LANDSCAPES AND LEGACIES OF INDUSTRIAL RUINATION

by

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Declaration

I certify that all material presented in this thesis is my own work and that no portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university.

Acknowledgements

Thesis Abstract

This doctoral thesis critically examines the landscapes and legacies of industrial ruination via three paradigmatic case studies in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, United Kingdom; Ivanovo, Russia; and the twin-city-region of Niagara Falls, USA/Canada. These conurbations represent old industrial areas in different national and political contexts which have experienced significant deindustrialisation in the latter half of the twentieth century. Through the case studies, this research explores the social and economic geography of industrial decline, drawing connections to wider processes and to the specifics of local contexts. The research is based on a multiple-site case study methodology which involves semi-structured interviews with a range of local people; site and ethnographic observations; statistical data and socioeconomic indicators; and documentary and photographic materials. The aims of this research are firstly to examine how sites of industrial ruination are readable as part of a landscape of capital, and secondly to explore how local people relate to forms and processes of industrial ruination in their everyday lives. Key findings from this research are: 1) old industrial centres have diverse challenges and strengths, thus no single model of economic growth, such as arts-and-housing-led regeneration, can form the basis for urban redevelopment; 2) many people remain strongly attached to their communities in areas of industrial decline, despite job losses, socioeconomic deprivation, and contamination; and 3) people who live in derelict industrial landscapes imagine past and present industrial places in contradictory ways, reflecting divisions across generations, class, gender and ethnicity. The thesis suggests that processes of deindustrialisation or the physical topography of a ruin are not simply matters of historic record, but they represent legacies of industrial ruination: enduring and complex contemporary realities for people occupying the in-between spaces of post-industrial change.

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1   Introduction

Derelict factories, mills, warehouses and refineries are features of most industrialised cities around the world. Once behemoth structures at the social and economic heart of industrialisation, these buildings now lie in ruins. The scale of industrial ruins echoes the grandeur of ruins of past civilizations, yet industrial ruins were produced within a much shorter time frame. Abandoned industrial buildings have captured the aesthetic and sociological imagination of scholars, travellers, artists and journalists. Industrial ruins across the globe have been occupied by artists, musicians and squatters; appropriated for cultural or consumption uses; and photographed, painted and documented. Yet old industrial sites are invested with more than cultural meanings: they are the remnants left behind in the wake of deindustrialisation. Despite their state of disuse, abandoned industrial sites remain connected with the urban fabric that surrounds them: with communities, with collective memory, and with people's health, livelihoods and stories.

Industrial ruins are alternatively left abandoned, re-used, regenerated, sold, or demolished. They are never static objects but are in a constant state of change across time and space. Thus, the following analysis of old industrial sites is framed in terms of 'ruination' rather than 'ruins' because 'ruination' captures a process as well as a form. My thesis is concerned with two concepts: *landscapes* (socioeconomic and cultural geographies) and *legacies* (the long-term socioeconomic, environmental and cultural implications for people and places) of industrial ruination. Landscapes and legacies of industrial ruination will be explored through three paradigmatic case studies in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, United Kingdom; Ivanovo, Russia; and the twin-city-region of Niagara Falls, USA/Canada. The case studies represent old industrial areas in different national and political contexts which have experienced significant deindustrialisation in the latter half of the twentieth century, particularly since the 1970s and 1980s. While earlier studies have focused on the immediate impacts of plant closures upon workers and communities, this project analyses the same processes through a broader historical and theoretical lens.

Methodologically, this research is guided by the notion that the study of waste, of what is discarded, is sociologically important. While recent analyses of old industrial

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cities and regions tend to focus on processes of regeneration and adaptation, my concern is with industrial ruins as 'wasted places' which have, for various socioeconomic reasons, yet to be transformed. There are many stories of 'winners' in the literature on cities regeneration, with particular attention paid to 'creative' and 'cultural' cities (Florida 2005; Landry and Bianchini 1995; Zukin 1982), exemplars of arts-and-culture-led urban regeneration. However, in the context of an uneven geography of development (Harvey 1999; Smith 1984), in which cities and regions compete against one another for government funds and corporate investment, there are also many stories of 'losers', of cities and urban places marked by abandoned and derelict infrastructure, social and economic deprivation, and depopulation and unemployment. These stories tend to be overlooked in the interests of a progress-oriented view— of moving on in the capitalist process of creative destruction (Schumpeter 1965) and focusing on growth and innovation rather than dwelling on the 'necessary' waste left behind.

My research is based on mixed case study methods, including in each case eighteen to thirty semi-structured interviews with a range of local people, site and ethnographic observations, national statistics, and documentary and photographic materials. The aims of the thesis are firstly to examine how landscapes of industrial ruination are legible as artefacts of socioeconomic processes, and secondly to investigate the complex legacies of industrial ruination experienced by the people who inhabit these landscapes. Finally, the thesis aims to interrogate what landscapes *and* legacies of industrial ruination reveal about the processes which created them. My thesis suggests that deindustrialisation produces enduring social and economic costs for people who occupy the precarious in-between spaces of post-industrial change. This introduction introduces the core themes of the thesis: industrial ruination, landscapes and legacies; provides a background to and logic of comparison between the three case studies; and outlines some of the main findings of the thesis.

1.1   Core Themes: Landscapes and Landscapes of Industrial Ruination

1.1.1   Industrial Ruination

Industrial ruins can be found in landscapes across the world, and their material presence is suggestive of social and economic processes which produced them. A number of authors have described abandoned industrial landscapes as the social, economic and

cultural products of uneven capitalist development (Appadurai 1986; Augé and Howe 1995; Barr 1969; Berman 1983; Cowie and Heathcott 2003; Harvey 2000; Jackle and Wilson 1992; Kunstler 1993; Nielsen 2002; Stewart 1996; Van der Hoorn 2003; Wright 1991; Zukin 1991). However, industrial ruins as physical sites have mainly been analysed in a more aesthetic and cultural context (Edensor 2005b; MacKenzie 2001), with authors celebrating their qualities rather than questioning the processes behind their production.[1] My research of industrial ruins takes a different approach, analysing the phenomenon in four interrelated ways: firstly, as artefacts of social and economic processes; secondly, as a process rather than simply a form (as 'ruination' rather than 'ruins); thirdly, as 'landscapes'; and finally as legacies.

Reading industrial ruins

Can industrial ruins tell their own stories? Is it possible to interpret the flows of capital, people and places in an abandoned shipyard, in an abandoned textile factory, or in a vast empty field where a chemical factory once stood? Does it matter if that shipyard is in Newcastle, in Glasgow, or in a city along the Indian Ocean? Does it matter if the abandoned factory produced textiles or chemicals? Does it matter if the ruins are visible or unseen? Some traces and clues are indeed visible, but one needs to know where and how to look for them. One of the key authors on the topic of 'industrial ruins', Tim Edensor (2005b: 29), implores us to think about industrial ruins without paying attention to their particular geographical locations, to experience their universal qualities. My thesis was concerned with the opposite: with drawing connections between landscapes of industrial ruination and their specific contexts and geographies. The starting point for my research was to examine industrial ruins as artefacts of social and economic processes rather than as aesthetic or cultural objects. Could industrial ruins be read as the waste products of capital abandonment or capital integration into new markets; as the footprint of political economy?

The abandoned shipyards of Walker Riverside in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the partially abandoned textile factories of Ivanovo, and brownfield sites of abandoned chemical factories in Niagara Falls, offered different insights into reading industrial ruins. On one level, it was difficult to read anything in the various ruins I chose. Whether a shipyard had closed due to capital moving elsewhere, capital insolvency, or

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[1] See chapter two for a more detailed review of the literature on industrial ruins.

lack of state contracts and subsidies, was rarely clear. The textile factories which were abandoned as a result of post-socialist transition to a market economy looked much the same as chemical factories which had been abandoned by capital flight. Abandoned chemical factories with high levels of suspected contamination looked no more dangerous than any other abandoned factory. Nevertheless, there were markers and clues written in the landscapes. The sheer abundance of textile factories, their tightly guarded gates, the Soviet murals on their walls, the ashes of former communists, and the use of former factories as textile markets, all pointed to the particularity of the post-socialist context in Ivanovo. The abundance also pointed to the idea that there were far more textile factories clustered in a single city than might have been developed even in a Dickensian capitalist setting. The strip of industrial riverside dotted with offshore companies, cranes, warehouses, scrap yards, and empty shipyards gave indications of dereliction and decline in Walker Riverside. However, the fences around the industrial riverside area and the continued existence of mixed industries suggested that industrial life had to some extent been prolonged and regulated. Finally, the fenced-off open field at Love Canal, a toxic disaster site in Niagara Falls, marked with a sign warning 'do not enter', and surrounded by roads leading nowhere and overgrown lawn— gave off an eerie feeling— what had happened to this place?

From ruins to ruination

During the course of my research into specific 'industrial ruins', I quickly realised that an industrial ruin is never static, as the noun 'ruin' implies. Rather, at any given moment, a ruin appears as a snapshot of time and space within a longer process of ruination. Later, the industrial ruins will inevitably undergo processes of demolition, reuse or rebirth. Reading or interpreting industrial ruins becomes difficult because of the shifting ground of time and space, creation and destruction. The task, I was to discover, involved reading processes within processes rather than processes within fixed form. The spatio-temporal moment, the slice of ruination in each case, becomes an important analytical tool: the 'moment' captures the process of ruination in time and space, making a finite sequence of 'ruins' visible. As such, from a starting point of 'industrial ruins', I arrived at the concept of 'industrial ruination' - a subtle difference, but an important one. Industrial ruins, or spatio-temporal moments of industrial ruination, can tell one a great deal about socioeconomic processes, but they cannot be separated from the residential, commercial, community and natural spaces in which they are situated,

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and the people who make up these surroundings. Thus, my analysis of industrial ruins is framed within the broader context of landscapes and legacies.

1.1.2 Landscapes

The concept of landscape is useful in analysing industrial ruination, as a way to situate processes and forms within place. Landscape studies have encompassed a range of possible approaches including material and empirical approaches, as well as visual and cultural approaches, and thus 'landscape' provides an excellent framework in which to combine socioeconomic and cultural analysis of industrial ruination. Zukin (1991: 16) provides a useful definition of landscape in the context of contemporary human geography:

> *Landscape*, as I use the term here, stretches the imagination. Not only does it denote the usual geographical meaning of "physical surroundings", but it also refers to an ensemble of material and social practices and their symbolic representation. In a narrow sense, *landscape* represents the architecture of social class, gender, and race relations imposed by powerful institutions. In a broader sense, however, it connotes the entire panorama that we see: both the landscape of the powerful – cathedrals, factories and skyscrapers – and the subordinate, resistant, or expressive vernacular of the powerless – village chapels, shantytowns, and tenements.

Following Zukin, I define landscapes as comprising material and social practices, and as symbolic representations of these practices. However, Zukin's stark division of landscapes between the powerful and the powerless in her landscapes of 'creation' and 'devastation' (1991), misses some of the complexity of landscapes, particularly in the context of lived experience.

In a thorough review of academic literature on the landscape, straddling historical and contemporary work in art history, geography, archaeology, and cultural studies, Wylie (2007) identifies key tensions within landscape studies, between distance and proximity, observation and inhabitation, eye and land, and culture and nature. Wylie argues for an understanding of landscape which emphasises lived experience rather than detached observation, derived from the work of the phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty (1989) and the cultural anthropolgist Tim Ingold (2000). In the phenomenological approach 'landscape is defined primarily in terms of embodied practices of dwelling – practices of being-in-the-world in which self and landscape are entwined and emergent. (Wylie 2007: 14)' This approach stands in contrast to

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landscape studies which neglect the point of view of a landscape's inhabitants. Based on this latter view of landscape, Cresswell (2004: 10-11) draws a distinction between landscape and place, arguing that place is inhabited, whereas landscape lacks people: 'In most definitions of landscape the viewer is outside of it. This is the primary way in which it differs from place. Places are much things to be inside of... We do not live in landscapes – we look at them.' Cresswell points to an interesting tension between classical definitions of landscape and place. However, like Zukin and Cresswell, I use landscape in a broader sense, as one which encompasses lived experience, and as a basis for 'reading' social and economic processes in the material landscape.

In my three case studies of landscapes of industrial ruination, I am concerned with landscapes as the products of social, economic and cultural processes, but also with landscapes as inhabited places, where people live through processes of social and economic change. In addressing this second theme, my research aims to read socioeconomic processes through interrogating the relationship between people and sites of ruination over time. The concept of 'landscape' does not adequately capture a sense of temporality, nor, according to Cresswell, does it *necessarily* encompass 'people'. Because of this ambiguity and tension within the concept of 'landscape', I introduce another concept, that of legacies. Legacies refer to enduring features, both social and material, of the old industrial era. Legacies add a dynamic and temporal dimension to analysis of social landscapes. Landscapes of ruination are deeply interconnected with the legacies of ruination, to the extent that they are difficult to separate. In the context of this thesis, I make this distinction primarily to ease analysis, rather than to suggest that they are not intertwined.

1.1.3 Legacies

If landscapes of ruination are slippery and unfixed, then legacies of ruination are even more difficult to map. Legacies of industrial ruination represent traces of history and socioeconomic change: the diffuse social, economic, cultural, psychological, and environmental impacts of industrial decline upon people and places. In all three case studies, I located people who were related to sites and processes of industrial ruination, either directly or indirectly through residential or commercial proximity, present or former employment, relationships with people holding connections to sites, and involvement in community or economic development. Themes in the relationships

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between these people and sites emerged gradually over the course of my research, as certain questions and approaches led me in different directions, sometimes far astray from the sites themselves. The most obvious and direct relationships between people and sites could be understood through current uses of derelict sites. However, since most of the sites were abandoned or partially abandoned, few people interacted physically with the sites. A few people worked in remaining industries, while a greater number of people had formerly worked in industrial sites in each case. Most reports of site uses were of informal activities, such as vandalism, arson, drug and alcohol use, and theft of materials.

One way in which I was able to explore people's relationships with sites was through their memories and perceptions of them. Memories and perceptions are not merely subjective accounts of what people think about sites: they reflect divisions within social groups, between generations, and between different classes. Perhaps most importantly, memories and perceptions reflect much of the unease experienced by people coping with uncertain transitions from an industrial past to a 'post-industrial' future. Each of the case studies revealed elements of sadness and loss, anger and regret, resignation and acceptance, and hope. Legacies of industrial ruination included not only memories and perceptions, but also numerous socioeconomic, cultural and health impacts of industrial decline. Researching these impacts was more difficult than may have been expected because many of the impacts of plant closures and industrial abandonment, particularly twenty to thirty years after the fact, were often indirect. In each case, I focused on the connections between the landscape of ruination and the adjacent neighbourhoods, communities and cityscapes, in particular how these landscapes were integrated into social and economic life, and how they interrelated.

Finally, I explored the relationships between people and sites through the lens of politics, particularly around the axes of capital, community and government. I noticed a contrast between strong and weak community activism. In cases of stronger activism, citizens were concerned with issues that were close to their everyday days, in particular the possible destruction of their homes and erasure of their community as they knew it and the possibility of damaging health impacts upon children. In cases of weaker levels of activism, the intervention of capital and government in people's daily lives proved more diffuse, and proposals that might affect people's own homes, livelihoods and welfare were more distant and remote. The local politics in each case provided clues

about the legacies of ruination, how people manage their current situations, what they value and will fight for, and how they relate to processes of change.

To summarise, the landscapes of ruination are integrally connected with legacies of ruination. Relationships between people and the sites and processes of ruination can be feasibly studied and interpreted from various angles and perspectives. I chose to focus on three analytical topics: memory and perceptions, socioeconomic and health impacts, and the local politics of community, capital and government. These topics required different questions, approaches and methods of interpretation. However, as different as each topic may seem upon first glance, they produced common themes which ran throughout each case. The next section will introduce each of the case studies and identify some of the locally specific themes which emerged in each case, and the final section will introduce some of the big conceptual themes which emerged through this research.

1.2 Background to the Case Studies: Three City-regions

Three case studies of old industrial sites were selected from three different cities and regions of the world where deindustrialisation has been most pronounced: the North of England, the old industrial cities of post-socialist Russia, and the 'Rust Belt' of North America. Each case study is an 'exemplar' of deindustrialisation, yet each case is contextually specific. The rationale for selection of case studies was based on multiple-site case study methodology, and comprised a number of criteria. Each case study would be: 1) representative of an old industrial area which had experienced significant deindustrialisation; 2) representative of a different type of manufacturing-based industry; 3) located in a different national context; 4) at a different stage of deindustrialisation; 5) located within a medium-sized conurbation; and 6) not as widely researched as other 'exemplars' of industrial decline.[2] The cases were also selected because of practical considerations such as language, time and financial constraints, and the ability to travel to the sites. Subsequent chapters will outline in greater detail the logic of comparison between the three sites, the parameters of the fieldwork, and the details of specific sites and areas that were studied.

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[2] 'Exemplary' cities of industrial decline include Manchester and Detroit, cities which have become symbols of deindustrialisation.

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Case Study I: Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK

Newcastle-upon-Tyne is a city of approximately 220,000 people in the North East of England. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Gateshead, North Tyneside, South Tyneside and the City of Sunderland are the five local authorities which together comprise Tyne and Wear, a conurbation of approximately one million people (Figure 1). The 2000 English Indices of Deprivation (Noble, et al. 2000) ranked Newcastle at 20 of out 354 Local Authorities in England, where 1 was the most deprived area and 354 the least deprived. The 2004 English Indices of Deprivation (Noble, et al. 2004) analysed multiple deprivation data on the basis of the smaller spatial scale of Super Output Areas (SOAs) rather than cities. The 2004 Indices noted that the pattern of severe multiple deprivation in the North East remained similar to the pattern reported in the Indices in 2000, concentrated around old steel, shipbuilding and mining areas, and the Indices report that 355 of the 10% most deprived SOAs in England are located in the North East. More recently, the 2007 English Indices of Deprivation reported that 'the Region which has the greatest percentage of its LSOAs [Lower Layer Super Output Areas] that fall in England's most deprived 20% is the North East (34.2%)' (Noble, et al. 2007: 12).
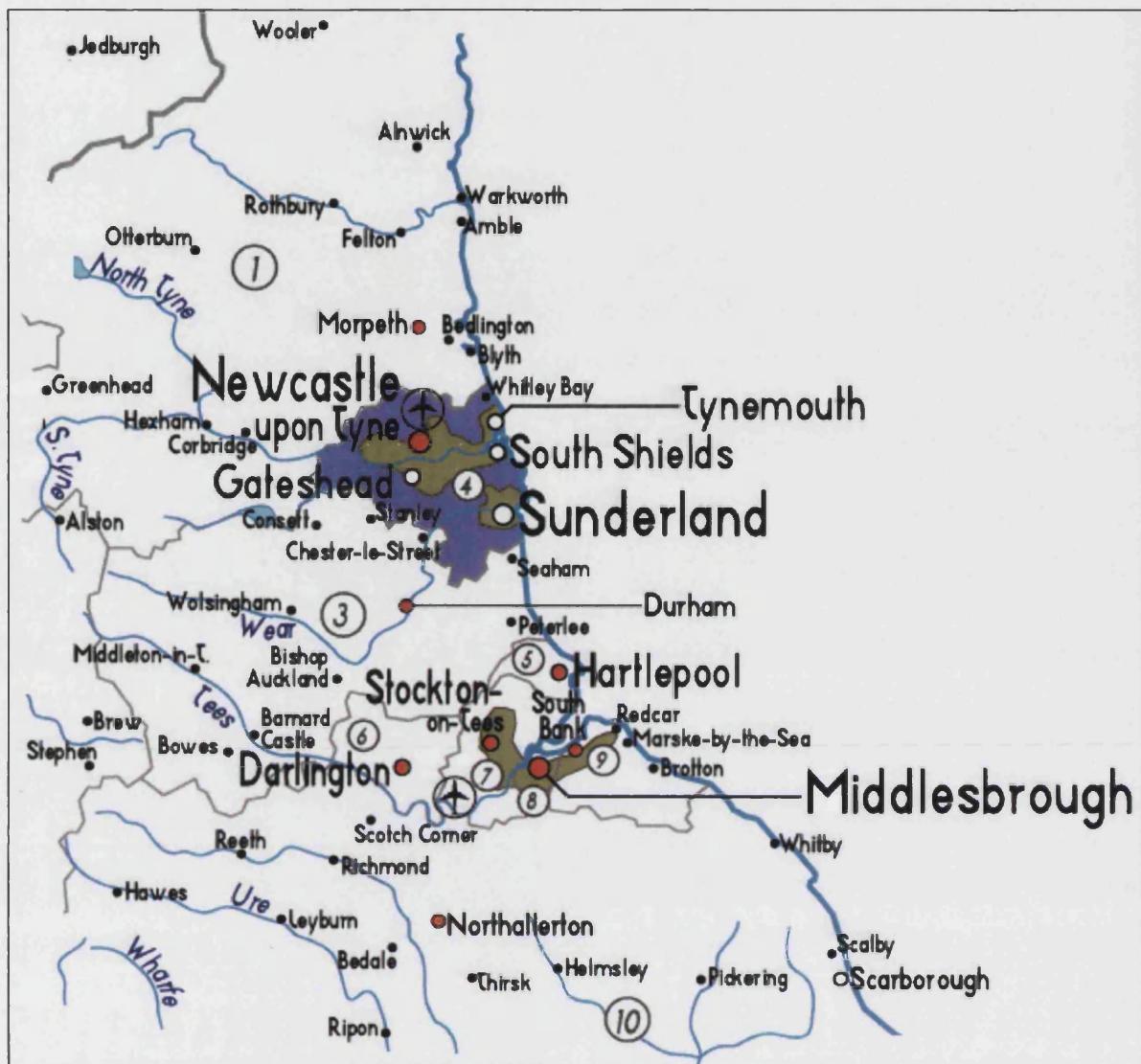
Figure 1 Map of Tyne and Wear, 2007. Source: www.maps-of-britain.co.uk

The North East was built on coal mining, steel and shipbuilding along the rivers Tyne, Wear and Tees. The region achieved its technological and industrial highpoint in the early twentieth century, with Newcastle as the regional capital. Its economy first suffered a major downtown during the 1930s, revived briefly during the 1950s post-war boom, and it has been in decline since the 1970s. The North East was one of the first regions in Britain to experience massive deindustrialisation, yet its process of deindustrialisation has been long and drawn out. The majority of plant closures in Newcastle occurred throughout the 1970s and 1980s, but closures continued through the 1990s and into the 2000s. The city experienced a wave of plant closures of new inward investment branch plants during the economic crisis of 1998, and many of the call centres which opened in the 1990s have since moved to India, amongst other places

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in Asia. The year 2006 witnessed the closure of Swan Hunter's, the 'last shipyard of the Tyne'.

Factors of economic decline cited in the literature include strength of foreign competition, overcapacity, the north-south divide in the UK, underinvestment and disinvestment, poor business management, mismanagement of the national economy and government-led restructuring (Charles and Benneworth 2001; Hudson 1998; Robinson 2002; Tomaney and Ward 2001). The restructuring of the UK state, both during the Keynesian period (c. 1945-1970) when major industries such as coal and steel were nationalised, and during the Thatcher period (1979-1990) when the welfare state was 'rolled-back' and old manufacturing sectors were left to market forces, played a significant role in the social division of labour in the United Kingdom (Massey 1995). In this context, the North East experienced nationalisation of its major industries in the immediate post-war period, while new industries in the United Kingdom were developed in different cities and regions. The traditional manufacturing industries in the North East began to decline in the 1970s and 1980s when the United Kingdom lost its lead in manufacturing within the international economy. The manufacturing sector in the UK lagged behind in terms of modernisation, competitive advantage and innovation as compared with West Germany and Japan, and, later, with newly industrialised countries such as India and China. The restructuring policies of the Thatcher government, which prioritised the development of entrepreneurialism, self-sufficiency, inward investment and the growth of the service sector over the preservation of old industries, exacerbated the situation.

Little remains of the traditional industrial base today. In the past thirty years, growth in the service sector has been accompanied by decline in manufacturing, while inward investment and property-led development have helped to keep the region afloat. Both quantitative and qualitative studies of the region (Charles and Benneworth 2001; Hudson 1998; Tomaney, et al. 1999; Tomaney and Ward 2001) indicate that while there are some signs of growth and regeneration, as a whole the region remains a peripheral branch plant economy with uneven patches of prosperity, relative decline in comparison with the rest of the United Kingdom, and dependency upon the state and other regions.

In 1999, Newcastle City Council attempted to address some of the problems in the city related to deindustrialisation by branding itself as 'competitive Newcastle',

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launching a controversial ten-year economic redevelopment plan entitled 'Going for Growth'. This city-wide plan was the subject of much debate, as it sought to replace old housing stock with middle class homes in an effort to retain population, raising concerns that working class populations would be pushed out (Byrne 2000; Cameron 2003). The 'new economy' in Newcastle has also been the subject of debate. Some critics have argued that the low-paid and female-dominated 'call centre' jobs lack long-term prospects for economic growth (Richardson, et al. 2000). In addition, the 'night-time' party culture in Newcastle and the location of Metro Centre, 'one of Europe's largest indoor shopping and leisure centres' in neighbouring Gateshead, offer only limited regional economic growth, as they are based on consumption rather than production, and much of the money comes from within the North East rather than outside the region (Hollands and Chatterton 2002).

The most recent urban renewal efforts in the area have been concentrated on the derelict land of Gateshead Quays, with the 2002 transformation of the 1950s Baltic Flour Mill into the Baltic Contemporary Art Gallery (in the style of the Tate Modern in London), the Millennium Bridge which connects Newcastle and Gateshead, and the recently opened (2005) Norman Foster designed Sage Music Centre with a curved glass exterior. This strategy of arts-led-regeneration has been heralded as a good example of post-industrial renewal: 'Gateshead Quayside stands as one of the clearest examples in Europe, and perhaps the world, of urban regeneration led by arts and cultural investment' (Bailey, et al. 2004: 51). The revitalisation of Gateshead Quayside was spearheaded by the East Gateshead Partnership, which was set up in 1995 to attract property and inward investment into the area and to re-brand Gateshead as a 'city of art and culture'. The projects were largely funded by the Arts Lottery and Millennium Funds, using 250 million pounds worth of investment. The extent to which these initiatives have helped local people in Newcastle in terms of job creation, overall economic growth and historical and cultural identity has yet to be seen.

Indeed, beyond the sites of regeneration on both sides of the Tyne, there are considerable areas of dereliction. Cameron and Coaffee (2004: 11) highlight the contrast between regeneration and decline in the following statement:

> The River Tyne cuts between Newcastle and Gateshead in a steep-sided valley, with the new developments below its slopes. Linked and enclosed by the bridges across the river, the developments now on either side form a veritable amphitheatre of

urban renaissance, but one which appears to be physically divorced from the urban areas beyond the slopes.

Robinson (2002: 320) describes spatial contradictions between areas of regeneration and areas of deprivation as part of the overall fragmentation and diversification of the region of the North East. He notes that a visiting journalist with the aim of doing a piece on the North East's 'renaissance' could easily cite the MetroCentre shopping complex in Gateshead and the Quayside 'amphitheatre' attractions as sufficient evidence of urban renewal. At the same time, Robinson argues, a journalist could just as easily do a piece on the North East as a socially and economically depressed place, but it would take more digging beneath the surface.

The focus of my research in Newcastle was on one of these spaces found 'beneath the surface': the former shipyards of Walker Riverside located in the East End of Newcastle. I selected this area because it was one of the few remaining old industrial sites which had yet to be regenerated at the time of my research, and because it remains a place of symbolic importance for Newcastle as a whole. Prolonged years of decline and struggle were elements behind some of the stories of resignation in Newcastle, where people looked more to the future of their community than to thoughts about old shipyards. Walker is an area where deindustrialisation has been long and protracted, where processes of both decline and renewal have been mediated by the state, and where the local community has actively struggled to resist housing-led regeneration of their neighbourhood. Thus, protraction and regulation emerged as themes in the landscape of ruination in Walker. Juxtaposition between sites of regeneration and sites of dereliction, and between riverside and community, was also a key theme of ruination.

Imminent regeneration was a defining theme of the 'legacies of industrial ruination' in Walker Riverside. The politics of partnership and contestation surrounding the proposed regeneration of the community riverside area tended to eclipse memories related to the landscapes and legacies of industrial ruination. At first, I was frustrated with this incongruity and felt overwhelmed with the large amounts of data on regeneration, struggles between different interest groups, and complex networks of partnerships, alliances and battles. However, as my research developed, I observed that 'imminent regeneration' and all the politics surrounding it was how many people actually related to industrial ruination. Many people no longer related to the shipyards

directly, but instead they felt connected to their homes and the community which had been built on shipbuilding.

My research in Walker also drew attention to the legacy of community cohesion based on a shared industrial past, and pointed to fissures within the ideal of community solidarity in terms of race, identity and social problems. My analysis of the local politics of contestation and partnership revealed tensions within the community in challenging and accommodating processes of change. It also revealed the importance of 'home' for people, as one of the most contestious issues surrounding regeneration was over the proposed demolition of people's homes. This case study reveals interesting social, economic and spatial juxtapositions between sites of deprivation and regeneration within old industrial cities, and explores the uncertainties embedded in people's experience of living through post-industrial change.

Case Study II: Ivanovo, Russia

The region of Ivanovo has a population of 1,148,329, and the city of Ivanovo is its administrative centre, with a population of 431,721 (Russian Census, 2002). The focus of my research was on the city of Ivanovo, although regional trends and factors were taken into consideration in my analysis. Ivanovo is described in the literature as a typical example of an old industrial Russian region and city. Located approximately 300 km northeast of Moscow, Ivanovo forms part of the 'Golden Ring' railway network of ancient cities around Moscow. However, unlike the other cities in the Golden Ring, with their fortresses, monasteries and white stone churches dating from the twelfth century, Ivanovo is a modern industrial city full of semi-abandoned textile factories and Soviet architecture. The only references to its pre-industrial history are dilapidated wooden country-style houses and old wooden churches.
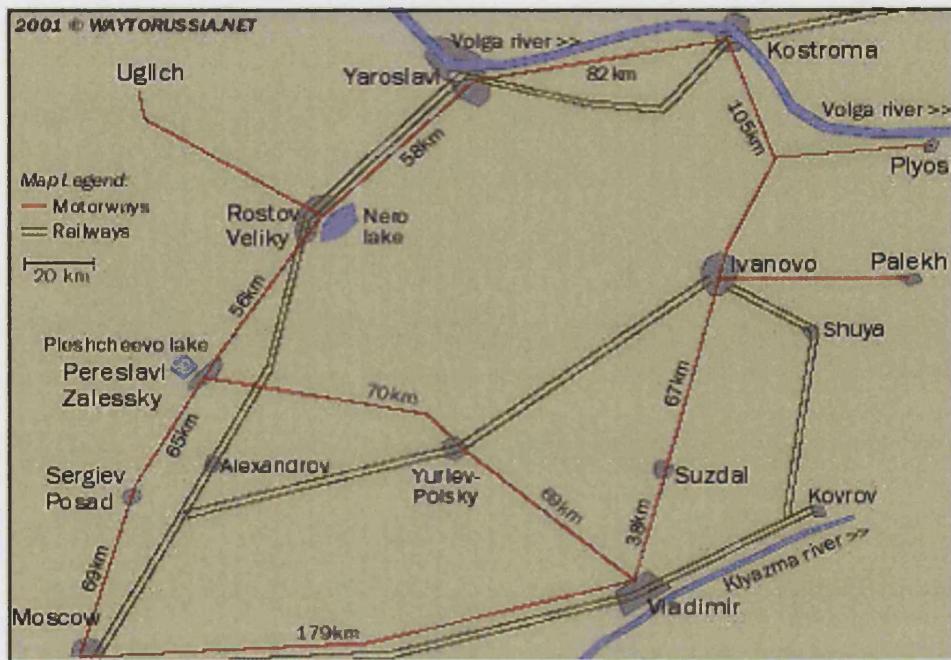
Figure 2 Map of the Golden Ring, including Ivanovo, 2001. Source: www.waytorussia.net

Ivanovo-Voznesensk was formed as an administrative unit in 1871 through the amalgamation of two villages, and it rapidly industrialised as a textile centre, earning fame as the 'Russian Manchester'. The population exploded from 17,000 people in 1870 to 170,000 in 1917, making it the fastest growing city in Central Russia at the time. The city became populated by wealthy manufacturers and weavers in addition to a new working class, and the growing antagonism between labour and capital led to the very first Soviet of Workers Deputies in 1905 (Treivish 2004, 14). Ivanovo-Voznesensk reached its height of textile production in the 1910s, but it only gained official city status in 1918 and was renamed Ivanovo in 1932. The revolutionary Soviet and industrial spirit of the city earned Ivanovo status as 'the third Russian proletarian capital after St. Petersburg and Moscow', designated by Lenin himself.

