Preconditions for the Making of an Industrial Past

Comparative Perspectives

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Introduction

Industrial heritage, historical culture and regional identity are deeply inter-connected in all regions/cities undergoing structural transformation from an industrial past to a post-industrial future. To what extent the past was useful in this process of reinvention and how it was used has differed widely across a range of different regions around the globe.[1] This volume sheds further light on how the memorialization of industrial pasts has contributed to processes of reinventing cities and regions once closely identified with industry. The contributions assembled here ask who has been doing the memorizing and to what end things have been memorialized. As we shall see, memory agents can be grass-roots initiatives but also states, regional and local governments as well as businesses or trade unions and many others more. The very complexity of the web of memory activists around issues of industrial heritage makes for a great deal of contestation when it comes to particular narratives that link the past with the present and the future.[2] As Paul A. Shackel and Matthew Palus have argued, narratives of labour and of the working class are particularly in danger of being silenced and downplayed in official heritage discourses.[3] This is a claim widely echoed in the literature coming from critical heritage studies.[4] Another prominent claim in the lit-

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Notes for this section begin on page 23.

erature is that commercial interests related to the touristification of industrial pasts loom large in considerations to develop heritage sites and overshadow all other considerations.[5] These economic motives can create great tensions with more community-oriented attempts to retain a sense of home for communities often devastated by processes of deindustralization.[6] Region or city branding is not the same as providing a place where people feel at home, yet it may, again in complex ways, contribute towards it.

More recently, scholars have paid quite a bit of attention to the relationship between feelings of nostalgia for a particular place and the imagination of its future. There seems to be a growing consensus that nostalgia should not exclusively be seen as a reactionary, backward-looking sentiment. Instead, the powerful emotion of nostalgia can also mobilize resources in order to help protect values and life forms that remain valuable in the present but are threatened with extinction by economic and cultural change. Deindustrialization has threatened, in particular, working-class communities with poverty, marginalization and a sense of being thrown onto the garbage heap of history. Developing a sense of nostalgia around industrial heritage might empower those communities to retain a sense of pride in the past. It allows them to rescue values and ideas into the present, where they can be used to defend different ideas surrounding economic order, politics, social life and cultural representations to the dominant ones in often neoliberal post-industrial settings – at least in the Western world.[7] Sherry Lee Linkon's analysis of American poetry, fiction, creative non-fiction, film and drama similarly comes to the conclusion that representations of deindustralization are a powerful resource strengthening American workers facing massive economic restructuring.[8]

The chapters in this volume take up many of these themes prominent in the current research on deindustrialization. In fact, many of the contributors are historians rather than heritage scholars per se, which is why heritage on subsequent pages tends to be discussed within the context of post-industrial history. As such, though, the volume is also testimony of an increased interest in heritage among public, economic, cultural and social historians. This introduction will compare the economic, political and cultural preconditions for the emergence of memorial cultures of industrial pasts in different parts of the world. It will, first, review to what extent the diverse regions that are being discussed here have undergone economic changes that have put them onto the path of a new post-industrial future. As we shall see, success or failure in achieving such economic transformation has had a considerable impact on the memorial landscape of the industrial past of those regions. In the second section of this introduction, we will add to this an argument, also emerging from the contributions to this volume. It attaches great importance to the politics of economic transformation. The way in which political sup-

port was mobilized for particular visions of the industrial past underpinning post-industrial futures was key to the successful implementation of industrial memory narratives. In the third and final section of the introduction, we shift our attention from politics to culture, asking to what extent the contributions to this volume highlight the importance of cultural institutions and actors for the development of particular memory narratives about the industrial past. Overall, we intend to demonstrate in this introduction the intricate interconnection of economic, political and cultural factors in the making of industrial heritage and memory discourses on industrial pasts.

Economic Changes in Post–industrializing Landscapes

Manchester in England has been to many the most iconic place of the industrial revolution. So much so that most other countries that industrialized after England have dubbed one of its cities that was among the early industrializers 'its' Manchester – thus Tampere is the Finnish Manchester, Chemnitz is the German Manchester etc., etc. The original Manchester, as Paul Pickering recalls in his chapter, was the world centre of the cotton industry in the nineteenth century, its production peaking just before the outbreak of World War I. From then on, it went into decline and, from the 1960s, into economic freefall, when a cotton mill a week was closing in and around Manchester. When I first visited Manchester in 1987, I had not seen urban decay in Europe on a similar scale. The centre of the city seemed destroyed: the roofs of warehouses had collapsed; trees were growing out of them; the signs of unbridled deindustrialization were all around the city. Regeneration started in the 1990s, but city developers have not been paying too much attention to its rich industrial heritage. Where it could be integrated into the new commercial and housing developments, it was – usually without much reference to the past. Where it could not, it was simply erased. The much-commented on 'Manchester miracle' in the 2000s brought a burst of new jobs and a new lease of life to the city, but this economic boom remained completely unrelated to the past, which seemed to many in the city an embarrassment rather than an inspiration. Some of the property developers in the Manchester area have discovered the language of history as a means of generating a hefty profit from re-purposing old mills and turning them into expensive and sought-after office space or flats. Such commercialization of industrial heritage basks in the aesthetic glow of yesterday without encouraging any deeper understanding of the historical development of a place and its values and identities – not only in Manchester.[9]

Glasgow's industrial experience, as recalled in Arthur McIvor's chapter, was more diverse than that of Manchester. It was built on textiles but also

on coal mining, iron and steel, engineering, shipbuilding, the dockyards and chemical manufacturing. It was the foremost industrial city of Scotland and one of the key industrial hubs in Britain throughout much of the long nineteenth century. Deindustrialization hit the city hard. By 1991, industrial jobs in the city were only 19 per cent of the total; forty years earlier it had been 50 per cent. In Glasgow, like in Manchester, there has been an astonishing economic revival of the city since the 1990s onwards. Yet, as McIvor argues in his chapter, the industrial past of the city and the wider region (Clydeside) has been completely marginalized by the economic rebranding of the city as a temple of consumption that is home to great architecture and nightlife. Like in Manchester, the significant time lag between the demise of industrial Glasgow and the rise of the new post-industrial city would appear to have a lot to do with the silencing of industrial heritage in the process of economic regeneration.[10]

Britain is now an increasingly multinational state, and therefore the industrial and national museums of Scotland and Wales treat the industrial revolution primarily as a Scottish and Welsh phenomenon. Bella Dicks, in her chapter on Wales, recalls the importance of early industrial development in Wales, which today justifies the claim that Wales rather than England should be regarded as the mother country of the Industrial Revolution.[11] Copper, iron and coal in the south, but also slate in the north and wool in the west, were the pillars on which Wales's industrial success came to rest. If Wales was an early industrializer, there are, today, hardly any industries left. The wool and slate industries in the west and north have gone; coal went in the aftermath of the disastrous miners' strike of 1984/5; and of the once proud steel industry only one plant, Port Talbot, remains open and is battling to survive. Deindustrialization has been comprehensive, and attempts at structural economic change have not been very successful. In fact, as Dicks points out, Wales today belongs to one of the poorest regions of Europe with about one fourth of the Welsh population living in poverty. Like elsewhere in Britain, the regeneration of former industrial areas in Wales from the 1990s onwards was taking place within a neoliberal framework that valued the participation of private entrepreneurs and an orientation of institutions towards the market and profitability. Those who took charge often had no interest in the industrial past and its multiple layers of meaning, especially if that past ran counter to the neoliberal present. Thus, Dicks recalls the lack of interest in the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation in the Industrial and Maritime Museum located there. For the people in charge, it was an embarrassment – a reminder of a grimy past that was everything that the new bay area was supposed not to be. We see here the typical distancing from the past that seems so characteristic of areas where the economic transformation from industrial to post-industrial landscapes could not be presented as a success story.

