

Frances Guerin and Magda Szczesniak

Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe





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Cities and Cultures

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Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe

Edited by Frances Guerin and Magda Szcześniak

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Introduction: Picturing Post-industrialism

Visual Culture and the Regeneration of European Landscapes

Frances Guerin

Abstract

The introduction lays out the intellectual terrain for a collection of chapters on *Picturing Post-industrialism*. It offers an overview of the fields of post-industrial studies and articulates the intervention made by the new scholarship featured in the volume. The introduction defines and discusses the historical, aesthetic, and conceptual issues that structure the anthology, and explores the themes that make it cohere.

Keywords: post-1970s regeneration; visual culture; post-industrial Europe; community engagement; art for social change

In its time, the nineteenth-century industrial revolution and the enormous changes it enabled to the way that we live and work were enthusiastically embraced. In recent decades, disillusionment has grown in line with the catastrophic consequences of the industrial way of life. Despite starting to be dismantled over fifty years ago, the upheavals resulting from the closing of mines and heavy industry in Europe, including their removal to developing countries since the 1970s, continue to contribute to some of the greatest challenges facing Europeans today. These include (un)employment and segmentation of the labour market, demographic changes in patterns of ageing, migration, austerity, growing poverty, climate change, and environmental sustainability. The consequences of the cultural, economic, and social shifts to a period of post-industrialization weigh heavily on daily life in Europe today.

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Since the 1970s, many of Europe's one-time thriving industrial landscapes have been de-industrialized, mining and heavy industry have wound down, commodity production declined, or become refocused on non-fossil-fuelled production and manufacturing. There is no single European experience of the transformation from the industrial to post-industrial age. Similarly, revitalization, dereliction, or destruction of once thriving hubs of industrial activity across Europe have depended on a range of factors, including national and regional government policies, geographical and social context, and demographic identity. Abandoned and demolished factories, powerplants, blast furnaces, and reactors litter Europe's former industrial heartlands. Thus, for example, the IKA cable-manufacturing plant in Köpenick, Berlin or the Hunedoara Ironworks in Romania—once the biggest iron foundry in the Austro-Hungarian Empire—have lain derelict and abandoned for years.¹ Such spaces attract stray cats, graffiti artists, and drug dealers, apparently devaluing their environs. In other locations, industrial sites have been transformed to meet the changing needs of consumer societies. For example, the renowned Lingotto building of the Fiat manufacturing plant in Turin has been transformed into a commercial complex. Visitors can follow the former car production line and take the elevator to the roof to the racetrack where cars were once tested.

Still other sites, such as those in Germany's Ruhr region, have benefited from the European Union's incentives for structural change and development, resulting in physical regeneration and economic revitalization. In such areas, former industrial facilities have been transformed into museum-style complexes where locals and visitors are encouraged to experience the past through present activities such as walking, playing, spectating, and learning.² Thus, from the outset, the material contours of Europe's post-industrial landscapes are varied and uneven.

That said, the social challenges for post-industrial regions across Europe are strikingly similar. In the immediate aftermath of the closure of mines and manufacturing, the goals were to ensure social inclusion, clean contaminated areas, build new economies, create employment, and revitalize structures and landscapes. Today, European funding policies continue to privilege the search for environmental sustainability to mitigate the effects of the climate

² See Geraldine Gardner, "The View from Europe," in *Remaking Post-Industrial Cities: Lessons* from North America and Europe, ed. Donald K. Carter (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 127–36.



Anca Pusca, "Industrial and Human Ruins of Postcommunist Europe," *Space and Culture* 13, no. 3 (July 2010): 2398–455; A.-D. Muntean, "The Brownfields of Hunedoara: Magnets without a Force of Attraction," *Risks and Catastrophes Journal* 26, no. 1 (March 2003): 95–107.

catastrophe. They are also focused on integrating otherwise marginalized communities into the global economy.³ Specifically, this has meant a shift in public policy (and funding) towards education, creative production, and technological development. Thus, the twin strategies for creating new economies and developing the workforce to meet such strategies have become the focus of ongoing policy decisions.

When considering the myriad approaches to the industrial past and its legacies across Europe broadly defined, it is important not to assume that revitalization is always a welcome alternative to dereliction and abandonment. Europe's former industrialized landscapes, sites, and structures are often redeveloped for local and tourist consumerism-malls, hotels, leisure centres—and other spaces have been transformed into apartments, offices, and museums to display local and regional history. These transformations are typically designed to stimulate the economy by attracting visitors from outside the area. Most often, they have become places for tourists or bourgeois living, working, and relaxing.⁴ In other words, they have been gentrified. Scholars agree that such apparently dynamic cultural heritage solutions can erase or hide the trauma of lives lost to mines and factories, harsh living and working conditions of the past, and the ongoing challenges of the working classes today.⁵ Together with the loss of the structures and mechanisms of work and industry that once animated these sites, regeneration for the tourist industry and gentrification in its various forms literally displaces people from their homes and the places to which their identity is tied. With erasure or regeneration, the complex experiences of the industrial past for local communities, and the historical richness of individual, local, and regional identity in the present, are made invisible. The demolishing of warehouses on Union Street, Belfast to make way for commercial sites and the transformation of the Lingotto building in Turin are as alienating as the above-mentioned abandonment of the Hunedoara Ironworks and IKA cable-manufacturing plant.⁶

3 On the European mission for "climate neutral" and "smart cities" under the auspices of the 2050 European Green Deal, see "The European Green Deal," accessed April 11, 2023, https://europeanclimate.org/the-european-green-deal/.

4 Also common is the transformation of structures into high-end warehouse living—the "original" features of visible steel girders, pylons, and open floor spaces add attraction to the "authentic" industrial living experience. See, Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

⁵ The material on this issue is vast. Some examples include: Chiara De Cesari and Rozita Dimova, "Heritage, Gentrification, Participation: Remaking Urban Landscapes in the Name of Culture and Historic Preservation," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 9 (2019): 863–69.

6 Pusca, "Industrial and Human Ruins"; Muntean, "The Brownfields of Hunedoara."



This is not to say that the official / community response can be cast as a bad / good dichotomy. Like the destruction of otherwise unsightly industrial facilities, the ramifications of revitalization are complicated; restored and replaced buildings may witness the disenfranchisement dealt by gentrification, but they can simultaneously function as meeting places, and educational and cultural centres frequented by local residents. Moreover, they may be erected specifically with a view to connect local visitors to the manufacturing or mining past.

