

# Introduction

## Nordic Industrial Heritage Culture

CASPAR JØRGENSEN

### FABRIK & BOLIG

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This special issue takes up the formation of industrial heritage in the Nordic and Baltic countries. There have been special issues before and even one in English, back in 1978 on the occasion of the TICCIH (The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage) congress in Stockholm, but normally each issue of Fabrik & Bolig (Factory & Dwelling) is a mixture of different subjects. Here we will analyse one single theme.

Firstly, the focus of this issue will be on de-industrialization and reindustrialization, followed by articles on the listing of industrial heritage as well as on the meanings that are given to industrial cultural heritage. The core will be analyses of which types of industrial buildings have been listed in each of the Nordic and Baltic countries. What was previously, like during the 1980s, considered to be industrial heritage and what is categorized as such in the 2020s? Which agencies produce the categorizations and for what purposes? Are alternative opinions and views considered? In addition, what has been researched? We will approach such questions in the following.<sup>1)</sup>

Over the past forty years, the Nordic countries, like other countries in the “old” industrial world, as well as the Baltic countries have changed their basic character. The number of industrial employees has decreased, while the service sector has increased with jobs that require other professional skills and perform under different conditions. Industrial production is still important for the economy, but it employs less than 20% of the work force compared to c. 35% of 40 years ago. In the 1970s, industrial companies generally had domestic owners and mass-produced standardized goods. Today, companies that survived the economic crises of the 1970s, 1990s and 2008-2009 are highly specialized, high-tech, globally owned and globally linked in supply chains. The COVID pandemic showed how vulnerable this production system is. The risk is great for a new wave of closures of industrial companies. The pertinence of the issues is very specific: Who takes care of these abandoned buildings, remaining documents and people's memories, and how is it done? Or phrased in another way and from another perspective: can the buildings be transformed into a new purpose? The articles in this issue will try to answer those questions.

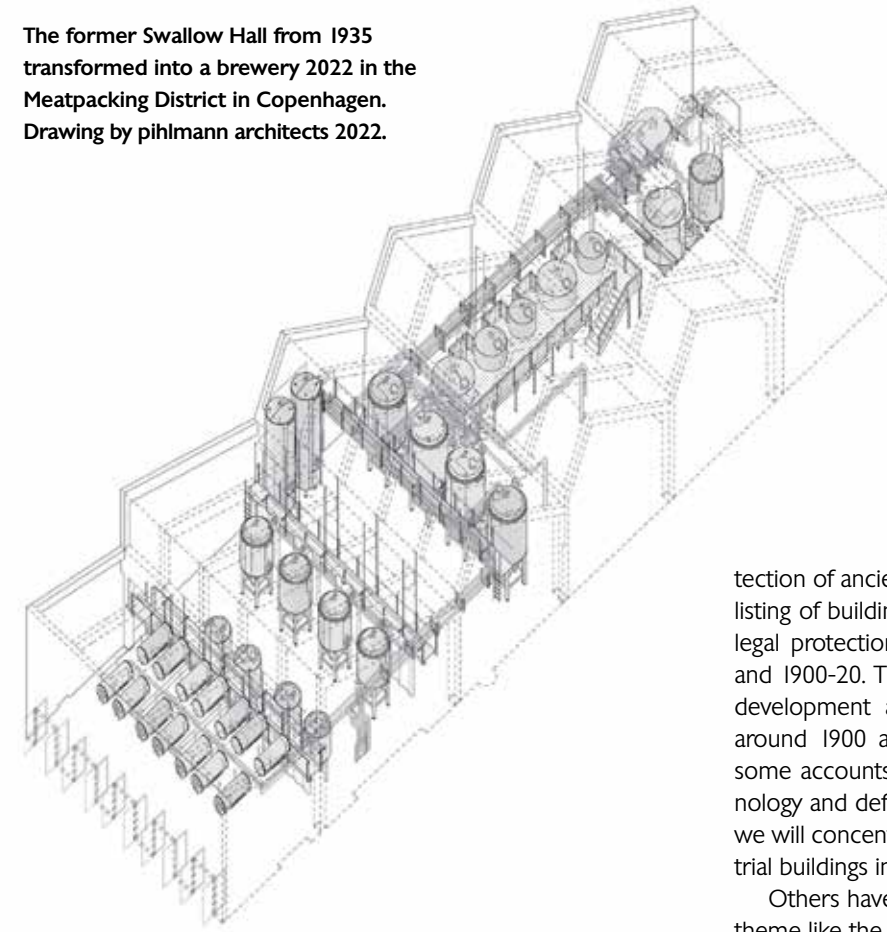


One of the shale oil workshops from the soviet period in Kohtla-Järve Estonia, run by the Viru Keemia Grupp, which focus on oil shale mining, shale oil, combined heat and power production. Photo CAJ November 2002.