The net result was often the silencing of that past, or at least of aspects of that past that could not be presented in triumphalist colours. In her contribution to this volume, Louise Miskell reflects on the silence surrounding the heritage of steel making in Wales. In comparison to coal, copper, tinplate, and even slate and wool, it is hardly represented in the memorial landscape of industrial heritage in Wales. According to Miskell, this may well have something to do with timing: whereas the high points of many of the other Welsh industries already came in the Victorian and Edwardian periods and declined from then on, the high point of steel production in Wales is post-1945. It was brief, because by the 1970s the steel industry in Wales, as elsewhere in the Western world, was in deep crisis. Massive deindustrialization in Britain, during the 1980s and 1990s, by now a familiar story, had no place for industrial heritage. The usual pattern was to get rid of the remnants of industry as quickly and comprehensively as possible and to replace it with something shiny and new – from new shopping centres to leisure centres to industrial parks. Miskell also notes that exceptions to the rule mainly occurred in areas remote from the urban centres, where opportunities for the commercial redevelopment of sites were more difficult to realize. Whether it is heritage sites like the Llechwedd Slate Caverns in North Wales, or Big Pit in Blaenavon or the Rhondda Heritage Park in the Rhondda Valley, they all succeeded for lack of alternatives of what to do with the sites after they had closed.

The contributions on the different national components of Britain concludes with Hilary Orange's look at the tin and copper mines of Cornwall, which had their heydays in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. By the mid nineteenth century, Cornish copper dominated world production, and every third employed Cornishman was a miner. Thereafter, the industry declined until it came to an effective end by the late nineteenth century. After World War I, only about twenty mines survived, many of them in poor conditions, and after World War II, only three mines had any significant production going in Cornwall. The last mine closed in 1998. Given that they were often located in rural areas, there was little pressure on redevelopment once they had become derelict. Quite the contrary, the increasing touristification of Cornwall from the nineteenth century onwards transformed these mining sites into picturesque eyecatchers on the spectacular Cornish coastlines. It made a lot of sense economically to maintain and preserve those monuments of early industrial heritage and use them as attractions to the millions of visitors flocking to Cornwall every year. Yet, for many years this is not what happened, largely because cultural institutions reimagining Cornwall found no space for mining in its conceptualizations of Cornwall.[12]

Moving away from Britain but staying within the Anglo-world, we are confronted with a different time frame for deindustrialization in Erik Eklund's chapter on the Latrobe Valley in Victoria, Australia. If the chapters

on Britain have dealt with cases such as Manchester, Glasgow, Cornwall and Wales, where deindustrialization already started in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, and if many other chapters dealing with the Western world start deindustrialization from the 1960s onwards, we have here a case where deindustrialization is a contemporary process. The state-owned open-pit coal mines and power stations in the Latrobe Valley still produce two thirds of Victoria's energy supply, but the future of both industries is uncertain in the face of strong environmental concerns. One major power station, Hazelwood, closed in 2017. Hence the beginning deindustrialization of the Latrobe Valley is also raising the spectre of what to do with the industrial heritage in the region. Yet, as Eklund explains, once again timing is crucial: as long as all eyes are on the economic situation and how to facilitate economic change in the region, it is very difficult for industrial heritage to get any attention. Eklund's chapter seems to confirm that industrial heritage is like the owl of Minerva – it only flies out at dusk, when the sun has set and the fate of industry is sealed. And yet, as we have also seen in our British examples, it should not be sealed for too long, and its sunset should not be connected with shameful or problematical sequence of events, if the owl is to fly rather than to crash.

The time frame is also slightly different in the deindustrialization story that is at the heart of Rubén Vega García's account of Asturias. Under Franco's dictatorship and even in the early years of the transition to democracy, many Asturian industries, especially its state-owned mining, were protected by the state. Hence it is only really during the 1980s and 1990s that we see massive deindustrialization hit the region. It is not yet complete but rather ongoing, although the end, as far as coal is concerned, happened, like in Germany, in 2018. Yet, overall, the economic change is more recent than in Germany, France or Italy. And structural economic change also is far less successful than in Germany and France and perhaps on a par with Italy, where it is also unclear what will replace those industries in years to come.[13] In the Latrobe Valley and in Asturias, then, only time will tell to what extent the ongoing economic restructuring of the region will find a place for its industrial heritage.

With Roberta Garruccio's chapter on Sesto San Giovanni, we are back on more familiar territory with regard to the timeline of deindustrialization. Sesto went from being the fifth most important industrial site in Italy in the boom years of the 1950s and 1960s to an almost entirely deindustrialized place in the 1990s – with the last of the major Falck factories closing in 1994. Since then, the economic restructuring of the city has not been very successful, and the transition from a foremost place of industry to a post-industrial future is still somewhat uncertain. The former places of industry remain – as wastelands and empty spaces.

Marion Fontaine's chapter on the Nord–Pas-de-Calais also recalls the familiar story of deindustrialization, which saw the first mines close in the 1960s with the last mine gone in the 1990s (and in the whole of France by 2004). The state-owned mining company set up a historical mining centre in Douai in 1984, partly to have a place to house its records and partly to celebrate the technical and entrepreneurial achievements of the French mining industry, as seen by its bosses. Whilst industrial heritage had a key institutional voice and found state support in the Nord–Pas-de-Calais, the promises of economic restructuring reiterated from the national governments from the 1980s onwards began to rang increasingly hollow as the region became more and more impoverished; the young had little choice but to move away, whilst those stranded in the region began to turn to the political right.