Under the Soviet Union, textile production continued despite a steady decline in output, bolstered by the control of the centrally planned economy. In the 1960s, crane-building and machine-building plants were set up in the city to improve the gender balance of labour and to diversify its mono-industrial structure. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the textile workforce gradually diminished. Ivanovo was one of the first cities in the former Soviet Union to experience deindustrialisation. Reasons cited for this within the literature include a dramatic decline in domestic demand and the low

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competitiveness of Russian industries, particularly light industries, in global markets (Kouznetsov 2004).

The era of *perestroika*, or economic restructuring, which dates from the late 1980s through to the mid-1990s, was the most difficult period of social and economic transition in Ivanovo and in Russia as a whole, with the collapse of the Soviet Union. There were tremendous food shortages throughout the early and mid-1990s. During this time, 60% of the people living in Ivanovo had to live off hand-grown food from their gardens, a phenomenon termed the 'dacha movement' (Sitar and Sverdlov 2004). Textile production in Ivanovo came to a complete standstill in the early 1990s. One of the largest textile plants, the '8th March Textile Factory', closed in the 1990s and was converted into a shopping centre, 'Silver City'.

Despite its proximity to Moscow, Ivanovo has fared very poorly since the 1990s in relation to indicators of social and economic deprivation even in comparison with cities in other Russian regions. Some of the problems include: housing shortages (despite depopulation); high rates of poverty; crime and alcohol use; lower life expectancies; low quality of dwellings and infrastructure; and high levels of informal ('grey') business. Although there has been a nominal decrease in unemployment since the economic crisis of 1998, the figures are inaccurate, given the fact that a number of people remain working for factories which are only open one month per year, wage arrears are still common, and the informal economy accounts for a large degree of peoples' livelihoods (Kouznetsov 2004). The average wage in Ivanovo is very low, with a very small number of people who are well off. In 2000, 10.9% of people in Russia (on average) had an income of more than four thousand roubles per month (77 pounds), as compared with 0.1% of people in the Ivanovo Region (Kouznetsov 2004). The employment structure changed significantly with the collapse of industry (58% of jobs were lost between 1980 and 1998), and available jobs tend to be given to men over women. Between 1990 and 2002, the city experienced depopulation of 6.8% (Sitar and Sverdlov 2004), and this trend of depopulation continues today as young people move out of the city in search of better employment opportunities.

English language literature on the city of Ivanovo is relatively limited. Most of the literature relates to its early industrial and political history (cf. Husband 1988; Pretty 1995). The most extensive contemporary account of the social and economic situation in Ivanovo in English is a *Shrinking Cities* Working Paper, from which I have gathered

the main theoretical accounts of Ivanovo outside of my own research (Kouznetsov 2004; Sitar and Sverdlov 2004; Treivish 2004). Ivanovo was one of four urban centres that the *Shrinking Cities* Working Papers focused upon, including Detroit, Ivanovo, Manchester/Liverpool and Halle/Leipzig, in a project funded by Germany's Federal Cultural Foundation. The project included exhibitions and publications around contemporary cities which have experienced 'shrinkage' in population terms or decline in social and economic sectors, with input from architects, academics and artists.

According to Treivish (2004), Ivanovo has three main stories: the paradoxical story of being located in the central heartland of Russia yet remaining marginalised; the Soviet and post-Soviet story of political ideals versus reality; and the typical deindustrialisation story of long-term decline. Treivish describes an historical shift in Ivanovo from industrial growth to industrial ruins, from social revolutions to social apathy, and from Soviet industrialist and constructivist urban planning to general decay and selective market-oriented renovation. Sitar and Sverdlov (2004) underline the specificity of the 'Soviet socio-cultural model' as one of accelerated urbanisation from an agricultural to an urban society, in which a certain level of continuity with traditional principles of the 'peasant world' and with the socialist past are maintained in the fabric of the city. It is Treivish's third story of 'typical deindustrialisation' with which my research is most concerned, although the other stories, particularly the specificity of the post-socialist context, are deeply connected with this case.

I decided to focus on the abandoned and semi-abandoned textile industries which were scattered across the city of Ivanovo for my research. In this case, I thought that it was best to examine the textile industries across Ivanovo as a whole, rather than to focus on a particular area, because of the widespread ruination of a single industry throughout the city. Deindustrialisation in Ivanovo occurred suddenly, with the collapse of industries following the end of the Soviet Union. One of the distinctive themes which emerged in Ivanovo was the enduring textile identity of the city. Following the closure of virtually all textile factories in the city during the early 1990s, many textile factories gradually re-opened at a fraction of their original capacity. Ivanovo still describes itself within the official city literature as the 'Russian Manchester'. My research revealed that industrial ruination in Ivanovo was abundant and pervasive, as abandoned textile factories were scattered throughout the city, in addition to derelict and vacant houses and commercial buildings. At the same time, the landscape of

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ruination in Ivanovo was in a process of 'reversal', as shown in the phenomenon of partially working, partially abandoned textile factories throughout the city. In Ivanovo, I focused on accounts of people's lived experience of the socioeconomic difficulties of living in and amongst a landscape of Soviet and industrial ruins. This brought me towards a criticism of aesthetic approaches to industrial ruins, which tend to forget the people who live amongst the ruins.

The political climate was almost the exact opposite of that in Walker Riverside, with very low levels of political involvement on the part of local people. Most of all, people felt powerless in the face of events which they thought were beyond their control, whether it was in the hands of the government or big businesses. Ivanovo was in the throes of harsh and sudden transition from an ideal socialist city to an icon of severe industrial decline. The large scale of change, and the tremendous economic hardships that people faced in the years of perestroika, may have factored into the feeling of powerlessness on the parts of local people. However, as in Walker Riverside, local people whose houses faced demolition by developers had voiced protests. Conservative young and old people were the strongest voices of protest in post-Soviet Ivanovo, railing against casinos, alcoholism and the decline of families. Ivanovo has faced continuing difficulties in moving away from its historical textile identity, an industrial foundation that holds little promise under current economic realities. Tenacity of Soviet and industrial identities in Ivanovo is a theme which follows from its recent experience of post-socialist transition and deindustrialisation. Ivanovo offers insights as a case study because of the significant scope and scale of its industrial ruination, because it is a recently de-industrialised city, and because of its specific post-socialist socioeconomic context.

Case Study III: Niagara Falls, Canada/USA

Niagara Falls, Ontario and Niagara Falls, New York are twin cities built around the spectacular natural falls which straddle the international border between the United States and Canada. Niagara Falls is perhaps best known as a tourist destination. Yet the twin-city region has many other identities, as described in the following passage:

> Niagara certainly has its share of representations: the honeymoon capital of the world, one of the most lucrative gambling sites in North America, the great source of hydro power, the snowbelt of the US and the southern border in Canada, the rustbelt in the US and the wine country in Canada. Each of these

imagined Niagaras sits in uneasy juxtaposition with the others; and each has consequences for the structure of governance, investment, and quality of life for the almost two million regional habitants and 17 million yearly visitors. (Schneekloth and Shibley 2005: 105-106)

The theme of 'uneasy juxtaposition' is important when considering the social and economic landscape of the falls. Historical industries in the area include tourism; steel; aircraft, mechanical and electrochemical products; aluminium goods, and hydroelectricity, amongst others. Various forms and sites of tourism– casinos, honeymoons, cruise boats and Disney-like amusements – have played a significant role in the historical and economic development of the region. The tourist industry has been more successful on the Canadian side of the border since the mid-twentieth century, partly due to having a better view of the falls, but also related to political and economic factors. A physical landscape of abandoned and toxic industrial sites persists on both sides of the border, but it is more prevalent on the American side. Tourist industries, abandoned and remaining heavy industries, dilapidated downtown centres, and vast stretches of natural beauty, amongst other contradictory features, together comprise Niagara Falls.
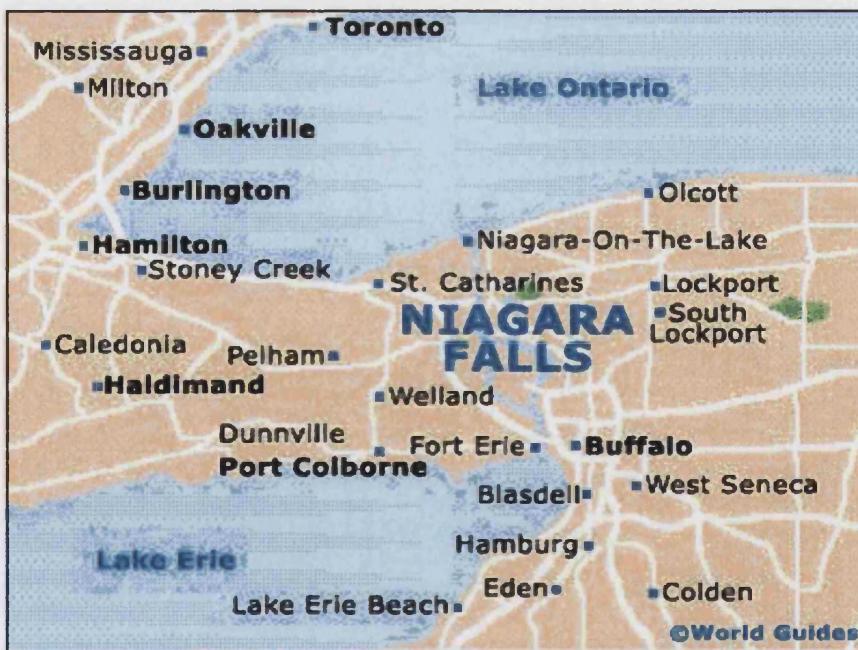
Figure 3 Map of Niagara Falls, 2007. Source: www.world-guides.com

Niagara Falls has long been exploited as a resource, both for its tourist draw as a natural wonder of the world and for its industrial potential as a powerful waterfall. The historic overexploitation of Niagara Falls as a resource has been noted in the literature as

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a 'tragedy of the commons' (Hardin, cited in Healy 1006: 526), an economic phenomenon in which a common resource tends to be subjected to overuse and underinvestment (Healy 2006; Ingram and Inman 1996). The 'tragedy of the commons' is invoked to describe the history of the tourist industry in Niagara Falls, which was unregulated in its early days in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There were warring hotel entrepreneurs, spectacles such as tight-rope walking, circus animals, a museum of curiosities from around the world, and 'peddlers, hucksters, con artists and sideshow men on both sides of the falls' (Ingram and Inman 1996: 632). The 'tragedy of the commons' is not invoked in this literature, as it could be, in reference to the historical industrial 'overexploitation' of the falls.

Much of the literature surrounding Niagara Falls focuses on its tourist industry, its natural beauty, its cultural meanings, and its position as an international border (Healy 2006; Ingram and Inman 1996; Irwin 1996; McGreevy and Merritt 1991). Berton (1992) provides a sweeping history of Niagara Falls, drawing attention to ways in which the natural wonder of the falls has inspired scientists, politicians, artists and authors. Indeed, Niagara Falls has inspired novels, poetry and even the 1953 Hollywood film *Niagara* starring Marilyn Monroe. Shields (1991) includes a case study of Niagara Falls as a 'marginal place' in terms of cultural distance from other places, emphasizing its divergent place identities throughout history but focusing mostly on the Disneyfied features of its landscape. Dubinsky (1999) describes how Niagara Falls has been constructed as a gendered and sexualised honeymoon destination. Other literature reflects upon social problems of gambling and addiction associated with the opening of a large casino in Niagara Falls, Ontario in 1996 (Room, et al. 1999; Turner, et al. 1999).

The main reference point in relation to the Rust Belt history of Niagara Falls is the infamous 1978 environmental disaster at Love Canal on the Niagara frontier in New York, when a toxic chemical dump was discovered buried underneath a residential neighbourhood, with disastrous health consequences for the community (Colten and Skinner 1996; Mazur 1998; Newman 2003). Yet there are still a number of old industrial sites with hazardous waste, and currently there are projects for brownfield redevelopment and clean-up on both sides of the border. The twin cities of Niagara Falls are situated in different national contexts of deindustrialisation – the American Rust Belt and the Canadian industrial heartland –sometimes referred to collectively as the 'North American Rust Belt' (High 2003). Canadian manufacturing activity,

according to Lawrence McCann (cited in High 2003: 34), is concentrated in: '... a crescent between the western end of Lake Ontario from Oshawa to Niagara Fall [...and...] a broad belt extending from Toronto to Windsor. These two zones comprise the Western Axis Manufacturing Area.'

The American Rust Belt is a more familiar case of deindustrialisation (cf. Bluestone and Harrison 1982; Cowie 1999; Cowie and Heathcott 2003), whereas the Canadian 'Rust Belt' is less well-known, particularly outside of Canada. There are limited examples within the academic literature in which shared experiences across the border are considered. Niagara Falls, Ontario is less associated with an old industrial identity than Niagara Falls, New York. One exception is High (2003), who identifies Niagara Falls, Ontario as one of many areas within the North American Rust Belt that experienced deindustrialisation and plant shutdowns in the 1970s and 1980s; other examples include places such as Detroit, Yonkers, Youngstown, and Gary, along with places such as Hamilton and Windsor on the Canadian side of the border.

There is a wealth of literature on Niagara Falls and its complex and diverse cultural meanings and place identities throughout history. There are also many texts on local history which are only available in regional and city libraries. However, there seems to be a lack of literature on Niagara Falls which 1) highlights the juxtapositions and the connections between the tourist industries and the abandoned heavy industries (which could be drawn out in relation to the 'tragedy of the commons'); and 2) considers the Rust Belt identity specifically in relation to Niagara Falls, outside of either a very general context (as one of many identities within the region) or outside of reference in particular to Love Canal and environmental disaster.

My focus in Niagara Falls was on two abandoned chemical industrial areas, one on each side of the border, both located in close proximity to low-income residential areas. I chose chemical industries from both sides because I wanted to highlight cross-border parallels, particularly the relationship between contaminated sites and adjacent communities. Deindustrialisation in Niagara Falls occurred over a long period of time, like in Walker, but the decline was not mediated by the state. People in Niagara Falls had to contend not only with significant job losses but with the lingering effects of contaminated industrial sites. Toxicity and contamination define both the landscape and legacy of ruination in Niagara Falls.

Ambivalence dominated many of the memories and perceptions of people in Niagara Falls due to the combined industrial association with jobs and toxic pollution. The lack of anything certain to replace the loss of industry in each case factored into accounts of nostalgia and sadness amongst interviewees who had the closest relationships with the industrial past. The lingering effects of pollution on people's health combine with the continued socioeconomic effects of job losses and industrial decline to produce a double burden associated with industrial ruination. The issue of health came out most vividly in the case of Niagara Falls. The main reason that this was so important an issue follows from the type of industry in which it was principally engaged: chemicals. The disputes surrounding the proposed redevelopment of the former Cyanamid chemical site into an arena brought together the protests of local residents and trade unionists who were concerned with the health risks of lingering contamination. The particular history of African-American settlement in the Highland Avenue area had made residents interested in preserving their homes, but the levels of community activism in relation to brownfield development remained low: this place had been neglected and marginalised for a long time, and living next to chemical factories had always been part of that picture. To summarise, important themes within the Niagara Falls case study include: the socioeconomic, health and environmental impacts of contaminated sites; issues of spatial exclusion related to class and race; and juxtapositions between tourism, development, the environment, and old industries.

1.3 Key Findings

The key conceptual findings which emerged through the fieldwork were derived from 1) distinctive insights of each case, and 2) overarching themes across the cases. Distinctive themes in each case have been outlined above, and they will be elaborated throughout the thesis. The following tables present a summary of the key themes of the landscapes and legacies of ruination which were specific to each case:

Table 1 Case Study One: Walker Riverside, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Landscapes of Industrial Ruination: Analytical Categories	Themes and Observations
Scale and scope of the landscape of ruination	• Contained in particular areas of the city • Large scale • Mixed geography (abandonment, reclamation, re-use)
Spatial and temporal aspects of ruination; relationship to political economy	• Highly regulated • Protracted decline (+30 years); industries kept afloat by government contracts • Related to the national and regional demise of the shipbuilding industry rather than corporate abandonment specifically
Relationship between the landscape of ruination and the adjacent community and/or cityscape	• Juxtapositions and structural gaps (between areas of renewal and deprivation) • Socioeconomic continuities between processes of industrial decline and socioeconomic deprivation
Legacies of Industrial Ruination: Analytical Categories	**Themes and Observations**
Memories and perceptions of sites (ruins) and processes (deindustrialisation)	• Community cohesion as 'living memory' • Class and generational differences: nostalgia, anger, regret, resignation and humour • Silences: lack of 'museumification' and official memory; focus on regeneration instead of memory of shipbuilding
Socioeconomic, cultural, and/or environmental impacts for local people	• Tensions and paradoxes in community cohesion: race, identity and socioeconomic deprivation
Local politics of community and development	• Community politics over City Council-led imminent regeneration • Local regeneration partnerships • Local contestation over demolitions

Table 2 Case Study Two: Ivanovo, Russia

Landscapes of Industrial Ruination: Analytical Categories	Themes and Observations
Scale and scope of the landscape of ruination	• Abundant and pervasive (spread throughout the city) • Large scale • Phenomenon of partially working, partially abandoned sites
Spatial and temporal aspects of ruination; relationship to political economy	• Relatively recent decline (since 1989) • Partial reversal of ruination (after complete collapse, industries have slowly re-opened) • Utilitarian use of space (function over form) • Related to integration of the Soviet Union into the global economy rather than capital abandonment
Relationship between the landscape of ruination and the adjacent community and/or cityscape	• Highly integrated • Socioeconomic continuities between industrial decline and deprivation • Fusion of Soviet and industrial derelict landscapes
Legacies of Industrial Ruination: Analytical Categories	**Themes and Observations**
Memories and perceptions of sites (ruins) and processes (deindustrialisation)	• Generational differences (greater sense of loss and disruption with older generation) • Tenacity of Soviet and industrial ideals and legacies for local people's sense of place identity
Socioeconomic, cultural, and/or environmental impacts for local people	• Practical or utilitarian approach to everyday life in a city of Soviet and industrial ruination • Leads to a criticism of aesthetic approaches to industrial ruins
Local politics of community and development	• Lack of political struggles in contemporary Ivanovo, as compared with its early revolutionary history • Strongest political voices: pensioners and nationalist youth

Table 3 Case Study Three: Niagara Falls, USA/Canada

Landscapes of Industrial Ruination: Analytical Categories	Themes and Observations
Scale and scope of the landscape of ruination	• Clustered in industrial corridors • Scale is varied (some are large, some are less obvious) • Widespread yet hidden amongst other landscape features (tourist and natural areas)
Spatial and temporal aspects of ruination; relationship to political economy	• Phenomenon of 'unseen ruins' (buildings are gone but the contamination remains) • Industrial decline over thirty years, with very little recovery • Corporate abandonment of contaminated sites
Relationship between the landscape of ruination and the adjacent community and/or cityscape	• Adjacent to poor, working class areas (both sides of the border) • Health risks: 'cancer clusters' • Environmental racism (US context: adjacent to a predominantly African-American area)
Legacies of Industrial Ruination: Analytical Categories	**Themes and Observations**
Memories and perceptions of sites (ruins) and processes (deindustrialisation)	• Ambivalence and tensions ('when the smell goes, the jobs go') • Differences in class, gender and ethnicity in varied memories and perceptions: anger and regret (loss of jobs and health); indifference (one story amongst many); place attachment to community; and nostalgia (heyday of bustling downtown)
Socioeconomic, cultural, and/or environmental impacts for local people	• Negative health impacts of living in proximity to contaminated sites (and the question of quantification) • Psychological effects of living with uncertainty and risks
Local politics of community and development	• 'Reparations' : local contestation over redevelopment of a brownfield site (Canadian context) • Marginalised political voice (US context)

Through comparative analysis of the different case studies and their distinctive insights, three conceptual themes emerged in this research: 1) *landscapes and legacies as palimpsest:*– one can 'read' layers of symbolic and material meanings and processes embedded in landscapes of industrial ruination; one can also read legacies as palimpsest, as traces of the past within the present; these are often diffuse, contradictory and indirect and they are manifested in living memories; socioeconomic and health impacts of industrial decline; and the politics surrounding urban redevelopment; 2) *devastation, yes, but also home* – many people who live in landscapes of industrial ruination have strong place attachment to their homes and communities despite living amongst 'devastation'; and 3) *divided imaginings of past and present place* – people imagine, invent and attach different meanings to past and present place as home, community and city, reflecting tensions and divisions between generations, classes, genders, and positive and negative place images. These three interconnected themes will be explored in depth in the concluding chapter.

1.4   Structure of the Thesis

This chapter has introduced the broad aims of the research project and the background to the city-regional contexts of the three case studies. Chapter two situates my research in relation to the existing theoretical and empirical literature on the topic, and introduces the theoretical framework which informs this analysis: *'industrial ruination as lived process'*. Chapter three outlines the research design and logic for comparison between the case studies, and explores methodological issues encountered during fieldwork. Chapters four through nine contain the bulk of the empirical material, with two chapters devoted to each case study in the order in which they were researched: Newcastle-upon-Tyne (June 2005-March 2006); Ivanovo (August-September 2006); and Niagara Falls (March-April 2007). The tenth and final chapter analyses key findings cross-cutting conceptual themes in the three cases, connects these findings with the distinctive case themes, the theoretical framework, and the literature, and reflects on the policy implications of the thesis.

This thesis examines two main aspects of industrial ruination: landscapes and legacies. Although my research was limited to three case studies, other examples could easily have been selected. Industrial ruins are present all over the de-industrialised world.

Indeed, each person I have told about my research has a story of his or her own to relate to the subject of industrial decline: I have heard stories about Manchester and Detroit, the Ruhr area in Germany and the copper mines in northern British Columbia, the steel in Sheffield and the tin in Malaysia, and the vast industrial cities of China. It is my hope that the questions and themes explored in this thesis will resonate with myriad other old industrial places.

2   Industrial Ruination as Lived Process:
Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This chapter advances a theoretical framework for analysing landscapes and legacies of industrial ruination: 'industrial ruination as lived process', and explains how this theory relates to, builds upon, and extends beyond other theoretical literatures. The framework of 'industrial ruination as lived process' emphasises that industrial ruination is a process rather than a form, and that it is a process which people experience. Many people experience industrial ruins indirectly, from a distance: from the window of a moving car, bus or train; in an unfamiliar city, neighbourhood or stretch of road; by looking at photographs; or as an act of 'tourism', through deliberately seeking out ruins as sites for art, play or mischief. Field research into three case studies of landscapes and legacies of industrial ruination has revealed that many also people experience industrial ruins more directly, from inside rather than from outside: they live in and amongst industrial ruins, and identify these places as home and community.

There are a number of intersecting literatures surrounding the phenomenon of disused industrial sites and related processes of deindustrialisation, ruination and decline. These literatures tend to address cultural and socioeconomic aspects separately, or else highlight cultural appreciation of industrial ruins for economic development purposes. Indeed, the process of deindustrialisation and the phenomenon of industrial ruins have been studied in two main contexts within the existing literature: 1) social, economic and environmental factors associated with industrial decline, such as job losses; debilitation of community infrastructure such as housing, hospitals, shops, services and schools; environmental degradation and health hazards; and economic redevelopment; and 2) cultural factors, such as symbolic meanings, place memory and aesthetics.

During the course of my research, I found that no single literature or theoretical framework adequately addressed the concept of industrial ruination. Widespread deindustrialisation in the 1970s and 1980s in Western Europe and North America became the subject of a great deal of social and economic analysis and scholarship during that period, including two literatures which I will address here 'deindustrialisation' and 'political economy'. Interest in cultural and aesthetic aspects of industrial ruins emerged in the 1990s, coinciding with the 'cultural turn' in sociology and geography which

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turned away from social and economic accounts such as political economy. My own research attempts to cut across the divide between 'culture' and 'economy' in three ways. Firstly, my research brings together socioeconomic and cultural analyses in considering both the landscapes and the legacies of industrial ruination. Secondly, my research is concerned with understanding the relationship between urban form (physical sites) and process (socioeconomic and cultural) rather than focusing on one or the other. Finally, my research incorporates a longer-range view of socioeconomic and cultural change. My concern is not to treat either the processes of deindustrialisation or the landscapes of industrial ruins as matters of historical record, but rather as the context for analysing current social and spatial conditions.

This approach is concerned with reading the past within the present in order to better understand the present, borrowing from methods of contemporary archaeology (Buchli and Lucas 2001). By focusing on socioeconomic processes that began decades ago, this research may seem historical, concerned with the past rather than the future. However, my research is deeply rooted in the present, not in the sense that one must know the past in order to know the future, but rather in the sense the industrial past continues to have profound material, cultural and psychological implications for people and places today. Sennett's (1998) book *The Corrosion of Character* highlights the difficult lived experiences of working in the uncertain and risk-laden context of the new 'flexible' economy. My concern is also with lived experience and present-day realities in places where the industrial past continues to leave an imprint on the present, where the post-industrial future is anything but certain. The theoretical framework of 'industrial ruination as lived process' provides a new way of understanding forms and processes of industrial ruination and socioeconomic transformation.

2.1 Literature Review

This research draws on four key literatures, each embedded in one of the two main contexts of 'culture' or 'economy', with a few strands straddling in between. The first literature is on deindustrialisation, economic restructuring, and post-industrial change, and it is concerned primarily with processes of social and economic change occurring since the 1970s. The second literature is located within the fields of political economy and critical geography, both of which draw upon Marxist theories of capitalist development and accumulation. The sociology of ruins and waste comprises the third

literature, which emphasises the importance of the study of the creation and destruction of waste in modern society, and interrogates both cultural and economic meanings of ruins. The fourth literature addresses different approaches to industrial ruins in particular, including: aesthetic approaches to industrial ruins; the relationship between collective memory and industrial ruins; and arts-and-culture-led economic redevelopment of industrial ruins. Finally, I discuss gaps and intersections in the literature, particularly regarding the dichotomies of culture and economy, spatial form and urban process, and past and present. Case-study-specific literatures will be addressed in subsequent chapters, including regeneration and public-private partnership literature in relation to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, post-socialist literature in the case of Ivanovo, and literature on 'ghettos' and environmental racism in the context of Niagara Falls.

2.1.1 Deindustrialisation, Economic Restructuring and Post-industrial Change

The literature on deindustrialisation dates from the 1970s and focuses particularly on the decline of manufacturing industries in North America and Western Europe (Alderson 1999; Bluestone and Harrison 1982; Cowie and Heathcott 2003; High 2003; Rowthorn and Ramaswamy 1997; Staudohar and Brown 1987). Deindustrialisation and related processes of economic restructuring and globalisation are often characterised by the shift from manufacturing to service industries within most western industrialised countries (Dicken 2007; Hudson and Williams 1994; Massey 1995). The deindustrialisation literature reflects two competing arguments: a 'state intervention' argument which advocates legislation in order to mitigate the social costs of industrial decline; and a 'free market' argument which maintains that deindustrialisation is not a negative phenomenon but rather a natural consequence of economic growth. The latter argument assumes that the market should be left to work things out, for instance through the replacement of many manufacturing jobs with service jobs.

The antithesis between capital and community is a key theme in the deindustrialisation literature. Jefferson Cowie (1999) illustrates this antagonism in his book *Capital Moves*, in which he follows one company as it moves in pursuit of cheap and flexible labour from Camden, New Jersey to Bloomington, Indiana in the 1940s, to Memphis, Tennessee in the 1960s and finally to Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. Bluestone and Harrison (1982) also criticise the privileging of capital over community: they describe

the impact of economic restructuring on employment as representing an 'hourglass economy', whereby new service and technology jobs appear at the top and bottom of the sector, while jobs in the middle shrink. Similarly, High (2003) presents a critical analysis of the economic, political and cultural impacts of plant shutdowns in the Great Lakes regions of Canada and the United States from 1969 to 1984. By contrast, authors such as Rowthorn and Ramaswamy (1997) and Alderson (1999) locate deindustrialisation within 'normal' and thus unproblematic processes of economic change within a market economy.

The concept of 'community' in relation to processes of industrial and urban decline and change is particularly important in the context of my own research. In two of the case studies, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Niagara Falls, specific communities or residential neighbourhoods adjacent to sites of industrial ruination were the focus of much of my research. Studies which focus on particular communities and neighbourhoods have a long and varied history of scholarship, and there have been a number of classic studies of disadvantaged (working class; ethnically segregated) communities and neighbourhoods in particular (cf. Bell and Newby 1971; Clairmont and Magill 1974; Room, et al. 1999; Stacey 1969; Winson and Leach 2002; cf. Young and Willmott 1957). The concept of 'community' has been criticised as problematic because of its relationship to romanticised and nostalgic notions of social cohesion and place identity, and its tendency to represent 'neighbourhoods as relatively class-homogenous, small-scale, easily delineated areas with clear borders, hosting relatively cohesive communities.' (Blokland 2001: 268) While I use the concepts of community and neighbourhood within my research, I recognise that these are contested terms with political connotations.

Long processes of economic restructuring, ever-shifting sites of production in the global economy, and economic renewal in the 1990s in North America and Western Europe have transformed the deindustrialisation debate to encompass more complex analyses of industrial growth and decline (Cowie and Heathcott 2003). High (2005: 187) notes that there has been a shift in the deindustrialisation literature from a focus on workers towards a focus on local struggles over memory and meaning. He is critical of this shift, arguing that the new focus neglects the wider picture of deindustrialisation as a 'defining experience for millions of working people in towns and cities across America'. Whilst earlier studies have focused on the immediate impacts of plant

closures upon workers and communities, my own thesis seeks to interrogate the long term spatial socioeconomic effects of the same processes. It does not aim to move 'beyond the workers', as High claims the deindustrialisation literature has done, but rather to expand the discussion to include attention to both local contexts and wider processes.

Other strands within this literature address strategies for urban renewal and regeneration in the context of deindustrialisation in North America and Western Europe and critique processes of gentrification and social stratification (Brodie 1980; Butler 1997; Couch, et al. 2003; Smith 1996; Teaford 1990). Couch, et al. (2003: xv) identify economic restructuring (from manufacturing to services) and suburbanisation as the two major causes of urban change in Europe, resulting in 'large-scale abandonment and dereliction of land and buildings, degraded environment, unemployment of labour, and acute social deprivation.' The authors note that these trends are particularly severe in old industrial areas throughout Western Europe.

