landscape is irreversible, but I propose that landscape scars can indeed form a reconnection between the two, between land and landscape. The scar might be the result of this transformation, but it is also a creative possibility, a new entity providing integration between different stories and significances. Hence, the experiences and perceptions of land and landscape can exist at the same time, at the same physical spot, but the constitutions differ and one of them is dominant, either the land or the landscape. The scar is a possibility to acknowledge the abiding meanings of land within an understanding dominated by landscape. People living in the land, who consider it their home, probably know whether it has become "postcarded" into a landscape by other people and vice versa: people comprehending a place mainly through the tourist's gaze can include an understanding of a still existing land.

Industrial Heritage

Heritage is not only a perspective and an analytical framework. It also signifies a kind of activity with its own history. My interest in post-industrial landscape scars has not emerged in a vacuum, but has been influenced by at least a century of public and individual concerns for industrial remains. In the early years of industrialization, industry was in many respects seen as the opposite of culture. Heritage, on the other hand, was perceived as a condensed expression of culture, and consequently it was difficult to comprehend industry as something belonging to a heritage process.²⁹ Industry represented novelty and innovation and hence almost an antithesis to the past. Instead, industrialization triggered a heritage interest for agricultural milieus.

However, at the turn of the twentieth century a conscious defining of some industrial techniques and built environments as belonging to the past had already emerged.³⁰ During this period, the function of the identified industrial past, among other things, was to work as a contrast to modern industry and modern society as a whole. This was also a time when Western countries established institutions that were to deal with the past in more general terms, in order to form a foundation for modern society. Industrial remains were acknowledged as possessing heritage values at some level, and included in exhibitions, documentation projects, and museums.³¹ The initiative came from

industrialists in league with academic scholars, that is, representatives of an elite in society.

A major shift in scale and perspective took place in the 1960s and 1970s, with a general Western questioning of society. Rapid changes in the industrial landscape and structural crises contributed to a greater awareness of, and interest in, the past.³² Common denominators of the new heritage activities were an emphasis on everybody's right to take part in the writing of history, and an understanding of heritage as having social and political implications. In short, the activities of the 1960s and 1970s expressed a view "from below," where workers were considered experts on their work and therefore best suited to write the history of that work.³³

Consequently, the workers' situation, detailed technical processes, and the local community were put at the center of attention, which contrasted sharply with the conventional heritage processes and narratives of the time.³⁴ Industrial archeology in Great Britain and the United States, "eco museums" in France, and the so-called dig-where-you-stand movement in Sweden were all some of the expressions of the radical spirit of this time.³⁵ In many of these activities there was an inherent tension between academics and amateurs, and between, on the one hand, those who regarded knowledge about industry, technology, and industrial architecture as the prime target of their work and, on the other hand, those who focused on the social dimension of the former work sites.³⁶

In the following decades industry was gradually included in the general understanding of heritage. Today industrial heritage draws great interest both from scholars and the general public. However, industry has not become the core of canonized high status heritage when it comes to heritage management practice.³⁷ There are many reasons for the hesitancy to include industrial memories in an "authorized heritage discourse," to use Laurajane Smith's concept, among them the fact that built environments related to an industrial past are often of a mundane character, consisting of complicated, large-scale, polluted, or otherwise devastated landscapes.³⁸ Post-industrial landscape scars are often too dilapidated, or too commodified, or too complicated to be easily recognized within a heritage perspective. The scars might also have been too stigmatized to be included in an everyday landscape. Some sites or events may, it has been suggested, "remain scarred indefinitely" implying that healing would be impossible.³⁹

In spite of the difficulties, these leftovers or side effects of industrial production are not only crucial for a richer understanding of the