### RESEARCH IN DE-INDUSTRIALIZATION AND INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

The interest in de-industrialization and post-industrial society goes back to the 1970's, although structural change in the manufacturing industry is much older and some would argue that it is an innate trait of the modern economy. One example is “Bruksdöden” or “the Death of the Forges” in Sweden, which implies the decline of the small charcoal blast furnaces and finery forges from around 1850.<sup>2)</sup> The economist Joseph A. Schumpeter used the concept of creative destruction and stated famously “This process of Creative Destruction is the essential fact about capitalism.” And “Every piece of business strategy acquires its true significance only against the background of that process and within the situation created by it. It must be seen in its role in the perennial gale of creative destruction... the problem is usually being visualized is how capitalism administers existing structures, whereas the relevant problem is how it creates and destroys them”.<sup>3)</sup> In other words, we are dealing with a long pro-

The former Swallow Hall from 1935 transformed into a brewery 2022 in the Meatpacking District in Copenhagen. Drawing by pihlmann architects 2022.



Most of these studies are not about industrial heritage, but there are exceptions. Laurajane Smith's book *Uses of Heritage* from 2006 takes its departure from elderly Aboriginal women telling stories to their daughters as well as from the users of labour history museums. Stefan Berger *Constructing Industrial Pasts* is about historical culture and identity in former industrial regions undergoing structural economic transformation. So there appears also to be a growing interest in industrial heritage among the researchers of heritage. In a recent article in this journal, the author even wonders if the interest in making or creating industrial heritage in latest years has been greater than in studying the factories themselves.<sup>15)</sup>

In many of the studies on heritage, the concept is being used in a wide sense, so the observations can be about ancient monuments, museums, experience centres, listed buildings or oral traditions. However, it is useful to distinguish between the process of making and maintaining something into heritage, and the objects and traditions themselves. In the following, we will concentrate on the objects, mainly the buildings. The institutional set-up and the diverse regulations are also essential to understand the possibilities and limits for preservation, which is clearly not only driven by marked forces.

In heritage studies it appears some of the chronological accounts are vague, and it is not always clear whether the subject is museums or buildings. For example, the chronology of pro-

tection of ancient monuments, protection of churches and the listing of buildings at least in Denmark is quite different as the legal protection were established roughly around 1800, 1860 and 1900-20. This means that the analysis of the chronological development appears unconvincing. For example, the shift around 1900 appears under-researched and even missed in some accounts.<sup>16)</sup> We must ask questions regarding the chronology and define both the subject and the place. In this issue, we will concentrate on the listings of factories and other industrial buildings in the Nordic and Baltic countries.

Others have researched a more limited and clearly defined theme like the German professor and historian Winfried Speitkamp and the Swedish professor of architecture and restoration Ola Wetterberg, who have analysed listings in respectively Germany and Sweden during the period ca 1870-1930.<sup>17)</sup> Speitkamp concentrates on three themes: the ideas, like the civilization criticism, planning and the establishing of a number of local history associations, the state, like the founding of the German Empire, nationalism and the building of a bureaucracy for administering the listing of buildings and, finally, the passing of legislation, which made it possible to protect old buildings.

Wetterberg sees several similarities between the perception and protection of heritage in the decades around 1910 and around 1980. He points to the introduction of new materials and new construction technology, which made it difficult to adapt new buildings to existing ones and which elucidated the difference between old and new. Further there were major changes in the use or functions required. This meant that former knowledge about building methods no longer suffice. As a reaction, the qualities of the traditional buildings were underlined and copied, and this reduced the rupture between old and new buildings. Both preservation and research about traditional architecture was a way to influence and form the new. At the same time around 1910, a professionalization of architects and similar fields took place. The state was also in a position to regulate and legislate more. Simultaneously, a specialization among the disciplines at the faculties of arts at the universities took place. Furthermore, the interest in the Swedish building tradition occurred as the task of architects were

cess and a dynamic system, which especially has had the attention of economists, but recently increasingly by other social scientists.