Indeed, studies of deindustrialisation and economic restructuring have largely concentrated on the industrialised West to date. However, these trends are visible throughout the world. The Zambian Copperbelt, once described as 'the wave of the African future', flourished in the 1960s only to experience serious deindustrialisation in subsequent decades (Ferguson 1999).[3] Deindustrialisation has occurred in parts of China and India, and industrial ruins are increasingly widespread in post-socialist countries. Integration into the global economy has meant that many industries from the Soviet era, particularly heavy manufacturing industries, have become uncompetitive. Rapid deindustrialisation has occurred in many sectors and regions. Considerable research into the economics of transition in Russia and Eastern Europe, including the social and political impacts, has been undertaken (eg., Ashwin and Clarke 2003; Chossudovsky 2003; Clarke 1996; Gaidar 2003). However, there have been limited attempts by western scholars to link analyses of deindustrialisation in countries with different levels of 'development'.

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[3] In the past couple of years, world copper prices have risen, and those corporations which purchased the Zambian copper mines at rock-bottom prices during the late 1990s in the height of industrial decline have made considerable profits, without reinvesting in community infrastructure. Walsh, M. 2007 'Zambia and copper' *Taxing Questions, part 2*, United Kingdom: BBC World Service.

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The shift in advanced industrial countries from manufacturing to services has been theorised in various ways as a qualitative shift to a new type of economy and society. Deindustrialisation, globalisation and economic restructuring are amongst these theorisations. Daniel Bell (1973) predicted the 'coming of the post-industrial society', an era in which the knowledge economy and service sector will completely replace the old industrial order. The knowledge economy has been widely theorised as the prevailing logic of contemporary 'developed' economies (cf. Coyle 1998; Leadbetter 1998). Other scholars have framed socioeconomic change as a shifting mode of capitalist regulation, from Fordism, centred around the social and economic logic of mass production typified by the automobile industry, to post-Fordism, characterised by flexible specialisation and just-in-time production (Aglietta 1979; Amin 1994; Boyer and Durand 1997; Jessop 1991; Lipietz 1992). Some theorists have pointed to fragmented features of the new society as comprising 'post-modernity' (Harvey 1989). Some theorists argue that features of modernity have only become more pronounced in recent years. For example, Giddens (1991) spoke of a new era of 'high modernity' and Beck (1992) argued for a 'second modernity' characterised by high levels of social and economic risk. My own analysis is situated within the context of a socioeconomic shift, whether it is framed in terms of a shift from manufacturing to services, from Fordism to post-Fordism, from the old economy to the new economy, from modernity to postmodernity, from the international to the global, or from the industrial to the post-industrial. Of course, the extent to which any one of these processes is accurate or complete is debatable, and many theorists would concur that elements of 'older' structures coexist within the new. Perhaps more controversial than the scale or extent of these changes is the value which is attached to such changes: some perceive the new, flexible economy as a space for greater opportunity, social mobility and advancement, whereas others argue that the new economy is characterised by greater risk, socioeconomic polarisation, uncertainty and instability. Some lament the demise of older social and economic arrangements, and others celebrate the change or accept it as inevitable. With my own focus on people and places which have been 'left behind' in the new economy, my stance is necessarily more critical.

2.1.2 Political Economy and Critical Geography

An alternative way of framing socioeconomic change in the past twenty to thirty years comes from the literature on political economy and critical geography. Political economy is broadly defined here as the study of the interrelationships between political and economic processes as they affect the social and cultural life of societies. Critical geography is a literature within the political economy tradition which developed in the 1970s and 1980s as a response to positivist, quantitative approaches to geography (Castells 1977; Harvey 1973; 1995: 55; Smith 1984; Soja 2000). This literature is useful in the context of my research because it moves beyond a dichotomy of state and market, and examines the workings and logic of capitalist expansion in shaping various geographies.

In particular, David Harvey's work serves as a key starting point for understanding the complex social and economic dynamics which shape the geography of capitalism (1973; 1996; 1999; 2000). Harvey's related concepts of the 'uneven geography of capitalism', 'circuits of capital' and 'spatio-temporal fixes' are relevant for understanding the economic logic behind industry's abandonment of buildings and equipment in the search for new sites and cheaper inputs. In *The Limits to Capital* (1999) Harvey emphasises that the geographical organization of capitalism internalises contradictions within the circulation of capital, namely, tensions between fixity and motion, concentration and dispersal, local commitment and global context. He argues that capital has inherent tendencies towards concentration, crowding and agglomeration, and thus that it encounters physical, social and spatial limits (Harvey 1999: 418). The tendency for capitalism to produce crises of overaccumulation, or surpluses of capital and/or labour, is periodically offset or absorbed by a 'spatio-temporal fix': temporal displacement through investment in long-term capital projects or social expenditures, or spatial displacements through opening up new markets or production capacities elsewhere (Harvey 2003b: 109).

According to Harvey (2003b), flows of capital operate in three different circuits, the first in the realm of immediate production and consumption, the second in fixed capital and consumption fund formation, and the third in social expenditures and research and development. Surpluses generated in the first circuit can be absorbed into the secondary and tertiary circuits of capital, whilst surpluses generated in the latter two

circuits can lead to more general crises, such as the world-wide collapse of property markets in the economic crisis of 1973-75. The creation of surpluses in production, in fixed capital and in labour have led in concrete terms to periods of deindustrialisation and plant closures in North America, Europe, Asia and in industrialised countries across the globe. The geographical relocation of industries to places with cheaper inputs (absorbing surpluses of capital and labour) can be understood as an example of a spatio-temporal fix, but so too can efforts to regenerate old industrial areas with new development centred around services, real estate and finance.

Following Harvey's logic of uneven geographical development, Smith (1984) argues that 'uneven development is the systematic geographical expression of the contradictions inherent in the very constitution and structure of capital'. He is interested in how the geographical configuration of the landscape contributes to the survival of capitalism, how the logic of oppositional tendencies within capitalism shape and produce space, and how development and underdevelopment are manifested through different 'spatial scales' (ie. global, national, local). He argues that there is no well-developed theoretical framework for understanding the complex geography of capitalism, and that most analysis tends to be only at the global level. Understanding the 'complex geography of capitalism' operating within different spatial scales is one of the tasks of this doctoral research.

Finally, one of the themes within critical geography that is relevant for this research has to do with the relationship between capitalism and nature, and particularly the ways in which nature is valued within production (Engels 1954; Foster 2000; Harvey 1996; O'Connor 1994; Smith 1984; Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003; Wilson 1991). Social and economic progress has frequently been set at odds with environmental protection, in both 'socialist' and 'capitalist' accounts, and this has to do with a modernist view of industrialisation as the primary vehicle for social and economic growth. One of the aims in addressing this literature is to interrogate the various processes behind such conflict. This theme is particularly relevant to the Niagara Falls case in relation to the health and environmental impacts of toxic capitalist industries.

The political economy literature serves as an important theoretical starting point for investigating the broader themes which connect the case studies, particularly when it comes to understanding the uneven and contradictory ways in which capitalism produces and reproduces landscapes. However, there are limitations with the political

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economy approach. Firstly, the 'logic' of capitalism is represented as somewhat formulaic and uniform: not one of my case studies adhered to this logic precisely. Secondly, the lives and realities of people involved in these broader economic processes of 'creative destruction' are often overlooked or underemphasised in such analyses. Finally, post-socialist old industrial landscapes have similar features to capitalist old industrial landscapes, despite the different histories and contexts of industrialisation. This leads to the consideration of a more sociological critical approach to a study of abandoned industrial sites, the sociology of ruins and waste.

2.1.3 Ruins and Waste

Any study of the 'neglected' and 'discarded' poses questions about the type of society in which we live. Rubbish, garbage, trash, decay, disuse, ruins, abandonment, excess and superfluity: these materials, concepts and spaces can serve as archaeological sites for the examination of cultural and economic processes. Ruins and waste are physically produced through the historical and geographical expansion of capitalism, linked to its patterns of consumption and over-production and to overarching themes of progress and modernity. At the same time, ruins and waste are socially produced concepts and thus they are subject to different interpretations. The related concepts together provide a useful lens to interrogate disused industrial spaces in the context of the uneven geography of capitalism in the present era. As subjects of inquiry, ruins and waste embody a dialectical connection between culture and the economy, between the old and the new, and between the past and the present.

Waste and rubbish theories

Vance Packard (1960) was one of the first authors to study waste in the context of twentieth century capitalism and its problems of over-production. He introduced the concepts of 'planned obsolescence' and the 'throwaway society' subsequently taken up by other authors (Jackle and Wilson 1992; Lucas 2002; Strasser 1999). Thompson (1979) is credited with developing a theory of rubbish, which argues that rubbish is socially and culturally defined. Waste has been described as something that is both cultural and economic, part of the process of the 'creation and destruction of value': a phrase which appears in the title of both Thompson's work and the edited collection by Hawkins and Muecke (2003a) on 'culture and waste'. The tension between culture and

economy relates to the fact that waste is both physically a product of economic processes and a socially and culturally constructed concept.

One of the key points of contestation within the literature is the degree of inevitability of waste in society. Thompson (1979: 11) remarks that to deny the importance of waste in society is to make 'puritanical moral judgements' and dismisses the positions of both ecologists and economists for their reduction of the world to either 'connectedness' or 'scarcity'. Hawkins and Muecke (2003b: xv) argue that waste can indeed have an ethical force in the sense of how it is created, treated and defined, yet it is nonetheless inevitable. Other scholars connect the production and social construction of waste explicitly to the capitalist 'throwaway society'. Jackle and Wilson (1992: xvi) argue that there is a distinct 'human intentionality' and 'frontier mentality' which celebrates the eternally new at the expense of the perfectly good old. This mentality has impacted the course of urban dereliction in the United States. Strasser (1999: 15) argues that trash and waste fuelled economic growth in the twentieth century as the product of patterns of excessive consumption and the planned obsolescence of commodities such as automobiles and refrigerators.

Nielson's (2002: 56) discussion of superfluous landscapes frames excess as a 'structural inevitability' occurring within capitalism. These landscapes 'can be seen as something that has been excluded from the primary, ideal and wanted world, and then later has returned as a sort of obtrusive matter impossible to reject or plan away' (2002: 54). To develop this concept of excess, Neilson invokes the French writer and philosopher Georges Bataille's (1867-1962) idea of *heterology*: 'a way of seeing things that was based in the idea that all systems excrete something, that homogenization has its limits, and that the world has to be understood as having both high and low parts' (2002: 55). This analysis is extended to the notion of humankind's creation coming back to haunt it like Frankenstein's monster.

The sociology of waste is connected with urban and industrial archaeology. Perhaps the most important contribution of archaeology as a method of inquiry into the subjects of ruins and waste is the very fact that it points to them as valid sites for research and inquiry. There are two streams in the archaeological literature: one is concerned primarily with preservation, conservation and recording and categorizing for posterity, while the other points towards a concern with unpacking layers of social, cultural and historical meanings within sites. Two examples of this latter approach are

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Rubbish! The Archaeology of Garbage (Rathje and Murphy 2001), which relays the history of the University of Arizona Garbage Project, a twenty-year project that spanned 28,000 pounds of modern garbage excavations, and *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past* (Buchli and Lucas 2001), which highlights the value in the anthropological study of modern day rubbish and spans a number of modern archaeological sites to uncover patterns of consumerism, political and social change, and residue left in places impacted by war or economic abandonment.

Ruins

Ruins are a particular manifestation of 'waste'; they are wasted places or spaces. However, the use of the term 'ruins' has quite a different meaning than 'waste'; unlike 'waste' it does not have a solely negative connotation. The concept of 'ruins' implies sad beauty, majesty, glorious memory, tragedy, loss and historical import. According to Jackle and Wilson (1992), ruins reflect 'pastness', romance and nostalgia, while at the same time representing risk, commodification and neglect:

> Ruins are rendered by humans through neglect, carelessness, and overt assault. Usually concealed behind such actions is the hidden hand of the accumulation imperative. Buildings are fundamentally fixed capital assets that store wealth... Buildings that generate profit will be maintained. Those that do not will not be maintained [...] This investment-disinvestment continuum takes places in the context of uneven development. Some landscapes move toward decay while others move toward revival and resurgence. (1992: 19)

The authors hit upon a crucial point about the spatially uneven 'violence' of capitalism in the management and treatment of ruins; certain buildings are maintained and even prolonged, whereas others are left abandoned. This has more to do with patterns of capitalist accumulation and expansion than it does with any 'natural' life-cycle of a building.

Benjamin wrote explicitly of the 'ruins of the bourgeoisie' as the necessary but unfortunate outcome of the progress of history, modernity and capitalism in his fragments of literary montage:

> Balzac was the first to speak of the ruins of the bourgeoisie.... The development of the forces of production shattered the wish symbols of the previous century, even before the monuments representing them had collapsed...With the destabilizing of the market economy, we begin to recognize the monuments of the bourgeoisie as ruins even before they have crumbled. (2000: 13)

One of the most frequently cited quotes of Benjamin in this context is his description of the 'Angelus Novus', the Angel of History. The passage is powerful both as a social and economic understanding of history and as a poetic metaphor:

> A Klee painting named 'Angelus Novus' shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned toward the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. The storm is what we call progress. (1999: 249)

The passage demonstrates a tension between past and present, in which the beauty of the past is destroyed in the wake of history and 'progress'. Stewart (1996: 91) interprets the passage as history standing before people as a pile of refuse that is simultaneously a site of a dream of redemption. McCracken (2002) argues in a similar vein that Benjamin was concerned to finish Marx's 'old work': that is, to rescue history's displaced and discarded objects of material everyday life, with the dialectical notion that hope for the future is present in the past.

The ravaging of the old in order to make way for the new is indeed an economic tenet of capitalism and its propensity to 'waste spaces'. This is acknowledged by proponents and critics of capitalism alike. For example, the process of necessary waste is described famously by Schumpeter in his concept of 'creative destruction':

> The opening up of new markets, foreign or domestic, and the organizational development from the craft shop and factory to such concerns as U.S. Steel illustrate the same process of industrial mutation–if I may use that biological term–that incessantly revolutionizes the economic structure *from within*, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one. This process of Creative Destruction is the essential fact about capitalism. It is what capitalism consists in and what every capitalist concern has got to live in. (1965: 83)

This process is akin to David Harvey's notion of the 'spatial fix'(1999), whereby the geographical expansion of capital absorbs surpluses of capital via a combination of spatial displacements (through opening new markets elsewhere) and temporal displacements (through investment in social expenditures such as education and

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research). The framing of ruins as 'wasted places', as the places which have been left behind by an uneven geography of capitalist development, is particularly relevant in the context of industrial ruins. Industrial ruins are produced by capital abandonment of sites of industrial production; they can be 'read' as the footprint of capitalism, the sites which are no longer profitable, which no longer have use-value. Many scholars have studied landscapes of industrial decline within the context of uneven development (cf. Appadurai 1986; Augé and Howe 1995; Barr 1969; Berman 1983; Cowie and Heathcott 2003; Harvey 2000; Jackle and Wilson 1992; Kunstler 1993; Nielsen 2002; Stewart 1996; Van der Hoorn 2003; Wright 1991; Zukin 1991). However, the subject of industrial ruins as material sites has primarily been studied in the context of aesthetics, photography and culture.

2.1.4 Industrial Ruins

Aesthetic approaches

A growing body of literature since the late 1990s focuses on the physical and visual dimensions of urban decay, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom. These accounts simultaneously mourn and celebrate the landscape of industrial ruins, on the one hand as 'sad beauty' and on the other hand as the genuine cultural ruins of 'great' civilizations. They range from photo-journalistic studies of industrial ruins to dereliction tourism (also known as urban exploration), represented by a number of web sites devoted to virtual tours of derelict buildings and sites across the globe. Photo-journalistic examples include Camilo Vergara's *American Ruins* (1999) and Maxwell MacKenzie's *American Ruins: Ghosts on the Landscape* (2001), photographic books of abandoned American buildings intermixed with poetic social commentary.

Some examples of dereliction tourism include Paul Talling's 'Derelict London' website devoted to derelict spaces in London with over eight hundred photographs including disused railway lines, cemeteries, shops, pubs, waterways and public toilets, amongst other subjects (www.derelictlondon.com), and Lowell Boileau's 'Fabulous Ruins of Detroit' web page which displays photos of decrepit buildings as evidence of the glorious past of the American industrial age, meant to parallel the great ruins of Europe, Africa and Asia (www.detroityes.com). A Russian example is the website

'Abandoned' which features 457 photographs of abandoned plants, unfinished factories and old industrial sites, organised around 'trips' to sites and compiled by a photographer with 'a liking for any rusty metal constructions, cement blocks and for the silence of the wind which walks through this' (www.abandoned.ru).

Tim Edensor's book *Industrial Ruins* (2005b) and 'British Ruins' website (www.staffs.ac.uk/schools/humanities_and_soc_sciences/te1) examine contemporary uses and meanings of twentieth century British industrial ruins, and critique the dominant notion that industrial ruins are simply 'wasted' spaces. He provides an interesting analysis and description of the 'contemporary uses of industrial ruins', ranging from plundering to home-making, adventurous play, leisure and art space. He also notes a number of modern and contemporary art forms such as film, music and photography which have been inspired by industrial ruins.

Grunenberg describes the contemporary fascination with industrial ruins as emerging from a 'post-industrial nostalgia' which focuses on 'dark urban nightscapes, abandoned parking lots, factories, warehouses and other remnants of post-industrial culture.' (1997: 176, cited in Edensor 2005b: 13). Edensor attempts to move beyond this sense of post-industrial nostalgia in his study. He does not label the locations of the photographs of ruins. He explains:

> ... I want to capture something of the sensual immanence of the experience of travelling through a ruin and my usual uncertainty about what went on within these abandoned building. The particular geographical locations of the ruins featured here are therefore not important to this endeavour, for assumptions about their embeddedness in imaginary geographies are likely to provide interference with the more generic points I wish to make. (2005b: 15-16)

Edensor is able to make observations about industrial ruins regardless of their location. My research follows his notion that industrial ruins are worthy of attention and study, and recognises that they share similar features regardless of locale. However, my own research extends this view to examine the embedded social, economic and geographical contexts of these derelict industrial spaces.

The rise of dereliction tourism and artistic interest in abandoned industrial sites is sociologically interesting in that these sites are formidable enough in their presence to capture the popular and artistic imagination. The staggering social, economic, political and geographical impacts of industrialisation spurred profound sociological and artistic

inspiration through the writings of Dickens and Engels, and the paintings of Turner and the Futurists, to name a few. It is not surprising that the impacts of deindustrialisation should spark its own sociological and artistic response. Solnit (2006: 90) writes about the relationship between art and ruins: 'An urban ruin is a place that has fallen outside the economic life of the city, and it is in some way an ideal home for the art that also falls outside the ordinary production and consumption of the city.' But what if the ruin is a reflection of the lack of economic life in the city? What if the process of ruination is incomplete? Indeed, from a sociological standpoint, the treatment of industrial decay as 'artefact' and spectacle raises critical questions: What kind of empire produces its own ruins in less than a century? How does the aestheticisation of industrial ruins – for example via Boileau's virtual web tour of the 'Fabulous Ruins of Detroit' – connect with the social and economic reproduction of industrial decay? One of the aims of this research is to address these critical questions underpinning aesthetic and cultural approaches to industrial ruins.

Memory, place identity and industrial ruins

Collective memory, a term first coined by Maurice Halbwachs in 1925 (1980), describes the shared and socially constructed memory of a group of people, as opposed to the idea that memories are individual. The notion of collective memory has since been used in studies of national and public memories of traumatic histories, such as that of the Holocaust (cf. Williams 2007), as well as more broadly in relation to complex processes of historical change (Blokland 2001; Nora 1989; Samuel 1994). Other scholars (Connerton 1989; Fentress and Wickham 1992) prefer the term 'social memory' to 'collective memory', which suggests a less homogenised, more complex interplay between the individual and the collective. The related concepts of 'place identity' and 'place attachment' have emerged as core themes in human geography, in relation to themes of mobility, community bonds, and gender relations (Cresswell 1996; Gustafson 2001; Massey 1994; McDowell 1999; Relph 1976; Tuan 1977). Place attachment has also been theorised within the environmental psychology literature (Brown, et al. 2003; Giuliani 1993; Gustafson 2001; Proshansky 1978) to refer to the relationship between self and place, in terms of attachment and socialisation, but also in relation to a notion of collective and community-based identity.

The concept of collective memory has also been taken up in criticisms of the heritage and museum industries. For example, Boyer (1994) argues that the contemporary postmodern city of collective memory is an artificial 'museum' made up of reinserted architectural fragments and traditions from the past. Lim (2000) points out that the collective memories people invest in places are often at odds with the forces of economic development, the latter of which tend to erase memories in the race to become modern. Much of the recent literature concerning the relationships between memory and place focuses on the contrast between social reconstructions of official and unofficial collective memory. The concept of collective or social memory is linked to a past that is disconnected from the present, a past that needs to be memorialized and made sense of. Nora (1989: 13) is critical of a split between true memory and historical studies of memory, whereby:

> What we call memory today is [...] not memory but already history [...] we should be aware of the difference between true memory, which has taken refuge in gestures and habits, in skills passed down by unspoken traditions, in the body's inherent self-knowledge, in unstudied reflexes and ingrained memories, and memory transformed by its passage through history, which is nearly the opposite: voluntary and deliberate, experienced as a duty, no longer spontaneous...

My own analysis of memory in relation to landscapes and legacies of industrial ruination explores a different dynamic between memory and place in old industrial areas undergoing transition: where local memories of the industrial past are 'living', yet the memories have yet to be socially reconstructed into official or unofficial collective memory.

Solnit (2006: 89) reflects on the life-affirming relationship between ruins and memory, remarking: 'Ruins become the unconscious of a city, its memory, unknown, darkness, lost lands, and in this truly bring it to life.' Much of the sociological literature on memory and industrial ruins relates to the social production of meaning and memory, both official and unofficial, and to the commodification of memory in processes of 'museumification' and in various forms of commemoration (Cowie and Heathcott 2003; Edensor 2005b; Sargin 2004; Savage 2003; Shackel and Palus 2006). Shackel and Palus (2006) emphasise the struggle between labour and capital to control the meaning of the past in their analysis of the relationship between social memory and industrial landscapes in the case of Virginius Island, part of Harpers Ferry National

Historical Park in West Virginia. Sargin (2004) explicates the contested politics of official memory-making and forgetting in Ankara, Turkey since the 1950s. Savage (2005) analyses commemorative monuments to steel in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, arguing for the poetic and symbolic superiority of a residential slag pile (the waste product from the process of making steel) as a monument to steel over officially sanctioned monuments. Edensor (2005a; 2005b) also contrasts official memory with alternative memories. He highlights the recent trends towards 'museumification' in the conversion of industrial ruins to homogenous sites of tourism and consumption, and goes on to explore 'counter-memories' and 'involuntary memories': multiple memories and forms of remembering stimulated by the 'objects, spaces and traces' embodied in ruins. Indeed, industrial ruins are deeply connected with the past and with social memory, as they are physical reminders of industrial production and decline, and of the lives that were connected to these spaces. According to Savage (2003: 237):

> The deindustrialized landscape, like a ruined battlefield that heals over, is ripe for commemoration. As the physical traces of the industrial age – the factories, the immigrant enclaves that served them, the foul air – disappear, the urge to reaffirm or celebrate the industrial past seems to grow stronger.

One is left with two questions: what happens to memory when the ruined battlefield hasn't healed over? What happens when the physical traces of the industrial age linger?

Arts and culture-led redevelopment

Finally, the nexus of culture and economy in contemporary understandings of industrial ruins has come together in recent years with the growing trend towards economic redevelopment of industrial buildings. This model of arts-led regeneration can be traced to the 1980s. Manchester became a centre of urban regeneration in Britain in the 1980s, following the model of arts-led regeneration exemplified by the processes of gentrification and urban redevelopment in SoHo in Manhattan (Zukin 1982). According to O'Connor (1998: 229), this model of urban regeneration 'was based on a conscious and explicit shift of the economic base from manufacturing to service industries, symbolised by the redrawing of the old historical industrial areas in terms of leisure and consumption.'

More recently, many old industrial cities have taken on board the 'creative cities' approach (Florida 2005; Landry and Bianchini 1995) as a strategy for urban

renewal. Landry's *The Creative City* (2000) gives examples of how cities around the world have undertaken urban renewal in creative ways, for instance through singing competitions in housing estates in Shanghai, and through pedestrianisation in the city centre of Groningen, the Netherlands. However, with the increasing number of 'creative cities'[4], this means that creative cities are also competitive cities (Doel and Hubbard 2002; Hall and Hubbard 1998; Kearns and Philo 1993; O'Connor 1998; Ward 2003), each city vying to become exemplars in arts and culture-led regeneration. Ironically, many cities copy 'creativity' models, for example through the fashionable conversion of old industrial buildings into museums, music studios, art galleries or artists' lofts. This trend for arts and culture-led regeneration is problematic, particularly in the context of competitive cities: not all cities can be 'winners' in this model. It has offered strategies for regeneration and redevelopment in certain cases, but as the case studies in this thesis demonstrate, it is not a viable option for every old industrial city within the context of an uneven geography of capital development. As Hall (1985: 14) argues, structural barriers to social and economic change often prevent new industries from locating in old industrial cities:

> ... new industry is likely to be found in regions and in areas quite different from the old. Indeed, the image of the old industrial city – committed to dying industries produced by traditional methods with an ageing workforce resistant to change, with a depressing physical environment that is unattractive to mobile workers, and perhaps lacking the necessary research expertise in the new technologies – is just about as repellent to the new industries as could be imagined. The new industry, then, will seek positively to avoid such places.

2.1.5 Bridging Dichotomies

In contrast to current literatures, my research seeks to examine social, political and economic processes not only through looking at processes themselves but also through the study of physical landscapes as the material expression of these processes. Much of the correlation between processes and the artefacts produced through these processes has been suggested or implied in the existing literature rather than explored through extended context-specific research. My research aims to interrogate the complex relationships between form and process through an analysis of how

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[4] This concept is particularly popular in the Netherlands, Poland and the UK, with numerous cities staking claims to being 'creative cities'.

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socioeconomic processes are legible in the ruination they leave behind, and in the relationships people have with forms and processes of ruination. Harvey (2003a: 230) comments on the dialectical relationship between form and process in the following statement:

> It is important to consider the relationship between the urbanizing process and this thing called the city. Now, from a dialectical standpoint, the relationship between process and thing becomes complicated because things, once constituted, have the habit of affecting the very processes which constituted them. The ways that particular 'thing-like structures'... precipitate out of fluid social processes and the fixed forms these things then assume have a powerful influence upon the way that social processes can operate. Moreover, different fixed forms have been precipitated out at different historical moments and assume qualities reflective of social processes at work in particular times and places.

Harvey's pivotal reflections about urban form and process are reflected in both Soja's (1989) concept of a 'socio-spatial dialectic', the idea that the social and the spatial are inextricably linked and mutually shape one another, and in Lefebvre's (1991: 73) related concept of 'social space', which 'is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity— their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder.' My analysis will focus on form and process, and the social and the spatial together. That is, I will focus on form (disused industrial sites; the built environment, socioeconomic structures) and process (socioeconomic change; people's relationships with sites; memories and perceptions), as connected and overlapping.

My research will also address gaps between culture and economy. Zukin (1991) represents one author who incorporates both culture and economy in her analysis of post-industrial landscapes. Zukin posits that place is 'sharply divided between landscapes of consumption and devastation' (1991: 5), and that landscape is the cultural and aesthetic product of institutions of power, class and social reproduction. She locates the difficulties of social and spatial restructuring in the basic problem of an imbalance between investment and employment because 'capital moves, community doesn't' (1991: 15). Furthermore, 'deindustrialisation and gentrification are two sides of the same process of landscape formation: a distancing from basic production spaces and a movement towards spaces of consumption' (269). Liminal spaces, culturally mediated 'no-man's-lands', are created in these socio-spatial shifts. My research seeks to explore

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the features and manifestations of these liminal spaces, industrial landscapes characterised by devastation and abandonment. I am less concerned with landscapes of consumption in this thesis, and I follow Schumpeter's analytical framework of the more classic division between creation and destruction, whereby 'creation' may take the form of production or consumption within the global division of labour. The gaps and intersections between dichotomies within the existing literatures: between form and process, social and spatial, culture and economy, provide a useful starting point for developing a new theoretical framework for understanding landscapes and legacies of industrial ruination.

2.2 Industrial Ruination as Lived Process

This research has provided two related insights about industrial ruination that depart from existing literatures on deindustrialisation, political economy, the sociology of waste, and industrial ruins: 1) industrial ruins are not simply forms, but rather they are embedded within processes of ruination, and 2) industrial ruination as form and process is experienced and 'lived' by people. These are relatively simply observations about industrial ruination, and on one level, they seem more like common sense than analytical categories. Nonetheless, if both process and lived experience are taken seriously in a theoretical and empirical analysis of industrial ruins/ruination, then they present important challenges and modifications to existing theory on the subject. This section will outline how conceptualising industrial ruination as a lived process has important implications for the literatures, draw on further theories to explore 'lived process' and to confront the dilemmas of proximity and distance as 'ways of seeing' in social and spatial research.

Each spatio-temporal moment of industrial ruination is situated somewhere along a continuum between creation and destruction, fixity and motion, expansion and contraction. Over time, landscapes of industrial ruination will become landscapes of regeneration, reuse, demolition or abandonment all over again. Framed as process (ruination) embedded within process (and uneven capitalist development), what then is the relationship between industrial ruination and the literatures on ruins, waste and political economy? Does this research suggest that landscapes of industrial ruination be interpreted as 'wasted spaces', as 'landscapes of devastation'? Benjamin's Angelus Novus (1999) captures the liminal moment of the socio-spatial shift and the force of

inevitability implicit in the making of waste. I argue that landscapes of industrial ruination occupy the 'liminal' space or 'no-man's-land' of what Zukin (1991: 269) refers to as a 'socio-spatial shift' between landscapes of devastation and landscapes of consumption. Thus, in my research, the landscapes of industrial ruination did not represent 'wasted spaces' or 'landscapes of devastation' entirely: rather, they were situated within dynamic processes of change and contingencies, than the broad theories of political economy might suggest.

Theories of political economy are important for drawing connections between local landscapes and the wider socioeconomic processes of change affecting numerous places around the world. However, field research showed that the distinctiveness and complexity of landscapes and legacies of ruination could not sufficiently be described by the tools of political economy alone. There were many tensions, contradictions and contingencies within the lived experiences of people who have experienced processes of industrial ruination, and the role of capital in shaping uneven geographies did not conform to a clear pattern of capital flight, massive job losses, and burdened communities: the role of the state, of communities, of different generations, ethnic groups, and the distinctiveness of particular industries, and socio-political geographies, revealed a complex picture of socioeconomic change that only fit into the geography of winners and losers, of consumption and devastation, in broad brush strokes.

The 'lived process' approach to analysis of landscapes and legacies of industrial ruination extends into different literatures related to how people experience place (Cresswell 1996; de Certeau 1984; Hayden 1995; Massey 1994; Tuan 1977). Different authors quibble about whether 'space' or 'place' is the more 'lived' and 'practiced' concept. For example, Cresswell (2004: 10) argues that space is more abstract, while places are invested with human life and meanings, but de Certeau (1984: 117) argues the opposite: 'Space is a practiced place.' In her critique of the simplistic division between places as 'fixed' and the global economy as 'fluid', Massey (1994) argues that 'places are processes too'. Throughout the empirical studies, I will draw upon various theoretical understandings of place identity, place memory and place experiences. My approach departs from phenemenologically-inspired approaches (egs. de Certeau 1984; Ingold 2000; Merleau-Ponty and Smith 1989) that highlight the importance of everyday practice in lived experience, through my focus on how social and economic

processes shape experiences, as much as how these experiences are enacted in daily life; and how these processes are 'legible' through landscapes and legacies.