It is surely no coincidence that the one place where, comparatively speaking, economic restructuring was most successful (albeit not without its own problems), i.e. in the Ruhr region of Germany, industrial heritage has been blossoming, as detailed in the chapter by Berger and Golombek. The strong corporatist management of the demise of heavy industry in the Ruhr from the 1960s onwards could not prevent the transformation of the Ruhr from industrial powerhouse of Germany to one of the country's key economic problem areas. Over a period of almost sixty years, the region's population shrank from six and a half million to just under five and a half million. Yet despite the manifold social problems that went alongside deindustrialization, major social hardship of those losing their jobs was, by and large, avoided, and new industries were attracted to the region. An upbeat assessment of the region's industrial past, underlined by an impressive array of industrial heritage initiatives, was the foil against which to develop upbeat ideas in the present about the future development of the region along post-industrial lines.

With David Kideckel's chapter on the Jiu Valley in Romania, we are entering the section that deals with post-communist scenarios of deindustrialization. The Jiu Valley as foremost coal-producing area of Romania has a long history going back to the early twentieth century. Yet it was with the post-1945 communist era in Romanian history that the miner became an iconic figure associated with being the archetypal proletarian.[14] In the post-communist period, therefore, mining was still very much associated with communism and a communist past now widely discredited.[15] When mining under the liberal market regime of post-communist Romania and the EU was condemned to the dustbin of history, miners had little choice in the matter. Economic restructuring took place to some extent, with foreign Austrian investment into logging the forests of the Jiu Valley. There is also the growth of tourism to the Valley – with restaurants opening up to cater for the growing demand. Given that all this provided far less employment than

mining, it still left many former miners with a very uncertain future. Tibor Valuch paints an even bleaker picture of deindustrialization, in the city of Ózd in Hungary, which is a former steelworks town devastated by the closure of the steel mill in the mid 1990s. With no strategy of economic revival of the town, one third of the population left, with much of the remainder being long-term unemployed with no future prospects. Unsuccessful economic restructuring in Eastern Europe since the fall of communism together with the post-communist identification of heavy industry with the communist past have not provided any favourable background for the development of industrial memorial landscapes in post-communist Eastern Europe.

The final two contributions of the volume are dedicated to China. Tong Lam recalls the fate of the 'Third Front' industrialization: when China felt threatened by both the USA and the USSR in the 1960s, the Communist Party under Chairman Mao decided to shift many of the key industries from the coastal areas and plains of central China to the more difficult and mountainous hinterland of southern China. Whole factories were dismantled and rebuilt or completely built from scratch in areas that had previously seen little industrialization. This came with a massive population shift into these areas of both engineers and workers. The success of these 'Third Front' policies were mixed at best. Many of the projected factories never worked properly, and some were still not finished when the plan was ultimately given up in the 1980s. With the opening up of China to liberal market economics after 1978, the economic centres re-established themselves in the coastal areas and central plains of China, whilst the empty shells of the 'Third Front' industries often languished in great economic difficulties. Whilst the economic preconditions for industrial heritage initiatives were therefore also rather poor, as we shall see in the next section, the entirely different political context (in comparison to post-communist Eastern Europe) made all the difference in China.

Zhao Xin and Qu Xiaofan, in their chapter on the North-East of China, are dealing with another economic problem area of contemporary China. Having been one of its industrial powerhouses from the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1970s, its state-run industries, including coal and steel, found it difficult to compete in the new turbo-capitalism that was unleashed by the Communist Party in the last two decades of the twentieth century.[16] Whilst it remains unclear in China's North-East to what extent the memorial landscape of its industrial past can play a role in ongoing efforts at economic restructuring, Zhao's and Qu's chapter highlights the added difficulty of squaring memorial narratives of industrialization with an imperialist non-Chinese past, as both Russia and Japan played an important role in the industrialization of China's North-East.[17]

All contributions to this volume point to the enormous impact of the specifics of economic change on the shaping of historical and memory cul-

tures surrounding the industrial past of former industrial regions. Where this economic change could be presented as having been at least partially successful, such as in the Ruhr region of Germany, it was much easier to develop rich historical cultures around industrial heritage sites than in regions, where deindustrialization only left desolation and destruction, such as in the US and parts of the UK, or in post-communist Eastern Europe.

The Politics of Economic Change and Industrial Heritage

Yet economics alone does not sufficiently explain the success or failure of industrial heritage initiatives. In many parts of the world, politics was also vital in determining the success and shape of industrial heritage initiatives. In Manchester, political support for industrial heritage seems, on the surface of things, high. The mayor of the city and key city officials are cited by Paul Pickering in his chapter as being enthusiastic supporters of industrial heritage, and the wider public is overwhelmingly in favour of preserving it. But all of these statements are of more recent vintage. In a reasonably successful post-industrial Manchester, politicians and the people are rediscovering industrial heritage as a source of local pride and an inspiration for future generations of Mancunians to shape the city as successfully as their nineteenth-century predecessors had done. However, between the 1970s and the 2000s, before the 'Manchester miracle', a very different gaze onto industrial heritage dominated the scene. The mills were the icons of a dark and satanic past that had to be overcome, got rid of, purged, and that is why so many of them fell victim to demolition and cannot now be brought back in a different political climate.

Arthur McIvor in his chapter points to the political difficulties that a neoliberal Labour Party in Glasgow had with the legacy of 'Red Clydeside', one of Europe's foremost socialist strongholds in the interwar period.[18] For a party that was, in the 1990s, desperately trying to shed the socialist elements of its past, this heritage of Glasgow's working classes had become an embarrassment to be forgotten, and not to be celebrated. Hence, city politics militated against a strong memorial culture surrounding workers' lives, workplaces and struggles that ultimately produced Glasgow's socialism and a vision of society far removed from the Labour Party's 'third way' and its 'stakeholder society' idea of the 1990s. The memory of Red Clydeside, as McIvor recalls, had also underpinned many of Glasgow's working classes' epic industrial struggles against deindustrialization from the 1960s to the 1980s – it was thus associated with a politics of industrial militancy that New Labour wanted to overcome. The silencing of industrial heritage in Glasgow was thus steeped in politics.

The political scene in Wales has long been divided: whereas in the coal-
fields and port cities of the south the Labour Party was the dominant party
of local government, in the more Welsh-speaking and more rural west-
ern and northern parts of Wales, the nationalist party, Plaid Cymru, had its
stronghold. The once powerful Liberal Party was not influential anymore in
Wales after 1945, and the Conservative Party, for long stretches so domi-
nant in national British politics, never played an important role in Wales.
For the politics of industrial heritage making, this meant that a labourist
agenda, powerfully underwritten by a group of left-wing social historians,
came to dominate the scene. The working-class heritage of South Wales, in
particular the heritage of the coalfields, was prioritized. At loggerheads with
the national British Conservative governments, the labourist political frame-
work of South Wales, often dominant locally, developed its own culture
of industrial heritage as a political counter-project to the neoliberalization
of British politics pursued at the centre by the governments of Margaret
Thatcher.[19] Whereas the Conservatives at national level were not keen to
preserve remnants of an industrial past that it wanted to condemn to the
dustbin of history, in South Wales there was considerable political resistance
to this strategy. Hence, whatever remained of the memory of the industrial
past in South Wales is rooted in local and regional rather than in national
strategies for the preservation of industrial heritage.