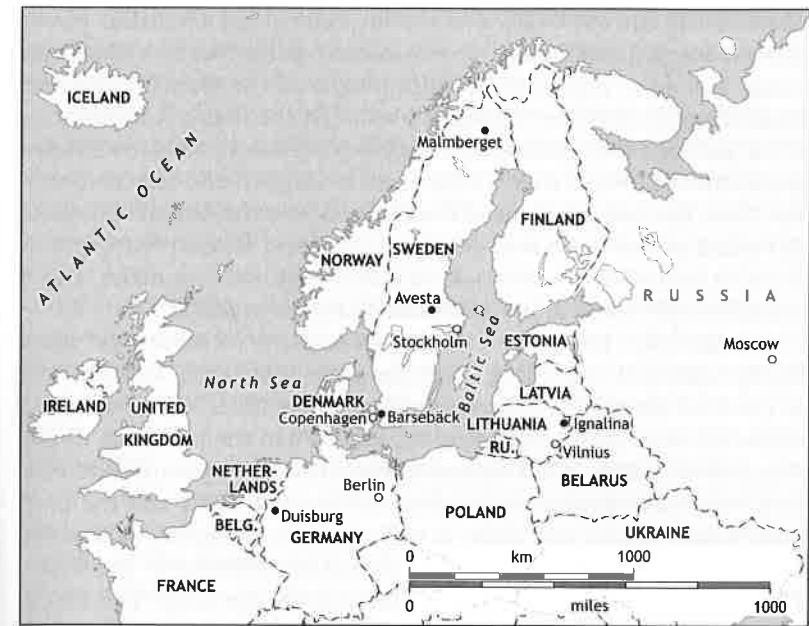
many faces of industry, but, as I argue in this book, they form scars in the landscape that convey narratives of resistance and recovery of a much wider societal significance. The physical aspects are prominent in terms of, for example, contamination, affected ecosystems, and townscapes, as are the mental aspects in terms of processes of heritage and identity. To heal a mental or physical wound into a scar that one can live with is to recognize key signs of difficult or ambiguous pasts and to point toward possible reconciliation. Although the dividing line between healing on the one hand, and obscurity and inequities on the other hand, is thin and requires a careful balancing act; the scar can indeed offer a focal point for meaning and depth in our lived post-industrial landscapes.

Localized Utopian Visions and Conflict Zones (the Places of the Book)

In the following chapters, I will show you some scars in our post-industrial landscape. The geographical setting is the Baltic Sea Region of Northern Europe: this study will focus on people and places in Lithuania, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden (map 1.1). The histories of these scars all speak of twentieth-century utopian visions of society, of fear and resistance expressed by popular movements, of individual and state investments of considerable dimensions, and of special relationships between industrial workers and those in power. The scars also highlight how big plans become reality in a local context, and how the affected local context remains when the big plans sometimes vanish.

In my opinion all of these places are remarkable, spectacular, and astonishing. At the same time, they are generally regarded as peripheral, ugly, and merely functional or dysfunctional—if they are noticed or known at all. Why is this? This has been a personal starting point for my investigations. How come these obviously significant narratives have not been written? Why are these sites not full of tourists, these scars not recognized? One part of the answer is connected to limited accessibility and to risk, but that certainly is not the entire explanation.

Chapter 2 explores what it means to live on an *unstable mountain* in the mining town of Malmberget in the far north of Sweden. Here, the mine is the sole reason for the community's existence and has brought work and welfare as well as pain to the inhabitants. The town has flourished and suffered because of the mine and, since fifty years back, one feature above all others epitomizes this relation: the Pit.



Map 1.1 The post-industrial landscape scars of this book are located in the Baltic Sea Region, in the countries of Lithuania, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. Map: Stig Söderlind, 2013.

The Pit is a huge hole—200 meters deep and comprising an area of 21 hectares. Originally it was an open-pit mine that later continued to grow because of ongoing underground mining activities. Today it divides the town center into two halves—people have been forced to abandon their homes and key community buildings successively because “the Pit is coming.”

In this dramatic, yet slow, process, the mining company is surprisingly silent. The concerns of the local population, the miners and their families, are voiced but the responses are few. The contrast to the nearby town of Kiruna—where the same mining company is planning to move the whole town because of the needs of the mine, in a highly medial spectacle—is striking. The scar in Malmberget is the literally disappearing homes and places of childhood in the midst of a dying town, along with a negligent attitude from the mining company toward a loyal, yet hurt, local community.