In recent years, most authors have maintained the concept of de-industrialization, and there has been a growing concern for its physical and mental manifestations going beyond the purely economic understanding of de-industrialization. What was the social consequences of mass redundancies, population decline and urban blight in general? It was for example the theme of a recent issue of the journal *Urban History*.<sup>4)</sup> On the other hand, de-industrialization has yet to find its way to the standard texts of architectural history, which still avoids disused or reused dockyards, abandoned textile mills and warehouses.<sup>5)</sup> Nevertheless, there is an interest in the changing use of buildings and in the gentrification for example of the sweatshop districts of New York since the 1970's.<sup>6)</sup> Not only among geographers and sociologist, but also among architects. We know the changes in the built environment in Manchester has been tremendous.<sup>7)</sup> For example, over 2400 textile mills and cloth-finishing works were built in the Greater Manchester area before 1924, of which 540 sites were left in 2016.<sup>8)</sup> However, we know relatively little about which buildings are being maintained and which are not.<sup>9)</sup>

In the historiography of industrial heritage or industrial archaeology, it is quite common to refer to the closing of mills, mines and steel plants as activating the interest in their preservation and to refer to structural change in the economy as part of the background.<sup>10)</sup> On the other hand, this connection is less prominent in the growing literature on heritage, which is much broader than the writings on industrial heritage, and looks at heritage from old Egyptians remains and large manor houses to aboriginals' art and the social housing of welfare society.

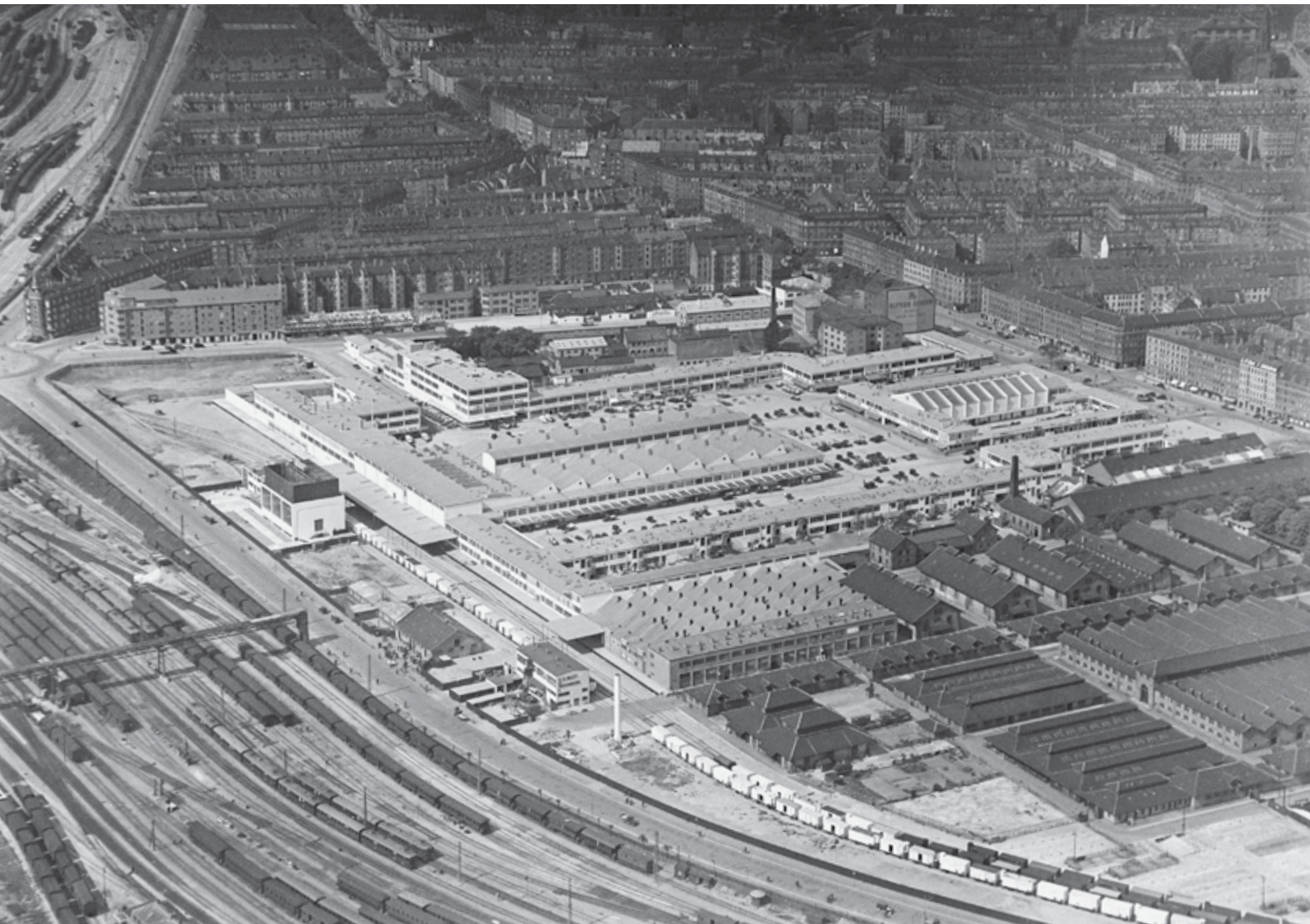
Since the 1980's several books on heritage have been published. Many of which are based on discourse analysis and social constructivism. Text analysis is widely used, and heritage is in most of the publications understood in a wide sense ranging from ancient monuments and listed buildings to museums and archives, memorial sites and monuments or statues, and extending over landscapes and artefacts to memories and traditions.<sup>11)</sup>