My research of industrial ruination as lived process also brought me towards a criticism of aesthetic and cultural studies of industrial ruins. The social impacts of living in and amongst industrial ruins and difficult processes of industrial decline are a very important aspect of landscapes of industrial ruination. Sontag's (1979) criticism of 'moralist' photography is relevant here. She argues that moralist photographers are attracted to tragedies, wars, social deprivation, and exploited subjects, but although they may aim to present the 'truth' through capturing these subjects, an underlying voyeurism and emotional distance is at play:

> Protected middle-class inhabitants of the more affluent corners of the world – those regions where most photographs are taken and consumed – learn about the world's horrors mainly through the camera: photographs can and do distress. But the aestheticizing tendency of photography is such that the medium which conveys distress ends by neutralizing it. Cameras miniaturize experiences, transform history into spectacle. As much as they create sympathy, photographs cut sympathy, distance the emotions. (1979: 109-110).

The 'aestheticizing tendency' is precisely the criticism that I have of aesthetic and cultural studies of industrial ruins, which, although they may draw attention to social deprivation amidst the strange beauty of decay, they nonetheless put it at a distance.

The cultural historian Raymond Williams (1985) makes a similar argument about 'landscape'. He argues that 'the very idea of landscape implies separation and observation' (1985: 126); in other words, as Cresswell summarises, 'far from being about tactility or proximity, landscapes set us at a distance' (2004: 3). The concepts of distance and proximity are worth reflecting on in relation to the dilemma of insider and outsider, observer and observer, of 'post-industrial' landscapes. They are also worth reflecting on more widely, in relation to sociological research. Bourdieu (1977) has raised similar issues as Sontag and Williams in the field of social sciences, highlighting the anthropologist's dilemma that the distance of impartial observation makes him/her 'condemned to see all practice as a spectacle' (p. 1).

Distance and proximity have widely been theorised in sociological writings on the city. Lefebvre (2003: 117) writes of proximity as central to creation and production in the city: 'Nothing exists without exchange, without union, without proximity, that is, without relationships.' He associates distance with tension and violence in the city:

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'(Social) relationships continue to deteriorate based on the distance, time, and space that separate institutions and groups. They are revealed in the (virtual) negation of that distance. This is the source of the latest violence inherent in the urban...' (2003: 118) Another view which seems to privilege proximity over distance is that of de Certeau (1998), who criticises a top-down, bird's-eye view of the city and instead advocates a way of experiencing and being in the city that embraces the commonplace and the everyday. By contrast, Benjamin's 'flaneur' (2000), a term borrowed from Baudelaire, is a detached urban observer who strolls through the streets of a city, one who is keenly perceptive yet uninvolved, close yet far away. Benjamin's flaneur seems to engage with aspects of both distance and proximity: detachment and propinquity. Finally, Simmel (1997) also writes about the effect of spatial conditions upon forms of social, psychological and physical distance. He argues that increases in physical proximity between individuals, particularly through concentration of people in cities, can lead to overstimulation. As a reaction to being too close to other people, people in cities learn to adopt a 'blasé metropolitan attitude' which is more detached and socially distant.

In my research, despite cognizance of the objectifying gaze of the 'outsider' in landscapes of industrial ruination, I was also unable to avoid the conflict between distance and proximity. There were continual tensions between distance and proximity within my field research, both in terms of methodology, as an interviewer informed by ethnographic methods but not fully immersed in participant observation, and in terms of a 'way of seeing' (Berger 1972). My aim was to engage with lived experience and practice, but to some extent it was difficult to avoid turning it into spectacle through my photographs, my quotes from interviewees, and my relatively short periods in the field. Nonetheless, I was able to draw some themes across the case studies which spoke to 'industrial ruination as lived process', and to reconcile at least some of the tensions and divisions within the existing literatures on industrial ruins and processes of deindustrialisation and capitalist development. The link between theory and methodology identified through this discussion of distance and proximity provides an appropriate segue into the next chapter.

3 Methodology: Case Studies and Fieldwork

This chapter outlines the methodology of the study: the logic of comparison between the case studies; how my methodology gradually developed towards a more ethnographic approach throughout the course of my research; the relationship between methodological approach and findings; and what has been learned by taking this approach. This chapter also outlines some case-specific issues encountered in undertaking field research, which included: finding industrial ruins amongst the 'regeneration' in Newcastle-upon-Tyne; linguistic and cultural barriers and problems of access in Ivanovo; and challenges of cross-border research in Niagara Falls. Time and resource constraints, problems with access to informants, and difficulty in the selection of the most relevant sites and interviewees were common challenges that emerged across the case studies. To conclude, this chapter highlights some of the limitations in the depth and scope of my research, and outlines the analytical framework of the empirical case study chapters.

3.1 Case Study Method

This research is based on a multiple-site case study methodology which involves the use of mixed qualitative methods, including semi-structured interviews, site and ethnographic observations, and analysis of various documents, maps and photographs. In the history of social scientific research, the case study has often been called into question as a valid research methodology, with concerns that it lacks rigour, has little basis for scientific generalisation, and takes too long. In the analysis that follows I want to challenge these criticisms by demonstrating that the case study method is particularly useful in certain research contexts, that it involves rigour through processes of triangulation, and that with case study research, generalisation is possible in the theoretical rather than statistical sense.

According to Yin (1994), the case study method is advantageous when a 'how' question is asked of a contemporary versus historical phenomenon, in a situation in which the researcher has little control, and when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. In other words, case studies are useful for examining the complexities of contemporary real-life situations and processes. The

case study relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data converging through triangulation of the various sources. Common techniques in case study research include study of documents, artefacts, interviews and observations. Yin argues that case studies should not so much aim to generalise in the statistical sense, based on sampling, but rather in an analytical or theoretical sense. He provides three rationales for the use of single case studies: firstly, the 'critical' case which tests a theory; secondly, the extreme or unique case; and thirdly, the revelatory case which explores a novel subject of research (1994: 38-40).

While Yin does not differentiate fundamentally between single and multiple case studies, he notes that the rationale for selecting multiple cases is necessarily different. Given the greater amount of resources, time and effort involved in multiple case studies, there must be a compelling reason to choose more than a single case study for analysis. The logic is that of 'replication', either literal, in which similar results are predicted, or theoretical, in which contrasting results are predicted but for particular reasons (Yin 1994: 46). Other scholars such as Ragin (1987) provide a theoretical rationale for comparative case study research based on the idea of comparative methodology as a substitute for the experimental techniques of the natural sciences. My rationale for case study selection follows Yin in that the study focuses on 'how' questions about contemporary events with an interest in understanding complex social phenomena in their real-life context, using multiple sources of evidence.

The case study is useful as a research design involving multiple techniques for data collection in order to understand social, spatial and temporal phenomena. For my research, the rationale for selection of sites was not comparative, at least not in the 'comparative methodology' sense related to the scientific method of experimentation. A more accurate way of describing my selection of case studies is 'paradigmatic', a term Flyvbjerg (2001: 79) applies to describe a case study used 'to develop a metaphor or establish a school for the domain which the case concerns'. The name is derived from Thomas Kuhn's theory of paradigm shifts within scientific thought. Paradigmatic cases 'highlight the more general characteristics of the societies in question' (Flyvbjerg 2001: 80). Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Ivanovo and Niagara Falls represent 'paradigmatic cases' or 'exemplars' of deindustrialised regions in different national, social and spatial contexts.

One of the central aims of my research was to examine how different case studies are illustrative of wider processes and how they are locally specific and context-

dependent. My research, although empirical, was theoretically driven, and for this reason, I selected three case studies rather than two. In the case studies, I expected to find a combination of Yin's types of replication, literal in the general sense and theoretical in the specific sense. In the most general sense I expected to find literal replication. That is, since each case was exemplary of a traditional industrial area which had experienced significant deindustrialisation, the cases would share certain social, economic, environmental and cultural experiences related to that process. At the same time, I expected that there would be differences between the cases, given the particularities of geography, history, politics, economics and social relations. These expectations or hypotheses proved more or less to be true, although I was more interested in drawing out and exploring locally specific and cross-cutting themes of the landscapes and legacies of ruination than in proving a hypothesis.

3.2 The Logic of Comparison

This section will outline the logic of comparison between the case studies, explaining why the each of the three cases were chosen in turn, what they do as a threesome, and how each one adds something distinctive in conceptual terms to this research. I briefly outlined the rationale for case study selection in chapter one as a set of six criteria for comparison based on representative qualities and difference.[5] The three cities and specific city areas have all been under-studied in the deindustrialisation literature (but see for example: Hang and Salvo 1981; Hudson 2001; Madanipour and Bevan 1999; Richardson, et al. 2000; Shields 1991; Treivish 2004). Thus, my thesis contributes to specific knowledge about the social and economic geography and particularities of each case study in this context. By working comparatively, this research also contributes to a wider theoretical discussion on how specific old industrial areas are connected to wider processes of social and economic change. Each of the cities that I selected was associated with a different iconic heavy industry: shipbuilding in Newcastle, textiles in Ivanovo, and chemicals in Niagara Falls. Each case represented a different phase of deindustrialisation: Ivanovo represented an early phase; Niagara Falls

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[5] These include: 1) representative of an old industrial area which had experienced significant deindustrialisation; 2) representative of a different type of manufacturing-based industry; 3) located in a different national context; 4) at a different stage of deindustrialisation; 5) located within a medium-sized conurbation; and 6) not as widely researched as other 'exemplars' of industrial decline.

represented a deep and prolonged phase; and Newcastle represented a phase of impending regeneration. These three case studies provided scope to interrogate socioeconomic processes across different spatial scales. At the same time, the focus upon old industrial sites rather than the cities per se provided a means of grounding the research aims and methods. The North American Rust Belt and Northern England were appropriate choices because both represented classic areas of industrial decline. The third case served to counterbalance the Anglo-American focus of (English language) academic literature on deindustrialisation, and it is situated in what one might call a rising star in the literature on deindustrialisation: post-socialist Russia. The scale of industrial ruination in Russia is vast and much of its post-industrial geography undocumented, although this (documentation as well as geography) is rapidly changing.

Walker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

My first case study selection was in the East End of Newcastle, focused particularly on Walker Riverside in the Warder ward. It took me some time to select Newcastle as my UK case study, and I spent several months in preparation not only reading the literature on different UK cities, but also taking train journeys to various cities in the UK which I had short-listed as potential cases: Liverpool, Manchester, Stoke-on-Trent, Sheffield, Leeds and Glasgow were amongst the contenders. I chose Newcastle in part because some of its industrial ruins remained untouched by regeneration. Walker Riverside in particular was selected because the area had not yet been regenerated, but it was about to undergo a process of city-led regeneration, and this particular phase provided a significant and dynamic spatio-temporal moment to explore the myriad impacts of socioeconomic change. Another reason I chose Newcastle was because there was a relative lack of research in the wider deindustrialisation literature regarding Newcastle-upon-Tyne as compared with other Northern industrial cities in the United Kingdom. Finally, my participation in the Regional Studies Association workshop series, 'Old Industrial Knowledges', which took place in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK, 2005; the Tri-City of Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot, Poland, 2006; and Enschede, the Netherlands, 2007, was an inspiration for the selection of Newcastle-upon-Tyne as a case study and later in considering the post-socialist context.

This case offers distinctive conceptual insights in understanding social impacts of protracted, government-regulated processes of change, as opposed to processes of

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unmitigated capitalist abandonment and redevelopment. To employ an analogy with the terms of post-socialist transition, this approach resembled 'gradualism' rather than 'shock therapy' (Dehejia 1997; Grindea 1997; Stephan 1999). One of the criticisms of 'shock therapy' with post-socialist transition was the lack of new institutions to replace the old institutions which had been dismantled overnight. However, in this case of 'post-industrial' transformation, despite the long process, there is also a lack of anything to replace the industry which left. The proposed regeneration of Walker hinges entirely on property-led development rather than local employment strategies. Even at the level of the city of Newcastle and the North East region as a well, there was a notable lack of a substantive 'post-industrial' economic engine to replace industry.

Ivanovo

I selected Ivanovo as a case study because the post-socialist context seemed like a powerful counterpoint to the Anglo-American context of my other case studies. The post-socialist context provided a good way of testing the insights of political economy: how would a newly capitalist geography compare with older capitalist geographies? Would the analysis of an uneven geography and of creative destruction still hold? By all accounts in the literature, Ivanovo was an iconic example of a city of industrial ruins. The case of Ivanovo was described as a classic case of industrial decline in the *Shrinking Cities* Ivanovo Working Paper, which formed part of a collaborative international study of 'shrinking cities' around the world including Detroit, Halle, Liverpool, Manchester and Ivanovo (Oswalt, et al. 2002-2005). I was particularly struck by a description of Ivanovo in the 'Way to Russia' online travel guide, which was written by a team of Russians to encourage tourism in Russia:

> Ivanovo is a grey and gloomy city, with relics of the Soviet times on every step. It'll be enough to pass it through by bus going between Vladimir and Kostroma, just keep your eyes wide open: the central noisy and dirty street with grey residential buildings and a big red church in the middle of all the mess; the faded impressive mosaics to glory [sic] the Soviet heroes, left here from the 70s; a dirty and noisy bus station with an old man playing accordion to cheer his fellow babushkas. (www.waytorussia.net/GoldenRing/Ivanovo/Guide.html)

Ivanovo was also selected because of its place identity as the 'Russian Manchester': this comparative epithet seemed to beg comparison with deindustrialised Britain. Unlike in the other two case studies, I chose to focus on textile factories that were scattered

throughout the city as a whole. This was because textiles were the defining industry for the city, both historically and in the present day, and because the landscape of industrial ruination in the city was extensive and pervasive, embedded within the cityscape, rather than clustered in particular areas or neighbourhoods.

Ivanovo offers distinctive conceptual insights as a case study, partly in the ways I anticipated, as a post-socialist city and as an exemplar of industrial ruination, but also in unexpected ways. For example, pragmatism and functionalism emerged as themes about the ways in which people related to spaces of ruination, and how they lived and worked within a city characterised by significant industrial decline and limited urban renewal. The more surprising and revealing distinctive insights came through in the tenacity of the textile and Soviet identity of the city, to the extent that people had revived sections of the textile industry and continued to work in numerous, partially-abandoned, partially working sites.

Niagara Falls

I selected Niagara Falls because it is situated within the Rust Belt of North America and thus part of that classic tale of deindustrialisation, yet because of the other identities of the city – as a tourist attraction, natural wonder, casino city, and honeymoon destination – that identity has been submerged. Niagara Falls offered insights as an international border city; perspectives and landscapes from both the Canadian and American sides revealed different contexts and narratives despite several common themes. In some respects, Niagara Falls proved my 'easiest' case. It was my third case, so I could build on the experience gained by doing field research in two previous cases which were nationally and geographically unfamiliar to me. After all, North America is my 'home turf'. Driving through cities and highways along the North American Rust Belt had been my original inspiration for this thesis topic. At the same time, I did not have local knowledge of Niagara Falls on either side of the border, apart from visits as a tourist. I selected Niagara Falls as a case study based on my memory of the place, with the contrast between Niagara Falls in the public imagination as a tourist destination and its underlying 'Rust Belt' story.

Although I recognised that a cross-border study of industrial ruination in Niagara Falls would present analytical and methodological challenges (see further section on case study-specific challenges in fieldwork), for theoretical and empirical reasons, I chose to focus on both. Because of the gap in literature on the Canadian side of the

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border, I was interested in following up on one (or more) sites in Canada. However, due to the prevalence of abandoned industrial sites on the American side, I also wanted to investigate one (or more) sites in the US. I decided to focus on the chemical industries for three main reasons: 1) chemical industries were the most economically significant industry in Niagara Falls in the mid-twentieth century; 2) chemical industries became symbolic of industrial decline and pollution in Niagara Falls and the United States as a whole, almost singularly through the case of Love Canal and; 3) chemical industries probably had the greatest social, economic and environmental impact on the city, and that broad impact remains largely unexplored in research today. After examining local library archives, and after talking with residents and city officials in both cities, I selected the sites of the former chemical factory Cyanamid, once the larger manufacturer in Niagara Falls, Ontario, and the Highland brownfield, a predominantly African-American residential area in Niagara Falls, New York, encompassing four abandoned chemical factories.

Landscapes and legacies of industrial ruination in Niagara Falls offered distinctive conceptual insights into the legacies of toxic contamination, as combined with the socioeconomic and cultural legacies of industrial decline, such as job losses, depopulation, and dilapidation of housing, shops and social services. The twin legacies of toxic pollution and severe industrial decline brought about a theme of ambivalence and contradictory feelings in relation to the legacies of industrial ruination. Issues of social exclusion relating to race and ethnicity also emerged much more strongly in this case than in others, particularly in the case of the segregated African-American community of Highland in Niagara Falls, New York.

The case studies as a threesome

The three cases as a threesome provide insights how people cope with socioeconomic transition in different national, political, social and cultural contexts, and across relatively similar economic processes of deindustrialisation. The fact that common themes can be drawn across different industrial sectors in four different countries suggests that while places have distinctive features, similar processes and strategies of living through these processes, occur in numerous places across the globe. The case studies work well as a threesome, and they offer conceptual insights that could not be found with either a single or a double case study. This research was theoretically driven,

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with the aim of generating ways of understanding processes of ruination throughout the industrialised globe, and the third example allows for greater comparison. With three case studies, it is possible to draw a range of comparisons: themes common to all three case studies; themes common to two case studies (with three possible combinations); and themes distinctive to each one. If the study had been left with just two, the distinctive insights would have been lost: the impacts of state regulation and protracted decline; of post-socialist contexts and tenacity of old industry; and of the pernicious added dimension of toxic contamination to stories of deindustrialisation. Of course, there are innumerable other case study examples which would also offer distinctive insights. However, these three offered significant rather than random insights; they were selected with cognizance of potentially revealing local specificities. The insights drawn from comparison across the cases will be explored in the concluding chapter, although common themes will also be mentioned throughout the thesis.

3.3 Time, Space and Qualitative Analysis

My research in each case was necessarily limited to a particular segment of time and space. The subject of my study is constantly changing, and my analysis captures but one spatial-temporal segment in a much longer story. One aim of this research is to unpack what this particular slice of space and time reveals of wider social and economic processes. My research is concerned with understanding both social and spatial phenomena, viewed as interlinked in that the spatial is socially constituted and the social is also spatial (see Massey 1995; see Soja 2000). The difficulty of describing spatial and social phenomena is related to the fact that they are complex and occur across not only time and social relations but also space. As H.C. Darby (1962: 2) commented over forty years ago, 'A series of geographical facts is much more difficult to present than a sequence of historical facts. Events follow one another in time in an inherently dramatic fashion that makes juxtaposition in time easier to convey through the written word than juxtaposition in space'. Massey elaborates on the problem of 'geographical description', for 'in space you can go off in any direction and... in space things which are next to one another are not necessarily connected' (1994: 267).

The use of mixed qualitative methods and a semi-ethnographic approach to analyse these complex processes is particularly insightful in cases involving transition or change, given the fleeting nature of different moments in space and time. Buroway and

Verdery (1999a: 2-3) describe the special relevance of ethnographic approaches for understanding economic (post-socialist) transition in the following statement:

> It is precisely the sudden importance of the micro processes lodged in moments of transformation that privileges an ethnographic approach. Aggregate statistics and compendia of decrees and laws tell us little without complementary close descriptions of how people – ranging from farmers to factory workers, from traders to bureaucrats, from managers to welfare clients – are responding to the uncertainties they face. From their calculations, improvisations and decisions will emerge the elements of new structurings. Thus, even an ephemeral moment captured ethnographically will reveal something of the conflicts and alternatives thrown up by the destructuring effects of the end of state socialism.

Although my approach is not strictly ethnographic, its qualitative basis and interest in understanding a range of people's experiences resembles an ethnographic approach.

Burawoy (1998) also describes the different sociological insights which can be gained through two opposing methods, one which employs 'positivist' quantitative methods, and another which involves participant observation. He defends the method of participation observation as 'scientific' against 'positivist' claims that it is not, and then he goes on to highlight some strengths and weaknesses of both approaches. He associates quantitative methods with 'distance' and a claim to neutrality or objectivity, but he criticises this approach because: 'Constructing "detachment" and "distance" depends upon unproblematised relations of power.' (1998: 24) By contrast: 'In the positive view participant observation brings insight through proximity but at the cost of distortion. The reflexive perspective embraces participation as intervention precisely because it distorts and disturbs. A social order reveals itself in the way it responds to pressure' (Burawoy 1998: 16-17). In other words, neither approach in research methods necessarily presents an objective view. He points out that certain insights can be gained through 'distortion' in certain contexts and lost through 'detachment' in others. He also emphasises that the two methods are appropriate depending on different research aims and contexts. Burawoy's analysis is useful in considering my own research, as I borrow elements of proximity through semi-ethnographic methods, yet I retain elements of 'distance' (albeit not quantitative) through the structure of formal interviews, and with relatively short periods in the 'field'. The development in my research of a more ethnographic approach will be further discussed in relation to my fieldwork.

3.4 Methodological Preparation and Lessons in the Field: An Ethnographic Shift

The mixed qualitative case study methods of this study were developed, adopted and adapted throughout the course of my research. I selected potential case study sites on the basis of my rationale for selection during the initial stages of the research, and mapped the four key literatures which had examined the phenomena and processes which I wanted to examine. On the one hand, I wanted to test the theories of Harvey and Zukin about creative destruction and uneven geographies of capitalism, and in particular to follow Smith's (1984) invitation to examine uneven geographies of capitalist development at more varied and complex spatial scales. On the other hand, I wanted to remain open to what emerged from the data once I was in the field, loosely inspired by the approaches of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990) which argue for generating theory from data without being hindered by a set theoretical approach. However, my approach differed from grounded theory because although I remained open within the course of research to emergent data and theories, my subject of inquiry and research questions were informed through engagement with existing theories (evident in the four sets of literature). I developed two topic guides for interviewees, one for expert interviewees (government officials, company managers, academics, economic advisers, trade union leaders, etc.) and the other for local interviewees (residents, workers, ex-workers, community activists, relatives of residents and workers, etc.). Both topic guides asked questions about the changes in the past twenty to thirty years in relation to jobs, housing, education, social services; how people related to and identified with these processes and more specifically, with the sites of industrial ruination; and people's individual and collective roles within processes of change, contestation, redevelopment, or daily living.

My fieldwork consisted of qualitative field research in all three conurbations, using interviews, documentary analysis, photographic materials and site and ethnographic observations, supplemented by statistics, maps and demographic information. Each case was studied in a slightly different way, partly for practical reasons of travel options, accessibility, and time and financial constraints, and partly because different strategies made sense in the different social, political and geographical contexts. The first case study was completed between June 2005 and March 2006 through a series of field trips of two to four days in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, during which

I conducted thirty semi-structured interviews, as well as site and ethnographic observations. The more extended fieldwork period in the case of Newcastle allowed me to develop a methodology that I was then able to replicate more effectively in the latter two cases. The second case study in Ivanovo, Russia was completed between August and September 2006. I stayed in St. Petersburg for the first month, attending intensive language courses, before going to stay in Ivanovo for the month of September 2006. In Ivanovo I conducted eighteen interviews in addition to many site and ethnographic observations with the help of local translators. The third case study in Niagara Falls, USA/Canada was completed between March and April 2007, during which I completed nineteen individual interviews, several interviews with groups of three or more people, and numerous site and ethnographic observations. All interview-based research was conducted in accordance with the *British Sociological Association* guidelines and based on the freely given informed consent of research participants.

My research design was first put to test in Walker Riverside, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in June 2005. I selected a range of thirty interviewees, aiming for a diverse account of the long term social, economic, political, cultural and spatial implications of deindustrialisation in the area. The interviewees included representatives from local government, the community and voluntary sector, trade unions and local residents. The semi-structured interview material covered respondents' perspectives on social and economic change in the area, and their interactions, both physically and mentally, with the old industrial sites. I also accompanied some of the interviewees on driving and walking tours of the sites and employed some ethnographic methods in explorations of local pubs, public transit, a community centre, and a local taxi company. Most of the interviews were one-to-one, but a few included two or more people, particularly the informal interviews with local residents. I started with people in local government and trade unions, and it took me some time to 'snowball' more directly into local residents and workers in the Walker community.

Over the course of my research in Walker, I found that the most effective interviews were arranged through informal and relatively spontaneous means, such as telephoning one day in advance, introductions through another interviewee, or by casually dropping by a place of work (at the community level) without notice. My interviews with local informants proved particularly rich in narrative content, although I had difficulties in understanding some of the stronger local ('Geordie') accents. This

more informal approach to arranging interviews was followed earlier on in the research process in the other two cases, and this approach, in combination with longer periods of time in the 'field', led me to collect ethnographically richer material as my research went along. I used topic guides as a starting point for research in both Ivanovo and Niagara Falls, but I was able to adapt the guide to focus more on questions that proved particularly revealing, such as people's relationships to particularly significant places, memories and events, and more open-ended interviews where people's narratives about change flowed more organically rather than as a response to a set of specifically defined questions. For example, questions about the social impacts of deindustrialisation on employment, housing, education, and public services tended to produce somewhat 'standard' accounts of general knowledge, whereas people seemed best at talking about these issues in a less directed fashion, through coming to them within their own narratives about place and change.

As I moved through my different case studies, my work became increasingly ethnographic in focus. At first, I had been driven by my theoretical interest in political economy and the landscape of capital. I was interested in reading the landscape of capitalist development for visual clues as to processes of abandonment, socioeconomic change, and impacts on communities. Very soon, I realised that I had to expand beyond the sites themselves to understand the social geography of the landscapes. However, initially I approached interviewees with more of a fact-finding aim: a means of gathering information on broad social and economic impacts on people with relationships to old industrial sites. Although I had divided my interviewees into 'expert' and 'local' informants, I soon realised that this distinction was not always useful. For instance, many 'expert' interviewees were also local people with stories to tell. I found the following types of informants most relevant in exploring the relationships between people and old industrial sites: local residents who lived in communities adjacent to old industrial sites; present and former workers in different industries; relatives of present and former workers; community activists, local businesspeople; senior citizens; and representatives from government, community organisations and trade unions working on community and economic development issues affecting the area.

The ethnographic shift in my research happened gradually as I started to incorporate material collected outside of the context of formal interviews. At first, this occurred in the form of driving and walking tours with informants, and then through

more informal meetings with different people. A shift towards a focus on people's 'stories', and to the value of the narrative interview, occurred in the analysis of my interviews. In all three cases, I found themes which related to people's perceptions and memories of old industrial sites and the legacies of industrial decline, and I puzzled at how to reconcile this empirically interesting yet more subjective material with my focus on socioeconomic issues. At first, my 'fact-finding' approach to interviews meant that I treated this narrative material as 'excess': I knew that I had more than enough material for the scope of my thesis, and I thought I could develop this 'excess' material elsewhere. My initial research aim was to examine to what extent socioeconomic processes are 'legible' in the material 'ruins' they leave behind. But where did people fit into this analysis? I discovered that while it is possible to read landscapes of ruination in an archaeological fashion, the complex social and cultural relationships of people to those landscapes have much to say about those same socioeconomic processes. I also found, not surprisingly, given my methodological interest in 'waste', that what I initially categorised as analytical 'excess' actually offered some of the most important insights into my research topic. This re-focusing of my research aims, methods and analysis towards a more narrative and ethnographic approach led me to more of a 'form and process' and 'spatial and social' dialectic in my analytical and theoretical framework.

The research findings emerged from the data collected in the field: themes of conflicted place memory; attachment to homes and community; visions of community solidarity; nostalgia; uncertainty and stress surrounding processes of change; local contestation and partnership surrounded redevelopment; and legacies of industry particular to forms of industry (toxic chemicals, proud shipbuilding, tenacious textiles), all came through the site and ethnographic observations and through in-depth interviews. The research shifted more towards people's narratives than to analysing the stories which could be told by material landscapes; the relatively brief periods in the field curtailed more in-depth site analysis, and this was a possible limitation of this study. However, the theoretical framework of 'industrial ruination as lived process' which emerged from this research, aimed at going beyond analysis of industrial ruins as either aesthetic and cultural objects, or waste products of capitalism, captures the relationship between people and symbolic and material landscapes/places, rather than separating the spatial from the social. Thus, I would argue that spatial analysis becomes embodied too in people's narratives about space.

By taking this approach, I learned that adaptation of research method within the field is very important for developing methodological, empirical and theoretical insights. Nonetheless, having learned what I have from this doctoral research, I would approach a new study with the advantage of experience, and cognizance of the many challenges involved in research design and fieldwork. The next section highlights particular challenges which emerged during fieldwork in each case study.

3.5 Challenges in Fieldwork

Walker Riverside, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK: In Search of Ruins

One of the key challenges in the case of Newcastle was the task of locating ruins. In the other cases, this task was less difficult. This challenge in itself reveals something about the distinctiveness of Newcastle as a case study: one has to look beneath its regenerated surface in order to find material evidence of industrial decline. However, one does not need to venture very far. Once I had decided upon Newcastle as my first case study, I embarked on trips into the city for two or three days at a time to search for old industrial sites. These were not immediately visible, particularly from the vantage point of the city centre. I searched for the 'empty spaces', the sites in the area left derelict and not yet regenerated. A typical answer from local residents when I asked after old factories was: 'There are not many left. You should have come a long time ago.' I consulted various academics with economic and geographical expertise on Newcastle and the North East who confirmed that old industrial buildings were indeed becoming difficult to locate within the city boundaries. I decided to use the lens of economic development and regeneration by the Newcastle City Centre as a guide: what areas were they focusing on? They had five 'strategic sites' listed as their economic development focus, and the Walker Riverside industrial area was amongst them. The Walker Riverside Industrial area is somewhat unique for Newcastle because there was a strategic decision on the part of the City and various stakeholders to retain the industrial heritage. Walker Riverside is part of one of the most deprived wards in the North East, Walker, and one of the most deprived areas of Newcastle, the East End. It is also the site of some of the most famous shipyards in Newcastle's history, including the Neptune Yard and Swan Hunter's. Moreover, a fair amount of academic research around the

deindustrialisation processes and regeneration of Newcastle's West End has already been explored (Madanipour and Bevan 1999).

Another challenge which I encountered in doing this research had to do with conducting short visits rather than living in the city. Sometimes I arranged a train trip and found that my interviewee had cancelled, but I did not have enough time to make other arrangements. During these trips, I focused on collecting information at libraries and on exploring the Walker residential area and industrial riverside. Another methodological issue I faced was getting bogged down in the politics of the regeneration surrounding the Walker community, which related to my research question but was not central to it. I addressed this issue by tackling it head on and querying why this was the case: in fact, one of my key findings was that many local people in the Walker community relate to industrial ruins indirectly, by focusing on the 'regeneration' threatening their homes with demolition rather than on the loss of industry and on the shipyards themselves.

Ivanovo, Russia: Struggles with Access

In Ivanovo, there were two main impediments to my research: language and access. I had expected that I would have to hire local translators for my interviews, but I had also thought that many university students would speak English. However, I encountered few people in Ivanovo who spoke English, including students. Eventually, after enquiries at different university departments within the university, I was directed to the English philology department. Here I found two final year undergraduate students who were willing to work as translators for me. I was able to conduct some ethnographic observations and limited conversations in Russian, but I relied on translation of interviews for the majority of my research. I had to come up with a range of strategies to gain access to informants. I was denied access to four of the six partially-working factories which I attempted to visit with one of my informants (my Russian language instructor Nikolai, a man who had formerly worked in a textile factory and understood my research aims). He agreed to drive me to different factory sites in the city in lieu of language lessons, and he even made enquires of staff and personnel on my behalf. According to different interviewees, the main reasons for this lack of access were because 1) foreigners in Ivanovo were treated with great suspicion during Soviet years, and at the time of my fieldwork, western foreigners were rare in Ivanovo and many

attitudes from the Soviet years still lingered; 2) people didn't want to reveal the many 'problems' in their struggling textile factories; and 3) even if factory workers might have been willing to speak about their lives and their work, they were prohibited from doing so by management.