Chapter 3 asserts that there exists a geographical *distance of fear* by exploring the history of Barsebäck, a commercial nuclear power

plant that in the 1970s became the utmost symbol of nuclear power in both Sweden and Denmark. It is located on the Swedish southwest coast, but more importantly, within sight of the Danish capital of Copenhagen just twenty kilometers away. At the time of construction it was part of a cooperation in energy infrastructure between Sweden and Denmark, but it soon turned into a despised and feared silhouette from the vantage point of the Danes across the Sound. The issue of nuclear power in general generated the most encompassing popular movement of the late twentieth century in both countries, and it caused a referendum and a governmental crisis in Sweden.

On the local level, the nuclear power plant of Barsebäck was a highly esteemed workplace, and the pride, the trust, and the loyalty toward the plant's management and the nuclear sector remained unshaken over several turbulent decades. When the plant was finally closed down for political reasons at the turn of the twenty-first century, this was regarded as treachery by the employees and the local community. Today, the plant is still an active workplace where the task is to prepare the decommissioning and handling of the waste. The scar in Barsebäck marks lost optimism for the future and a local experience of being betrayed, the heated controversies on nuclear power in Sweden and Denmark, and not least, the uncertain future of radioactive waste.

Chapter 4 examines a *lost utopia* in connection with the Ignalina nuclear power plant. This plant was established in the context of the Soviet empire and its large-scale ambitions for electrification. In the 1970s, the Soviet republic of Lithuania was chosen to host the largest nuclear power plant of its kind in the world. A few kilometers away, Sniečkus, a workers' town for thirty thousand inhabitants was built. Because of the industrial enterprise, the town was semiclosed and received special benefits. It was built according to contemporary planning ideals and regarded as a "Soviet paradise." Russian speakers from other parts of the empire moved to Sniečkus, while the presence of ethnic Lithuanians was negligible.

Over just a few decades, the Ignalina nuclear power plant made a remarkable symbolic journey from being an expression of advanced Soviet technological progress, to becoming a despised sign of Moscow's imperialistic ambitions threatening human health, the environment, and ultimately the Lithuanian nation, only to emerge in the 1990s as a most valuable energy resource for independent Lithuania in its relations with Russia and the West, and then ultimately ending its operational life as a concession to negotiations for Lithuanian EU membership at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The scar

of the Ignalina nuclear power plant is the experience of a lost utopia, prevailing and poisoning ethnic tensions and, again, the unavoidable and hazardous handling of radioactive waste.

Chapter 5 deploys the idea of *industrial nature* by visiting an industrial area with similarly high symbolic overtones to its country: the Ruhr area in Germany. This heavily industrialized conglomerate of cities and towns has a complicated history as the national armorer's workshop during both world wars, besides severe industrial pollution, heavy work, and an extensive immigration situation that brought about social tension. In the 1970s, the area faced a severe economic crisis when many of the industrial activities ceased—with huge unemployment as one consequence. Massive programs to bring new life to the area have been carried out since, perhaps the best-known of which was the Internationale Bauausstellung (IBA) Emscher Park, 1989–1999. Artistic interpretations, historical investigations, and adventurous reuse of the abandoned industrial structures characterized the investments.

One of the landmarks was the Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord, where different parts of a former blast furnace plant were reused for diving, climbing, biking, concerts, and exhibitions, among other things. The industrial structures were converted into frames or sculptures for types of activities that are usually more connected to a natural environment. A special understanding of industrial nature also developed, with controlled overgrowing becoming a strategy to revive the contaminated sites. The scar of the Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord is the complicated history of war, contaminated ground, and a partly lost industrial identity, along with difficulties of long-term hope for the future once the initial enthusiasm for the spectacular changes has faded.

Chapter 6, finally, scrutinizes the *enduring spirit* of the company town Avesta in the heartland of the Swedish iron and steel industry. In Avesta there was a copper works and later an iron and steel works that used the power from a river and formed the basis of a company town for centuries. In the mid-nineteenth century, the original industrial site became too small for the needs of the growing production, so a new industrial area was established on the other side of the town and separated from the river, based on the transmission of electric energy rather than water power.