For example, in Campina and Ploiești in Romania, decline in the oil and gas industries has paved the way for education and research institutions that use former oil wells as research laboratories.⁷ In addition, for cities that cannot rely on restoration or redevelopment, urban decay and shrinkage leads to diminishing populations. This, in turn, means that the cities' future survival is at stake. As urban planners and architects attest, intervention for the sustenance of "shrinking cities" is vital for their populations, whatever form it takes.⁸ Local councils, heritage groups, residents, and urban planners across Europe have responded to the threats to shrinking cities by engaging in multilayered, often protracted discussions with all parties to find the best solutions for the particular concerns of each.⁹ And, in some cases, these discussions have resulted in demolition and rebuilding for leisure and commercial activities. Of course, there are always shortcomings and inadequacies in the official responses. Nevertheless, as editors, we believe that we are at a juncture in the study of post-industrial transformation where the multidimensional possibilities of these solutions must be appreciated. Put differently, there is no doubt that gentrification has proven detrimental for poorer and working-class residents. In addition to ostracizing local communities by introducing bourgeois shopping, leisure, and living spaces, it invariably displaces former workers and local residents from their living spaces. The appropriation or demolition of public and affordable housing in

7 Jonathan Craig, Francesco Gerali, Fiona MacAulay, and Rasoul Sorkhabi, "The History of the European Oil and Gas Industry (1600s–2000s)," *Geological Society*, Special Publications 465 (June 21, 2018): 1–24. See also, Katarzyna Jagodzińska, *Museums and Centers of Contemporary Art in Central Europe after 1989*, trans. Carolyn C. Guile (London: Routledge, 2019), Introduction. 8 Beatriz Fernández Agueda, "Urban Restructuring in Former Industrial Cities: Urban Planning Strategies / Le renouvellent urbain des villes industrielles. Stratégies d'aménagement," *Territoire en Mouvement*, no. 23–24 (2014), accessed August 22, 2022, https://journals.openedition.org/ tem/2527. Initial work on "Shrinking Cities" and the possible ways of redevelopment was done in a German government-funded research project. See Philipp Oswalt, ed., *Shrinking Cities: International Research* (Virginia: DAP, 2010).

9 See Special Issue of Urban Design International on Shrinking Cities and Towns: Challenge and Responses 18, no. 1 (2018).



the interests of gentrification necessitates moving out of city centres and, at times, requires relocation to affordable cities elsewhere. In turn, this can lead to isolation, stigmatization, and with them, a host of social and health issues. However, to reiterate, as editors, we believe in the imperative to acknowledge that the consequences of gentrification across European countries are not one-dimensional.

In Northern and Western Europe, government institutions, independent policymakers, and civic groups have begun to address the social issues arising from de-industrialization, declining and redefined industrialization. They have sought to preserve the past in memory with a view to creating future mitigation of the social challenges such as the displacement, dispossession, ageing, and unemployment of one-time industrial communities. Within the academy, geographers, social historians, urban planners, architects, anthropologists, economists, and sociologists have attended to the ongoing challenges of post-industrial regions in their multiple stages of revivification.¹⁰ In many cases, art and visual culture have been commissioned as the basis of geographical and social redefinition across these European post-industrial landscapes and communities.

While artists and image-makers continue to produce varied and multiple visual representations of processes of de-industrialization and the postindustrial condition, these have not yet been fully analysed within art history, film studies, visual studies, and related disciplines. Scholarship has not given sustained critical attention to the role of art and visual culture in Europe's processes of regeneration.¹¹ This is despite the centrality of visual culture to successful revitalization and, in some cases, its complicity in gentrification. Similarly, art and visual culture have repeatedly been used as vehicles for creating community, visibility, and acceptance for those affected by industrialization and the subsequent shifts to new economies. Whatever their role in the variety of European processes of regeneration, the

10 Hilary Orange, *Reanimating Industrial Spaces: Conducting Memory Work in Post-Industrial Societies* (London: Routledge, 2014).

¹¹ Notable exceptions here include Gwen Heeney's *The Post-Industrial Landscape as Site for Creative Practice: Material Memory* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2017). Orange, *Reanimating Industrial Spaces*, focuses primarily on sites of memory, including a chapter on the heritage site as museum. The *Topographies of the Obsolete* project (2012–16), housed at the University of Bergen, examined and exhibited a wide range of artistic responses to the European post-industrial moment, primarily in Scandinavia and the UK. Accessed August 22, 2022, http://topographies.uib.no/index.html. In a broader context, Brian Dillon's exhibition at Tate Modern: Brian Dillon, *Ruin Lust*. London: Tate, 2014. Other books address questions of visual culture in selected chapters. See, for example, Julia Hell and Andreas Schönle, eds., *Ruins of Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).



paucity of scholarship devoted to art and visual culture in post-industrial transformation projects has led to a disconnect between the intentions, understanding, and reception of relevant projects. The chapters in *Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe* begin to address some of these lacunae. Moreover, as a collection, *Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe* seeks to confront the hesitancy to harness existing resources—explored through art and visual culture projects—for enabling greater social integration within, and communication across Europe's post-industrial communities.

Within the multidisciplinary literature of post-industrialism, individual studies examine the fallout from dismantling Europe's heavy industry in specific regions, usually demarcated geographically. These valuable studies of art and visual cultural efforts to regenerate sites, often making visible identities that have been marginalized, forgotten, or deliberately erased through official regeneration in countries such as Britain, Germany, or Northern Ireland usually show reverberations across national regions. However, as of the writing of this introduction, there is no existing collection that brings together analyses of the breadth of responses from artists and visual practitioners to the decline, regeneration, and revivification across European regions. This is despite the remarkable resonance between art and visual culture created, installed, exhibited, and performed across Europe's one-time thriving industrial heartlands. The contributions to Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe demonstrate the surprising connections between the use of art and visual culture in regions that have otherwise varied times, scales, and processes of the move away from heavy industry thanks to diverse political, ideological, and historical contexts. Thus, while in Central and Eastern European countries such as Albania, Poland, and former Yugoslav countries, for example, the transformations often went hand in hand with the shift away from state socialism, the art and visual culture is strikingly consistent in its concerns—if not in its aesthetic, form, or execution—with that shown in Germany and Britain. Across Europe, art and visual culture responds to the call to historicize the time and place of industry, maintain memory of the industrial past, and strive for the visibility and integration of former and current workers.

The chapters collected here focus on art and visual culture at distant and diverse sites. These include the former coal and steel production plants in Germany, shipyards in Poland, France, England, and Germany, coal mining in Germany, metal workshops in Croatia, textile factories in Albania and other Eastern European cities, small goods (paper and furniture) factories in the former Soviet Union and Albania. The contributions to *Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe* examine art and visual culture at a selection of



European sites for their aesthetic, historical, and sociological significance, often as articulations of the challenges and injustices that have come with regeneration and processes of rearticulation. In turn, many of these efforts are dependent on the unique characteristics of their medium for their meaning and impact. Thus, for example, Ana Grgić speaks of the cinema's ability to transgress time to stir and solidify memories of the often contradictory past for former workers in contemporary Balkan cinemas. Alternatively, Dimitra Gkitsa discusses how live performance connects the narratives of the past with the present everyday lives of former workers in a textile factory in Tirana, Albania. Anna Arutyunyan and Andrey Egorov demonstrate how site-specific installations recreate sensuous memories of industry in a former Moscow paper factory.

In addition to chapters that analyse images produced in and at sites of former industry, a second vein of inquiry attends to the public picturing of industrial and post-industrial spaces in the conventional media, advertising, and disciplinary journals. Contributions by Jacob Stewart-Halevy, Julianna Yat Shun Kei, and Nicolas Verschueren consider art and images which shape the public imaginary, particularly during the later decades of the twentieth century, years of declining industry and the post-Second World War transitions to knowledge, technology, and service-based economies. Thus, these chapters represent images distinct from the government or officially sanctioned discourses that, nevertheless, are neither grassroots, and nor do they speak on behalf of labour. They typically represent the voice of an intellectual elite from the middle-class West, looking to identify the radical potential of a visual landscape in transition, or resulting from transformation.

Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe grew out of a 2018 conversation between myself and Magda Szcześniak who was working on recent exhibitions of visual culture at the Gdańsk Shipyard. At the time, I was thinking about the Ruhr region's transformation from grey to blue skies, brown to green fields through the installation and exhibition of art and visual culture. The Ruhr region in Germany is the poster version of European revitalization and transformation thanks to the generous financial support of the North Rhine Westfalen, German, and European governments.¹² At a

12 Since the 1980s, the Ruhr landscape has not only become covered in art, but former workers have been paid generous retirement packages, and mines and mills gradually revitalized into



seminar held at the Norwegian Cultural Institute in Paris, Magda offered insight into the very different challenges posed by Gdańsk's transformation from industrial to post-industrial landscape primarily because of Poland's political history. In addition, the conflicts and tensions arising from the maintenance of industrial activities in Gdańsk, a continuation that has characterized many of Europe's former industrial heartlands, pointed to a strikingly different post-industrial landscape from that of Germany's Ruhr region. Nevertheless, Magda revealed how these challenges were also being addressed through performances, installations, and visual cultural events. Thus, in both locations, art and visual culture were being marshalled as vehicles for representation, reflection, and reintegration of the industrial past. This, despite the distinctions fuelled by the shift to post-socialism as opposed to fast-track capitalist regeneration, or the role of the Solidarity movement in the closing of the shipyard as opposed to the 1974 demonstrations in Germany. These curious resonances in the use of the visual across diverse instances of post-industrial transformation sowed the seeds of Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe.

As our conversation broadened and deepened over the ensuing years, we kept coming back to the similarities and shared interests of art and visual culture's relationship to post-industrial revitalization. Despite the historical, ideological, and geographical uniqueness of various regions across the continent, the art and visual culture of post-industrial Europe consistently and continually communicates the experiences of local communities, people who have become disenfranchised and stigmatized following the closing of mines, mills, and other heavy industry. Thus, we were inspired to bring these concerns together, to debate the powerful ways that art and visual culture have become central to making sense of the transformations.

This is a book about what transpires when people work together with art and visual culture to speak about their situation, to open spaces of dispute, deliberation, and to search for meaning in the uniqueness of their individual and collective experiences. Thus, while the collection began as a conversation between Magda and me, without the contributors, this ongoing dialogue across European borders could not exist. We are indebted to the contributors for their commitment and belief in the project, and to their chapters that have transformed our initial ideas into a rich and insightful intellectual publication.

museums displaying local history have become accessible cultural centres, welcoming community engagement.



Official Regeneration and Grassroots Art and Visual Culture

From the first signs of decline in European heavy industry in the wake of the Second World War, the places and spaces of industry have been refurbished to house modern and contemporary art collections. Across cities in Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Italy, Spain, and Poland, flour mills, paper mills, mines, abattoirs, metal and car factories, to name a few, have been turned into art museums and cultural centres. Thus, to give an obvious example, the conversion of a former power station into Tate Modern in Britain sees the museum at the centre of a thriving, energetic arts and cultural scene along London's South Bank. While leisure was the intended use of such developments, tourism and capitalist consumption were the primary motivators for the refurbishments. In another example, the original structure of El Matadero, a former pig slaughterhouse in central Madrid, is now home to experimental arts and culture. The building includes workshops, produce and clothing markets, cinema, and performance spaces, all of which offer free entry to locals. Tourists do visit El Matadero, but it is primarily a complex that has been turned back to the local community.

Such projects have developed concurrent with, even if they were not funded by annual bids for European Capital of Culture, an initiative launched in 1985 by the European Commission. In the nascent and ongoing competitions, the designation of European Capital of Culture is awarded to cities to enable strengthened cultural and creative sectors, as well as to forge long-term links with the surrounding economic and social life. Accordingly, the designation comes with an opportunity to: regenerate; raise the international profile of the city; enhance the image of the city in the eyes of its own inhabitants; breathe new life into a city's culture; and boost tourism.¹³ While in its earliest iterations, the successful European Capitals of Culture were major cities such as Athens and Paris, since the turn of the twenty-first century, an increasing number of small and mid-sized former industrial hubs have worn the logo.¹⁴ Thus, at the highest levels of government policy, art and visual culture are playing a pivotal role in Europe's drive to regenerate and redevelop following industrial decline in the second half of the twentieth century.

¹⁴ For a list of chosen cities since its inception in 1985, see the policy pages, accessed September 15, 2022, https://culture.ec.europa.eu/policies/culture-in-cities-and-regions/ designated-capitals-of-culture.



¹³ The guidelines for applications to the European Capital of Culture can be found on the EU's website, accessed September 15, 2022, https://culture.ec.europa.eu/sites/default/files/ capitals-culture-candidates-guide_en_vdec17.pdf.

Several chapters in Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe reflect on regeneration efforts that have unfolded under the aegis of the European Capital of Culture in Essen, Marseille, Glasgow, and Brussels. Even when it is not directly visible, the initiative has been instrumental to the integration of art and visual culture into the ongoing life of Europe's former industrial cities. As chapters reveal, the ramifications of art and cultural projects pursued with the blessing of the European Commission have been mixed. The designation of Capital of Culture which theoretically comes with improvement of material infrastructure and enhancement of cultural life, has meant the erasure of the unsightly, the dangerous, and the dark elements of industrial spaces. In addition, increased employment in preparation for the celebrations has given way to redundancy. In reality, for cities/conurbations such as Maribor (2012) or Matera (2019), the award was a gateway to gentrification. Thus, while unintended, accelerated urban regeneration and a transformation of history into an economic resource in Europe's cultural capitals have a potential to marginalize further the diversity in culture and language.¹⁵ Similarly, a successful application to become a Capital of Culture does nothing to address the challenges of poverty, inequality, and social exclusion in these towns and cities as realization is typically in the city centres.16

Chapters in *Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe* also consider redefinitions of industry into leisure through art and visual culture as it has been inspired by a range of initiatives. Thus, government, policymaker, and investor attempts to revitalize landscapes, reanimate communities, and address the pressing results of post-industrial fallout through art and culture—such as designation of European Capital of Culture—are investigated alongside civic and individually inspired projects. The latter genre of work has often been designed simultaneously to supplement, comment on, criticize, and/ or re-vision official programmes, unfolding on the literal and symbolic margins of gentrification.

¹⁶ See, for example, *European Planning Studies* 30, no. 3 (2022), Special Issue on *Cultural Mega-Events and Heritage: Challenges for European Cities*. The diverse impact of ECC legacy can be seen in articles by Joanna Sanetra-Szeliga, "Culture and Heritage as a Means to Foster Quality of Life? The Case of Wrocław European Capital of Culture 2016," 514–33; and Tamara West, "Liverpool's European Capital of Culture Legacy Narrative: A Selective Heritage?," 534–53.



¹⁵ Scholars also discuss the problems in a place such as Matera that, as a consequence of its cultural capital, now suffers from "over tourism." See, for example, Nicolaia Iaffaldano, Sonia Ferrari, and Giovanni Padula, "Sustainable Accommodation in a Fragile Tourist Destination: The Matera Case," in *Tourism in the Mediterranean Sea: An Italian Perspective*, ed. Filippo Grasso and Bruno S. Sergi (Bingley: Emerald, 2021), 167–84.