This is true for the South Wales coalfields but also for some of South
Wales' major cities, including its capital, Cardiff. Louise Miskell gives the
example of Cardiff City Council's decision to redevelop the city as a major
maritime hub in the 1980s, thereby prioritizing the city's maritime history
over its many other histories, including that of steel making. When the East
Moors steelworks in the vicinity of the Bay area of Cardiff closed, it was
simply demolished to make way for new housing and office developments.
Although the steelworks had been of major importance for the development
of the city after 1945, no memorial landscape to it remains today. The pri-
oritization of some parts of industrial history over others thus has had vital
consequences for the memorial landscape of industrialization in the Welsh
capital.

Whilst local initiatives in contradistinction to the absence of national
British ones were often important for industrial heritage in the context of
massive deindustrialization in Britain in the 1980s and 1990s, another key
factor for the prominence of industrial heritage in Wales (and partly also in
Scotland) was the rise of national consciousness on the Celtic periphery of
Britain. Since the 1980s, the consciousness of Britain as a multinational state
has grown, which is why independent national stories have been developing
in Scotland and Wales.[20] Rather than referring to Britain as first industrial
nation, there is now a strong discourse of referring to Scotland and Wales

respectively as 'first industrial nations' thereby rivalling England's claim (and, by and large, ignoring the existence of England just as England/Britain ignored the existence of Scotland and Wales for centuries).[21]

The strong connections of industrial heritage initiatives in Wales and Scotland to nationalizing tendencies and narratives is mirrored in Cornwall, as explicated in Hilary Orange's contribution to this volume. The revival of diverse nationalist movements and ideas in Cornwall has been making good use of tropes such as 'the Cornish miner', 'Cousin Jack' and 'the industrial Celt'. The emergence of ethnic and cultural nationalism in Wales was partly a response to mass tourism and massive immigration from English retirees and wealthy second homeowners from the 1960s onwards. Similar developments have spawned anti-English sentiments in Cornwall. The nationalist political imagination was important in producing new industrial heritage narratives in Cornwall. It was also responsible for effectively nationalizing the world heritage 'Cornwall and West Devon mining landscape' that came into being in 2006 as a result of a number of local authorities in Cornwall and Devon joining forces with seventy other organizations to apply successfully for World Heritage status. In Cornwall, the 'West Devon' bit of that application was subsequently often conveniently overlooked, as a transnational heritage landscape did not easily fit into a nationalizing political agenda.

For Britain then, we can say that nationalism in the Celtic fringe was a fertile ground for industrial heritage that could be related to nationalizing agendas. Neoliberal political frameworks, by contrast, with their deindustrializing agendas, opened up few spaces for industrial heritage in Britain. We can observe the latter negative connection also in Australia. Deindustrialization in the Latrobe Valley is directly connected to a neoliberal politics of privatization of the previously state-owned mines and power companies, which resulted in massive job losses in the 1990s. Closures of pits and power stations began in 2014 and will probably be ongoing in future years. Given the rawness of the process of economic restructuring, the politics in the region is not focusing on industrial heritage, but rather on how to stabilize the economic prospects of the region. The new private owners of the mines and power stations have little commitment to history or heritage, instead focusing on community relations and on emphasizing their allegedly good environmental credentials.

In continental Western Europe, the more highly developed corporatist arrangements produced a more conducive political framework for industrial heritage initiatives.[22] Nowhere was this more the case than in Germany, where the massive heritagization of the Ruhr started out as a Social Democratic project for cementing their political hegemony over the region. Eventually, an all-party consensus underpinned industrial heritage initiatives that were also supported by business and trade union representatives as well as

social movements from below. The homogeneity of the 'mindscape'[23] that has been produced by that heritage is an ongoing problem for the region, as is argued in Berger's and Golombek's chapter below, but there can be no doubt that the depth and breadth of industrial heritage initiatives in the Ruhr would not have been possible without such broad political support.

Political initiatives in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais, as explained by Marion Fontaine, often in conjunction with business interests, have also been vital in promoting a range of heritage initiatives. They invariably had a dual purpose: first, to strengthen the local pride and identification of the people with their mining heritage and, secondly, to provide the infrastructure in terms of museums and tourist attractions that could contribute to a post-industrial economic revival of the region. When the crisis hit in the 1960s, the state-owned company that owned the mines and many of the working-class settlements closed mine after mine, demolished them, sold off the land and handed over the housing assets to the local councils. The councils reacted in different ways to this situation – depending on which left-wing party dominated. Where the communists were the *force majeure*, they sought to defend the miners, their communities and their legacies. Their direct rivals, the socialists, adopted the language of modernization, seeking to attract new industries and, by and large, to eradicate the past and fill it with things that were to signal the future: shopping malls, leisure complexes and public parks. Hence it was the more communist-oriented councils and mayors in the region who, during the 1990s, started local initiatives, together with former workers, to preserve the heritage of mining in the region. Things began to change in the late 1990s, when the regional political council discovered industrial heritage in a major way and made it into the key strategy for reviving the economic fortunes of the region. As in Germany, albeit in different ways, politics was crucial to the emergence of industrial memorial landscapes.

Roberta Garruccio's chapter does not focus on the politics of deindustrialization of Sesto San Giovanni, but it becomes clear that corporatist arrangements were also influential here in planning the closure of major companies and providing transitional regimes for workers and managers alike. These corporatist structures, however, have not resulted in major heritage initiatives, arguably because the past is more difficult to connect to ideas regarding the bright future of Sesto.

In Asturias, the process of deindustrialization was managed in conjunction with a strong union movement and a strong political left, especially in the coalfield area. This brought benefits to industrial workers and miners, who often enjoyed generous redundancy packages, early retirement and good pensions. However, the jobs lost were not replaced, which leaves in particular the young facing a tough future. As Rubén Vega García explains in his chapter, such disillusionment also led to feelings of betrayal, which

posits the radical fighting tradition of the left in Asturias in strong contrast to the conciliatory mood of their present-day descendants, who are often seen as selling out the traditions and values of the left. The politics in the coalfields of Asturias is thus divided between the official labour movement, justifying their part in closing the coalfield, and the young radicals, yearning for the militancy of yesteryear. Both are keen advocates for maintaining the industrial heritage of the region, but they have to face tough political opposition from outside of the industrial heartlands of Asturias, where the ancient kingdom, pre-Romanesque churches and the beauty of the landscape all are powerful contenders for money for any industrial heritage initiative.