The old site was mostly abandoned and stood more or less empty behind fences for a few decades. Then, newcomers to the town found the abandoned ironworks and turned it into an art exhibition hall, followed by other projects like restaurants, a museum, business offices,

and school facilities. The area was opened up to the public for the first time and the reuse program was recognized as interesting and of high quality from a national perspective. As in Duisburg in the Ruhr region, the scar in Avesta thus mainly belongs to the reused category. Yet this mostly healed wound also shows difficult and chafing aspects, like the conversion of the area from a place for workers to a gentrified elite location, a place where the former ironworks employees never go.

Although both Duisburg and Avesta can be regarded as reused landscape scars, combined with some ruination, a big share of this book will be dedicated to the undefined scars. Often little appreciated and "invisible," these scars bring heritage matters to a head. Who is a legitimate interpreter? What is the effect of raising questions from the outside, for example, as I do in this book? Is there a risk of losing important parts of the experience during the healing process? In order to frame how undefined scars may gravitate toward reuse or ruin, in this final section I will expand a bit on these latter categories.

Categories of Post-Industrial Landscape Scars

The *reused* post-industrial landscape scar is in its physical sense typically a nineteenth-century brick building with large windows located along the waterfront in the center of a city or town. It is old enough to be regarded as beautiful by a large proportion of the public and it is reused for housing, exhibitions, restaurants, schools, or offices.⁴⁰

It is possible to argue that the history of the reused post-industrial landscape scar began in the late 1960s. The post-World War II decades, dominated by new construction, were followed by an interest in adaptive reuse.⁴¹ The new approach put the reuse of abandoned factories on an agenda of economical and sustainable behavior, along with an appreciation of cultural and historical values.⁴² Spurred on by initial projects in the United States, particularly the development of the waterfront in Baltimore, Maryland, the renovation of buildings in the textile city of Lowell, Massachusetts, and the 1970s loft living movement in New York, the reuse of abandoned industrial places became prominent in Western Europe during the 1980s and 1990s.⁴³ The contrast between "before" and "after" is often emphasized in the depiction of these reuse processes. Lowell, for example, has been described as a city that turned from depressed mill town into a "vibrant, revitalized and healthy" community by transforming the

vast amount of vacant mill buildings into premises for high-technology companies.⁴⁴

Today industrial features are definitely an asset in many contexts. It is easy to find commercial advertising drawing on an industrial past as a marketing tool. For example, potential buyers of apartments in a former mill in Gothenburg in Sweden are enticed by a lifestyle characterized as "warehouse living," a concept said to bring qualities from the past into an encounter with the present and thereby "create a unique living environment."⁴⁵ This unique living environment comprises, among other things, preserved visible steel girders and plastered interior walls, original deep windowsills and open floor spaces—elements the rather wealthy buyers apparently favor.⁴⁶ An industrial past, expressed in prominent material features, is also a benefit and key feature in many prestigious landmark projects, like the Bankside Power Station in London, which opened as the art museum Tate Modern in the year 2000. The attention toward industrial aesthetics within the reused category has extended so far as to trigger the construction of pure replicas or "fake" industrial structures to help sell apartments and to stage spectacular shows.⁴⁷

The reused scar is often characterized by gentrification, a status upgrading that includes new tenants as well as new uses.⁴⁸ The industrial past is adapted to fit into a new narrative of upper or middle-class life, flavored with what can be regarded as interesting industrial details that bring an experience of authenticity to the new inhabitants.⁴⁹ However, the appreciation of the industrial features also brought a new overall framing to many places. The industrial character has often been contrasted to, or combined with, an enhanced "natural" setting, especially visible in the conscious addition of greenery and in processes of renaming. Hence, one can easily find former industrial places behind names alluding to the sea, the shore, and the valley. A waterfront location, once a decisive factor as the source of energy, has been turned into an attribute for living space quality.⁵⁰ As a consequence, the industrial aesthetic and the industrial past have become both commodified, and—in the words of Sharon Zukin—"domesticated."⁵¹

The early reuse and commodification of post-industrial landscape scars did not involve many heritage professionals, many of whom questioned the process.⁵² For example, industrial heritage scholar Neil Cossons rhetorically asked whether sites that "survived the years of neglect [will] now survive the period of rampant rehabilitation?"⁵³ The reused landscape scar was commodified and domesticated, made visible, agreeable, and respectable, and thus, from the perspective of

heritage professionals, sometimes healed in a bad way, concerning both its physical and its mental structure. In general, the places have been cleaned and the stories adapted for those who do not have personal memories of the place when it was in operation in its previous use, although there are, of course, exceptions.