Given the strain of regeneration that has been carried out through official channels, collectively, the chapters in *Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe* establish an otherwise invisible tension. The art and visual cultural works are predominantly grassroots, locally inspired, creative projects. Many are on the edges, either literally occupying the outskirts of metropolitan areas where industrial complexes once stood, or symbolically, through their desire to question mainstream history. Even when the works are commissioned by government bodies, as several contributors show, artists sometimes assume, or embrace, the responsibility to challenge the official vision. In some cases, the bottom-up strategies for art and visual cultural projects are placed side by side with those of official representations and commissions. Alternatively, contributions present and examine the visual representations of interested intellectual outsiders who opine on the significance of industry, its decline, and the concomitant emergence of wastelands and alienated workers lying at the centre of local communities.

As a marker of their spirit of questioning and resistance, the best of the art, film, sculpture, installation, and other visual cultural projects here discussed typically imagine the uneven, contradictory, and troubled transitions to and fallout of post-industrialization. Alternatively, they represent the struggles commonly facing individuals and communities in the post-industrial, or de-industrializing present. As mentioned, typically, government and investor-fuelled regeneration projects tend to make invisible the work, labour, and production of the past. Similarly, they can cover up the ecological spoils and social devastation of communities living in the wake of de-industrialization, or post-industrial transformation in the service of consumer and technological economies. *Visual Culture of Post-Industrial Europe* investigates artistic initiatives that make the industrial past visible, negotiable, and re-imaginable in the wake of closures, unemployment, diminished social services, and shattered identities across Europe.

While terms such as "de-industrialization" and "post-industrialization" flatten out the contours of the processes in question, grassroots art and visual culture have been committed to representing and reanimating, interrogating, and revisioning the scale, substance, and consequences of specific, often complex processes. In addition, as individual chapters demonstrate, certain instances of visual culture have been instrumental in recognizing the impact of de-industrialization on all areas of public life: social, economic, political, historical, and environmental. Nevertheless, the particular focus on making visible raises an unstated problem or contradiction that is waiting to be explored and analysed. Namely, the question of why it is necessary to hide the industrial past, and specifically, to hide



the consequences of de-industrialization by rendering one-time workers invisible. Particularly in Europe's former Eastern states, the question of how to support those who populated the industrial era, together with their histories, has become a thorn in the side of regeneration efforts. Thus, this demographic is often banished or made invisible in developing urbanscapes. It seems too easy to claim that their presence is a reminder of the failures of the past—though this is surely part of the reason for their material and ideological effacement. While such questions remain unanswered within the chapters, their continued relevance points to the fact that the transitions to post-industrialism have not always been successful and the work of social integration is far from complete.

Ruin Porn

Scholars have called the solutions for decayed ruins pursued by governments and investors as "ruin porn." Specifically, the term has been used to describe factories and industrial facilities that have been renovated to retain parts of old structures, but most importantly, to be aesthetically spectacular. The term ruin porn was coined in response to turn-of-the-twenty-first-century photographic books of dilapidated Detroit landmarks made stunningly beautiful. The photographs thus transformed the material remnants of decades of social, economic, and political processes into fetishized objects. Dora Apel gives a compelling account of this aestheticization of Detroit's landmarks, the fascination and desire to aestheticize works in direct contrast to appropriation of abandoned and marginalized spaces for community activities, such as graffiti, concerts, and garden allotments.¹⁷ Over the past two decades, the ruin porn label has expanded its reach from the specifics of photographs that capture and flatten out material history into descriptions of superficial images offered for visual consumption.¹⁸ In recent years, the term has been used to describe the transformation of former mines, mills, and other sites of heavy industry into sublime and iconic monuments to the

¹⁷ Dora Apel, *Beautiful, Terrible Ruins: Detroit and the Anxiety of Decline* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015). See also Tanya Whitehouse, *How Ruins Acquire Aesthetic Value: Modern Ruins, Ruin Porn, and the Ruin Tradition* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018). For a compelling discussion of ways that various sites of abandonment and ruin have been appropriated in the Baltic Sea Region, see Anna Storm's, *Post-Industrial Landscape Scars* (London: Palgrave, 2014).

18 See also, the excellent chapters collected in, Siobhan Lyons, ed., *Ruin Porn, Capitalism, and the Anthropocene* (London: Palgrave, 2018).



glorious days of modernity, thereby ignoring, or worse, erasing, suffering and loss.¹⁹ These structures are typically clean, museum-style landmarks to be visited by the whole family. By day, people often picnic and cycle in the grounds, and by night, enjoy a concert with a colourful, floodlit former factory as backdrop.

The pornography metaphor of ruin porn also emphasizes the privileged standpoint of the bourgeois visitor to these sites. The demographic reality of such visitors sets them at a distance not just from the historical processes of industry and its decline, but the poverty and displacement of those who once worked there. As Paul Mullins, one of ruin porn's earliest critics, points out, "'ruin porn' borrows from a long-established tradition of slum tourism by White bourgeois that swept Europe and America in the late 19th century."20 Thus, the visitor who takes photographs of the once thriving, now derelict, abandoned cathedrals of modernity, objectifies their beauty.²¹ The buildings and their photographic representation are thus interpreted to offer uncritical celebrations of the past, romanticizing or erasing working-class struggle and suffering. Thus, similar to the fate of the trajectory of Western industrialization, working-class people themselves become conveniently inserted into the natural and inevitable order of birth-thrive-decline. In yet another unacknowledged contradiction, this ascription conveniently relieves the need to address the impoverishment and displacement of former workers.

Since the initial critiques of ruin porn photography, visual studies have offered more nuanced accounts, and more measured interpretations of such aestheticization of industry.²² Tim Strangleman, for example, points out the importance of abandoned ruins for workers and locals, reminding his reader that there are many ways to interact with the abandoned

19 See Storm, *Post-Industrial Landscape Scars*; Tracy Neumann, *Remaking the Rust Belt: The Postindustrial Transformation of North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

20 John Patrick Leahy offers one of the first critiques of "ruin porn" in his review of photography books of Detroit. See https://www.guernicamag.com/leary_1_15_11/. Paul Mullins's blog has attracted attention for its critique of ruin porn and the connection to racism and colonialism, accessed August 22, 2022, https://paulmullins.wordpress.com/2012/08/19/the-politics-andarchaeology-of-ruin-porn/. Steven High discusses these tensions at a more substantial level in Steven High and David W. Lewis, eds., *Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).

21 In 2014, Tate Britain staged an exhibition showing artists' visual and emotional fascination from the eighteenth century to today. See Dillon, *Ruin Lust.*

22 Tim Strangleman, "Smokestack Nostalgia, Ruin Porn, or Working Class Obituary: The Role and Meaning of Deindustrial Representation," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 84 (Fall 2013): 23–37, 30; Steven High, "Beyond Aesthetics: Visibility and Invisibility in the Aftermath of Deindustrialization," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 84 (Fall 2013): 140–53.



ruin. In particular, when images are seen in collaboration with text and oral memory, they can lead to provocative and stimulating discussion. Alternatively, in her sophisticated account of ruin porn, Siobhan Lyons argues that it "potentially signals the demise of capitalism while challenging the anthropocentric discourse that defines contemporary academic discussions."²³ As both Strangleman and Lyons imply, there is a very thin line between aestheticization for the sake of visual spectacle and for the purpose of attracting tourism. As Strangleman's examination of images of work from the now closed Guinness Brewery in West London shows, officially commissioned works of visual culture can both revitalize a site landscape and have a cathartic impact for locals and workers struggling to celebrate their memories of the past, while simultaneously, giving outsiders insight into the processes of industry.²⁴ The aestheticization of industry can also draw visitors to former industrial sites, and thus, educate and create compassion and solidarity. Alternatively, as Bjørnar Olsen & Þóra Pétursdóttir in their counter criticisms argue, ruin aestheticization can also teach lessons about the benefits of using photographic and other media to document material history.