I gained access to two factories through different means, as initially I was denied access to both factories in the same way as the others: in person at the security gates, and through telephoning and re-telephoning relevant persons. At one factory, I was able to speak to the 'Veterans' Society' of retired workers who continued to meet within the factory and were active helping pensioners throughout the city. These veterans were free to speak because they no longer worked for the factory. Another factory allowed access to one of my translators because her father owned part of the factory, and my translator asked questions from my topic guide on my behalf and then translated them for me. This latter strategy was adopted as a means of collecting information that would not otherwise have been accessible to me as a foreigner. I was able to access local residents and businesspeople mainly through informal means, building on connections that I established through the people I met. It was more difficult to access people in government and policy positions. I wrote a number of emails, made telephone calls, and got my two translators and Russian instructor to make telephone calls and personal enquiries. After pursuing a number of different strategies, I finally arranged to meet with two official persons: the new assistant to the Regional Governor and an economics professor. This meeting was arranged through the joint efforts of my Russian language instructor, the Director of the Russian language program at the university, and one of my translators.

I felt under pressure to collect sufficient material for my research while I was in Ivanovo, particularly as I had given myself just over one month to complete my research, with limited possibility of returning to the city within the scope of my thesis project.[6] Although I struggled with issues of access and barriers in terms of language and cultural understanding, I managed to gather eighteen interviews, a range of site and

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[6] The cost of travel to Russia, the difficulty of accessing the city of Ivanovo, and the bureaucratic barriers to staying in Russia for longer than a month were all inhibiting factors for my research. My first two days in Ivanovo were spent in various administration offices and the police station, filling in forms and contacting the office in Moscow where I bought a 'business visa' to avoid the one month limitation on student visas.

ethnographic observations, numerous photographs and documentary material. My interview material includes some problems of translation because the translation is not word-for-word but rather, captures the general idea of what was said by interviewees. I transcribed the simultaneous English translation of the interviews which I conducted, and my second translator translated and transcribed the interviews that she collected. The former interviews are richer in narrative content, but the latter interviews provide accounts of informants that I was unable to access myself. Despite the limitations in the material I collected, I feel that I was able to gain interesting sociological insights into this case, for qualitative research into the old industrial cities of Russia is relatively under-explored in western scholarship.

Niagara Falls, Canada/USA: Straddling Two National Contexts

Research in Niagara Falls presented particular challenges because of my choice to straddle two national contexts; to effectively wrap two case studies into one. This presented difficulties in terms of analysis, which demanded a greater deal of context and comparison, and in terms of retaining focus. However, I felt that a cross-border analysis was important to undertake in this case, particularly as one of the unique qualities of Niagara Falls is that it is an international border city-region: twin cities on either side of the border bear the name 'Niagara Falls', and both cities are visible from either side. Apart from the national border, these cities could be constituted as one city-space: numerous cities around the world have rivers which divide cities of the same name. I recognised that the practicalities of doing cross-border research were complicated, but I felt that examining cases from both sides fit with my research aims. On the one hand, I thought that the American case would likely offer more plentiful and obvious material, but on the other hand, the Canadian case has been neglected within the literature on deindustrialisation and I thought that it might offer some 'revelatory' material. At the same time, I did not want the material to explode into two case studies.

I conducted research in Niagara Falls, New York and Niagara Falls, Ontario for five weeks between March and April 2007. In Niagara Falls, the availability of a car for the duration of my fieldwork proved indispensable, due to the typically sprawling geography of industrial ruination and the North American 'car culture' in terms of accessibility to people and places. I did not have access to a car in either Newcastle or Ivanovo, but in both of those cases, driving tours with informants proved important for

site and ethnographic observations. I flew into Toronto, rented a car, and spent weekends in Toronto and weekdays in Niagara Falls, which is just under two hours' drive from Toronto. I stayed in the near-empty hotels of Niagara Falls, Ontario from Monday to Friday and used a mobile phone to arrange many of my interviews. It was still off-season for vacationers, so even the tourist district of Clifton Hill was eerily vacant. I did not stay overnight in Niagara Falls, New York, as accommodation, like most things, was less clean and safe on that side of the border, and it rarely took more than ten minutes to cross to the other side of the border. I used a combination of the methods and strategies of research which I had acquired through research in my other two cases. Although I started with local officials, as in Newcastle, I quickly moved to more locally situated informants: residents, ex-workers, community activists, and senior citizens, using the technique of 'snowballing'. I also contacted local people who had featured in newspaper articles about the relevant sites and areas, a strategy that I had not used before but found useful in this case. It was also easier to find case studies to focus on at an earlier stage, partly because I had a car, and partly because I knew what I was looking for. In Niagara Falls, Ontario, one site was an obvious choice: the former Cyanamid chemical factory, as it had once been the largest employer in the city. In Niagara Falls, New York, the Highland Avenue area proved to be an exemplar of residential proximity to contaminated sites: this area comprises five major abandoned chemical industries and a low-income, predominantly African-American residential community immediately adjacent to the brownfield sites. Throughout my research, which was also limited in terms of time, I struggled to find relevant material on both sides of the border, aiming for relatively equal weighting of both cases and for the more relevant material in the selection of my interviewees. In addition to conducting nineteen individual interviews, I went on driving tours with informants, attended a Special City Council meeting (Niagara Falls, Ontario) on the former Cyanamid site, met informally with trade union representatives and groups on both sides of the border, and conducted over twenty informal group interviews at a seniors centre on the American side. I felt that my interview material was the 'richest' in this case, partly because of greater experience and refinement of my interview questions, and because there were fewer language and cultural barriers.

3.6 Methodological Limitations

In conducting semi-ethnographic case study research in three sites, there were limitations to the depth and scope of my research and analysis. I was not able to spend an extended period in each location, so my information presents only a fragment of time and space, rather than incorporating changes over a long period of time. I have tried to provide updated information found in newspaper articles and website information on each of the cases where there have been significant changes affecting the sites under study since the time of my fieldwork. However, my analytical approach was never intent on presenting the most updated account of each place. Rather, my approach is to 'read' slices of space and time in order to understand socioeconomic processes at particular spatio-temporal moments of ruination. A related limitation in my research is that I collected far more material than I could process within the context of my thesis, so I had to be selective in the material used. The case studies are well-balanced in terms of content, with the largest quantity of individual interviews in Newcastle, with slightly less interview material but many site observations gathered in Ivanovo, and with more in-depth individual and group interviews (many were two to three hours long) in Niagara Falls. I identified numerous themes throughout the work and experimented with several analytical frameworks through different drafts, aiming for a framework that was consistent throughout the three studies.

3.7 Analytical Structure of the Empirical Material

The empirical material includes six chapters which discuss each case study in turn, with two chapters per case: the first is concerned with 'reading the landscape of ruination', while the second is focused on 'interrogating people's relationships to old industrial sites'. Each case study is presented in the same analytical order. Although the interconnectedness of spatial and social (and landscape and legacy) are implicit in my research, each case study will be divided into two chapters for purposes of analytical clarity. The first chapters examine 'landscapes of ruination', providing spatial analyses of the sites and exploring how socioeconomic processes are legible within these landscapes. Spatial and temporal themes of ruination are identified, and the connections between landscapes of ruination and landscapes of community/cityscape are explored as a bridge between landscapes and legacies. The second chapters focus on 'legacies of ruination'. Legacies of ruination include memories and perceptions of old industrial

sites; long-term socioeconomic, cultural and health impacts of industrial decline; and the politics of community, government and capital surrounding sites of industrial ruination. Although the first chapter focuses primarily on spatial analysis and form and the second chapter focuses primarily on social analysis in relation to form, both chapters are linked to socioeconomic processes. The following table outlines the analytical structure of both chapters:

Table 4 Analytical Structure of the Case Studies

Chapter One. Landscapes of Industrial Ruination: Analytical Categories
Scale and scope of the landscape of ruination
Spatial and temporal aspects of ruination; relationship to political economy
Relationship between the landscape of ruination and the adjacent community and/or cityscape
Chapter Two. Legacies of Industrial Ruination: Analytical Categories
Memories and perceptions of sites (ruins) and processes (deindustrialisation)
Socioeconomic, cultural, and/or environmental impacts for local people
Local politics of community and development

The categories in the table will be followed in the same order for each case study to facilitate comparison and analysis. The key themes will be explored differently depending on the material found in each case. Niagara Falls, for example, is the only case which places strong emphasis on health and environmental legacies, and this was because it emerged as the most important issue. Ivanovo is the only case where the landscape of ruination is explored in relation to the city as a whole rather than focusing on particular areas or neighbourhoods. The section on local politics in each case study is weighted differently depending on relative levels of community activism, which proved to be strong in Walker and in Niagara Falls, Ontario, but relatively weak in Ivanovo and in Niagara Falls, New York. I will now turn to the first case study, Walker Riverside, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which most fully embodies a difficult shift towards the 'post-industrial' through the community's experience of imminent regeneration.

4   Walker Riverside, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: On the Post-industrial Precipice

A twenty-four metre high steel angel with a fifty-four metre wing span stands on top of a grassy hill in Gateshead, overlooking the A1 motorway into Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The Angel of the North was built over an old coal mine in 1998 by the internationally-renowned sculptor Antony Gormley. The commissioning of the sculpture by Gateshead Council in 1994 was criticised heavily in the press because of the great expense (Alan 1998). Now it is a major tourist highlight of the North East and is said to be one of the most frequented viewed artworks in the world due to its proximity to the motorway and to passing trains. The Angel of the North was erected to commemorate the industrial past of the North East while symbolizing a shift towards a post-industrial future. This theme connects with Walter Benjamin's (1999) Angelus Novus, the Angel of History who looks back despondently at the ruins of the past as she moves forward with the inevitable progress of time.

Figure 4 Angel of the North, Gateshead, June 2005.

'Post-industrial' refers to a socioeconomic stage following the destruction of an industrial base, a stage which is associated with decline in manufacturing in advanced capitalist countries and with the growth of knowledge, information, creative and service economies (Bell 1973; Coyle 1998; Leadbetter 1998). However, this association is often

more of an ideal than a socioeconomic reality; many old industrial cities struggle to find new sources of employment and take divergent paths from the post-industrial 'norm'. In my analysis, the post-industrial is used to describe both the socioeconomic reality of an ex-industrial area and the ideal(s) of the 'new economy' based in services. None of the case studies in this thesis are strictly post-industrial spaces; rather, they are in the process of moving away from an industrial past towards an uncertain post-industrial future. Indeed, one might suggest that Newcastle-Gateshead is a post-industrial triumph with its regenerated quayside, its night-time party culture, its art galleries and its shopping. However, like many cities and regions around the world, Newcastle and Gateshead are characterised by uneven economic development. Not far beyond the regenerated quayside, there remain significant areas of deprivation. The former shipbuilding area of Walker Riverside, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, is one such place.

This chapter examines how social and economic processes are legible in landscapes of industrial ruination through the case study of Walker Riverside. Drawing primarily on site and ethnographic observations, this chapter argues that Walker Riverside represents a space of protracted industrial decline, with high levels of regulation in the historic and present uses of old industrial sites, and stark socioeconomic and spatial juxtapositions. Walker Riverside is situated on the precipice of post-industrial change, as both the community and the old industrial area face the prospect of regeneration and economic redevelopment. This chapter provides a background to the social and economic geography of Walker Riverside, maps and analyses the landscape of industrial ruination, highlights themes of ruination specific to this case, and examines the spatial and socioeconomic relationship between the landscapes of ruination and the adjacent community.

4.1 Placing Walker Riverside

The East End of Newcastle developed in the late nineteenth century to house industrial workers in shipbuilding, engineering, coal mining, iron, and chemical and glass works. Coal mining had collapsed by the mid-twentieth century, and shipbuilding began to decline dramatically in the 1960s and 1970s, with the last shipyard closing in 2006. Walker is situated in the East End of Newcastle, and it is one of the areas of the city that showcases the physical evidence of industrial decline: abandoned shipyards, old warehouses, derelict housing, vacant lots and boarded-up shops. Walker generally refers

to the area between Welbeck Road and the River Tyne(see figures 5 and 6). Local people speak of Walker as extending beyond the boundaries of the Walker ward to include the neighbouring areas of Daisy Hill, Eastfield, Walkergate, Walkerdene and Walkerville. Walker Riverside refers to the area of Walker which is closest to the River Tyne, but the boundary between Walker and Walker Riverside is also blurred. In fact, 'Walker Riverside' does not exist independently as a ward or as a neighbourhood, but rather it refers to a proposed regeneration area designated by Newcastle City Council.

The overall picture in Walker has been one of steady decline over the past thirty years, with the erosion of housing, shops and services accompanying the erosion of industries. The City of Newcastle as a whole experienced significant population between 1971 and 2001, but population loss during the same period was more severe in Walker, dropping from 13,035 in 1971 to 7725 in 2001. The Walker ward ranked the worst of all twenty-six wards in Newcastle and thirtieth worst of all 8414 wards in England against the 2000 English Indices of Deprivation. At the time of my fieldwork (June 2005- March 2006), seventy percent of the total housing stock in Walker consisted of local authority housing, much of which was built during the 1930s. These houses were built to accommodate people who worked in the shipyards along the riverside, thus the flow between the community and the industrial riverfront was initially integral. That flow has since been disrupted, as the Walker community is now physically separated from the industrial riverside area by a major road and by security gates and fences. Walker Riverside has been the target of Newcastle City Council regeneration efforts dating from 2001, with the stated aim of attracting new population to the area and reversing the retreat of public and private services from the area. After much contestation over proposed demolitions of council houses, Walker Riverside regeneration plans finally started to go ahead in 2006 under 'option three', which involved 'major impact' in spatial form for the community. The first map below (Figure 5) shows the different wards in Newcastle, and the second map (Figure 6) indicates the boundary of the Walker Riverside regeneration area, located just east of St. Peter's Basin along the River Tyne.

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Figure 5 Map of Newcastle Municipality by Ward, 2006. Source: Newcastle City Council.

Figure 6 Walker Riverside Regeneration Boundary, 2002. Source: Newcastle City Council.

I undertook research in Walker Riverside during this critical time period of imminent regeneration and redevelopment. When I started my research in June 2005, Newcastle City Council and its regeneration 'partners' were still in the planning and community consultation phase. When I finished my research in March 2006, the regeneration process had only just started, with the first wave of demolitions underway and the first replacement homes under construction. Thus, my various informants were very much caught within a long process of change, and they were uncertain as to what the future would bring. The abandoned, semi-abandoned and emergent industrial sites also reflected the slowness and difficulty of socioeconomic change, as spaces caught between the 'destruction' and 'creation' of capitalist development, liminal spaces between the industrial and post-industrial (Schumpeter 1965; Zukin 1991). The future of the Walker Riverside industrial area seemed even more uncertain than that of the Walker community, for the City Council had no definite plans as to how best to develop this area. The Council wanted the area to remain industrial, and they pinned their hopes for the economic viability of the area on attracting investment from offshore companies. However, no one I spoke to within the Council seemed confident that it

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would succeed. My study of the Walker Riverside industrial area and community during this precarious space between industrial decline and regeneration on the one hand, and a prolonged yet declining industrial identity on the other, gave me insights into the complex dynamics of socioeconomic and spatial change in this landscape of industrial ruination.

4.2 Scale and Scope of Ruination

The land use of the Walker Riverside area is of three main types, comprising an old industrial strip along the River Tyne to the east, housing in the majority of the area, and open spaces such as Riverside Park to the southwest and Walker Park in the central residential area. Madanipour and Bevan (1999) suggest that socioeconomic differentiation within the area follows topography. The riverbank, the lowest part of the community, is the poorest area. Uphill, north of the river towards Walkergate, one finds high income levels: 'This overlap of social and physical configuration is in line with the historical development of the city, which has moved away from the riverbanks to the northern heights' (1999: 21). The authors note that the topographical pattern is a simplification of more complex features but emphasise that this trend is a historical feature. Their topographical characterisation of the area reflects patterns of economic growth and decline: communities grew up around industries along the riverside, and as those industries declined, so too did the communities, particularly those closest to them.

The seventy-hectare Walker Riverside industrial area is located roughly five kilometres east of Newcastle Central Railway Station along the River Tyne. This area has been industrialised for over 150 years. Previous industrial land uses have included lead, iron, copper, chemicals, alkali, tar works, coal mining, stone quarrying, and shipbuilding (MacDonald 2005b, 2-18). Local residents also remember tobacco industries and a glue factory (Informal interviews, T & J's taxi company, Byker, 20 Mar 06). At the time of my research, contemporary industrial uses included marine and offshore industries, scrap yards, ship decommissioning, and limited shipyard activities. Various sources (interviews, newspaper articles) indicate that there may be some residual contamination in parts of Walker from these historical activities. Newspaper articles in the Newcastle *Evening Chronicle* have highlighted deaths of former shipyard workers from cancer caused by exposure to asbestos (eg. Sadler 2006).

One of the most defining characteristics of the Walker Riverside industrial area is its physical separation from the Walker residential community. This is echoed in the fact that Walker itself is socially, economically and spatially separated from the rest of Newcastle because of poor public transport; stigmatisation as a 'deprived' area; lack of shops and services; high levels of poverty, crime and drug and alcohol use; and a high number of abandoned or degraded properties. The relationship between the Walker Riverside industrial area and the adjacent residential community will be explored in the final section of this chapter. Spatial juxtapositions in the landscape of ruination in Newcastle is a central theme: 'ruins' can be found clustered in areas of the city away from the regenerated spaces, often in close proximity to 'deprived' communities.[7]

Another defining characteristic of the Walker Riverside industrial area is that unlike many other old industrial sites in the North East, Walker Riverside has retained its industrial designation: the area comprises a mixture of abandoned, partially working, and fully operative sites. The majority of the Walker Riverside industrial area is owned by Newcastle City Council, with Swan Hunter's former shipyard located just over the municipal border in Wallsend, North Tyneside. Newcastle City Council's ownership of the industrial area has given the City the capacity to regulate the activities on the sites. Indeed, the industrial and non-industrial uses of the Walker Riverside industrial area are regulated and restricted by Newcastle City Council. However, the security gates around the abandoned shipyards and warehouses have not prevented informal (and often illegal) activities from occurring on the sites. Regular informal activities on the former yards include vandalism, arson, the climbing of cranes, scavenging, the taking of drugs and alcohol, and general 'hooliganism'. Brian Leay, Economic Development Officer for Walker Riverside, noted that derelict buildings along the industrial riverfront are often stripped for parts down to nothing (Interview, 12 Aug 05).

Tim Edensor (2005b) examines meanings and uses of British industrial ruins in his book *Industrial Ruins*, cataloguing some of the 'contemporary uses of industrial ruins', which range from plundering to home-making, adventurous play, leisure and art space. The Walker Riverside case fits into this typology to some extent, although its spaces are managed and restricted, and thus the activities which occur on them are either strictly employment-related or else illegal. This is in stark contrast to old industrial sites

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[7] This is also the case in areas of west Newcastle and in areas in other municipalities of Tyne and Wear.

in other cities, which have often been the sites of artistic, cultural and political activities. One major cultural activity was organised at the near-abandoned Swan Hunter's shipyard in May 2006: a 'Pet Shop Boys' rock concert at the shipyard against a projection of the cult movie *Battleship Potemkin*, part of the NewcastleGateshead Initiative for promoting the city (McMillan 2006). However, this was a regulated rather than spontaneous cultural activity, and it fit with the 'competitive city' and cultural re-branding approach of Newcastle City Council.

4.3 Analysis of Sites

Site Observations and Impressions

The industrial ruins of Newcastle were difficult to find. I finally found them beyond the veneer of city centre regeneration in the city centre. At first, I attempted to find the Walker Riverside industrial area by walking east along the riverside. However, I lost confidence in my estimation of distance as the sun set and the ruins were still far from sight. I first experienced the landscape of industrial ruination in Walker Riverside when I caught a metro one morning in June 2005 to Wallsend and alighted almost at the doorstep of Swan Hunter's shipyard. At that time, Swan Hunter's was still in operation, albeit at significantly reduced capacity. Arguably, it was already in a process of ruination. The building of Swan Hunter's itself was square and gray, with a 1960s feel, and it did not seem upon first glance to be an iconic shipyard. It looked rather more ordinary, a modern industrial building of ordinary proportions, with blue cranes in the distance. From that starting point, I walked westwards towards the city along the Hadrian's Way cycle path, passing numerous warehouses, junk yards, and abandoned shipyards in varying states of use and disuse. I had to peer through overgrown trees and bushes that lined the cycle path, and I had a feeling of isolation as I walked along the path. Few main roads were traversed; few people were encountered; and no obvious escapes into consumer society (ie. cafes, toilets, shops, services) were evident. What struck me on this journey through industrial ruination was the enclosed space; the buildings, warehouses and stripped shipyards were fenced off from public access. As I moved further west, beyond crumbling brick warehouses with broken windows and random piles of metal, I came to newer constructions: large vinyl-sided block-shaped buildings which housed offshore companies. The whole journey lasted almost three hours, with a stop at St. Peter's Basin (a regenerated site just west of Walker Riverside

and east of the city centre) for a soft drink in a pub: the first oasis I found (it was a hot summer day and I had neglected to bring water).

I returned to these sites later in my research but it was on this first walking tour that I gained the most enduring impressions of the space, as separated, contained, and in various stages of industrial use and disuse. In fact, I could see here that the area encompassed not only sites and processes of industrial ruination, but also sites and processes of industrial redevelopment and reuse, although the area was more significantly defined by the former. Later in my research, I was to discover that these spaces were also highly regulated, and thus unauthorised access of sites was prohibited. The only time I gained access to the 'ruined' part of the area was during a driving tour with Barry Richardson, the Strategic Sites and Economic Development Officer for Newcastle City Council, who could pass through security with his City Council badge. My other entrances to the Walker area were in the working sites of new and old industry: during my visit by taxi to the headquarters of Shepherd Offshore (which took the taxi driver several tries to find despite years of local experience); and through visiting Swan Hunter's for a formal interview. The rest of my experiences of 'industrial ruination' were from outside of the area, during personal walking tours, walking and driving tours with informants, and public transport journeys.

My site observations of the Walker Riverside industrial area provided me with some sense of the impressive scale of the former industries and their historical economic and symbolic importance. The most visually impressive site of ruination was the abandoned A&P Tyne Shipyard because it was the freshest ruin: it looked naked in its recent and total abandonment (see below for further description of this site). Another impressive site was located elsewhere in the vicinity of Walker: the former Parsons factory due its sheer scale, towering over the residential buildings in Walkergate, and due to its exposure and integration with the urban fabric of the community, rather than being separated like Walker Riverside. However, I never got close enough to the landscape of industrial ruination in Walker Riverside to fully experience them; my observations and impressions were mostly obtained in passing, at a distance. For reasons of safety, I did not subvert the regulatory authority of Newcastle City Council in order to investigate the informal activities and spaces of the former shipyards. Rather, I have relied on accounts from newspapers and interviewees to get a sense of these activities and spaces. The sites observations highlighted some of the divisions between the community

and the riverside which were less obvious from maps, documents and interview material. I first learned through this case study that industrial ruination encompasses both forms and processes, and that the two can coexist with numerous other forms and process. The following is an analytic 'tour' through the various sites, following my first journey from Swan Hunter's in the east to the offshore companies in the west. The true landscape of 'ruination' during the time of my research (ie. before the closure of Swan Hunter's) was bracketed by two of the main working industries in the industrial area.

Walker Riverside Industrial Area

Swan Hunter's

On the far northeast end of Walker Riverside industrial area, technically within the ward boundaries of Wallsend, North Tyneside, is Swan Hunter's shipyard. Swan Hunter's achieved iconic stature over the last few decades as the last remaining shipyard within Newcastle (Rae and Smith 2001). I visited Swan Hunter's in December 2005, seven months before its final closure. I had arranged to meet with the shop steward and representative of the General, Municipal and Boilermakers Union (GMB) at 8:30am, the start of the working day. I waited for three quarters of an hour in Swan Hunter's security room, where workers flowed in through the glass front doors and out through the back doors into the shipyard. They wore hard hats and vests with fluorescent stripes. Men in suits with briefcases also streamed in through the front doors. They carried on through a side door into the corporate offices. Sitting in the front entrance room to the last remaining shipyard on the Tyne, months away from its probable final closure, felt like stepping back in time.

Figure 7 Swan Hunter's Shipyard, June 2005.

By the time I visited this famous shipyard, the story of Swan Hunter's and of shipbuilding on the Tyne had already been well documented by local historians and journalists. As one interviewee noted, 'I know it's for your project or whatever, but it has been documented many times and it's in many books and whatever. History, if you like. It's of great interest and in years to come it'll be even greater, especially when this place is gone' (Interview, Senior Payroll Manager, Swan Hunter's, Wallsend, 2 Dec 2005).   Local books such as *Lost Shipyards of the Tyne* (French and Smith 2004) and *Swan Hunter: The Pride and the Tears* (Rae and Smith 2001) tell some of these tales. The BBC has a series of film clips illustrating the days of shipbuilding on the Tyne. However, these stories are not complete, as the processes of decline are still underway. Rae and Smith's (2001) story of Swan Hunter's has a happy ending, of a 'phoenix rising from the ashes' in the 1995 rescue of the shipyard from closure. The story of near-death and resurrection through lifelines continued beyond 1995: Swan Hunter's was awarded the first ever shipbreaking license in May 2006, and 'ironically, the bid to save the yard, which has built some of the world's finest ever seafaring vessels, could now see Swan's workers destroying some of their own ships' (Whitten 2006a).   Swan Hunter's was finally 'mothballed' in July 2006, with 260 job losses. A task force in North Tyneside was subsequently set up to decide what to do with the yard. Included amongst the North Tyneside City Council plans for the yard was the idea of turning it into a

maritime museum celebrating and mourning the shipbuilding history of the Tyne. This was just one of many possible futures for the yard. After years of struggle, near-death and rebirth as the 'last shipyard of the Tyne', Swan Hunter's shipyard is no more. Like the Angel of the North, Swan Hunter's remains a symbol of painful post-industrial transformation.

A&P Tyne

Southwest of Swan Hunter is the abandoned A&P Tyne yard, which was mothballed in 2005. Articles in *The Evening Chronicle* detail incidents of young 'hooligan' activities in the disused A&P Tyne shipyard, including frequent arson attacks and the scaling of cranes (eg. Kennedy 2006). When I visited this site with Barry Richardson, the Strategic Sites and Economic Development Officer for Newcastle City Council, the shipyard had been stripped of cranes and equipment in what Mr. Richardson referred to as a 'scorched earth policy' (Interview and Driving Tour, 29 Sep 05). The company subsequently refocused its ship decommissioning activities at its Hebburn site along the Tyne, where Polish workers staged a 'wildcat strike' in May 2006 over poor wages (Whitten 2006b).

Figure 8 A& P Tyne Abandoned Shipyard, Walker Riverside, September 2005.

The physical landscape of this site has rapidly changed over the period of one year, from an active ship decommissioning yard to a youth's playground of disused

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cranes, to a barren shipyard. The story of A&P Tyne over this year — of scorched earth abandonment, relocation, and a new and disgruntled labour force — reveals something about the changing dynamics of capital and labour in the North East. In this sense, one can read this landscape not only in the physical form of 'ruins' but also as a process of ruination and re-creation over time. The physical sites of ruination offer spatial clues which trained observers, such as city officials familiar with the uses and politics of these sites, can 'read' at certain moments in time. Thus my own reading of this site as well as the readings of the others comes from a collection of fragments: of documents, photographs, observations, articles, stories and interviews, from different perspectives and moments.

Reclaimed Neptune Yard

Adjacent to the abandoned A&P Tyne yard, again to the southwest, there is a massive open space: the once famous Neptune Yard. The site does not look like much, just an empty slab of concrete where a shipyard once flourished. However, the recent history of the Neptune Yard is entirely different from that of Swan Hunter's or A&P Tyne. Long abandoned, this shipyard was 'reclaimed' in 2005, with an investment of £2 million to put the riverside wall back and make the site safe and usable again for industrial purposes. Brian Leay (Interview, 12 Aug 05) argued that there is a need for 'gap funding' for the Walker Riverside industrial area because the costs of development are often higher than the value of the land once it is developed, noting that the value of the reclaimed land of the Neptune Yard is nowhere near to £2 million. Although the Neptune Yard has been reclaimed as a safe area, this has not prevented similar informal activities from occurring on the site. Barry Richardson remarked during our visit to the Neptune Yard that a vagrant was found electrocuted in the yard, and that there are problems with young people taking out live cables on this site (Interview and Driving Tour, 29 Sep 05).

Figure 9 Former Neptune Yard, Walker Riverside, September 2005.

Offshore Companies

The southwest end of the Walker Riverside industrial area nearest the city centre is characterised more by redevelopment, with a number of reclaimed shipyards with new buildings and enterprises, including two offshore oil and gas-related companies, Wellstream and Duco. A new branch of Newcastle College was built in this area in 2005 for the training of young people in manufacturing skills. Nestled in amongst the offshore companies is the head office of *Shepherd Offshore* which bears the company slogan: 'local industry in partnership with local government'. Quayside offshore industries are managed through Shepherd Offshore, a company owned by local millionaire Bruce Shepherd.[8] The relative success of offshore industries in recent years has been a major factor in the City Council's continued interest in maintaining and attracting industrial activity in the Walker Riverside industrial area. Mr. Shepherd described the changes which have taken place on the Walker industrial riverside as positive. Before, his current office space was a derelict piece of land, but now it is part of a green industrial estate, where he said that people often go for walks on weekends, and even 'picnics' (Interview, 28 Oct 2005). The following picture taken from the quayside Hadrian's cycleway illustrates the type of public space apparently conducive for

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[8] At the time of fieldwork, Mr. Shepherd was also co-director, along with his brother Freddy Shepherd, of the Newcastle United football team. The brothers sold their share of the team in 2007.

picnics: a painted metal bench which faces overgrown shrubs, a fence and the remaining shipyard cranes in the distance.

Figure 10 Bench, Walker Riverside, June 2005.

Mapping

The analytical tour of the Walker Riverside industrial area concludes with the offshore companies at its southwest edge. Between Swan Hunter's and Shepherd Offshore, one can find a number of old warehouses, scrap yards and abandoned and semi-abandoned industrial sites, most without any signposts indicating their current or past functions. The landscape of industrial ruination in the Walker Riverside industrial area can be roughly mapped with a line drawn from the far northeast corner of Walker Riverside through to the southwest section nearest the city centre. I have indicated the approximate positions of the sites on the map below (figure 11), with the X at the top over the border of the Walker Riverside area indicating Swan Hunter's former shipyard; the two dots below marking the approximate location of the A&P Tyne shipyard and former Neptune Yard; the dot in the middle indicating the location of Shepherd Offshore; and the final X marking the larger offshore industries. This tour has given an overview of the complex, layered and regulated geography of industrial ruination in this particular landscape. Given its continued industrial uses, this area represents

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simultaneous processes of both industrial ruination and renewal. And yet to date the prevailing narrative and socioeconomic reality has been one of decline rather than rebirth.