In post-communist countries, in stark contrast to the Western European situation, industrial heritage often struggles to win any significant political support.[24] David Kideckel's chapter outlines how politically isolated the miners in the Romanian Jiu Valley have been, especially as they have been very much associated with the much maligned communism of yesteryear. Furthermore, the politically powerful have aligned with the economic interests of foreign investors and largely ignore both the mining past and its physical as well as human remains. Miners therefore feel largely betrayed by post-communist politics. This feeling is also very prominent in the Hungarian city of Ózd, which is examined in Tibor Valuch's chapter. The memory of former steelworkers here is one of deep nostalgia for a lost way of life, and it is largely post-communist politicians who are blamed for this loss. However, it is interesting to reflect on the fact that neither in Hungary nor in Romania does the deep disillusionment with politics lead to any direct politicization of workers. It rather leads to hopelessness and despair, partly because there does not seem to be a political movement to which workers can turn, and they themselves also seem unable to form such a political movement. In many deindustrializing regions, such a politics of despair has contributed to the rise of the populist right in recent decades. Workers, many of whom had previously lent their support to the political left, are turning to the populist right, as they seem to be the only ones promising representation and positive change, however illusory this might be.[25]

Things look a little different in China, a country at least as post-communist in its economics as Eastern Europe. Here the Communist Party has been at the helm of the post-communist transition. In Tong Lam's chapter on the 'Third Front' developments in China, it is very clear that the key political and economic actor is the party state of Communist China. It was responsible for initiating the 'Third Front' in the 1960s and for ending it in the 1980s. And it also started the heritage drive in the 1990s and 2000s, which ultimately was to extend to the 'Third Front' heritage. The party led various attempts to get World Heritage Sites officially recognized by UNESCO, and it was so successful that by 2005 China was third in the list of countries with

the most recognized UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Initially, the party state concentrated on getting ancient Chinese historical sites listed – in an attempt to promote the value and worth of what many in the party now advocated as the oldest nation state on the globe. Heritage became a key component of underpinning Chinese nationalism. Initially, the party state was careful to avoid communist heritage, for it feared that it would bring up too many problematical and painful memories that were still part and parcel of the communicative memory in Chinese society.[26] However, as Lam highlights, in the 2010s the party state was confident enough to include some 'red heritage' into the party-state driven canon of heritage, attempting to link the heritage of the Communist Party with the prestige of the nation. The Chinese nation and the Chinese Communist Party should be thought of as one and the same through heritage making.

Politics also feature prominently in Zhao Xin's and Qu Xiaofan's chapter on the railway heritage of North-East China. The development of this heritage has been hindered by political reservations about the imperialist connotations, which are seen as shameful by many representatives of the party state at local, regional and national level. As the communist rulers of China have been promoting strong doses of nationalism, they are finding it difficult to integrate such dark heritage into their story of an upbeat nationalist development of China in the twentieth century. However, as the authors argue, only an honest assessment of the Janus-faced character of that heritage will allow for a productive use of it, both in the sense of allowing the population in the region some kind of identification with their problematical past, celebrating past achievements of modernization, urbanization, industrialization and internationalization, and in promoting reconciliation, first and foremost between Russia and China, and Japan and China. At present, we are, however, a long way away from such a memory politics. Instead, antagonistic memory frameworks dominate. In the North-East of China, this can be seen both at the Aihui museum dedicated to the Russian imperialism that robbed China of much territory and that committed several atrocities against the Chinese population.[27] When I visited the museum in 2017, my Chinese companions told me that Russians are not actually allowed to visit the museum. The narrative that is being told here is clearly anti-Russian and meant to underpin an anti-Russian Chinese nationalism. Similarly, the museums in the North-East dedicated to the history of Manchukuo and Japanese imperialism are also extremely antagonistic. Rather than historicizing the atrocious actions of the Japanese in the context of their imperialist expansion into China as the basis of achieving both better understanding and an open-ended dialogue about this meaning that would include Japan, it serves to mobilize the past in maintaining political frictions and tensions between China and Japan today.[28] Under these difficult political circumstances,

the political prospects for the railway heritage of the North-East of China must look reasonably bleak.

All contributions to this volume demonstrate that political institutions, arrangements and cultures have been key to understanding the shape of industrial heritage in post-industrial regions and cities. Where there is a political will to help steer economic change, we often also find a desire to make use of industrial heritage in order to underpin a sense of self-worth and pride, which is seen as an important resource for successful economic transformation. Some of this comes under the rubric of place-branding, for the politics of deindustrialization is attempting to present deindustrializing places as attractive places that were once famous and buoyant. The past becomes an asset in attracting those who are supposed to shape the future.

Social movements, in particular movements for urban regeneration, have been influential in fighting for industrial heritage in a range of places.[29] Political ideologies have also been key explanatory factors in accounting for the development of industrial heritage. Left-wing, social democratic and communist traditions have arguably been most conducive to allowing industrial heritage to develop, as the Left often felt a sense of responsibility for the working-class communities most affected by deindustrialization and the accompanying social change. In some places, such as the Ruhr, this left-wing project of heritage making became, over time, depoliticized, as it was underwritten by an all-party consensus. Interestingly, the post-communist scenarios in Eastern Europe have been, on balance, unhelpful for attempts to establish forms of industrial heritage. Where communism was replaced by anti-communism and neoliberalism, such as in large parts of Eastern Europe, there emerged a hostility to discourses of class and to the preservation of industrial heritage, which seemed indelibly connected to the communist past. The fact that the communists, in their propaganda, had often idolized the archetypal proletarians and their places of work and celebrated languages of class (at least in abstract terms) was enough to ensure that anti-communist reflexes in post-communist societies did not want anything to do with industrial heritage and memories of industrial pasts. In China, where communists are still in power, overseeing the emergence of a post-communist economic system, the political will to use industrial heritage in order to forge a strong link between nationalism and the Chinese Communist Party ensures generous support for an industrial heritage initiative, with the exception of those cases where that industrial heritage is linked to foreign imperialist powers, as is the case in the provinces of the Chinese North-East. In Western countries, the strong influence of neoliberalism, say in the UK, the US and Australia, at times also militated against the implementation of programmes conducive to the preservation of industrial heritage. Therefore, in those countries, heritage initiatives often came from below, from within the working-class neigh-

bourhoods most affected by industrial change. They were oppositional initiatives to the ruling political discourse of neoliberalism. Deprived of access to state resources, these initiatives often struggled financially. It sometimes helped that city or regional political bodies were following different political ideologies from that of national governments. Thus, for example, Labour-run councils in the UK often supported industrial heritage initiatives where the national government was rather keen to demolish everything as quickly and radically as possible. Overall, many of the chapters in this volume point to the simple fact that the politics of heritagization has much to do with current priorities of power elites and states. Their often hegemonic position in the making of heritage is frequently challenged by grass-roots initiatives that put forward alternative discourses and practices of heritage making. The tensions produced by such agonistic perspectives have the power to politicize heritage and make it into a resource for social movements from below, challenging states and traditional power elites.[30]