Some contributors to *Visual Culture of Post-industrial Europe* engage with the aestheticization of and longing for the industrial past, if not directly, by implication or association. Discourses on ruin porn and its ideological significances underlie their response. For example, Juliana Yat Shun Kei points to the contradiction between, on the one hand, the British journal *The Architectural Review*'s desire to annex nineteenth-century structures for preservation, and on the other, to claim their obsolescence. She sees this contradiction as resonating with the attempt to aestheticize industrial structures. Alternatively, Lachlan MacKinnon's account of ephemeral and non-commissioned art in and around the contemporary Belfast docks follows the critical line those early scholars took towards aestheticization of photographs of decayed Detroit.

The contributions to *Visual Culture of Post-industrial Europe* deal with the pictorial illustration of past material history in images and objects that actively seek to raise rather than mute workers' voices, make visible past histories, and integrate these into an ever-changing present. In keeping with work that looks to the unevenness within pictures of former industrial

²⁴ Tim Strangleman, "Picturing Work in an Industrial Landscape: Visualizing Labour, Place and Space," *Sociological Research Online* 17, no. 2 (2012): 1–13.



²³ Siobhan Lyons, "Introduction: Ruin Porn, Capitalism and the Anthropocene," in Lyons, *Ruin Porn*, 1.

processes, the collection acknowledges the forms of social oppression and marginalization that result from effectively hiding the past through aestheticization of the former workplace. Simultaneously, the contributors remain aware that these efforts can be crucial to supporting and healing industrial workers whose experience of belonging may still be tied to their former identity. Thus, individual chapters insist on remembering that the work of engaging with *how* to represent the industrial past and its memories is still open to debate and discussion.²⁵

Art and Visual Culture Make Visible

Whether it be film, comics, design, or installation, many examples of art and visual culture discussed in these pages are not intended for exhibition in museums or private galleries. Often the works are created as a social tool, looking to facilitate cultural animation and exchange. The images and objects are designed to raise voices, thus enabling otherwise silenced people and their erased histories to become audible and visible. The works are also intended to break down social stereotypes, often inviting locals, including former workers, to celebrate their environment, to participate in its definition and redefinition. The works are typically exhibited and experienced outside the market in which art is often removed from the reality of everyday life. Indeed, the art and visual culture shines a light on the quotidian dimension of the post-industrial condition, exposing its inequalities, and proposing new ways of seeing.

Tim Edensor discusses industrial ruins as sites with the potential to question normative regimes of memory and materiality and bourgeois middle-class narratives of stability through progress.²⁶ Following the logic of Edensor's claim, art and visual culture bring these sites and their complex histories into visibility. Indeed, a sentiment of anarchy drives many of these practices, creating spaces for voices to be heard within an oligarchy of government, private and public investors. Further to Edensor's belief, the examples explored in these chapters aim to weave the authentic memories and experiences of industrial communities and individual participants back

25 Bjørnar Olsen and Þóra Pétursdóttir, "Imaging Modern Decay: The Aesthetics of Ruin Photography," *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (2014): 7–56. See also the essays collected in Bjørnar Olsen and Þóra Pétursdóttir, eds., *Ruin Memories: Materialities, Aesthetics and the Archaeology of the Recent Past* (London: Routledge, 2014).

26 Tim Edensor, "Waste Matter – The Debris of Industrial Ruins and the Disordering of the Material World," *Journal of Material Culture* 10, no. 3 (2005): 311-32.



into the urban fabric. Thus, art and visual culture can have a restorative function as it poses alternative histories.

Art and visual culture may not always bring change and revolution, but they have the capacity to give voice to the silenced, to change people's lives. In addition, many of the artworks and visual cultural examples engage with the space of work that has now been transformed into a space of investment, housing, leisure, commerce. In such cases, the workplace is transformed into a space from which one-time owners, workers, and inhabitants have become excluded. Art puts the past and the people who occupied it, built it, worked it, back at the centre of the spaces of industry. In this sense, art and visual culture typically use the spaces and places of industry and transform them, not just as mausoleums to house the past, but also as inspiration for new meaning in the present.

Themes and Concerns

Fittingly, ruins lead us to the primary themes and concerns of *Visual Culture* of *Post-industrial Europe*. My hesitance to outright dismiss images of ruins for their classist, racist, and ideologically motivated nostalgia or spectacle is born of the centuries' old conception of images of ruins.²⁷ As twentieth-century theorists of analogue photography from Siegfried Kracauer to Roland Barthes have argued, the photograph fixes the past, but it also activates the imagination, enabling the viewer to bring the past into the present.²⁸ Similarly, as more recent photography theorists have argued, the photograph theorists have argued, the photograph as the capacity to create community, to connect people, to shape relationships.²⁹ While only a handful of chapters examine the photograph as document or object, the discussions always look at the image to give insight into the present moment. Such images may remove contradictions from the landscape of ruin when beauty hides social disharmony and smooths over the destruction that comes hand in hand with ruin.³⁰

27 I think here of the prison sketches of Giovanni Battista Piranesi.

28 Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida, trans. Richard Howard (London: Vintage Classics, 1993).

29 Margaret Olin, *Touching Photographs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). The groundbreaking study here is the work of Ariella Azoulay on the use of photographs in communities on the West Bank. See, Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (London: Zone Books, 2012).

30 For a sophisticated account of the phenomenon of ruins made spectacular, see Miles Orvell, *Empire of Ruins: American Culture, Photography, and the Spectacle of Destruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).



The (now absent) past is seen with sentimentality as a time of productivity and wellbeing. In our historical moment, when images and history are being elided, the fragmentation and ambiguity of images discussed in these chapters can provoke a reflection on the present moment of their reception. The aesthetic strategies discussed by contributors reinstate the historical power of the ruin and the pasts that they carry with them. In works as diverse as the factory in Albania and the landscaped gardens of Thyssen Krupp's former mine in North Duisburg, the structure of the ruin is key to the memory of the past lived therein. Therefore, we might appreciate what can be called the authentic power of the ruin being discovered by the image, countering the absolute iconic longing and desire that is imbued in ruins and their representation of the past. It is the intention of the *Visual Culture of Post-industrial Europe* that such images and visual objects act as doorways to a more complex understanding of a need to continue to process the past in the present moment.

The images discussed in this volume open the discourse, rather than close it down as would be the case with ruin porn. Even when the authors do not overtly address the politics and ideology of the image, they reinforce the fact that the work of memory is not yet done. Bringing the past into the present, remembering the authenticity of past experiences is the necessary work of images and visual culture in our current climate of forgetting.