Before further elaborating themes of ruination distinctive to this case, I will turn briefly to another old industrial site in the East End of Newcastle as a counterpoint to this analysis, the former Parsons factory.

Figure 11 Walker Riverside Regeneration Boundary, 2005. Source: Newcastle City Council
(White marks have been added to the map to indicate sites)

Beyond Walker Riverside: The Former Parsons Factory

The Walker Riverside industrial area is symbolically and economically important in the context of both Newcastle and Walker because of its connection with shipbuilding. However, there are other industrial sites which were similarly important for the area, such as the former Parsons factory, located northwest of Walker in Heaton. This massive factory was built in 1889 by Charles Parsons for the manufacturing of steam turbines. In its heyday thirty years ago, it employed over 10,000 workers. It was bought by the German company Siemens in 1998 and continued to produce steam turbines, but due to falling world demand, amongst other economic factors, the

company whittled its workforce down to a mere two hundred people by 2005, with periodic waves of redundancies. Although not technically part of Walker Riverside, this site is also historically important for the Walker area in terms of employment. Moreover, the buildings and warehouses associated with the former Parsons factory, most of which are abandoned, were built on such a scale that they are visible from parts of Walker. A local resident and administrator for the East End Community Development Alliance noted that people tend to focus on the Walker riverside area rather than on other places such as the former Parsons works, in discussions about the history of Walker. The interviewee's uncle used to work in the Parsons factory (Interview, 21 Mar 06). She said that the problems of decline in shopping, services and housing have more to do with the general decline in industrial employment, rather than the riverside industries in particular. Barry Richardson of Newcastle City Council also drew attention to the factory in his driving tour of the city, marvelling at the sheer scale of the buildings, which he regarded as 'a relic of an old industrial form' (12 Sep 05). Other interviewees made references to the former Parsons factory and to other old industries in the East End in their accounts of their relationship to Walker as a whole. I walked past the looming buildings of the former Parsons factory several times on the long walks (one and a half kilometres) from the two public metro stops, Chillingham Road and Walkergate, which were closest to the centre of Walker.

At the time of my research, the Siemens plant was expected to close imminently. Indeed, the Siemens plant has since closed its operation, selling the site back to Newcastle City Council, with demolitions of the North end of the plant underway from early 2007 (Whitten 2007a). The Byker-based company British Engines expressed an interest in moving to the former Parsons plant, spurring hope that this could create hundreds of local jobs, but British Engines pulled out of its decision to move in August 2007 (Whitten 2007b). This story coincides both thematically and temporally with that of Swan Hunter's: the gradual whittling away of a massive industrial workforce from thousands to hundreds, the rise and fall of expectations of recovery, the increasingly tenuous lifelines, and the prospect of final closure.

Figure 12 Former Parsons Factory, March 2006.

Themes of Ruination

I have presented an overview of the landscape of industrial ruination in Walker Riverside. It is possible to 'read' these spaces as part of a landscape of capital abandonment as the material remains of industries that have collapsed or moved away. Following the deindustrialisation and political economy literature, whereby capital moves in search of cheaper labour and resources (Cowie 1999; Harvey 1999; High 2005), lack of competitiveness is key in the story of capital abandonment in Newcastle. The employment structure in Newcastle can be described as hourglass-shaped (Bluestone and Harrison 1982), with high-skilled offshore and IT jobs at the top and call centre and night time economy jobs at the bottom, and a gap in the middle sector of employment. The key local differences in the Walker and Newcastle case relate to the particularities of interaction between state, community and capital, with the strong role of the state both in the demise of shipbuilding during the Thatcher years, and its subsequent role in promoting arts-and-property-led regeneration.

The specificities of this landscape of ruination have two main themes. First, the process of ruination has been painfully prolonged for over thirty years. The end of the shipbuilding era was never properly marked until 2006, decades after its near-total demise. This theme of protracted industrial decline is connected to the second theme: that of regulation. The City Council and the state have tried to keep shipbuilding and heavy industry afloat, if not economically then at least symbolically, through lifelines

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and contracts offered to Swan Hunter's over the years, and through the support of piecemeal industrial activities along the traditional industrial riverside.

The next section explores two themes which relate more to the wider social and economic geography in which the landscape of ruination is situated. These related and seemingly paradoxical themes are of 1) juxtapositions and 'structural gaps' at various spatial scales, and 2) socioeconomic continuities between the riverside and community. Together these two themes serve as a bridge between the central concern of this first case study chapter on 'landscapes of ruination' to that of the second chapter on 'legacies of ruination'.

4.4 Landscapes of Ruination, Landscapes of Community

Juxtapositions and Structural Gaps

Juxtapositions and unevenness characterise Walker Riverside at various spatial scales and levels. When asked how Walker, Newcastle and the North East relate to other areas within the United Kingdom and within the rest of the world, local interviewees expressed little awareness of the experiences of cities and contexts other than their own. Local and regional government also demonstrated limited engagement with other cities and regions in terms of sharing 'lessons' and practices except through competition for funding or investment. The spatial and socioeconomic juxtapositions between places of regeneration and places of industrial decline represent an uneven geography of capitalism in this case. Unevenness can also be characterised as structural gaps: chasms, fissures, spaces of disconnection, embedded inequalities, or barriers to social change, and they have both socioeconomic and spatial manifestations. The sociologist Ronald Burt (1992) developed the concept of 'structural holes' to describe the holes or gaps within organisational networks in the new flexible economy. However, Burt's 'holes' are represented as opportunities for upward social mobility, whereas the gaps which I highlight represent obstacles to social mobility. Whichever metaphor one uses to describe uneven characteristics in advanced capitalist economies and spaces, and regardless of whether one emphasises the 'winners' and 'losers', the existence of both winners and losers produced within this unevenness is evident.

National, Regional and Municipal

The 'North-South divide' within Britain is a spatial and socioeconomic phenomenon which has a long history, has been widely theorised, and continues to have relevance today (Hudson and Williams 1994; Massey 1995). Another way of framing disparity nationally is through the distinction between the global city London (Sassen 1991) and the rest of the United Kingdom. The North East of England is one of the more 'deprived' regions within England, and the North East is itself unevenly divided: its municipalities compete with one another to secure resources from the government. I spoke with Robin Beveridge, who works in the area of economic inclusion for the regional government agency OneNorthEast, a nationally funded agency set up for the purposes of regeneration and economic development in the North East. Robin Beveridge argued that despite its vibrant night life, shopping and cultural activities, and growing tourism, the North East lacks a single viable economic sector. He revealed that the medium to long term regional strategy is to focus on science and industry, particularly in health and life sciences, chemicals and renewable energies, and that in the immediate future, OneNorthEast is 'backing a number of horses', including mostly 'low value things like call centres' (Interview, 29 Sep 05).

Mr. Beveridge noted that OneNorthEast makes 'a conscious decision not to focus on areas of deprivation and to focus on areas of opportunity for the majority of investments' (Interview, 29 Sep 05). Thus, the strategy was to invest in areas with favourable economic prospects rather than to focus on deprived areas for the sake of social improvement. Mr. Beveridge explained the competing goals and strategies of OneNorthEast in relation to areas of deprivation as follows: 'There is constant low-grade warfare about: we want to put our resources in a few strategic opportunities and people on the ground want to spread it more to get a little more of the action' (Interview, 29 Sep 05). This conflict between a policy and economic development focus on 'areas of opportunity' and a focus on 'areas of deprivation' is, in fact, a key theme in the Walker Riverside case because the regeneration plans for Walker Riverside represent both. Furthermore, depending on the actors involved, either one (economic development) or the other (community development) has been emphasised as the primary goal.

The rationale for focusing on 'five strategic sites' for economic development in Newcastle-upon-Tyne was also based more on opportunities for investment and

economic development than on regenerating areas of deprivation. Barry Richardson of the Newcastle City Council noted that there is a hierarchy amongst the five strategic sites in terms of priority: the development of the 'Discovery Quarter' south of the central train station in Newcastle was the highest priority, while Walker Riverside was further down the list. Mr. Richardson expressed some frustration with trying to match the needs of Newcastle with the desires of developers: 'It's very easy to get developers in there who will build as many apartments as you wish, but that's not necessarily what Newcastle now needs because many of the apartments are being bought up by investors and not being occupied.' (Interview, 30 Aug 05)

Most national, regional and municipal funds and efforts in the North East have been funnelled into arts and property-led regeneration around the Newcastle-Gateshead quayside. This has been successful insofar as it has transformed the appearance and to some extent the socioeconomic fabric of that area. Barry Richardson pointed to the changes along the quayside as dramatic evidence of regeneration in the past twenty years: 'You know what it looks like, but you probably don't know what it used to look like. Twenty years ago you would have never gone near the area because it looked like an open sewer, but now you can approach it quite safely' (Interview, 30 Aug 05). Similarly, when asked about OneNorthEast's approach to old industrial areas, Mr. Beveridge responded, 'We've got a legacy of industrial decline and dereliction which we don't want to preserve; we need to move beyond. Basically if it's good enough to be turned into an asset, we'll look to turn it into an asset, and if it's not then we clear it away, we put something better in its place.' (Interview, 29 Sep 05)

Areas of considerable deprivation continue to exist within all five local authorities of Tyne and Wear. Dr. Peter Robinson, an Anglican Minister in the East End of Newcastle, highlighted some of these contrasts. Dr. Robinson brought me to a church at the top of a hill in Byker (a neighbouring ward of Walker) overlooking Newcastle. From this hill, we could see the regeneration along the Newcastle-Gateshead quayside, with the Baltic Contemporary Art Gallery, the Sage Music Centre and the executive flats. He described the contrast between the history of regeneration over the past twenty to thirty years and the situation in Byker: 'So you have this juxtaposition between this particular view of regeneration and culture and communities like Byker, not the only one around the river to increasingly become more and more cut off from

the centre of the city' (Interview and Church tour, Dr. Peter Robinson, Anglican Minister, Walker and Byker, 10 Nov 05).

The theme of juxtapositions and structural gaps is manifest in national, regional and municipal contexts. The policy gap between a focus on areas of economic opportunity and areas of deprivation mirrors the spatial and socioeconomic gap between areas of regeneration and areas of deprivation. Although this gap has been closed to some extent in areas such as the Newcastle-Gateshead quayside, at least on the surface, this has only occurred when the economic opportunity and incentive was already in place, or in accordance with a particular scheme, such as nationally funded art-led regeneration. At the local level in Walker Riverside, juxtapositions and structural gaps take more specific spatial and socioeconomic forms.

Local

There is little interface between the Walker Riverside community area and the Walker Riverside industrial area. Most of the industrial riverside area is blocked off from public access for reasons of environmental safety and security. The community area and industrial area are divided by a main road. Local residents have limited interaction with the old industrial sites along Walker Riverside. The only physical interaction with these sites occurs through limited employment in the new or remaining industries and through informal (and often illegal) activities.
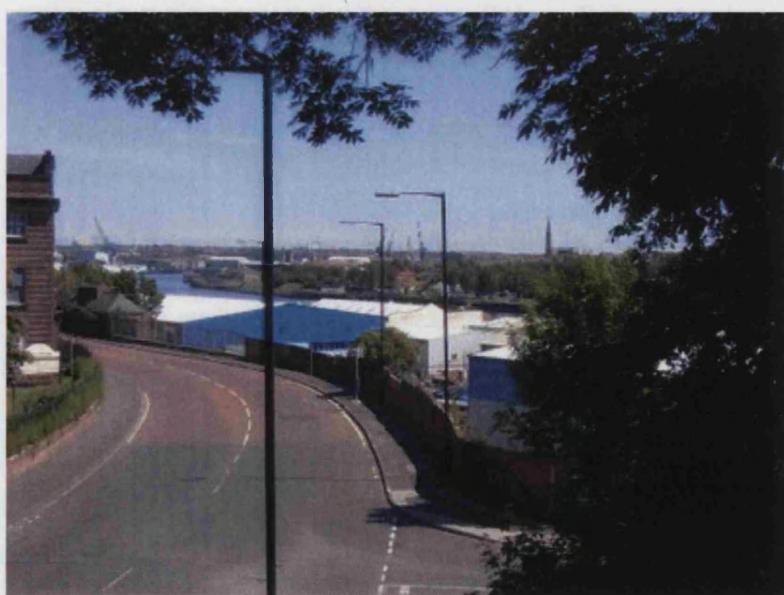
Figure 13 Road Between Walker Community and Riverside, June 2005.

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The Hadrian's Way pathway runs next to the industrial riverside, more or less parallel with the main road. I described my journey along this pathway in my initial walking tour of industrial ruination along Walker Riverside. Hadrian's Wall was inscribed in 1987 as a World Heritage Site, and Hadrian's Way was developed as a cycleway and tourist route as part of Walker Riverside regeneration and reclamation schemes in the 1990s. Local residents expressed their concerns over the safety of the Hadrian's Way riverside walk. Although residents noted that it could make for a pleasant walk in the daytime because of the view of the river, they expressed concern over its safety and state of dereliction. The area is overgrown with bushes and poorly kept, with limited access to roads and services. Teenagers often hang out there at night drinking, and hypodermic needles have been found along the path. One resident said: 'I used to take my dog along there every night to meet my partner because he cycles from work and he used to come along the bottom road but it's terrifying. I wouldn't go down there at night time... The bushes are really overgrown... 'Cause it is a nice walk if it was all open.' (Interview, Pottery Bank resident, 21 Mar 06). Another resident added: 'And you get teenagers starting to hang around down there 'cause there's nothing for teenagers to do. They're hanging around down the banks drinking and what have you. It's a bit intimidating.' (Interview, Pottery Bank resident, 21 Mar 06). Southwest of the Walker Riverside is Riverside Park, which was developed on top of a dismantled railway in the 1980s and incorporates part of Hadrian's Way. The park is poorly managed and maintained, with poor surveillance from local buildings (MacDonald 2005b, 2-22). This area and the existing riverside housing have been targeted in the regeneration plans for Walker Riverside as a 'community focus' area.

The spatial divide between the riverside industries and the community is reflected in a policy gap between housing-led regeneration plans for the Walker community and an ambiguous plan to attract offshore industries and other economic development along Walker Riverside. Anne Mulroy of Places for People Group, the regeneration development 'partner' for Newcastle City Council, noted that there is a gap between the Council's commitment to neighbourhood (housing-led) regeneration in Walker itself, and its commitment to offshore industries along the riverside (Interview, 2 Dec 2005). There are few links between the riverside industries and the community, as the skills requirement is too high for the Walker community. Ideally, Anne Mulroy said that she would want to see some more connections between the industrial riverside and

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the community but admitted that employment in the area was a weak point in regeneration schemes.

The limited employment opportunities on the riverside do not match the skills of most people living in the Walker community. Furthermore, most of those workers who have the industrial skills training necessary for the type of work occurring on the riverside are elderly. Skills training for shipbuilding on the Tyne stopped altogether in the 1990s. The building of the Newcastle College Skills site was one of the latest partnership-led initiatives to counter that trend, but at the time of my research, it had yet to open its doors. In its last years of operation, Swan Hunter's took on apprentices, although the trained workers subsequently had to move elsewhere in Britain or internationally to use their skills. There is some translation between skills in shipbuilding and the skills required to work in offshore oil and gas industries, but not usually in the higher-paid jobs. Moreover, the types of industries which remain on the industrial riverside do not have similar associations with pride: in the years leading up to the end of shipbuilding on the Tyne, shipyard workers spent their hours on ship decommissioning rather than shipbuilding. Even with recent efforts to regain lost skills in shipbuilding and manufacturing, local employment which utilizes those skills remains scarce.

Dr. Peter O'Brien of the Trade Union Congress highlighted more fundamental skills gaps in the North East as a whole. He said that there are skill shortages cited by employers in the North East across a range of industries, including manufacturing, engineering and construction,

> ...but also skills, they say, around, what can I say, almost kind of like 'soft skills'- like life skills about the value of working, if you see what I mean, or turning up on time or understanding, you know, what's it's like actually to have a 9 to 5 job, or any kind of job, or even some of the literacy and numeracy that people are actually coming through under the academic route who are actually struggling with basic English and some of the maths there and employers say that quite a lot. (Interview, Northern Regional Policy Officer, Trade Union Congress, 12 Sep 05)

Mr. Woods-Waters, Regeneration Manager for the East End Partnership of Newcastle City Council, commented on the skills gap in Walker which separates the local community from employment on the riverside:

There is employment on the riverside. There's a marine industrial cluster. We have global players, Duco and Wellstream, etcetera. But I think that the proportion of jobs that would be won by local people would be fairly small because of the levels of skills that are actually required. So the majority of jobs tend to be part time; they tend to be fairly low in terms of skill. (Interview, 12 Sep 05)

Mr. Woods-Waters argued that lots of work would become available in the construction industry to accompany housing initiatives. Another interviewee, a resident of Walker, was less optimistic about this type of work, citing the part-time and contract-based nature of construction employment (Interview, Tania, 22 Mar 06).

Bruce Shepherd of Shepherd Offshore offered a different perspective of offshore employment. Mr. Shepherd characterised the past thirty years of change as a period of 'peaks and troughs', with a vision of his company riding the crest of the oil industry in the North Sea (Interview, 28 Oct 2005). At the time of our interview, his company employed about 300 people, with 90% from the community (although it was uncertain how broadly Mr. Shepherd defined 'the community'). At its peak, Shepherd Offshore employed 600 people. The company also subcontracted work in shipbuilding, and the numbers of subcontracted employees had dropped from 300 men to 56 in the preceding twelve months (prior to Oct 2005) as they waited for more work. When asked about the overall success of his company in relation to 'peaks and troughs', Mr. Shepherd said: 'We are a successful trading company. We move with the times. We never look backwards, we always look forwards. We're never half empty. We're always half full.' He compared his company to 'merchant adventurers', a 'unique local business' which always retains the 'spirit of enterprise'.

Mr. Shepherd identified with the notion of 'winners' and 'losers' in the changing economy, but he clearly sided with the 'winners'. He felt that individual agency rather than structural issues accounted for his own success and the failure of others. When asked about the deprivation of the surrounding community, Mr. Shepherd accounted for it in two ways. Firstly, he saw the decline of shipbuilding in the area as largely political, ('both National and Scottish'), whereby other areas of the UK were favoured, such as the South Coast, Barrow and Glasgow. Secondly, he assigned blame to the other businesses in the area: 'You've got to blame the manufacturers and shipyard owners for not investing their profits back into the industry to make their yards world

leaders in the industry. They have been looking after shareholders.' He contrasted his own company's approach, which focuses on maintaining equipment, training, trying to adapt, and maintaining safety. He emphasised the importance of having a belief in the area, and he argued that the area is worth saving because of its history (Interview, Bruce Shepherd, Shepherd Offshore, 28 Oct 05).

The policy and skills gaps in Walker echo the spatial gaps between the community and the riverside. The picture also resembles the picture of the hourglass economy, with a large gap in the middle employment sector, and growth in jobs only at the high and low ends of the spectrum. Although these gaps are local, in that they are contained within the geography of Walker rather than set in relation to the rest of Newcastle, the gaps nonetheless emphasise the contrast between insider and outsider. Much of the existing employment within the area does not match the skills of local people, so the jobs go to 'outsiders'. Indeed, despite spatial and economic juxtapositions and gaps between the Walker riverside and community, there are more socioeconomic continuities than discontinuities within the context of Walker as a whole. Perhaps the most obvious social 'gap' between Walker and the rest of Newcastle relates to its social and economic deprivation. HealthWORKS, a government initiative for healthy living, produced a report on health inequalities in the East End Newcastle in July 2003, and this report gave an indication of a wide range of local issues beyond health (Pierce and Norcott 2003). Just as these elements of social and economic deprivation emphasise the contrast with more affluent places, they elements can also be 'read' as consistent with the industrial past: the social, economic and cultural 'legacies' of industrial ruination.

The themes of juxtapositions, structural gaps and socioeconomic continuities identified in this case study are a relevant starting point for comparative analysis with other cases in subsequent chapters. The dynamic between juxtaposition and continuity was an important theme which emerged throughout the different cases. The next section further explores the relationship between the Walker Riverside industrial area and the community in terms of socioeconomic continuities. My analysis touches on the issue of 'legacies' which will be addressed in the next chapter, but it focuses more on the spatiality, or landscape, of the community.

Socioeconomic Continuities

In March 2006, I visited Walker Riverside on a walking tour with Tania, a resident and community 'linkworker' employed at the East End Community Development Alliance (EECDA), a community and voluntary sector organisation which focuses on social, economic and health inequalities.[9] We walked past some of the residential areas, including Hexham Avenue, once an area which housed shipyard workers. The buildings were run down, many were vacant, and they faced demolition. A few years previously, residents along the block had fought hard against proposed demolition. The result of their efforts was the creation of a community house along Hexham Avenue called 'Wor Hoose', spelled out in the Geordie dialect on the front door. The aim was to transform the former family house into a house for the community: to create spaces for meetings, IT training, and informal gatherings. This had been taken up as a project by the East End Community Development Alliance. At the time of my visit, the house had no insurance, and people were prohibited from entering due to the building's failure to meet fire and safety regulations. Its function as a community house had yet to come into being. The infusion of 'Wor Hoose' with community spirit, despite its effective disuse, is reflective of the coexistence of physical decline and community solidarity present in Walker, a subject which will be explored at some length in chapter five.

Figure 14 'Wor Hoose', Community House, Hexham Ave., Walker, March 2006.

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[9] The EECDA developed out of the original HealthWORKS initiative

A key factor which has produced and reproduced uneven social, economic and geographical patterns in Walker Riverside has been stigmatisation. Walker has been stigmatised as a deprived area with a 'dependency culture', low aspirations, social problems, and high rates of unemployment and people on benefits. Certain areas in Walker have suffered from more pronounced stigmatisation, such as Pottery Bank, the area closest to the river and to the old industrial sites. The Thomas Gaughan Community Centre has also been slated for demolition according to the regeneration plans, and the manager of Thomas Gaughan noted that the proposed new community centre will be located on the other side of Walker Road, which poses a problem because the community is so close-knit that even the barrier of Walker Road is significant. She said that there are local families, both adults and their children, who will not interact with people from the other side of the road (Interview, Manager, Thomas Gaughan Community Centre, Walker, 18 Nov 05). In other cases, stigmatisation of areas has been connected more with degradation in the quality of housing, services and public space. For example, the shopping centre Church Walk and the 1960s and 1970s high rise apartment blocks near it are considered to be 'rough' by local residents, with high drug and alcohol use. At the time of my visit, these 'hard-to-let' apartments housed many of the recent asylum seekers in the area,[10] as well as young people aged 18-25, often single parents who were unemployed or on benefits. Tania pointed out that regeneration plans to demolish this housing fail to account for the young people who live there, as housing associations will not generally let to people in that age range.

The major shopping centres in Walker had become a fraction of their former size, with few shops and services and a lack of healthy and affordable food choices. The leisure services available at the relatively modern Lightfoot Centre, located in the 'community focus' area just north of Pottery Bank, were considered good in quality but deemed unaffordable by most local residents. Transport links were poor, with the nearest metro station 1.5 kilometres north of Walker, and infrequent bus services. The social and economic problems which have accompanied the decline in the physical infrastructure of Walker include high unemployment, considerable population loss, high

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[10] The influx of asylum seekers to Walker since the year 2000 will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

levels of crime, low educational attainment, high teenage pregnancy rates, low housing prices and health problems (MacDonald 2005a, 2-18). Other problems flagged by local residents were high levels of drug and alcohol use, incidents of suicide and drug overdose, growing levels of racism with the recent influx of asylum seekers, and incidents of domestic violence against women passed on in cycles through the generations.

Some houses in Walker have been abandoned and some have been demolished, with patches of vacant land and housing. I drove with two interviewees, Tania and her uncle, in a family-run taxicab to visit the Cambrian Show Homes. The taxi driver, a former resident of Walker and current resident of nearby Byker, was interested in buying a new home and expressed interest in the Cambrian models, which ranged in price from £130,000 to £150,000. The Cambrian area was already an area with vacant land and hard-to-let properties, so it had been deemed by the City Council to be an appropriate 'starting point' for regeneration. On the way there, Tania and her uncle pointed out tracts of vacant land where houses had been demolished, and buildings that were set to be demolished.

Figure 15 View of Vacant Land From Taxicab, Walker, March 2006.

Labour Councillor John Stokel-Walker described how Walker residents were up in arms about the proposed demolition of their homes, particularly in Pottery Bank (Interview, 30 Aug 05). Rather than refurbishing the solid 1930s homes, the Council planned to demolish and replace them, and local people were to be relocated to different homes within the area. The Cambrian show homes were set up by Newcastle City Council as

examples of new housing for the area in general, targeted not only at replacing people's demolished homes, but also at attracting newcomers to the area. Although the Cambrian show homes were models of the new homes that residents would move into, few local residents would be able to afford to move back into homes in the same riverside area once the area had undergone regeneration and redevelopment. Rather, they would be relocated to new homes in other areas of Walker. The Councillor described the Cambrian show homes as 'new eco-friendly cardboard boxes' that were 'small, cramped, flimsy…' and would likely last only twenty years. Some of the residents I spoke with shared this view, although others, such as Tania and her uncle, admitted that they liked the homes except for the size.

Figure 16 Cambrian Show Homes, Walker, March 2006.

To summarise thus far, the landscape of industrial ruination in Walker Riverside is separated from the adjacent community through physical barriers, the decline of viable employment on the riverside, and the gaps in policy focus and skills between the riverside and the community. On the other hand, and perhaps at a more fundamental level, the landscapes are deeply interconnected. The socioeconomic and physical deterioration of the Walker community has mirrored the decline of the industries. In fact, despite the efforts of Newcastle City Council at sustaining the industries of Walker Riverside, all of the local residents I spoke with, even those who continued to work in the shipyards, viewed industry on the riverside as a thing of the past.

Conclusion

The landscape of ruination in Walker Riverside, Newcastle-upon-Tyne has been suggestive of social and economic processes in several ways. The role of Newcastle City Council in the management and regulation of old industrial sites, as well as the symbolic importance of shipbuilding within the region as a whole, accounts to some extent for Walker's precarious position on the borders of Schumpeter's (1965) 'creation' (via regeneration) and 'destruction'. The area has retained its industrial designation despite market pressures, with government regeneration and economic development funds put towards reclamation, promotion of offshore industries and housing-led regeneration. The landscape of ruination in Walker comprises a curious patchwork of abandoned and reclaimed sites, scrap yards and new offshore companies. The theme of juxtapositions and structural gaps serves to illustrate ways in which the 'uneven geography of capitalism' is produced and reproduced in relation to Walker Riverside. The spatial division between industry and community reflects a shift between an era of growth, production and physical flow to an era of unemployment, stagnation and disconnection. Skills and policy gaps between community and riverside underscore this spatial divide, and structural spatial and socioeconomic gaps between Walker and the rest of Newcastle are also at play.

This chapter has analysed the spatiality of industrial ruination in Walker Riverside, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, reading social and economic processes embedded within the landscape. Two themes of industrial ruination have emerged from my reading of the landscape: protracted industrial decline and regulation. These themes connect with the discussion of legacies in the following chapter. For example, the analysis of complex memories and perceptions associated with old industrial sites in the next chapter reveals some of the uncertainties of living with protracted industrial decline. The theme of regulation also links to a discussion of the local politics surrounding the Newcastle City Council-led regeneration of Walker Riverside. Two themes which characterise the relationship between the landscape of ruination and the landscape of community have also emerged: juxtapositions and structural gaps, and socioeconomic continuities. These related themes together provide a context for a wider discussion of the 'legacies' of industrial ruination.

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5   Walker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Imminent Regeneration

Walker Riverside has long been associated with the shipbuilding industry, from the bygone days of bustling shipyards and cranes, to the present image of industrial decline. The landscape of abandoned shipyards, derelict warehouses, and underutilised properties attests to Walker's legacy of industrial ruination. However, the connection between Walker and shipbuilding is in the process of being eroded, both by agents of regeneration and from within the community itself. For many people in Walker, shipbuilding represents something that was important generations ago, and they are more concerned with immediate concerns such as the impending regeneration of their community and the potential demolition of their homes. Indeed, many people identify with the old industrial sites and memory of shipbuilding only through the notion of regeneration. Yet Walker Riverside is a place with a strong tradition of close families and community networks, much of which is based on a shared industrial history.

The regeneration plan for the Walker community was initially termed 'Community Focus' (2005/6), but it has since been renamed 'Heart of Walker' (2007). Unlike the previous 'Community Focus' slogan found on the Newcastle City Council's Walker Riverside website, the 'Heart of Walker' slogan does not focus on the decline in the area nor on the need for regeneration. Rather, it emphasises the new version of Walker that it is selling:

> Walker is a great place to live. It is not just about housing, it is a lifestyle. Only minutes from Newcastle city centre and the quayside it is certainly a great place to be. With new homes, shops, schools and a host of other facilities on the way, it is a wonderful community and a first class location.
> (http://www.walker-riverside.co.uk/living.html: Dec 2007)
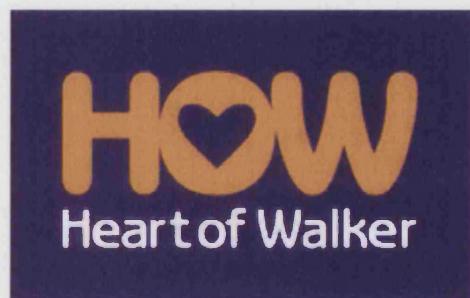
Figure 17 'Heart of Walker' Icon, Walker Riverside Regeneration Website, 2007.

The 'Heart of Walker' advertises the regenerated landscape of Walker as though it already exists. By contrast, the most recent Walker Riverside Area Action Plan development plan document (Emms 2006) acknowledges socioeconomic challenges in the area in its outline of the long-term plan for regeneration of Walker Riverside. Based on the initial regeneration plans 'approved' in 2005 after community consultation and on subsequent developments, the fifteen-year plan (2006-2021) emphasises the history of decline in the area, particularly in terms of population, although it is careful not to dismiss the 'strong assets' of the community. The plan promises to: 'build on the character, humour, strong families and informal community networks that have enabled Walker to endure difficult times' (2006: 9) in its vision of change. This promise acknowledges the greatest obstacle to regeneration in Walker Riverside: the local community. For over six years, local people in Walker protested to proposed changes because of their attachment to their homes and to the strength of their community. The regeneration plan had to reassure the people of Walker that their community strength would not be eroded in order to go ahead. There is still controversy within Walker as to the extent to which local people were properly consulted in the City Council's 'community engagement'.

The discrepancy between the 'Heart of Walker' website and the planning documents can be accounted for through a consideration of their audience: both have been prepared within the same regeneration scheme, but the 'Heart of Walker' is aimed more at selling regeneration and creating good feelings for the community, whereas the planning document is aimed more at addressing the challenges and practicalities of the regeneration plans. The slogan 'Heart of Walker' is a distilled version of the notion of community strength in its reference to an abstract 'heart'. While the notion of community strength 'through difficult times' at least alludes to an industrial past, 'heart' loses much of that association.

What is at stake in the shift towards the post-industrial in Walker? What fears and uncertainties, tensions and contradictions, have been thrown up in this moment between decline and regeneration? This chapter focuses on these questions in its examination of the legacies of industrial ruination. The first section examines local people's memories and perceptions of shipbuilding and old industrial sites in Walker, drawing on differences across different actors within the community. The second section explores the apparent paradox between community solidarity and community

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decline, focusing in particular on the issue of race and identity. The third and final section explores the local politics of place surrounding the dominant concern of residents in Walker: regeneration. A theme which runs through all three sections is that of 'imminent regeneration': in many cases, local people relate to processes of industrial decline and sites of ruination, in the most immediate sense, through their relationship to impending regeneration.