The Culture of Economic Change and Industrial Heritage

Next to economic processes and political constellations, cultural institutions and actors have been vital in many deindustrializing areas in ensuring the emergence of specific cultural landscapes of deindustrialization. Museums, theatres, music cultures, literature and a whole plethora of popular culture initiatives have been shaping industrial heritage discourses in deindustrializing regions and cities. Paul Pickering, in his chapter on Manchester, introduces us to the Museum of Science and Industry, one of the most successful museums in England. It has become a proud promoter of Manchester's past as industrial workshop of the world and mother city of the first industrial revolution. Arthur McIvor's story of Glasgow echoes Pickering, as many of the city's new and shining museums, such as the Riverside Museum, opened in 2011, portray the technological achievements, exhibit the impressive hardware, excel in presenting locally produced goods and take pride in Glasgow having been at the heart of industrialization for a considerable time, but they are, by and large, quiet about the suffering and the struggles of ordinary working people. McIvor, in fact, shows how those in political power in Glasgow, ironically the Labour Party, have been doing everything to remove Elspeth King, the director of the People's Palace museum, from her post, in order to stop her long-term commitment to depicting the histories and struggles of working-class Glasgow that do not fit into the new city branding pursued by Glasgow's leading politicians. We have here a clear case of political institutions and cultural institutions being at loggerheads with each other. In this case, the political won out over the cultural, although, as McIvor also

underlines, there are still pockets of resistance in the cultural institutions of the city, not least in the universities, including McIvor's own centre for oral history. Historically the 'Workers' City Group' is also a good example of how the ongoing silencing of working-class legacies remains contested in the city. Nevertheless, without much official support, such resistance becomes difficult. Museums in which the working-class experience was present, such as the Springburn museum and the Clydebuilt museum, had to close down in 2008 and 2018 respectively, and the Gallacher Memorial Library, another site for the memory of the working class of the city, followed suit in 2015. If there was some success of cultural groups and institutions to preserve aspects of working-class experience in Glasgow, it was largely due to the Manpower Services Commission (in the 1980s) and the Heritage Lottery Fund (thereafter) – two institutions that have been sponsoring many industrial heritage initiatives across Britain.

Bella Dicks's chapter in this volume focuses directly on a key cultural institution in Wales – the National Museum of Wales, founded in 1912, at the tail end of an era that saw massive nation-building attempts (but little state-building) in Wales.[31] Five of its seven sites are dedicated to industrial heritage – signalling the importance of that heritage to the cultural representations of Wales. Even under conditions of neoliberalism, the Museum affirmed its desire to place an emphasis on the industrial heritage of the nation – most prominently in 2001, when it rescued Big Pit, the only mine in South Wales that had been turned into a museum and where you can still go underground. The comprehensive industrial- and community-oriented approach to heritage was in line with the dominant labourist sentiments of the region. Labour in South Wales had not gone down the neoliberal pathway to the same degree that it had done in Glasgow.

As Louise Miskell's chapter makes clear, the one industrial area where the National Museum, at least so far, has failed to pull its weight has been the steel sector. There is, to date, no initiative from the foremost cultural institution of Wales. Nascent attempts to preserve at least something of what is still left (and that is not much) of the former Welsh steel industry rely almost entirely on volunteers and community groups, in which former steelworkers often play a prominent role. Historians, who have begun to research the history of the steel industry in South Wales (also a black hole until recently), might well be able to contribute in generating more interest from key Welsh institutions in the heritage of steel making. It is, after all, a heritage that can be integrated into the prominent theme of industrialization that forms such a strong pillar of heritagization policies in Wales. The National Waterfront Museum in Swansea, in its 'Metals' gallery is giving some attention to steel making in Wales, although it is doing so from a very technological and innovation-oriented perspective, keen to subsume it under the rubric of

proud Welsh achievements.[32] The visitors learn little of the working people and their lives that are connected to steel making. Such a focus on products and processes is common also in other representations of Welsh steel, as Miskell can show.

If museums were clearly important in establishing the mindscape of industrial heritage in Wales, the World Heritage Sites in Cornwall, as analysed in Hilary Orange's chapter, have been an important motor in making mining a key anchor point in the national and regional imaginary of Cornwall since they came into being in 2006. The museums that are part and parcel of the World Heritage Site are now telling the story of Cornish mining and its global repercussions to a world audience of global tourists. Heritage sites and museums, in Cornwall and elsewhere, often have two kinds of audiences. On the one hand they cater for tourists, national and international, who have an outsider's gaze onto industrial heritage and need familiarizations with an industrial world, now largely in the past. On the other hand, they also care for the local people in industrial cities and regions, many of whom have past experience in industry or have parents and grandparents who worked in those industries. They have an insider's perspective on industrial heritage, which to them is part and parcel of their own personal and family identity. Laurajane Smith's chapter in this collection points to the importance of involving local neighbourhood groups with the memory work at sites of industrial heritage, as it is those groups who often value and champion narratives of community and of class, which may get lost if heritage sites only cater for the outsider's perceptions.

In other parts of the Anglo-world, namely in Australia, heritage institutions have also been key in promoting forms of industrial heritage. Eklund, in his chapter, emphasizes that the Victorian Heritage Register, a state institution, has been keen to put industrial monuments and industrial heritage onto the register, thereby legitimizing a beginning discourse of the importance of industrial heritage to the history of Victoria. Looking, more specifically, at the official heritage discourse of the Latrobe Valley in Victoria, Eklund comes to the conclusion that industrial heritage plays some role, but it struggles culturally against the much larger presence of a heritage that dates back further in time, namely the heritage related to gold mining in the town of Walhalla. Nevertheless, in 2017 the Morwell power station was added to the list of industrial monuments after a concerted campaign of preservationists, historians and local activists. Another council-led initiative let to the setting up of the 'Power Drive Route 98', which connects several of the mine sites with the power stations of the region. While there are heritage elements included in this, as Eklund says in his chapter, the main focus is energy education. Local museums, staffed mainly by volunteers from the communities, also play a role in preserving the memory of mining and power stations

in the region, where the emphasis is, at least partly, on the communities that were sustained by those industries. Eklund also recalls a very interesting movement to keep the memory of Yallourn alive – a town that became a victim to opencast mining but that lives on in the many informal and often digital attempts to keep it alive. Without institutionalization, however, it is likely that these efforts – which live from an existing communicative memory – will fade in the future.