Time and Temporality

Regenerated one-time industrial spaces take on diverse and often fluid relationships to time. Leaning on Reinhart Kosellek's notion of layers of time, Kerstin Brandt discusses the fluidity resulting from the memory work done when interacting with industrial ruins.³¹ Specifically, time does not function linearly in these spaces, but rather, reaches back to the past in the present moment of the visit, for varied durations. In so doing, a panoply of temporally shifting relations to a site emerges. For Brandt, the multiple temporal layers coexisting in the Thyssen Krupp steelworks in North Duisburg begin with the undulations of German history witnessed over the lifetime of the steelworks: the reclaiming of the land in the nineteenth century, the Fordist success story of the steelworks in the early twentieth century, world wars, divided Germany, the 1990s architectural renovation,

³¹ Kerstin Brandt, "'Memory Traces of an Abandoned Set of Futures': Industrial Ruins in the Postindustrial Landscapes of Germany," in Hell and Schönle, *Ruins of Modernity*, 270–93.



and today's ongoing evolution of the nature park through rewilding. Each of these histories is, in turn, modulated by the time of the visitor—both when and for how long they visit—and their pre-existing relationship to the site as former worker, family, visitor, or tourist. In addition, their changing perspectives will influence the stories they discover at the industrial ruin. Each of the sites discussed in *Visual Culture of Post-industrial Europe* is a palimpsest of multiple, shifting temporalities, keeping the past alive in the present beyond the lives of those who once worked there.

There are additional temporalities brought together within these pages. Namely, the differing times and rates of decline and de-industrialization. In Britain, deep coal mining began its contraction when the Thatcher government closed the mines in 1984, whereas Poland and Russia continue to mine coal to this day. Similarly, manufacturing companies in Northern Europe began moving to China at different stages from the 1970s thanks to a larger and cheaper workforce. However, as contributions by Ognjen Kojanić and Szcześniak reference, manufacturing continues across Europe and, in some places, heavy industry still exists. Thus, the past and the present are woven together in everyday European life. In some countries, from the late 1980s onwards, buildings and landscapes began to be turned into archives and museums. Such institutions are driven by the impetus to fossilize the past, while simultaneously pursuing different forms of industrial production in the present. The narratives of museums and archives are often written by those determined to prohibit the past from seeping beyond often arbitrarily determined limits, by putting it in a glass display case to be contained. To give one example, in former Soviet Union cities such as Perm, Omsk, and Novokuznetsk, the past has been filed away, and production diversified in the face of shifting global demands.

In countries such as France, Italy, and Germany many areas of manufacturing continue, but in largely automated form. Thus, light industries such as electronics, home appliances, clothing, and other end user items are produced across Europe. If these production plants employ workers, the demographic is typically from a second generation of immigrants, often from the Global South and poorer countries within Europe.³² In such cases, even though the dangers associated with this work are not as great as those incurred in mining, shipbuilding, and other heavy industry, this type of transformation effectively repeats the oppression and injustice for a new

³² See, for example, Carol Stephenson, Jon Warren, and Jonathan Wistow, Editorial: "After Industry' the Economic and Social Consequences of Deindustrialization," *Frontiers in Sociology*, March 2021, accessed April 3, 2023, https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fsoc.2021.645027/full.



generation of workers and immigrants. Thus, in contributions by Szcześniak and Gkitsa, the past flows freely into the present, if in a different form, and under different material and economic conditions.

Another set of tensions arising from the multiple and shifting temporalities of the industrial past is that of nostalgia. As contributions by Burns, Arutvunvan and Ergorov, Grgić, and Gkitsa examine, today, many former industrial workers lament what they have lost with the closing of mines and heavy industry facilities. Despite the dangers and difficulty of working life, memories of employment, thus economic stability, purpose, and belonging are often triggered by the sites at which the art and visual culture is displayed, exhibited, or performed. To be clear, this is not a nostalgia of the type discussed by Andreas Huyssen in his critique of the contemporary obsession with ruin culture.³³ If there is a longing for the past, it's not of a specular kind. Neither is it a nostalgia that leads to heritage forms and practices as state-sanctioned histories. Such histories are usually embodied in memorials and statues of war generals, unknown soldiers, heroic figures, or headstones.³⁴ Rather, the nostalgia witnessed in various chapters of Visual Culture of Post-industrial Europe is ephemeral because it is formed in memory and spontaneous conversation. In addition, it is, as Svetlana Boym has distinguished it, not simply "restorative," but a nuanced and "reflective" form of nostalgia.³⁵ Thus, there are good and bad memories, pride and solidarity among workers, mixed with reinforcement of the difficulties, repetitiveness of the work, ambivalence, but nevertheless, a recognition of the former factory life.

As Jackie Clarke, quoting Peter Fritzsche argues, "nostalgia is not simply an irrational attempt to turn the clock back [...] but 'raises the spectre of alternative modernities."³⁶ When looking back to the past is raised in these chapters, the authors do not describe a yearning to return to that moment. Rather, once again, the looking back evidences a desire for visibility through the creation of a space for stories to be told and struggles to be brought into

35 Svetlana Boym, The Future of Nostalgia (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

36 Jackie Clarke, "Closing Time: Deindustrialization and Nostalgia in Contemporary France," *History Workshop Journal* 79 (Spring 2015): 107–25, 119.



³³ Andreas Huyssen, "Nostalgia for Ruins," Grey Room 23 (Spring 2006): 6-21.

³⁴ See the work of David C. Harvey for a discussion of the intransigence of heritage memorials as opposed to the reality of heritage as a process. David C Harvey, *Commemorative Spaces of the First World War: Historical Geography at the Centenary*, edited with James Wallis (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), and "Critical Heritage Debates and the Commemoration of the First World War: Productive Nostalgia and Discourses of Respectful Reverence," in *Heritage in Action: Making the Past in the Present*, ed. Helaine Silverman, Emma Waterton, and Steve Watson (New York: Springer, 2017), 107–20.

the light. Kojanić's discussion of a mural at ITAS metal factory in Croatia is also indicative of the ongoing effort of workers to be in control of their own lives and work when faced with owners who want to erase their voices altogether by brushing them under the carpet through "heritage solutions." The mural is, as David C. Harvey calls for, a form of memory that keeps the past alive, and simultaneously, keeps the present multilayered.

As Gkitsa's discussion of performance pieces in the Tirana textile factory also shows, of great significance to the participants who create memories through art is the fact that we are approaching a time when the next generation will not remember the history of their cities' industrialist pasts. The young are more connected to the consumerist present than they are to the production and ideologies of the past. Thus, there are generational tensions and gaps that have arisen where art and visual culture have been unsuccessful because the next generation do not have the visual literacy to understand the image or its perspective on the past.³⁷ Rather than seeing these instances as failures of images and culture to heal the wounds of the past, they are moments of challenge and future possibility.