5.1 Living Memory

My analysis of memory and industrial ruination is situated in relation to concepts of collective memory and place identity, and writings on memory, urban spaces and industrial ruins discussed in chapter two (cf. Boyer 1994; Connerton 1989; cf. Cowie and Heathcott 2003; Edensor 2005b; Halbwachs 1980; Lim 2000; Nora 1989; Samuel 1994). I use the concept of 'living memory', defined as local people's memories and perceptions of a shared industrial past, as opposed to 'official memory' or 'collective memory'. Nora (1989) criticises official memory and instead privileges 'true memory' as embodied in bodies, practices and 'unofficial sites' of memory. Samuel (1996: x) also argues for a synthesis between history and memory, linking the concept of memory to 'contemporary ethnography'. He suggests that:

> ... memory, so far from being merely a passive receptacle or storage system, an image bank of the past, is rather an active, shaping force; that it is dynamic – what it contrives symptomatically to forget is as important as what it remembers – and that it is dialectically relates to historical thought, rather than being some kind of negative other to it.

My own analysis of memory follows Nora and Samuel through conceptualising memory as a dynamic and embodied force. However, I also explore tensions and contradictions in the context of social legacies of industrial ruination in Walker: local memories of the industrial past are 'living', yet the memories have yet to be socially reconstructed. Furthermore, social memory in Walker is characterised as much by silences in memory as it is by direct memory. The literature on nostalgia is particularly relevant for understanding memory as an experience of the present, for the it suggests that nostalgia always tells us more about the present than it does about the past (Davis 1979; Shaw and Chase 1989; Stewart 1988). I use the concept of 'living memory', defined as people's memories of a shared industrial past, as opposed to 'official memory' or 'collective memory'.

'Where are the cathedrals of the working classes?'

Local memory of the shipyards along Walker Riverside stretched beyond the place itself to include not only Walker, but also Newcastle and the whole of the North East. The interviewees who reflected the strongest sense of sadness, loss and disappointment over the decline of the shipyards over the past thirty years were those connected with the shipbuilding industry, either as workers or as close family of workers. I spoke with a local resident of Byker (neighbouring Walker) who used to work in shipbuilding but who was now working at a local charity for asylum seekers in hard-to-let homes in the Walker/Byker area. Recalling his job interview for work in the shipyards, he recounted with irony how the employers had said he was lucky to get in and that he could have a job for life. He expressed a deep sense of loss connected with the decline of shipbuilding, remarking:

> Shipbuilding is not like coal mining, unhealthy or unsafe, when there's both a sadness and a gladness when it goes. With shipbuilding, there is just a sadness, a loss, and there is nothing to replace it... There is a psyche of the North East which is built on the pride of shipbuilding.' (Interview, worker for 'Common Ground' charity and local resident, Byker, 1 Dec 2005)

The former shipbuilder's comment about sadness and gladness regarding the decline of an industry draws attention to an important distinction between heavily polluting industries and cleaner industries. Although some shipyard workers in Walker have suffered from the effects of asbestos in relation to their work in the shipyards, industries such as coalmining tend to have more conflicted associations. Indeed, the contradictions of sadness and gladness are a key theme in the case of chemical industries in Niagara Falls.

One of the few remaining shipyard workers in the North East expressed similar views. Terrie Tilford, the shop steward of the General, Municipal and Boilermaker's Union, started working in the shipyards of the Tyne twenty years ago and had worked in Swan Hunter's for the past few years. He noted that Swan Hunter's was a powerful symbol as the 'last shipyard', and for this reason, people demonstrated a loyalty to the shipyard itself, if not a loyalty to the company. He emphasised the importance of the shipbuilding industry in particular for Britain, asking: 'How can an island exist without ships?' These views were also highly politicised, as he highlighted in the following statement:

Yes, it's of tremendous symbolic and economic importance, and if it goes down under a Labour government we can only conclude that we're not valued as we think we should be. It has been said by elements of government, well let shipbuilding go, the North East doesn't need it, but it certainly does need it. You've got a thousand people working here, well under a thousand work here, but you've got a vast network of subcontractors and suppliers. And if this type of work isn't here, we won't go and find something else to do; we'll just go and work somewhere else which would be a loss to the area and the local economy. We can't all sell each other baskets and jam. (Interview, 2 Dec 2005)

Terrie repeated this last phrase again later in the interview. His narrative of socioeconomic change reflected deep scepticism about the merits of the service-based economy. He didn't see how it could work. When asked directly about his views on the decline of shipbuilding in Newcastle, he used emotive words to describe the devastating impact it had on the whole region, and his blame of the Conservative government:

Catastrophic, destroyed the industrial base, destroyed communities, the usual story. Catastrophic. It wasn't just the pits that got it under the Tory government, it was anything to do with engineering, shipbuilding, anything with the old labour trade union history got hit because there's no votes for the Tories up here. The Tories froze this place in '95.

Terrie's narrative of socioeconomic change was wrapped up not only in doubt about the new economy, but in a sense of injustice and anger over the politics surrounding the decline of manufacturing in the UK. He strongly identified with the politics between Labour and the Tories, and he suggested that it would be bad for Labour's image in the North East if the shipyard closed under a Labour government. Terrie concluded by lamenting: 'There's Durham Cathedral... but where are the cathedrals of the working classes? Our cathedrals were destroyed...' Then, perhaps conscious that his voice represented a certain type of view that researchers might be interested in, he said, 'There's plenty more where that came from, if only there was time.' He had to get back to work. However, for another perspective, he asked me to speak with another man, Bill Cockroft, Senior Payroll Manager, who had worked for Swan Hunter's since 1969.

Bill gained some local fame as the 'last man' and 'first man' at Swan Hunter's when the company went into receivership in 1994, closed on Christmas Eve day in December 1995, and then was resurrected under different ownership, a Dutch company, in 1996. Bill was the last person on the books for Swan Hunter's when it closed. An article in the *Sunday Sun* dated 24 Dec 1995 with the headline 'Will the last

man at Swan Hunter's please turn out the lights' details his story as the last man at the shipyard. Later, again in the *Sunday Sun* dated 14 April 1996, Bill's face reappeared under the headline 'Return of the Last Man!' In many ways, Bill Cockroft came to be a personal symbol of the near-death and resurrection of the shipyard. At the time of our interview, Bill noted that a feeling of uncertainty was present in the shipyard (December 2005), since the contracts were coming to an end and there was not a great deal of hope for securing future contracts. This feeling was one of déjà vu for Bill, bringing him back to 1994, but this time everyone knew it was coming, so it was less of a shock. Bill noted the differences between the 1970s, when the closure of manufacturing industries was quite volatile, and the period since the 1990s, when there was more acceptance of change. 'People are quite dignified when they leave,' he said (Interview, Swan Hunter's, 2 Dec 2005). As contrasted with Terrie, Bill was optimistic about his future. Bill acknowledged that when the next vessel went out within a few months time, he might have to start looking for another job, which was difficult given his age. He said that he might only get part-time work, and he didn't know what to expect. However, he said that he was in a fortunate position because he no longer had a mortgage and could afford to 'putter' until his retirement. Although Bill also expressed sadness about the passing of the shipbuilding era, he was less angry than Terrie. Perhaps this was related to his position as a white-collar, rather than blue-collar, worker within the firm; he was the Senior Payroll Manager rather than a shipbuilder.

Narratives of sadness, loss and pride associated with shipbuilding were found in the stories of the relatively few remaining people with direct connections to the shipbuilding industries. These views represent a 'politics of memory', as they connect with the wider context of the decline of shipbuilding in the North East and with Thatcherism and the decline of manufacturing in Britain more generally. As Terrie so provocatively suggested, there are no longer any cathedrals of the working classes. The Angel of the North pays homage to the industrial history of the North East; books and films about the shipyards of the Tyne can be found in bookshops and libraries; and, now that Swan Hunter's has finally closed, the idea of creating a shipbuilding museum has been considered, if not acted upon. However, I had the sense that cathedrals of working class memory were not what Terrie was referring to; he was referring to cathedrals of living industry rather than remembered industry, cathedrals which have 'been destroyed'.

Generations

As local people's direct experience of working in the shipyards in Walker has faded into the third and fourth generations, generational differences have emerged in people's memories and perceptions of industrial ruination. One interviewee described these differences in the following passage:

> I think probably older, more senior members of the community have a nostalgic view of activity on the Tyne some years ago and I think their attachment is based around a remembrance of that high level of activity and employment, although quite often that may well be through rose-tinted spectacles, as it wasn't easy, that physical kind of labour. So I think they do harbour these nostalgic, romantic almost, memories of the Tyne but young people don't. And I think, some perhaps see them as playgrounds, some see them as eyesores, but actually what they are, are redundant areas of space. And I think the practical reality is that really, not many people want to live next door to a decaying former industrial site no matter how active it was in its days. (Interview, Regeneration Manager, East End Partnership, 12 Sep 2005)

This interviewee contrasted older people's attachment to old industrial sites as romantic and nostalgic with younger people's view of ruins as 'playgrounds' or 'eyesores'. By playgrounds, he may have been alluding to young people's informal uses of space in Walker Riverside, uses that include arson, vandalism, climbing cranes, and alcohol and drug use. He emphasised that his view of industrial ruins as 'redundant areas of space' was a practical one, and he interpreted attachment to these sites as simply a romanticised view of the past.

However, not all older people held such a nostalgic view. I spoke with an elderly woman and two upper-middle-aged women at the Thomas Gaughan Community Centre in Walker, and they demonstrated little attachment to old industrial sites. All three women agreed that there was not much going on at the shipyards any longer. They were more concerned with the six-year battle between the community and proposed regeneration to the area (Interviews, local residents, Pottery Bank, Thomas Gaughan Community Centre, 22 Mar 2006). When I asked the three women about generational differences in relation to work in Walker, the interviewees did not mention shipyards, but rather focused on issues of gender and unemployment. One woman replied: 'When we were little, our dads went out to work, and it was always understood that the mother should be at home with the kids, and I don't think the men really liked the women going out to work.' (22 Mar 2006) She contrasted this with the present,

where more work is available for women. Work in caretaking, office work and services has opened opportunities for women such as herself, whereas most manufacturing jobs have all but disappeared, meaning work for men is both scarce and underpaid: 'Years ago I wouldn't have even dreamed of going for a job like I have now... I think that women are higher paid than the men now, especially in child care and things... I'm on a higher rate of pay than my partner and he works in a factory.' Another woman added: 'I'm on a higher rate of pay than my partner as well...' However, the first interviewee added that despite the changing nature of job opportunities in the area, male attitudes towards women working have not changed much for many local people. She referred in particular to incidents of domestic violence against women which have passed down through generations of particular families.

Another interviewee reflected upon the question of generations by talking about her own generation in relation to the younger generation, stating:

> We know people the same age as us that aren't working and now their kids are unemployed so they're not pushing their kids to work. We work, so we push our kids to work. Where [sic] some other people I think they're bringing their kids up to be like them, that they don't need to go out and work because they get plenty of money when they're on benefits sort of thing. People on benefits are like better off than us that works because they get paid full rent and everything...

This interviewee's point was less about the contrast between her own generation and the younger generation, and more about the contrast between people like herself, who 'work', and people who are unemployed, and the way that their respective attitudes to work are filtered into the younger generation. These interviewees responded to the question of generational differences in work through their own experiences of changing opportunities for women and men, and the contrast between working and non-working people in the area. They did not refer to shipbuilding as such, although they remarked that men tend to be employed in manual jobs such as construction work or factory employment, regardless of generation.

When I asked about the history of shipbuilding work in the area, and whether people still remained connected to that history in subsequent generations, the interviewees responded by saying that all the people who worked in shipbuilding were elderly, and that it was up to the younger generation to find something else to do. Even the elderly interviewee (in her 70s) did not associate the shipyards with her own

generation; her closest relations to have worked in the shipyards were her uncles. This illustrates that for many residents in Walker, shipbuilding long ceased to have relevance as a source of employment for the local community, despite the fact that shipbuilding continued in a skeletal form until quite recently.

During an informal discussion in Byker with an interviewee and two of her family members, we explored intergenerational memories and perceptions of the shipyards. I accompanied Tania, a local resident and community 'linkworker' for the East End Community Development Alliance to her father's taxi company in neighbouring Byker (mentioned in chapter four). Tania's grandfather used to work in the shipyards, and she thought that her aunt and uncle, who were working at the taxi company on that day, might be able to tell me something about the shipyards. Tania herself had no direct connection with the shipyards, although as a local resident with family connections to the industry and with strong social ties to the community, she had a respect for the industrial past and the stories of her parents and grandparents. The four of us sat in the taxi control room for three quarters of an hour, and during this time, in between answering phones and directing requests for taxis, the aunt and uncle spoke with us about what they could remember about the old riverside industries. They recalled that there was once a 'boneyard' along the riverside (a glue factory), and they described, with a lively sense of humour, how much the boneyard stank. Then they recounted how the end of the shipyards changed life in Walker. The air of this conversation was very light, although the subject was a serious one, and throughout the discussion, the three relatives would often break into laughter. I couldn't always work out why they were laughing, partly because of their strong 'Geordie' accent, but it seemed to me that they held the ways of the past to be funny and odd, as compared with the present. This sense of detachment through humour seemed in part to be generational, as they were further from the experience of the shipyards, but it also seemed to be connected to their economic situation, as they had done relatively well for themselves with the taxi business.

I did not interview a large number of people from the older generation, as the question of generations was not the focal point of my research but rather emerged from the interview material I collected. However, from the material that I have gathered, an interesting point can be made: although there were generational differences in local memories and perceptions of sites, this did not occur in a linear fashion, where the

oldest generation had the greatest nostalgia and the younger generations were more detached. People from the older generations also expressed detachment from the history of shipbuilding, even if they were related to people who had worked in the yards. Other factors, such as people's direct socioeconomic relationships to the industries, seemed to be at least as, if not more, significant. The prolonged decline of shipbuilding in Walker, a process which began as early at the 1960s, also accounts for a general acceptance within the Walker community that shipbuilding is an increasingly distant source of pride, and that it no longer has socioeconomic meaning for the community of the present.

Silences

The living memory of shipyards and industrial heritage in Walker was the most pronounced among people with direct personal or socioeconomic ties to the shipyards. For many local residents, this connection had eroded over the generations, or it simply did not exist. Even amongst those people with the strongest feelings of sadness and loss over the decline of shipbuilding, there was a sense of resignation in their accounts: the story of decline was long and drawn out, and the wounds were no longer fresh. Indeed, one might argue that the interviewees' accounts represent silences in the collective memory of shipbuilding in Walker. One silence is the result of a louder voice: the story of the shipyards has tended to be eclipsed by the more immediate concern with the prospect of regeneration. A second silence is in the realm of official collective memory: there were no monuments or museums commemorating or celebrating the industrial past in Walker, at least not during the time of my research. The only oblique reference to the industrial past was found in the notion of 'strong community' implicitly based upon a shared industrial history.

My analysis of the 'inner landscape' of industrial decline in Walker explores a relationship between memory and place that is rooted in the lived experience of memory in the present. Silences in both official and unofficial memory also emerged as important themes in Walker. In his essay, 'Experience and Poverty', Benjamin (2005 [1933]: 731) reflects on how experiential memory can be silenced, using the example of how people who returned from the front after World War I could not speak about their experiences: 'Wasn't it noticed at the time how many people returned from the front in silence? Not richer but poorer in communicable experience? And what poured out from the flood of

war books ten years later was anything but the experience that passes from mouth to ear.' Two silences could be identified: silence in 'living memory' reflected in local people's overarching concern with imminent regeneration; and silence in 'official memory' reflected in the absence of museums, monuments and artefacts of collective industrial memory.

Regeneration

The main issue for most local interviewees was the proposed regeneration to the Walker community. The relations between people and the sites of industrial ruination had to be teased out, and the most common form in which the relations emerged was through memory. Those who seemed furthest from thinking about old industrial sites themselves were the residents of the local community. The only way to access their ideas with regard to old industrial sites was through talking about regeneration and change in their community. Most residents saw the decline of shipbuilding as part of that story, but not as a pressing issue and not as one that could be changed. After all, regeneration was the most immediate and pressing issue facing the Walker community because it involved the demolition of homes which people had lived in all their lives.

The prospect of this form of regeneration at the time of my research threatened the community cohesion and social order so valued in Walker despite its socioeconomic problems. Walker represented a stigmatised area, at least for those who did not live there, which had suffered from decline and deprivation for over thirty years, and regeneration plans to improve the area had come and gone many times without fundamentally changing the area. There was much scepticism and distrust amongst residents in Walker over what sort of change might occur this time around. Many felt that regeneration would not serve the interests of the community but rather, those of developers and 'yuppies'. After all, the regeneration involved the demolition of existing homes and the construction of new riverside flats targeted at attracting higher income groups into the area and the creation a 'riverside village' concept of shops and services to cater to the new population.

The issue of impending regeneration tended to eclipse attachment to the shipyard sites themselves for many residents in Walker. Apart from those who remembered or sustained direct employment connections with the shipyard industries, the sense of sadness, loss, injury and despair was no longer deeply connected with

memory of those sites, but had been transferred to the present concern, to the community infrastructure which was at stake. I spoke with an elderly woman at the Thomas Gaughan Community Centre who lived in one of the homes set to be demolished, a home she had lived in for thirty-one years, and when I asked about her relationship to, and perception of, the shipyards, she replied:

> Me uncles used to work there, but they worked there a lot of years ago and I've got three sons that work down in Shepherd Offshore. Apart from that there's only one I know. I mean there's not even much going on down there now in the yards; that's slowly going downhill and all. I mean, there's not much I can say really, 'cause I mean at the end of the day there's not much I can do about it now. It's a done deal. People there won't let me know when, how long's it gonna be, before they're coming. But they said they're supposed to build houses on Pottery Bank before they pull them down and I'm hoping they're going to keep that promise. (Interview, 22 Mar 2006)

The woman began by mentioning her relatives who work or have worked in the shipyards, but she emphasised the declining importance of the shipyards today and returned to the subject of regeneration and the impending demolition of her home. She described her powerlessness to change developments in the area since 'it's a done deal'. Other residents of Pottery Bank, whom I visited at one of their homes, understood my visit as one related to regeneration and demolition. It was difficult to get them to talk about anything outside of regeneration, given the emotive nature of the topic. They talked about how the uncertainty of the future of their homes impacted their health, leading to stress, anxiety, poor mental health, panic attacks, and a feeling of inability to do anything with their homes — sell them, re-paint them, furnish them, or anything at all (Interviews, two Pottery Bank residents, Walker, 12 Sep 2005). Now that the regeneration and demolitions are underway, the 'Walker Riverside Regeneration Project' team is dedicated to branding Walker as a 'location of choice' (http://www.walker-riverside.co.uk), and their 'Heart of Walker' campaign emphasises community spirit but fails to mention industrial legacies. This leads to the second 'silence' in Walker, in the realm of official memory.

The Social Construction of Memory

There was no commemoration of shipbuilding in the form of monuments, tourist shops, museums or cultural activities based around old industrial sites in Walker, either along the riverside or within the surrounding community. At the time of my

fieldwork, from August 2005 to March 2006, before the closure of Swan Hunter's in July 2006, there were no plans to commemorate the industrial history of shipbuilding within the area. The spatial, political and economic context of Walker Riverside was of physical separation from the community (gated entrances, few access points, and a main road acting as a barrier), and the regulation in the uses of spaces. The politics and economics behind shipbuilding in the area as a whole have necessarily shaped the ways in which people relate to the sites and the scope for commemoration, museumification, and cultural uses of sites. In this context, such processes could really only occur in a top-down, 'official' capacity. Only once the flagship yard of Swan Hunter's had finally been 'ruined', did the idea of a shipbuilding museum emerge as a possibility. Before, with 260 workers still employed at Swan's, the myth if not the reality could still be sustained that shipbuilding was alive in the North East. It remains to be seen whether official memory in the future will mesh with local memory in Walker, and whether it can offer any kind of 'closure', any kind of gateway to a future, particularly one without jobs. After all, as Terrie said, 'We can't all sell each other baskets and jam...' As mentioned already, the regional government agency OneNorthEast is 'backing a number of horses', including mostly 'low value things like call centres', cultural industries and tourism. But there is no single industrial sector that the hopes of the North East are being pinned on (Interview, Robin Beveridge, 29 Sep 2005).

The forms of historical memory in Walker located within my interviewees' accounts were embedded in processes of social and economic change, and how people understood themselves in relation to place and history. Shipbuilding and manufacturing in the North East have long been considered to be in irreversible decline, but socioeconomic and psychological rupture with the past were held out in the maintenance of Swan Hunter's as the last shipyard of the Tyne, and in the strength of community spirit shaped by industrial legacy which has remained etched in the socioeconomic landscape of Walker. Boyer (1994: 133) reflects on Halbwachs' distinction between artificial (socially constructed) and 'real' collective memory as follows:

> As long as memory stays alive within a group's collective experience, he argued, there is no necessity to write it down or to fix it as the official story of events. But when distance appears, conferring its distinctions and exclusions, opening a gap between the enactments of the past and the recall of the present, then history begins to be artificially recreated.

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Following this logic, one might say that memory in Walker is only now entering a stage where it can be called upon and retold as a reconstructed past.

Different forms of memory were reflected in the narratives of local people in Walker. There was a politics of memory which came through in the accounts of former shipworkers, a politics which was anchored in the wider context of deindustrialisation, Thatcherism, the decline of shipbuilding, and the declining voice of trade unions in the North East as a whole. These accounts were tinged with sadness, loss and a sense of anger, but also, with the passage of time, with a sense of resignation and a sense that this story has become well-rehearsed. There were generational differences in memory, where stronger associations with the industrial past were often reflected in older generations. There was also a localised memory, reflected in the narratives of local residents in Walker, where memories can be both sad and funny, and where the industrial past was folded into the rhythms and fabric of the community. Finally, both living memory and official memory in Walker were characterised by silences in Walker. Many residents in Walker have focused on resisting the regeneration of their community rather than lamenting or protesting the abandonment of industry. In a way, they have been protecting their shared industrial memory through the protection of their community. Movements toward public commemoration of industrial heritage in the form of museums, cultural uses of old industrial sites, or the construction of monuments were absent at both the local and official levels during the period of my study. The ruins and the physical traces of the industrial era, including the homes that were constructed to house the shipyard workers, perhaps represent the end of 'living memory', and their subsequent demolition or re-appropriation, erasure or reconstitution.

5.2 The Legacies of 'Industrial Atmosphere'

Community Solidarity

If the shipyards have gradually lost meaning for some people in Walker, there has been one thing which has continued to have deep cultural and social meaning: the community. The sense of community in Walker and the collective awareness of the goings-on in and around the community is a theme which also connects with local 'living memory'. Memory, after all, is not just about the past, but it is also about the present; particularly, how the past filters into the present.

The economist Alfred Marshall (1920) was the first to theorise the beneficial effects of industrial 'atmosphere' on the workings of nineteenth-century industrial districts. This referred to the solidarity amongst communities of industrial workers. I would argue that a form of 'industrial atmosphere' remains in present-day Walker in the character of the community and the relationships within that community.

I gained some insights into the close-knit character of Walker in my experience of a local pub during an early phase of my research. The pub I visited was an area where many demolitions of abandoned homes had already occurred. The pub had the appearance of a run-down old hotel, and I decided to venture inside while I waited for a nearby interview in the Pottery Bank area with local residents whose homes were set to be demolished. It was late afternoon, there were few other places one could wait around, and I thought it might give me a sense of the people living in the area. The pub was filled with relatively old men and a couple of upper-middle-aged women, one of whom was working behind the bar. I ordered a drink and sat down, trying to look inconspicuous, but immediately felt that I had been identified as an 'outsider'. A man approached me and said that he knew I was a student: a student of 'social behaviour' was his guess. I confirmed that I was indeed a student of sociology. He said he thought so, in what seemed to me to be a mocking way. He added that he was not stupid, that he was clever, and he knew what I was up to. He'd seen it before.

Later, I was able to place my experience in the pub within a wider local context. After the discussion in the taxi control room, Tania, her uncle and I rode in the family-run taxicab to visit the Cambrian Show Homes, as I described in chapter four. On the way there, Tania's uncle mentioned that women used to be excluded from pubs in the past:

> Uncle: There used to be a bingo just there, the Gloria. That was the main bingo that's where every woman in the whole of Walker Byker went, that was the only bingo that. They didn't serve alcohol because they wouldn't let women drink.
> Alice: How long ago was that?
> Uncle: In the 70s, 60s and 70s, they wouldn't let women drink in public places. They wouldn't let any women in the CIU club or in the Jubilee. They let them in the concert room but wouldn't let them in the ball.
> Alice: Why not? Was it just a tradition?
> Uncle: It's just a tradition, aye. Cause it's a working man's club. That's the only place a man could hide (laughter: uncle and niece). (Driving tour, Walker, 21 Mar 2006)

The uncle remarked that some of the local pubs in Walker still don't allow women, although this is more of an unwritten law. This insight certainly provided some indication of the gender divisions which underlay the Walker community in the past and present. Given the looks I received when I entered the pub in Walker, which I remembered then as being full of men, I wondered if I had crossed this unwritten gender boundary, or whether it had simply been a boundary between local and outsider.

I left the local pub to visit the residents of Pottery Bank. The children playing around the houses asked who I was visiting and when I answered, they told me which door it was. A neighbour from along the street let me in to the house, as the residents who I was visiting were going to be late. There was clearly an awareness in the neighbourhood that I was a visitor and also that I was expected. Both my experience in the pub and my visit to the houses gave me a sense of the close-knit nature of the community which many of my interviewees later described. I observed this in subsequent tours and visits of buildings, shops, services and centres in Walker, both alone and with informants.

In my interview with three local residents at the Thomas Gaughan Community Centre, the residents described the closeness of their family networks, and how their parents, siblings and children live on the same streets as them or around the block. They described Walker and Pottery Bank as a place of good families and community spirit despite being 'run down'. One woman described her attachment to Walker as follows:

> Yes, it's run down and everything. But there is a strong community spirit and if anything happens to anybody in the community they'll all rally around to make sure they're alright... And we know the people, so that's one of the good strong points about it, that we know the area, we know the people who live in the area. It's alright for some people working here but at the end of the day they get in their cars and they go to their little nice housing estates, but we actually live on the estate. (Interview, local resident, Pottery Bank, 22 Mar 06)

The interviewee started by talking about the mutual support between people within the community, and then drew attention to a tension between local people and outsiders who worked in the community centre. The other interviewees picked up on this topic, somewhat energetically, and they began to identify the members of staff who were not local residents. They said that they were afraid that the new community centre which was to replace their existing community centre (slated for demolition) would in all

probability employ only outsiders and destroy the informal nature of their community centre.

Many interviewees referred in different ways to the strong sense of community in Walker. Anne Mulroy of Places for People puzzled over the discrepancy between the physical infrastructure and this community spirit: 'There is nothing physically appealing about the area, no landmark buildings and indistinct housing and roads, yet there is a strong local commitment to the area based on its industrial past' (Interview, 2 Dec 2005). John Stokel-Walker, Labour City Councillor for Walker, who was an opponent of proposals for regeneration in Walker, also referred to the strength of family connections in the community in Walker, noting that the same families tend to live within the same street for generations, and the fact that local people tend not to travel, even the younger generations. One could 'look at it as a form of stagnation', he said, but also as 'a strength and an asset' (Interview, 30 Aug 2005). During our walking tour, Tania illustrated the community and family networks in Walker quite vividly: she knew the people, places, politics and local history of Walker in intimate detail, and she showed me her house and the houses of her mother, grandmother and brother, all within a couple of blocks (21 Mar 2006). Indeed, it was precisely because of the strong community spirit and history of engagement with local politics, that the regeneration process did not go ahead as planned in 2001 under the Newcastle City plan, 'Going for Growth', a topic which will be explored in the third section on local politics.

There is an apparent contradiction between community spirit (solidarity and cohesion through strong families and networks) and community decline (as defined through socioeconomic indicators). These two issues represent positive and negative sides of the socioeconomic and cultural impacts of industrial decline: the positive side embodies a less tangible community spirit founded, at least initially, on a community with a strong industrial identity, and the negative side involves material degradation and socioeconomic deprivation. The concept of community cohesion in Walker is not straightforward; it raises an interesting set of questions in relation to the construction of place, both by residents and by policy-makers and planners. Indeed, Amin's (2005: 614) criticism of the political use of the notion of 'community cohesion' by New Labour in the UK as a means of redefining the social, whereby the idea of community and the local 'has been re-imagined as the cause, consequence, and remedy of social and spatial inequality,' is relevant in the context of this case study. The next section explores some

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of the tensions and paradoxes of community solidarity in Walker, particularly through issues arising around race and identity.

Tensions and Paradoxes

'Industrial atmosphere' in the form of community solidarity is almost all that remains of a rich industrial heritage which grows dimmer in the collective memory of Walker with each passing generation. However, the notion of strong families and a strong community presents a rather idealised picture of life in Walker, and the tensions within the community are worth reflecting upon in relation to this theme. While highlighting the strength of the Walker community, local interviewees also referred to a fear of incidents of crime and vandalism, problems of drug and alcohol abuse, and rivalries between different neighbourhoods (Interviews: 12 Sep 2005; 22 Mar 2006). They lamented the decline of shops and services in the past thirty years and the lack of choice for young people in the area, and they mentioned that local shopping was overpriced and lacking in fresh fruits and vegetables.

Traditionally, Walker is a predominantly white, working class area, like the North East as a whole. According to the 2001 Census, 97.2% of the population in Walker was white, as compared with 93.1% of the population in Newcastle and 92.1% in the United Kingdom. Community solidarity and cohesion is based around these white, working class families, most descended from shipyard workers. A number of families and individuals have left Walker in the past decades, so the people who remain are either those who have chosen to remain, quite possibly out of attachment to the community and to their homes, or else those have been unable to move due to financial or personal constraints. Thus, the resilient character of the community can in part be explained by the fact that its population consists of people who have already remained and persevered through times of economic trouble.

In an ethnography of young subcultures in North East England, Anoop Nayak (2003) analyses 'Geordie' identity through the lens of class and race. Nayak argues that it is a fallacy to presume that racism is absent from predominantly white areas, and traces complex histories and trends in race relations in the North East. Indeed, in the case of Walker, the issue of racism and difference has become increasingly integral to an analysis of community since the 2001 Census. The dynamic between the primarily white, working class community of Walker, with its history of close families and a

shared culture, and primarily black African asylum seekers who have recently arrived in Walker, sheds light on elements of the community as a whole.

In 2000, the UK government introduced a dispersal system whereby asylum seekers were to be placed in designated deprived areas in 'hard to let' housing. Asylum seekers were 'dispersed' throughout the North East, with relatively high numbers placed in Walker and Byker. However, neither the local population nor the community centres in Walker were prepared for this sudden influx of people. Moreover, as a deprived community in its own right, many residents were resentful that asylum seekers were provided with community housing and other resources, however meagre. The asylum seekers were provided with a basic package, including basic accommodation and an allowance amounting to 70% of income support at £40 a week for a single person. In 2003, asylum seekers lost the right to apply for work, although in 2005 limited permission to seek work was granted. At the time of my research, there were approximately four hundred asylum seekers in the Walker and Byker area.

Asylum seekers are at the extreme margins of society, and so in some ways, there are grounds for solidarity in shared experiences (albeit on very different scales) of deprivation. Mark Pierce of the East End Community Development Alliance remarked that 'a self-help culture in the community helps with the absorption of asylum seekers into the community' (Interview, 1 Dec 2005). Nonetheless, he noted that there had been serious problems with racism, particularly in the two main shopping areas of Walker, Shields Road and Church Walk. Many of the problems with racism in the area, according to several interviewees, went underreported.