In Western Europe, the Ruhr region of Germany has undoubtedly got the highest density of cultural institutions promoting industrial heritage anywhere in the world. The sheer number of industrial, regional and art museums dealing with industrial heritage plus the range of foundations and city-run heritage sites, from mines, steelworks, coaltips, historical housing estates and many other features belonging to the previous industrial landscape is impressive, and much public money, mainly coming from the cities, municipalities and the federal Land North Rhine Westphalia, has gone into the preservation of industrial heritage. It is a marked contrast to the northern Italian town of Sesto, where, apart from oral history initiatives like the ones initiated by Roberta Garruccio, there seems to be a dearth of cultural institutions dedicated to preserving the memory of industry in this town. The Nord-Pas-de-Calais in France has seen the establishment of many more cultural institutions promoting industrial heritage. When its mining landscape was awarded UNESCO World Heritage status in 2012, it served as a major boost to older attempts to link cultural institutions of the heritage industry and promote a region-wide notion of industrial heritage that was also, like in the Ruhr, connected to visions of economically restructuring the region.[33]

Whilst Asturias has also seen the establishment of key cultural institutions, including museums dedicated to the region's industrial development and heritage, they have not been as successful as in the Ruhr or in Nord-Pas-de-Calais in promoting a sense of regional identity based on industrial heritage. They also seem a little unclear in their exhibition concepts as to how to portray that heritage in the light of the overall development of the region.[34] Of course, part of the problem is that we have, in Asturias, a historical region that has much other heritage to offer, including world-famous pre-Romanesque churches and other sites connected to the medieval history of Asturias. Rubén Vega García's chapter deals with cultural attempts to make sense of deindustrialization processes. In particular, he focuses on music – non-commercial, independent music of a younger generation of Asturians. They do not have the power to instigate major changes in the development of industrial heritage, and they also have not been able to ally themselves with other powerful political or social players in the region. But they formulate a grass-roots, bottom-up unease with the erasure of particular

working-class traditions and memories that are connected to the deindustri-
alization processes, which are ongoing in contemporary Asturias.

In Eastern European post-communist countries, in so far as there are any
cultural institutions underpinning industrial heritage efforts at all, they tend
to be very much bottom-up movements without much institutional support.
Thus, in the Jiu Valley in Romania, as detailed in David Kideckel's chapter,
it has been a motley assembly of intellectuals, artists (largely from outside the
area), preservationists, youth groups, some foreign observers, some entre-
preneurs from the region and some local miners who have led attempts to
preserve something of the Valley's mining heritage. Without much power
of their own and without powerful allies in politics and economics, these at-
tempts face an unsure future. In Tibor Valuch's case study of the former steel
town of Ózd, we do not encounter any attempts to preserve the industrial
heritage of the town. If anything, one could see in Valuch's own oral his-
tory research such an attempt to preserve the memory of a place that is fast
disappearing.[35]

The party state in post-communist China has vast resources to put into
industrial heritage if it chooses to do so. In Tong Lam's chapter, we encoun-
ter cultural institutions such as museums in former 'Third Front' cities that
are dealing with the heritage of the 'Third Front'. Encouraged by the turn
to 'red heritage' that came from within the centre of the party state, city,
regional and provincial Communist Party leaders began to discover and re-
cover the heritage of the 'Third Front'. An impressive new museum in the
city of Panzhihua tells the story of the 'Third Front' in an entirely heroic
mode. Under the wise leadership of the party, a heroic transformation of
industry is narrated as a success story – to the greater glory of the party and
the region in which these changes took place. The focus is on technological
achievements, economic success and the modernization of China. Hence,
the emphasis of this museum as of others discussed in Lam's chapter is on
the regional and national party leadership implementing the 'Third Front'
policies. Many artefacts and much text are dedicated to them. By contrast,
everyday objects referring to workers and narratives about ordinary people
are hardly present in the exhibitions. The working class of China is disap-
pearing behind the nationalist celebration of the achievements of the party
in the industrialization and modernization of China.

Preservationists and heritage activists in China are most successful in
developing industrial heritage where the regions are economically backward
and there is little pressure on sites for redevelopment. Here the idea is to
bring tourism to the region and attract investors. Tong Lam argues that in
Liupanshui efforts to re-create the atmosphere of the 'Third Front' are taken
to such extremes that the entire city resembles an open-air museum. The
idea of developing tourism around the railway heritage of the North-East

of China is also present in Zhao Xin's and Qu Xiaofan's chapter. By and large, this is at present only an idea, as there is no large-scale tourism industry operative there as yet. Although the authors do not explicitly discuss cultural institutions promoting the heritage in the region, there are a number of museums in the region trying to support the heritagization process connected with the railways, but, for the political reasons discussed above, they face an uphill battle.[36] If those cultural institutions, like museums, could be developed into anchor points of a tourist heritage route, the prospects for developing tourism would be good, especially as the landscape of the region is extremely attractive. But unlike in Liupanshui, all of this is at best in its early stages. In light of this, the authors suggest the mobilization of collective memory by the local population, which, in their view, could serve as the basis of greater involvement of ordinary people in attempts to preserve that heritage. This would amount to the mobilization of civil society initiatives in favour of railway heritage, but it must remain doubtful to what extent the ruling Communist Party would not seek to control those civil society initiatives. The party state has to be wary of unleashing the activism of civil society outside of party control. Furthermore, such mobilization of collective memory would necessarily also include the opening up of the darker parts of that heritage, as it is unlikely that local memories would only focus on the positive sides of urbanization, industrialization, intercultural understanding and modernization. Imperialism, colonialism, racism and exclusions will also be a part of that memory that would be in need of being properly historicized and contextualized.

All of the chapters in this volume highlight the importance of cultural institutions for the promotion of industrial heritage. The more institutions there are and the better endowed they are, the more it will support the maintenance of a public memory of an industrial past. Such public memories can be contested within cultural institutions and between them. If there is a chasm between civil society discourses on the industrial past and official state narratives or within civil society discourses, we see considerable debate surrounding the meaning of memories of that past. Such debate can be extremely fruitful, as it allows for the representation of multiple memories and the discussion of manifold meanings of that past for different parts of the population. Introducing agonistic perspectives into industrial heritage discourses politicizes this discourse and allows for a democratic competition over memories of the past that prepare the building of different futures in the present.[37] Where there is strong political guidance, such as in China or, in completely different ways, in the Ruhr, these cultural institutions produce a relatively homogeneous mindscape that leaves little room for contestation. Where the public memory is associated negatively with a period of time and with a place that is tainted in public memory, as is the case with communism

in post-communist Eastern European societies, there cultural institutions struggle to establish themselves and become meaningful.