In these studies there appears to be a certain consensus on a change in the perception of heritage and the perception of time in the years following the French Revolution under the influence of romanticism. Furthermore, several authors argue that another change in perception of heritage unfolded from the 1960's and the following decades. For example, the American geographer David Lowenthal wrote about a contemporary exponential and global growth in the interest or obsession with the past in 1996.<sup>12)</sup> Likewise, the French historian Pierre Nora wrote about a "current upsurge in memory" in 2002 as a follow up on the monumental "*Lieux de mémoire*" published 1984-1992.<sup>13)</sup> Nora sees France as possibly the first to embark on this "memorialism", followed by Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union and then again followed by the fall of military dictatorships in Latin America and the end of apartheid in South Africa. About France Nora argues, "that 1975 was the signal moment when the after-effects of the economic crisis, the fallout from the post-de Gaulle era, and the exhaustion of the revolutionary idea most visibly encountered one another." Concerning the economic crisis Nora underline the uprooting of "the profound, centuries-old stability of the rural society". But is it usually some kind of crisis that triggers interest in the past? And not just change?

Be that as it may, it appears that the interest in heritage among researchers has grown remarkably since the 1990's. The new subject heritage studies was established. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* has been published since 1994, and in the 2010's the formation of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies took place.

Books such as the *Experience Economy* by Joe Pine and Jim Gilmore and *The Rise of the Creative Class* by Richard Florida were published in 1999 and 2001, respectively. Indicating a growing economic interest in heritage and a more business-like approach, English Heritage started to publish Heritage Counts in 2001. Especially the 2010 issue about "the economic impact of investment in the historic environment" underlines the economic approach. Another trend is the growing awareness among university researchers about a rising interest in history or, some would say, memories among the average population or non-academics.<sup>14)</sup>





Aerial view of the Meatpacking District. In the center of the photo, you can see the Swallow Hall. It is gray (yellow bricks) and situated between the white modernistic buildings in Copenhagen of the 1930 and the dark buildings (yellow bricks) of the old “meat city” of approx. 1900. Unknown photographer 1932. KB



The same shale oil workshop in Kohtla-Järve Estonia in 2011. Photo Henry Kuningas.

extended from official representative architecture to include average buildings and dwellings. Finally, Wetterberg notes that the rationale and critical approaches in cultural history supported each other until around 1930, but then came into conflict.

But none of the above authors have analysed in any detail what was actually listed. This current issue will make up for this deficiency.

As an introduction to the setting, we bring an overview of the economic landscape. This is followed by articles on the listing of industrial heritage in each of the countries and finally a short summary and comparison of the listing of industrial heritage in Nordic and Baltic countries. Some of the articles are presentations of data while others are also reflective and debating, they supplement each other and the reader should see this issue as a totality.

This current issue of *Fabrik & Bolig* (Factory & Dwelling) is in English, apart from a few reviews, to overcome the language barrier around the Baltic Sea. The articles are one of the results of the project, *Nordic Industrial Heritage Culture in the 2020's*, supported by The NOS-HS (The Joint Committee for Nordic research councils in the Humanities and Social Sciences) and was headed by Susanna Fellman. We thank the NOS-HS for financial support. Further, we would like to use the opportunity to thank the working group of the project, especially Maths Isacson, Marija Dremaitė, Pia Olsson, Mart Kalm, Thomas Brandt, Morten Pedersen and Anders Houltz as well as the late Anja Kervanto Nevanlinna for their support and advice.