Space and Location

Inseparable from the fluidity of time and memory at former industrial sites now transformed into spaces of exhibition, stages for performance, or subjects of display is the constantly changing identity of the spaces themselves. As Edensor says, and we instinctively know, the industrial ruin is not a static object, but is always changing across time and space, giving way to an emphatic ephemerality thanks to the unpredictability of the visitor's motion.³⁸ Thus, as mentioned, film proves an ideal medium to examine the ephemerality of the industrial site across time as seen in contributions by Gabriel Gee and Grgić. In addition, other chapters show how industrial space as a memorial transforms over time, both materially and in memory. Whether this is through rewilding at sites such as North Duisburg's former Thyssen Krupp mines (Guerin), the decay and dilapidation of the Belfast Lower Falls' community housing (Burns), or the ongoing developments at the Gdańsk Shipyard (Szcześniak), time wears away at space. Again, individual chapters show how art and visual culture have harnessed this

37 Orange, Reanimating Industrial Spaces.

38 Tim Edensor, "Walking through Ruins," in *Industrial Ruins: Spaces, Aesthetics, and Materiality* (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 123–41.



corrosion of space as a site of possibility. The unformed and unfinished, like the ruin, is open to different perspectives of its infinite layers. The future is not yet fixed.³⁹

Equally layered in the lifespan of industrial activity is its occupation, thus, definition of space and its alternation in the post-industrial moment. Typically, though not always, industrial production took place on the margins of towns and cities. In the industrial heyday, workers lived in communities proximate to these peripheral locations. Today, especially if the areas have not been revitalized, these can be difficult to access, considered ugly, and risky to visit.⁴⁰ Sites such as nuclear power plants built in the immediate post-war period and brownfields still covered in slag heaps have been placed out of bounds because of poorly handled hazardous waste. Alternatively, these spaces have simply become invisible, buried beneath the constructions of new centres of residence, commerce, and culture for the new economies.

As discussed in my chapter on the Meiderich complex, the peripheral location of former industrial sites makes them consistent with what Michel Foucault termed "other spaces." They are dislocated from present-day city living, and thus, mark a contradictory site where temporality is unpredictable, where ideologies collide, and institutions can never be certain of their power. Among the most interesting industrial sites as multilayered spaces are those in the centre of cities. These include the Belfast docks (MacKinnon) and the Gdańsk Shipyard (Szcześniak). As Foucault said they would, those with financial and political power have turned these places into "idols," with constraints, limits, creating monuments to the triumph of capitalism.⁴¹ Thus, in these spaces, the past and the present continue to clash, leaving the unresolved wounds of the past open to infect the present. As MacKinnon and Szcześniak demonstrate in their respective chapters, art and visual culture spotlight these wounds. In so doing, the image makes visible and sayable a past that was, until the present moment, invisible and silenced. In these and other chapters, visual culture interacts with space and location to create consciousness of the processes of present history as created by memories of the past and their representations.

⁴¹ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," trans. Jay Miskowiec, Architecture / Mouvement / Continuité, October 1984, accessed August 22, 2022, https://web. mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault.pdf.



³⁹ I take this conception from Huyssen's use of Piranesi's *Carceri* in his discussion of the ruin. See Andreas Huyssen, "Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia," *Public Culture* 12, no. 1 (2000): 21–38, 23.

⁴⁰ On the dark, foreboding of the abandoned urban landscapes of industry, see Edensor, *Industrial Ruins*.

At the same time, visual culture in the post-industrial landscape works to dis-locate sites by shifting identity away from their official designation. In this two-way relationship, the site also becomes available through appropriation for informal use and local activities, shifting its ownership once it is occupied by art and visual culture. As such, art and visual culture transform the post-industrial landscape into what Michael Rothberg calls a "multi-directional" site. The space of former or transformed industry avoids stagnation in the present and is defined by the relations between nodes of past and present meaning, always in motion on a circuit of exploration.⁴² Nevertheless, we must remember that the struggle for ownership of space continues. The former dockyards in England, Ireland, Poland, all of which are central city locations examined in these pages, are in a tussle for ownership. Despite the apparent liberation of these sites through art, graffiti-like visual culture, performance and other images, the high concentration of CCTV cameras in such public spaces are a further attempt to colonize.⁴³ And so the struggle continues.

As memory theorists from Maurice Halbwachs to Foucault point out, different identities have different stakes in the past, identities often formed in the context of the sites and spaces of industry. For this reason, the place of industry is not only vital to re-igniting memories and unfixing official history, but the variegations of its appropriations are the lifeblood of ongoing debate. Moreover, the works of art and visual culture, typically *in situ*, bring heterogeneous individuals and groups of people together, in the moment, to perform, observe, and participate. In perhaps its most crucial role, visual culture creates a new audience at old sites, audiences whose differences keep the spaces and places animated. As a result, the spaces of industry are reconnected to the past, thus complicating how new audiences see the past, how "history" is written, and will be understood. In this sense, the art and visual culture are not only collaborative and participatory, they are interventionist.

Class and Gender

The communities that enabled the industrial booms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were those that had otherwise been invisible in

42 Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).

43 See Les Roberts, *Film, Mobility and Urban Space* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2012), xii.



the social and ideological structures of pre-industrialized societies. As peasants and farming families were evicted by landowners and developers, they moved to cities in search of work in factories, mines, mills, and other industrial establishments. People also moved to different parts of Europe fleeing wars, religious persecution, famine, and repressive empires. Typically, if refugees did not emigrate to America in the early twentieth century, they followed the demand for labour in Europe's factories, mines, and mills. Industry was, quite simply, preferred to enslavement. Indeed, the Soviet Union and socialist Europe's command economy saw the building of a large modern industrial sector centred on immense capital-intensive factories utilizing relatively advanced production technologies, skilled labour, and abundant resources. Despite the enormous human losses, the post-revolutionary euphoria that came with this impressive building of industrial capacity allowed for meaningful increases in living standards.⁴⁴ Moreover, in socialist countries, industrialization tended to come with levels of equality and access to education not previously enjoyed by the working classes, that is, by the people who were the human operators of industry. Lastly, industrialization became an ideological statement through which the proletariat became the powerful owner of production (Gkitsa, Szcześniak). It was also an opportunity for Soviet policies that actively encouraged women to enter the labour force. While women were not always given equal rights in the workplace, they were more populous in the socialist state labour force than in similar establishments in capitalist countries. As a result, many women who worked in industry remain ambivalent towards the often twinned projects of post-socialism and post-industrialism.

In Western Europe, working in industry gave women independence, autonomy, and a social life outside of the house. As Clarke demonstrates, for example, through interviews with women who worked at the now closed Moulinex factory in France, the factory floor was a space of gender and class solidarity and sociability.⁴⁵ Yet, as was the case in Eastern Europe, the cost to human life of working in Western European light and heavy industry was considerable. The deleterious conditions led to health deterioration, injury, and death. The dangers were immense, but nevertheless, as scholars who write about the sociological contours of the shift to the post-industrial across European cultures and economies argue, the fallout of diminished

45 Clarke, "Closing Time."



⁴⁴ Andrei Markevich and Steven Nafziger, "State and Market in Russian Industrialization, 1870–2010," in *The Spread of Modern Industry to the Periphery since 1871*, ed. Kevin Hjortshøj O'Rourke and Jeffrey Gale Williamson (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2017), 33–62.

and, in some cases, full closure of industry has been felt overwhelmingly by women.⁴⁶ Contributors spotlight the importance of gendered identity within the industrial workplace (Grgić, Stewart-Halevy, Szcześniak). To give an example, beyond the factory walls, Burns demonstrates, through the photographs of Martin Nangle, how industrialization also came hand in hand with occupation of space and formations of community in the domestic sphere not previously possible in Northern Ireland. Thus, the children's playground, so often at the centre of an industrial working community, was a gendered space. Even when class and gender are not the focus of the following chapters, they are everywhere present when picturing post-industrialism.