It seems as if heritage and planning professionals to some extent found a common platform in the mid-1980s when, on the one hand, heritage rhetoric began to be used to advertise offices and apartments, and, on the other hand, planning and development ambitions were used to justify the existence of heritage activities in society, not the least in terms of industrial heritage tourism. These activities range from UNESCO designating industrial sites as "world heritage," to the advertising of industrial heritage as an exploration into the exciting and unknown. In this respect, the reused post-industrial landscape scar closely connects to the ruined scar, or at least it becomes clear that they belong to the same family of marks in the landscape.

* * *

The *ruined* post-industrial landscape scar is in its physical sense typically a twentieth-century factory or infrastructure establishment like offices or canteens or a power plant, located in the countryside where the pressure of land development is low or zero. These are places where people have left their binders on their desks to never return, and where shrubs grow through the broken windows.

Ruins in general have been appreciated, even cherished, since the late-eighteenth-century Romantic period. In paintings, poetry, and as fake ruins in private gardens, the ruin was established as an emblematic symbol of the cycle of life and death, and the inevitability of time passing—in short a prime ingredient of the Romantic scenery. A patina of age sent signals of authenticity and was considered aesthetic.⁵⁴ Two hundred years later, in the late twentieth century, came what human geographer Tim Edensor has called "the golden age of industrial ruination."⁵⁵ In contrast to the praised ruins of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the industrial ruin did not immediately evoke similar connotations of melancholic beauty, but instead represented a wasteland of dark urban nightscapes and abandoned parking lots that were loaded with meanings of ugliness and danger. After some time, a romantic, mysterious, and tempting aura of exotic otherness was nevertheless established in connection with these places as well. The emergence of concepts and activities like "urban exploration" and "industrial cool," on the fringe of official heritage actions,

show how common and accepted these interactions with the ruined post-industrial landscape scars have become.⁵⁶

The visual experience definitely dominates the ruined scars. Amateurs and professionals alike indulge in what has become a photographic genre of its own. The image of material decay and the nature "taking back" the human-shaped environment is a popular motif in blogs as well as in coffee table books, and industrial ruins have also been used as stages in countless films.⁵⁷ It has been argued that abandoned industrial sites form necessary counterareas within an all too well organized contemporary Western society. As such, they can question normative regimes of memory and materiality.⁵⁸ Yet it has also been argued that decaying urban-industrial environments have been romanticized by photographic depictions to the extent that past and present social injustices are concealed, for example, in Detroit, the largest modern US city in ruins, with currently as many as eighty thousand abandoned buildings.⁵⁹

Hence, the visual aspect is crucial and also forms part of the explanation as to why the undefined post-industrial landscape scars are not recognized—they are simply not seen. And why? The reason could be that they are located in places difficult to visit or comprehend, or that these scars just do not stand out as important.⁶⁰ The time perspective is also decisive, since both the reused and the ruined landscape scar categories are definitely in a post-industrial situation, while the undefined scars sometimes remain in a liminal and uncertain position, which makes it complicated both to look back to the past and forward to the future.

The experience of the post-industrial landscape scars could thus be intellectual, visual, and tactile, understood in some respects and a complete mystery in others. A poem by the Swedish writer and journalist Göran Greider published in 1995 captures this ambiguity:

The factories though remained forbidden cities.
Childhoods passed by in the sign of a mystery.
The adults were averted, inaccessible.
When the factories become silent they turn visible again.
Not until now they are unfamiliar to us.⁶¹

The factory has turned visible by becoming redundant and then being rediscovered, but to some extent this change remains incomprehensible. Post-industrial landscape scars carry elements of loss, but also emerging new understandings that fill the emptiness with significance.

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