Conclusion

In this introduction, we have traced economic, political and cultural pre-conditions for the emergence of industrial heritage and memory discourses centred on an industrial past. Drawing comparisons between the chapters assembled in this volume and augmenting this with a reading of related and relevant literature, it has been shown that the economics, the politics and the culture of an industrial past are all extremely important when assessing the size, scope and direction of memory discourses in deindustrializing regions. On balance, the more successful the economic transformation, the easier and likelier it is that positive memory discourses about the industrial past are actualized in diverse forms of industrial heritage. However, as we have seen, economic success is not a sufficient explanation for the emergence of positive memory cultures surrounding industrial pasts. What is needed is the political will to produce such industrial memory cultures around tangible and intangible forms of heritage. That political will can come from an official heritage discourse by those who wield political power or it can come from an oppositional heritage discourse of those who are opposed to the official discourse. As democratic structures allow for contestation over politics, a multitude of heritage discourses and struggles over their meaning are normal in democratic polities and should be regarded as a healthy sign of a memory politics that seeks to build different futures on diverse interpretations of the past. In more authoritarian political structures, a more streamlined official heritage discourse will not easily allow for contestation, although even here, in sometimes hidden and covert ways, we can at times find such contesta-tion. The political will to memorialize the industrial past will often lead to the institutionalization of cultural institutions, e.g. museums, monuments, associations, which then play an important role in pursuing strategies for the memorialization of industrial pasts. These cultural actors to a large extent frame the stories, invent the traditions and construct the meanings that are given to industrial pasts. Hence, they in turn influence both the politics and the economics of industrial memory discourses. Overall, this introduction has shown how intricately interwoven the economic, political and cultural preconditions for the emergence of industrial memory discourses have been in different parts of the world. We can now turn to the individual cases in greater detail to see how those preconditions have framed particular narra-tives of industrialization and deindustrialization. In the conclusion to this

volume, we will try to provide a comparison of those narrativizations of industrial pasts in Western democratic and post-communist East European as well as post-communist Chinese societies.

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Notes

1. See also Wicke, Berger and Golombek, *Industrial Heritage and Regional Identity*, 2018.
2. On the concept of 'memory activism', see Gutmann, *Memory Activism: Reimagining the Past for the Future in Palestine/Israel*, 2017; Wüstenberg, *Civil Society and Memory in Post-War Germany*, 2017.
3. Shackel and Palus, 'Remembering an Industrial Landscape', 49–71.
4. Just one prominent example among many is Smith, Shackel and Campbell, *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes*, 2011.
5. Feifan Xie, *Industrial Heritage Tourism*, 2015.
6. High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt*, 2003.
7. Smith and Campbell, '"Nostalgia for the Future": Memory, Nostalgia and the Politics of Class', 612–27; Berger, 'Industrial Heritage and the Ambiguities of Nostalgia for an Industrial Past in the Ruhr Valley in Germany', 36–64.
8. Linkon, *The Half-Life of Deindustralisation: Working-Class Writing about Economic Restructuring*, 2018.
9. Grütter, 'Industriekultur als Geschichte: zu einer visuellen Rhetorik historischer Zeiten', 376–94.
10. On the erasure of Scotland's industrial past from memory, compare also Madgin, 'A Town Without Memory? Inferring the Industrial Past: Clydebank Re-Built 1943–2013', 283–306.
11. On the representation of Wales, compare also Mason, 'Representing Wales at the Museum of Welsh Life', 247–71.
12. Compare Tregidga, *Memory, Place and Identity: The Cultural Landscapes of Cornwall*, 2012.
13. See also Köhler, 'Industriekultur und Raumbewusstsein in Asturien/Spanien', 77–97.
14. Geary, 'The Myth of the Radical Miner', 43–64.
15. Antohi and Tismaneanu, *Between Past and Future: The Revolutions of 1989 and their Aftermath*, 2000.
16. Wong and Yongnian, *The Nanxun Legacy and China's Development in the Post-Deng Era*, 2001.

17. Wang et al., *Old Industrial Cities Seeking New Road of Industrialization: Models of Revitalizing North-East China*, 2014.

18. MacKenzie, '"The Second City of the Empire": Glasgow – Imperial Municipality', pp. 215ff.

19. Croll, '"People's Remembrancers" in a Post-Modern Age: Contemplating the Non-Crisis of Welsh Labour History', 5–17.

20. Lloyd-Jones and Scull, *Four Nations Approaches to Modern 'British' History: A (Dis) United Kingdom?*, 2018.

21. The permanent exhibitions at Swansea's National Waterfront Museum and at the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh both heavily subscribed to the theme of Wales/Scotland as first industrial nation when I visited both museums in 2015 and 2016 respectively.

22. For corporatist frameworks in Europe, see Berger and Compston, *Policy Concertation and Social Partnership in Western Europe: Lessons for the 21ˢᵗ Century*, 2002.

23. On the concept of mindscape, see Smith, *Bevan and the World of South Wales*, pp. 92f.

24. There are exceptions to this. In Katowice in Poland, another former mining stronghold, there have been more attempts than in our Romanian and Hungarian examples in this volume to maintain the public memory of mining; see Tomann, *Geschichtskultur im Strukturwandel: Öffentliche Geschichte in Katowice nach 1989*, 2017.

25. Rydgren, *Class Politics and the Radical Right*, 2013; Betz, 'The New Politics of Resentment: Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe', 338–51.

26. On the concept of 'communicative memory', see Assmann, 'Communicative and Cultural Memory', 109–18.

27. http://www.aihuihistorymuseum.com/EN/ENindex.aspx?type=422 (accessed 31 July 2018).

28. On a visiting professorship at the North East Normal University in Changchun in May 2017, I had the privilege of visiting the Aihui museum in Aihui as well as several museums in Changchung, especially the museum of the last emperor of China, Pu Yi, and the adjacent museum dedicated to World War II in China. The latter remain anti-Japanese and promote strong doses of Chinese nationalism.

29. Wicke, 'Urban Movements a la Ruhr? The Initiatives for the Preservation of Workers' Settlements in the 1970s', 347–71.

30. See many of the excellent contributions in High, MacKinnon and Perchard, *The Deindustrialized World: Confronting Ruination in Postindustrial Places*, 2017.

31. Evans and Pryce, *Writing a Small Nation's Past: Wales in Comparative Perspective, 1850– 1950*, 2014.

32. On the National Waterfront museum, see https://museum.wales/swansea/ (accessed 31 July 2018).

33. http://www.bassinminier-patrimoinemondial.org/ (accessed 31 July 2018).

34. This was at least my impression when visiting many of the cultural institutions in the Asturian coalfield during a week-long study trip to Langreo and other parts of the coalfield in 2016.

35. On the complex relationship between oral history and public memory, see Hamilton and Shopes, *Oral History and Public Memories*, 2008; from the perspective of deindustrialization, see in particular Daniel Kerr's contribution in this collection entitled 'Countering Corporate Narratives from the Streets: The Cleveland Homeless Oral History Project', 231–252.

36. I am extremely grateful to Professor Zhao for taking me to do an extensive tour around the railway heritage of China's North-East in May 2017, where we visited many museums and heritage sites.

37. On the relationship between agonism and the construction of a practical past in memorializations of industrial pasts, see Berger, 'Industrial Heritage and the Ambiguities of Nostalgia for an Industrial Past in the Ruhr Valley in Germany'.

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