Chapters

To facilitate cross-cultural and interdisciplinary comparison, the anthology arranges its thirteen original chapters into five sections. Each section is organized around a particular medium of visual representation and shared themes: negotiations of contested space; the industrial space as canvas; lens-based media of photography and cinema; industrial culture in postindustrial exhibition; post-industrial design inspirations.

In Section One, "Negotiating Contested Spaces," chapters engage with art and visual culture's stake in the reappropriation of urban spaces once occupied by industrial activities, and since reclaimed by developers and investors. In the Gdańsk Shipyard, Poland, the ITAS factory in Ivanec, northern Croatia, and the docks in Belfast, Northern Ireland, local artists have created installations, murals, performances, and photographs to contest the appropriation of spaces by private investors and governments. Immediately, it is striking to note that the processes of de- and postindustrial regeneration are interwoven with the cultural and ideological complexities of the given political system. Thus, in Gdańsk, the shipyard's development has been imbricated in the government decision to distance itself from the working-class agenda of the Solidarity movement of the 1980s. In addition, like the ITAS metal factory in Croatia, the ideological

46 The literature on the role of women in the twentieth-century European industrial workplace is extensive. For particularly insightful accounts, see Jackie Clark's work. Also, Chiara Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry in the Balkans: The Rise and Fall of the Yugoslav Textile Sector* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019) which includes an excellent bibliography. All overviews of de-industrialization refer to the fact that the fallout is greater for women. See, for example, Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott, eds., *Beyond the Ruins: The Meaning of Deindustrialisation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Processor)

University Press, 2003).



and cultural tensions are further complicated by the fact that it remains a functioning industrial site. Thus, workers' lives suffer a different kind of invisibility. Whereas in the waterfront districts of Belfast in Northern Ireland, workers have literally been erased in the interests of "touristfriendly vistas" as discussed by MacKinnon. Workers at the Polish and Croatian sites have become alienated, marginalized, literally cast to the limits of cultural production. The chapters demonstrate the use of visual culture to bring workers back to the centre of the discursive and literal relationship between site and work. On the Belfast waterfront, for example, MacKinnon examines how locals have intervened in the discourse of gentrification by marking walls, footpaths, and bridges, telling their stories through graffiti-style images.

The three contributions to this section also engage with the contradictions which belie memory of the past from the perspective of the present. They bring into focus the fact that memories of difficult working and living conditions, dangerous work, and poor pay are in constant tension with the stability of having a job, a community, and an identity given by industrial work. Thus, the battle for the space and place, history and memory are set in motion in this opening section.

Following on from and closely related, Section Two turns to the use of industrial places and structures as sites to be inhabited in the present by artists, former workers, and visitors. Gkitsa discusses filmic interventions in which former workers return to their place of work in post-socialist Albania. Her analysis demonstrates that the factory was a place of possibility and opportunity for women in the economies of Eastern Europe. Thus, Gkitsa introduces the importance of gender in the industrial workplace. She also shows how the social and ideological contexts for industry, both then and now, deeply influence the contradictions of memory. My own chapter turns to the revitalized Thyssen ironworks in North Duisburg, examining *in situ* artworks designed to provoke questions of belonging in the industrial era. Namely, the coal and steel mine complex at Meiderich invites visitors back into the buildings and grounds where they encounter art and visual culture that encourage a sensuous experience of the past.

The chapters in this section address the importance of physical and affective engagement with post-industrial art and the visual culturescape. The body was central to the identity and livelihood of the worker, and in Albania and Germany alike, the body has played a vital role in art and visual culture's reintegration of the past through making visible forgotten stories. In both chapters, the authors show how artists have discovered different ways of living and belonging at the post-industrial site using their body or



those of former workers. Thus, through walking, talking, inciting affective and emotional responses to performances, the body occupies a central place in present-day remembering.

Section Three focuses on photography and cinema, arguably the most appropriate media for capturing the temporal and spatial shift from the industrial to the post-industrial. Cinema's capacity to move across time, fluidly and uninterruptedly, reinstates the ephemeral nature of industrial sites, work, and life. Photography fixes the past, but as early theorists such as Barthes have shown us, it also activates the imagination, enabling the viewer to bring the past into the present.⁴⁷ Similarly, as more recent photography theorists have argued, the photograph has the capacity to create community, connect people, and shape relationships.⁴⁸ Contributions by Grgić, Gee, and Burns engage with the multilayered times of industrial place and the lives lived therein as they are depicted in film and photography. They do so to navigate the complex tensions and contradictions across industrialization and post-industrialization in the Balkans, port cities in France, Northern England, and Ireland.

Section Four moves outside of the industrial complex and considers how best to curate and represent the past in public spaces. In their article on two exhibitions at Moscow's Museum of Contemporary Art, Arutyunyan and Egorov demonstrate the integrity of exhibiting the past such that it allows for the possibility of memories to arise in the process of looking and interacting with visual displays. Key to this experience for visitors is the use of the original materials of production in exhibition. Arutyunyan and Egorov also capture the specificity of the Russian situation—the great economic miracle and all that it did for Russia, and simultaneously, the lives lost to the experiment. Thus, the authors pose the contradiction that undergirds the post-industrial experience, from a singular perspective. Roberta Minnucci discusses an early postindustrial attempt to regenerate at the Molino Stucky in Venice. The calls to revitalize through art and architectural renovation ultimately failed because, as Minnucci says, the importance of participation by the local population was missing. If, in the contemporary moment, the most successful attempts at artistic and visual regeneration are collaborative and participatory, then the lessons of the failed Molino Stucky have been learned.49

- 47 Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida.
- 48 Olin, Touching Photographs.
- 49 Heeney, The Post-Industrial Landscape.



The chapters collected in Section Five approach the picturing of the post-industrial through a wider historical and contextual lens. Contributions by Kei, Nicolas Verschueren, and Stewart-Halevy reveal the extent of the industrial imaginary, its impact on twentieth-century thought across architecture, publishing, and design. Stewart-Halevy examines the post-industrial as being marked by a continuity between pre- and post-industrial, machine and artisanal labour, residual and emergent means and relations of production. He reveals these continuities as they were conceived by the experimental work of a group of Italian designers. Kei traces the intellectual terrain of de-industrializing Britain through images of pylons published in The Architectural Review in the decades following the Second World War. Once again, contradictions and complexities towards the past, and in this case, the future, underwrite the identity of the post-industrial moment. In his contribution, Verschueren shows how comic books have become a forum for debate on the postindustrial condition. The graphic medium has enabled the voices of industrial-era workers to be raised, and their daringly imaginative hopes for the future.

Coming to the end of this project, we are convinced that there is still much work to be done on the topic of art and visual culture's contributions to addressing Europe's post-industrial moment. Foremost is the relationship between the industrial activities pictured in the post-industrial moment and environmental harm. The sites discussed in Visual Culture of Postindustrial Europe have either been directly responsible, or are of the same genre as those that have caused the ongoing ecological crisis. While the images discussed in the following chapters do not engage the question of what is known as the Anthropocene, its concerns lurk in the background to the anthology. Indeed, there is much work to be done on the related visual culture of environmental and bodily destruction promulgated at these sites. In addition, for visual studies, a next phase of scholarship will be that of theorizing the art and images as well as the contours of their engagement with material history, geography, social formation, and economic imperatives. As editors, we hope that the following chapters lay the groundwork for the importance and urgency of the next phases of scholarship in the field.



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