#### Notes

- 1) For older overviews see *Fabrik og Bolig* 1992,1 and *Fabrik og Bolig* 1997,1.
- 2) Gösta A. Eriksson, *Bruksdöden i Bergslagen efter År 1850*. Uppsala 1955.
- 3) Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. (1942) New York: Harpers Perennial, 2008, p. 83-84. These sentences has often been cited. Etc. Nathan Rosenberg, Joseph Schumpeter: radical economist. *Exploring the block box*. Cambridge University Press 1994, p. 47-61. Sefryn Penrose, *Creative Destruction and Neoliberal Landscapes*. *Post-industrial Archaeologies Beyond Ruins*. In Laura McAtackney & Krysta Ryzewski (ed.), *Contemporary archaeology and the city: creativity, ruination, and political action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, p. 171-189.

- 4) Jörg Arnold, Tobias Becker and Otto Saumarez Smith, *The de-industrializing city in the UK and Germany: conceptual approaches and empirical findings in comparative perspective*. *Urban History*, 47 (2020), p. 194-198. See also: Moritz Föllmer and Mark B. Smith, *Urban Societies in Europe since 1945: Toward a Historical Interpretation*. *Contemporary European History*, 24,4 (2015), p. 475-491. Christopher H. Johnson, *Introduction: De-Industrialization and Globalization*. *International Review of Social History*. Vol. 47, SUPPLEMENT 10: de-industrialization: social, cultural, and political aspects (2002).
- 5) See for example Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture*. (1980) London: Thames & Hudson, 5. Ed. 2020.
- 6) Sharon Zukin, *Loft Living*. London: Radius, 1982.
- 7) Nikki Luke and Maria Kaika, *Ripping the Heart out of Ancoats: Collective Action to Defend Infrastructures of Social Reproduction against Gentrification*. *Antipode*, 51, 2, p. 579-600.
- 8) Michael Newell, *Saving Manchester's Industrial Past: Regeneration and New Uses of Industrial Archaeology Structures in Greater Manchester, 1980-2018*. *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, III, 2019.
- 9) David Edgerton has a chapter on maintenance in his book *The Shock of the Old*. (2006) London: Profile Books 2008, p.75-102.
- 10) Neil Cossons, *Industrial Archaeology: The Challenge of the Evidence*. *The Antiquaries Journal*, 87, 2007, p. 1-52. Marie Nisse, *Industriminnen under Hundra År*. *Nordisk Museologi* 1996,1, p. 73-82. Anders Holtz, *Teknikens Tempel. Modernitet och Industriär på Göteborgsutställningen 1923*. Hedemora: Gidlunds Förlag 2003. Anna Storm, *Hope and Rust. Reinterpreting the industrial place in the late 20th century*. Stockholm: KTH 2008. Marina Gasnier, *Patrimoine industriel et technique, Perspectives et Retour sur 30 Ans de Politiques au Service des Territoires*. *Cahiers du Patrimoine* no. 96, 2011, p.93-112. Axel Föhl, *Industriedenkmalpflege in Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. *Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 48, 1990, p. 122-133.
- 11) David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge University Press 1985. Francoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*. (1992) Cambridge University Press 2001. Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*. Abingdon: Routledge 2006. Astrid Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage, Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England 1789-1914*. Cambridge University Press 2013. *Constructing Industrial Pasts, Heritage, Historical Culture and Identity Transformation*. Stefan Berger (ed.). New York Oxford: Berghahn 2020.
- 12) David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, (1996) Cambridge University Press 1998, p. ix.
- 13) Pierre Nora, *Reasons for the current upsurge in memory*, 2002. *Reasons for the current upsurge in memory* | Eurozine.
- 14) Bernhard Eric Jensen, *Læghistorie – status og relevans*. *Historisk Tidsskrift* 2021, p. 201-221.
- 15) Joachim Allouche, *Industrial Heritage Studies – en introduction*. *Fabrik og Bolig* 2022, p. 50-69.
- 16) Apart from the writing of Riegel, not much appears to happen around 1900 according to Francoise Choay 2001.
- 17) Winfried Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte*. *Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft* 114. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1996. Ola Wetterberg, *Monument & Miljö, Perspektiv på det tidliga 1900-talets byggnadsvård i Sverige*. Göteborg: Chalmers Tekniska Högskola, 1992.