Dr. Robinson brought me to visit Church Walk as part of our church tour of the East End of Newcastle. It was a run-down square with just a few shops, and Dr. Robinson told me that it was known for drugs, crime and anti-social behaviour. The square was surrounded by tall dingy apartment blocks, which were examples of the type of 'hard-to-let housing' designated for asylum seekers. Dr. Robinson showed me a place called 'Common Ground' in Church Walk, a charity shop set up by the Anglican Church (in partnership with other members of the community and voluntary sector) to provide relief aid to asylum seekers in the form of clothing and household goods, and counselling and support services. At Common Ground, I met some of the staff and heard tales of the latest group of asylum seekers who had encountered difficulties with the government in staying in the country. In an area with a declining population, the

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principal group to have moved into the area was asylum seekers, and this was because they were sent to Walker by the authorities rather than having chosen it as their preferred locale.

Figure 18 Church Walk Shopping Area, Walker, December 2005.

Caroline Dean, a volunteer at Common Ground, described some of its projects, including the organization of social events for its members, and an allotment project: community gardens called 'growing together'. She said that there had been many incidents of 'low level racism', for example in the form of name calling, but that at the same time, many local people were supportive. (Caroline Dean, 1 Dec 2005).

I visited Common Ground a second time under the guidance of Sue Crawley, also a community linkworker for the East End Community Development Alliance. We visited the group on one of the busiest days, Monday, since the premises are closed at the weekends. I spoke with one asylum seeker from East Africa who said that he had been in Newcastle for two months but didn't like it. He said that his only social life in the city was there in Common Ground. He cited incidents of racism throughout the community and in the city as a whole. The asylum seeker's perception that Common Ground was the only 'friendly' place in Walker highlighted tensions within the community between old and new populations.

In my discussion with two residents of Pottery Bank, I asked about the relationship between 'local people' and asylum seekers. At first, they seemed reluctant to express their views. The first interviewee began by saying, 'Well there's loads. It's

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getting to be where it's like there are more asylum seekers than local people, but we work with them in here. We are doing cooking lessons with them here.' (Interview, 22 Mar 2006). The second interviewee interjected by commenting on the problem of local perceptions, through which people thought that asylum seekers were unfairly being given houses and microwaves. The two interviewees then laughed, saying 'no comment', but then they proceeded to explore the ambivalent feelings within the community somewhat further:

> I think it's getting better, people are getting used to them, and they're integrating more. We've got kids in the play group and in the school. A lot of the problem is like, that money is for the asylum seekers, and that money is for such and such. We're saying; it shouldn't be like that, it should be there's the pot of money; it's for everybody.

On the whole, the interviewees tried to give a balanced perspective, showing sympathy for the asylum seekers and a willingness to live and work with them, and explaining tensions between local people and asylum seekers as a matter of competition over resources within the community:

> And a lot of it is ignorance, isn't it, because as I say, it's the same with them, there's good and bad amongst them as well. They're not as dead canny, there's some that you think, God, they're a bit stuck up and things. And it's not our fault they've got to come here, but in the end of the day we've got to get on with it, we all have to live together. (Interview, 22 Mar 2006)

This final comment, 'but in the end of the day we've got to get on with it, we all have to live together...' seems to encapsulate the 'spirit' of community cohesion and 'industrial atmosphere' which so defines Walker. On the other hand, one could interpret this comment as reflective of the more general attitude of resignation in the face of a long history of struggle with social, cultural and economic difficulties within the community. Local residents relayed many sad stories about drug addiction and suicides, and about people struggling to 'get on with it' under different socioeconomic situations. The accounts reveal tensions between different social groups: between different areas and neighbourhoods, between working and non-working families, between men and women, between generations, and between the established white community and the new asylum seekers in the area. Yet there was also an attitude of 'getting on with it' and 'having to live together' which seemed to unite people in Walker, at least in the sense of everyday life and experience.

Community cohesion as living memory, as the present-day embodiment of a shared industrial past, is perhaps an overly romanticised concept of what Marshall meant by 'industrial atmosphere'. Surely the industry needs to exist for its atmosphere to remain. Or perhaps one might suggest that all that is left in Walker is a de-industrialised atmosphere, one of decline and deterioration. At the very least, I think it is possible to argue that there is a sense of unity amidst the disarray, a solidarity amongst people, which originates from a shared industrial past.

With the prospect of regeneration, prolonged processes of deindustrialisation in Walker have perhaps come to a turning point. Whether this regeneration will succeed in erasing the legacies of the industrial past, both positive and negative, remains to be seen. The local politics around regeneration in Walker have been complicated and heated. As I shall argue in the following section, the local politics of post-industrial change also represent a legacy of industrial ruination.

5.3 Local Politics of Post-industrial Change: Imminent Regeneration

The East End of Newcastle, and Walker in particular, has a strong tradition of engagement in local politics (Madanipour and Bevan 1999: 30). The Labour Councillors of the ward have traditionally maintained close ties with the area and the local residents. Decline in the manufacturing industries along the industrial riverside and in the East End of Newcastle as a whole has meant a shift in the type and nature of jobs towards piecemeal, flexible and largely non-unionized labour. Thus, the main actors in local struggles over processes of social and economic change are the community residents rather than workers on the factory floor. The local politics in Walker are still tied to the history of labour politics, but the worker base has been eroded, and the community spirit of contestation and solidarity is what remains of the industrial worker past. The primary way in which most Walker people relate to the industrial legacy of shipbuilding is through the prospect of imminent regeneration. They are concerned with the implications of regeneration for their community, one which is based on a shared industrial history that has been in perpetual decline for over thirty years. Thus, the politics of contestation among local people in Walker is closely connected with the concept of community cohesion as a legacy of industrial ruination.

History and Politics of Regeneration in Walker

I researched the chronology of regeneration in Walker in the local archives at the Walker branch of the Newcastle Public Library. Interviewees from Newcastle City Council did not have a long historical memory of previous regeneration efforts in the area. However, regeneration and reclamation schemes for the Walker community actually date from the 1980s.[11] Early initiatives seem to have happened in short bursts, with varying degrees of success. In the 1990s, the East End Partnership of the Newcastle City Council was formed, and it focused on the reclamation and regeneration of Walker Riverside industries and the development of the Hadrian's Wall cycleway as a green space and tourist attraction.

The current regeneration plan for Walker dates to 2000 and has been led by Newcastle City Council. The plan was initially part of a City Council scheme called 'Going for Growth', which was widely criticized for its heavy-handed approach and was eventually replaced by a different scheme involving greater community engagement. The residents of Walker protested strongly against regeneration plans under 'Going for Growth', as the plans involved a considerable degree of housing demolition. The community backlash prevented regeneration from progressing according to plan, as they had in other parts of the city such as the West End of Newcastle, where there was less resistance to change. People for Places Group, a not-for-profit regeneration and housing company, was brought in as the regeneration partner for Walker following community engagement in 2002. According to Newcastle City Council and People for Places Group, the main reason for the regeneration of Walker is to deal with the systemic and long-standing social and economic problems in the area, including: population loss over the past fifteen years at a higher rate than population loss experienced in Newcastle as a whole; high rates of unemployment; low demand for housing; poor quality of housing and infrastructure; few local shops and services, and inadequate public transport. In June 2004, the Newcastle City Council changed hands from Labour to the Liberal Democrats, which caused yet another shift in regeneration plans. The Liberal Democrats more or less picked up on the regeneration plans already in place under Labour. However, since the transition, Labour Councillors have been fighting

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[11] The first City Council proposal for a Walker Riverside Reclamation and Improvement Scheme was dated 1983.

with the Liberal Democrats over the current regeneration plans for Walker, particularly since Walker is traditional Labour territory.

The Walker Riverside Draft Masterplan (2004) was prepared by Places for People to show what has been proposed for each of the neighbourhoods within the Walker Riverside area. After a number of contentious issues surrounding the proposed demolition of housing, further consultation with the community and other stakeholders was undertaken in November 2004, and consultations continued until October 2005. The community was asked to choose one of three options: minor, moderate or major impact, with minor involving no demolition of homes, moderate involving some demolition, and major involving considerable demolition. The City Council and Places for People clearly favoured the third option and with that option alone promised the community investment in schools, local infrastructure and shops. The Labour Councillors were opposed to the third option proposed and at the time of my fieldwork were engaging with local residents in a struggle to oppose housing demolition and instead refurbish existing homes. Finally, there was an internal scrutiny panel in the City Council in Dec 2005/Jan 2006 reviewing the regeneration plans for Walker, which overwhelmingly opposed the Labour position. Although the community struggle against regeneration was actively supported by Labour Councillors, many local residents were confused, given Labour's change in attitude from being for regeneration to being against it. In this way, the local politics surrounding social and economic change have been entangled with politics inside the City Council. Now that the regeneration process is underway, the official website for Walker Riverside Regeneration (www.walker-riverside.co.uk) emphasises harmony, with the phrase 'Heart of Walker' representing the vision of Walker as a regenerated community.

The proposed regeneration of Walker involves a great deal of change to the look and feel of the area, with the aim of bringing in new housing, better parks and services, and a wave of new population. The regeneration scheme has a long life span, ranging over the next fifteen to twenty years. However, the type of job which any new industry on the riverside would create is unlikely to match the skill sets of local residents. Thus, the gap between physical (new housing and infrastructure) and economic regeneration (the creation of jobs) remains unclear. Local residents remember regeneration efforts which have failed or stopped halfway through, such as half a block of houses which have new double-glazed windows and partial refurbishments (Interview, Tania, East End

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Community Development Alliance, 22 Mar 06). Thus, even with the commencement of this latest and most ambitious regeneration scheme, nothing is certain about the future of Walker Riverside.
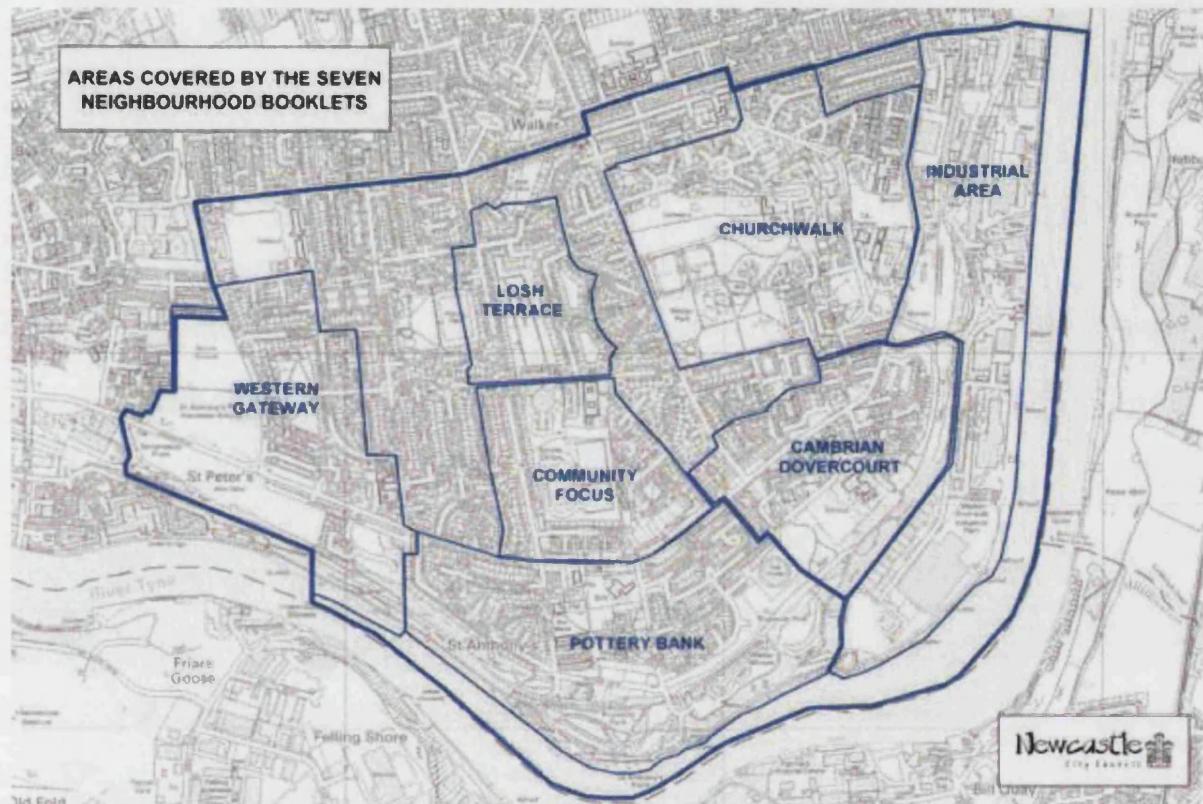
Figure 19 The Walker Riverside Area, Neighbourhoods, Newcastle City Council, 2003.
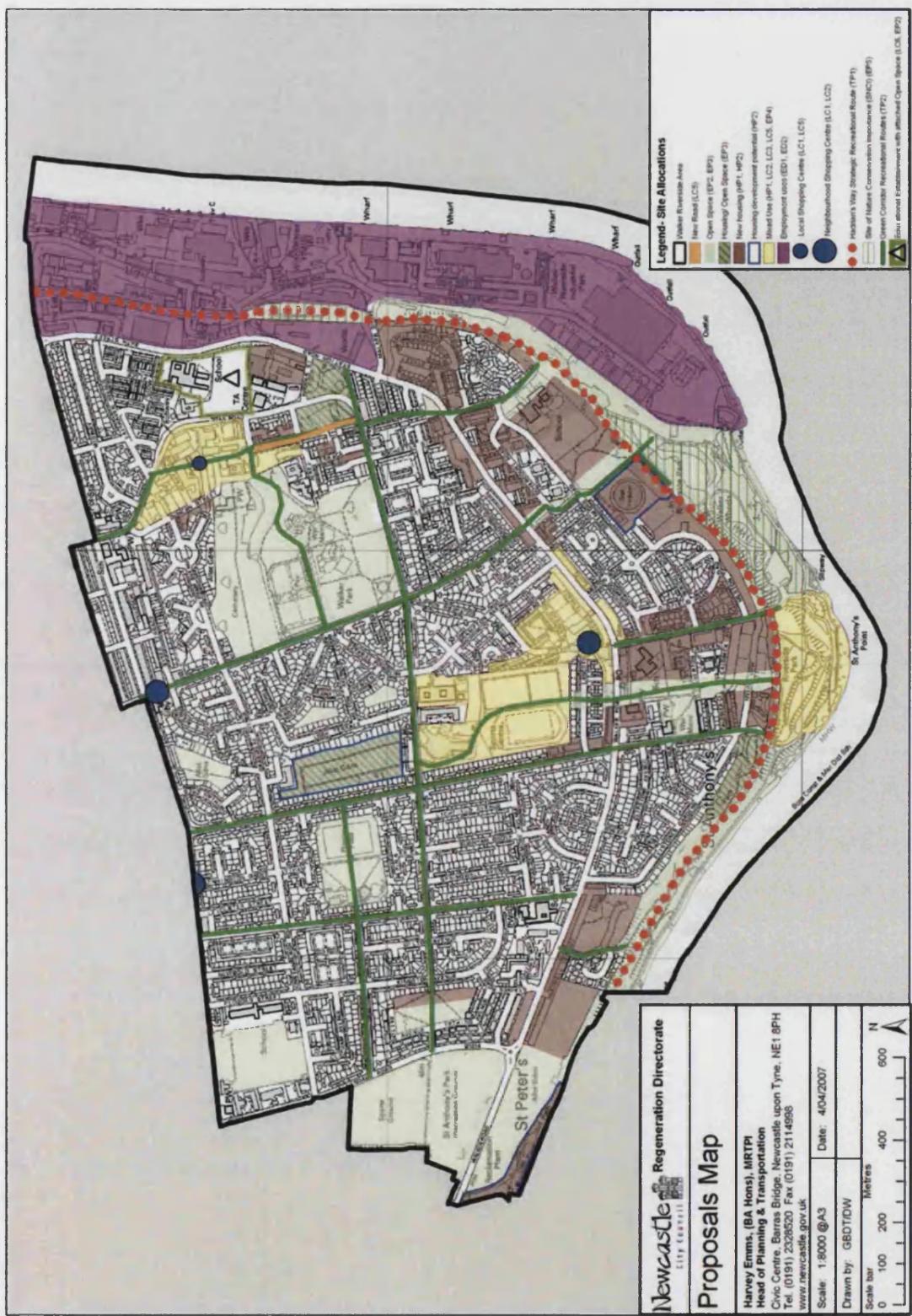
Figure 20 Proposals Map for Walker Riverside, 2003. Source: Newcastle City Council.

Partnerships

The politics of regeneration in Walker would not be possible without public-private partnerships between a range of actors from government, businesses, community organisations and other interested parties. Public-private partnerships involve the blurring of state and market boundaries and functions. The rise of public-private partnerships in the 1990s as a widespread form of cooperative governance is often associated with neoliberalism and privatisation. According to this logic, 'Partnerships arise as a derivative reform in areas where full privatization seems less tractable, perhaps due to technical problems attending the assignment of property rights.' (Linder 1999: 37).

The strategy of public-private partnerships in the 'post-industrial' regeneration of cities has become increasingly common in the United Kingdom, North America and parts of Europe. For example, in the 1990s, the City of Manchester shifted from a tradition of municipal socialism to a neoliberal place-marketing strategy which critics have termed the 'entrepreneurial city' or 'competitive city' (Quilley 1999; Ward 2003), based on public-private partnerships and a spirit of competition. Post-industrial strategies for regeneration have also followed the model of arts-led regeneration exemplified by the processes of gentrification and urban redevelopment in SoHo in Manhattan (Zukin 1982). According to O'Connor (1998: 229), this model of urban regeneration 'was based on a conscious and explicit shift of the economic base from manufacturing to services industries, symbolised by the redrawing of the old historical industrial areas in terms of leisure and consumption.'

Amin (2005: 616) extends his criticism of neoliberal urban policy to include different developments in stakeholder involvement under New Labour:

> Building on a stakeholder trend within urban policy introduced by their Conservative predecessors (biased towards initiatives driven by unelected quangos and local business elites and allocated through competitive national tender), New Labour has shifted the emphasis towards a less competitive regime and towards initiatives with greater leadership from local government, community participation, and stakeholder involvement in individual projects.

Indeed, this observation is quite relevant in the case of Walker, where community regeneration has been framed in terms of greater community engagement and local partnerships. I interviewed a range of actors who were involved directly or indirectly in the regeneration of Walker, including representatives from: local and regional

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government (Newcastle City Council and OneNorthEast); the housing and development 'regeneration partner' for Walker Riverside (Places for People Group); trade unions (the Trade Union Congress [TUC], Transport and General Workers' Union [T&G] and General, Municipal and Boilermakers Union [GMB]); industries on Walker Riverside [Swan Hunter's and Shepherd Offshore]; the community and voluntary sector (Anglican Church, Roman Catholic Church, 'Common Ground' Asylum Seekers' Charity, Thomas Gaughan Community Centre, East End Community Development Alliance); and local residents. The roles and related partnerships of the above-mentioned organisations are outlined in Table 2.

Table 5 Walker Riverside: Partnerships by Organisation

Organisation	Role	Partnerships
Newcastle City Council	Main stakeholder/planner in Walker Riverside regeneration	- numerous
One North East	Regional Regeneration Agency	- allocates regeneration and redevelopment funding to local authorities in the North East
Places for People Group	Regeneration Partner (property management and development organisation) for Walker Riverside	- Newcastle City Council
East End Partnership	Regeneration partnership for East End of Newcastle, set up in 1994	- Newcastle City Council, various private, public and community and voluntary sector partnerships
Trade Union Congress (TUC)	Organisation of UK trade unions	- works with various trade unions and industries
Transport and General Workers' Union ((T&G)	Trade Union	- works with various trade unions and industries
General, Municipal and Boilermakers Union (GMB)	Trade Union (including Swan Hunter's)	- works with various trade unions and industries
Swan Hunter's	Walker Riverside industry: shipyard	- cooperates with other industries along the riverside
Shepherd Offshore	Walker Riverside industry: offshore company	-Walker Riverside Partnership Board (head of company)
Anglican Church	Urban Ministry and Theology Project (East End community and voluntary sector)	-East End Community and Voluntary Sector Forum -Walker Riverside Partnership Board
Roman Catholic Church	East End Community and Voluntary Sector	-East End Community and Voluntary Sector Forum -Walker Riverside Partnership Board
Thomas Gaughan Community Centre	Local community centre, Pottery Bank, active re: Walker Riverside regeneration	-Walker Riverside Community Network
Walker Riverside Community Network	- Network for local residents re: Walker Riverside regeneration	- Local residents' associations and community centres
East End Community Development Alliance	-East End community and voluntary sector	- HealthWORKS East - East End Community and Voluntary Sector Forum - numerous local organisations
Common Ground	East End Asylum Seekers Support Group	- East End community and voluntary sector project
Walker Riverside Partnership Board	Walker Regeneration Partnership Board	- Newcastle City Council, local businesses, and the community and voluntary sector

During my research, I observed that power, voice and authority in shaping the regeneration of Walker Riverside extended from the government and developers at the top, to the community and voluntary sector at the bottom. In other words, the government and developers spear-headed the proposed regeneration plan and engaged with the community and other partners at further stages in the process for approval. Relatively extensive community consultation over six years was only achieved because of the degree of initial resistance on the part of the local community to proposed regeneration during the early stages (2000). Although I interviewed representatives from various levels within this partnership, I will focus on the tier which most closely relates to the local 'community' because of my research focus on the legacies of industrial ruination for local people in Walker. The dynamic between the community and voluntary sector and the community as a whole is a particularly interesting one, as it reveals the regulatory nature of Newcastle City Council within Walker, and the relative lack of discourse and infrastructure outside of that framework.

The Thomas Gaughan Community Centre, where I interviewed three of my 'local' informants, relied heavily on the City Council for funding. The building was in fact owned by the City Council, and the manager's position was funded through the East End Partnership (City Council). I spoke to the manager Gina, who had been working there for a few years and referred to the approach of the community centre as that of 'cradle to grave'. According to Gina, the concept of the Thomas Gaughan Community Centre as a 'one-stop shop' (an all-encompassing community service centre) was innovative, and it had been a model for other community centres within Newcastle. Its approach was that of 'partnership' and 'integrated service delivery' (Interview, Manager, Thomas Gaughan Community Centre, Walker, 18 Nov 2005).

As previously mentioned, some of the local residents who I spoke with pointed out that many people employed at Thomas Gaughan, particularly in higher positions such as Gina, were not local community members. I observed that this was also the case in other funded community services, such as the 'Partnership Building', the 'East End Partnership' and the East End Community Development Alliance (EECDA), although the EECDA employs local 'linkworkers' to do the core of community development work in the area. This reflects the strong regulatory role even at the community level on the part of Newcastle City Council, which makes it difficult to separate the notions of community and government when they are in practice entangled.

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The faith communities in the East End of Newcastle had also taken on board the notion of partnership. I spoke with Dr. Peter Robinson (Interview, 10 Nov 2005) about the role of faith communities in the East End. He described his involvement with the Urban Ministry Theology Project, which provides its own analysis of the issues of social and economic exclusion and deprivation in the East End of Newcastle and outlines a strategy for the church to engage with these issues (Russell 2004). Dr. Robinson took me on a tour of the Anglican Church's projects, some of which were based on notions of 'partnership'. For example, St. Martin's Church, a 1930s building, was falling apart in 1999 when Dr. Robinson came in as vicar. At the time of our tour, the church had been torn down completely and was in the process of being reconstructed as a community centre for working families.

The other church which was actively involved in 'partnership' during the time of my research was that of Father Michael Conaty, Chairman of St. Anthony of Padua Community Association (Roman Catholic). Father Conaty had lived and worked in the community for over thirty years, and he was a well-respected 'leader' in the community. He described the work of his church community association as concerned primarily with care for people in the East End of Newcastle. He said that he has watched the decline of population, and the decline of shipyards and heavy industry. He listed a number of ways in which his church has been involved in the community, including work with the school, skills training in work, literacy and IT (with the support of government funds in the 1990s), care for the elderly and the very needy, and support for working families. He described his vision of community regeneration as follows:

> I'm only interested in a community that regenerates itself from within because it has to be people-centred all the way. And, okay, you have to invite in big business and...right, work... the workers must be trained to be local and must have an appreciation of the local environment, must welcome that industry... So any sort of regeneration starts with work and training and re-training then education, schools, then you build a community from that. (Interview, 10 Nov 2005)

According to Father Conaty, the main challenge in achieving this goal was financial: 'Raising money, everything is costly.' When I asked about his relationship with other stakeholders in the process, he said with a magnanimous air, 'I work in great partnership with them all. Yes, I see them as a valuable part, a supportive part, and there may have been times when I would disapprove of [certain people's] agendas, and of course you can always have something pulled out from underneath you, that's what happens, isn't it?'

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In this account, Father Conaty emphasises both the value and the compromises implicit in working in partnership with different actors towards a common goal.

The role of faith communities in the social and economic welfare of the Walker community is interesting because their leadership role has come about through the absence of other actors, such as employers and the state, which have traditionally taken up these roles in the history of modern capitalism. Although the church has historically played a role in local welfare within communities, it has played that role alongside other actors. In other words, the increased role of churches reflects the diminished capacity of capitalism and the welfare state to deal with social and economic problems associated with industrial decline in Walker, at least during this critical time of instability and transition.

Another key player in 'partnership' approaches, from a bottom-up rather than a top-down perspective, was the East End Community Development Alliance (EECDA). Mark Pierce, Officer for the EECDA, described the history of the organisation's engagement in community development in the East End. Mr. Pierce argued that City Council has had a controlling approach with regard to regeneration. He noted that in the last couple of years many residents have become disillusioned with the notion of 'partnership'. He identified two levels of community development work, one at the level of local impact, and another at the policy level, with the middle part being the difficult part (Interview, Mark Pierce, Officer, East End Community Development, 1 Dec 2005).

I visited the EECDA office in Walker between 20-21 March 2006 and followed the community projects of two 'linkworkers', Sue and Tania. They gave their own perspective on the politics of regeneration and change. Both felt very positive about the work they were doing and about the strength of community spirit in general. Tania expressed considerable doubt about the regeneration process during a walking tour of the Walker and Byker areas. She said that local people were not consulted enough, and that many things were not thought through despite good intentions. For example, she pointed out that some of the high rises along Hexham Avenue and near to the run-down shopping area of Church Walk were going to be demolished. As I have already mentioned, the high rises were considered 'rough', with lots of drug use, crime, and a high proportion of asylum seekers as residents. Tania admitted that she would not like to live in one of these high rises. However, the high rises housed many young people

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under the age of twenty five, and the replacement housing proposed would not be let to people under the age of twenty five. She also found it difficult to see how regeneration plans would address issues of local unemployment, as the only job creation would be in high skill sectors along the riverside and in temporary contract employment in the construction of new housing.

As I have shown, 'partnership' has been the driving concept behind regeneration in Walker, and the partnership has included actors from all levels (public, private and local), although despite the rhetoric, the process has been mainly top-down. Community-led initiatives remained dependent on national and local funding, which limited their capacity for independent action. The Newcastle City Council's Walker Riverside regeneration plans went going ahead in 2006 despite local concerns over the patchy nature of the consultation process. However, the community and voluntary sector started to build its own partnerships, raising concerns over the conflicting interests of market, state and community in the long term social and economic health of the Walker community. While 'partnership' has been the model driving cooperative processes of local change, it has also been chequered by heated struggles and contestation. Many local residents in Walker were included in 'community consultation' efforts, but they have remained excluded from the 'partnerships' which shaped the regeneration process. For six years, local residents were up in arms against proposed regeneration to their community. The next section examines the politics of contestation surrounding one of the most controversial sites of proposed demolition: Pottery Bank.

Local Contestation: Pottery Bank

Pottery Bank is located just west of Walker Riverside along potentially 'prime' riverside property. Pottery Bank is also one of the most stigmatised areas of Walker, and it is comprised of council housing dating from the 1930s. The City Council's regeneration plans include demolition of many houses in Walker, including most of the council houses along Pottery Bank. This proposal, which was first tabled six years prior to the regeneration, met fierce resistance from local residents. Unlike in other areas of Newcastle (eg. in the west), where housing demolitions have been fairly straightforward because of abandoned or extremely run-down housing, Pottery Bank represented a huge problem. The houses were filled with many people who were in fact attached to their

homes and their neighbourhood, and who took great care in the maintenance of their homes. To deal with the issue of displaced residents, the City has proposed that residents move into newly built, smaller, and more modern homes, in different locations within the community. It took years of debate, community consultation, and paperwork to finally get the necessary 'approval' of the community to go ahead with the proposed regeneration.

Anne Mulroy of the regeneration partner Places for People argued that whether the 'rough' reputation of Pottery Bank was deserved or not, it was important to get rid of the stigma, as otherwise, people would not be attracted to move there (Interview, 2 Dec 2005). She argued that although the Thomas Gaughan Community Centre on Pottery Bank 'does good work', as a run-down building it would not be able to attract new residents. Ms. Mulroy noted that there were fears amongst residents that developers were trying to displace them and to turn their community into a yuppie area. She argued that this was not the case, but that frankly, 'a sprinkling of yuppies would be good for the economy', in the sense of promoting social and economic diversity through the mixture of tenure and income groups (Interview, 02 Dec 2005).

I visited two residents of Pottery Bank at one of their homes. I was referred to them by Labour Councillor John Stokel-Walker, who claimed they could 'speak for all of England'. The homes appeared to be well-kept, which contrasted with the City Council's portrayal of run-down homes which needed to be demolished, and with the stigma attached to the area. The two women talked about the generations of families that had lived there, their personal experiences growing up in the community, the strength of the community, the ugliness and smallness of the dreaded 'purple' show homes, and the fact that the whole community was up in arms against the city and developers over the proposed demolition of their homes. In addition, they spoke about issues in the area surrounding safety and crime, the lack of upkeep of green spaces (overgrown bushes, unsafe parks), and suspicions that the city and government were facilitating demolitions by neglecting the community even further, letting it run itself into the ground (Interview, 12 Sep 2005).

Three local residents of Pottery Bank (who I interviewed at the Thomas Gaughan Community Centre) also described some of their experiences with processes of change in the area (Interview, 21 Mar 2006). They noted that the process of community consultation hadn't been fair or inclusive: 'I'm not sure what's been worse

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for the community, the loss of jobs or the regeneration.' One of the worst things, they said, was waiting around for six years without knowing what would happen. However, now that the regeneration process had already begun, the two interviewees were starting to cautiously accept the notion of change:

> Now that we know that we're not going to get anywhere by fighting them all the time, we're looking forward to seeing what they can actually do with the area. But what we don't want is all these yuppie houses like St. Peter's Basin. And having the families leave, because it's full of families. And we don't want them to leave and have all these studenty types moving in...

This narrative of change also reflects a fear of gentrification, and within that, an awareness that this could be a likely outcome of regeneration. Through this exchange, I became aware of the relationship between myself as a 'studenty type' and the interviewees as community members. I was also reminded of Anne Mulroy's suggestion that a 'sprinkling of yuppies' would be good for Walker.

During my interviewees with various actors within the partnership politics of regeneration in Walker, Pottery Bank was often referred to as a byword for community contestation. Although local residents from other areas of Walker were affected by the regeneration and raised varying levels of protest and concern (strongly related to whether their houses were slated for demolition, I suspect), Pottery Bank was an 'exemplar' of contestation in Walker. Labour Councillor John Stokel-Walker described the situation facing residents of Pottery Bank as an outrage, arguing vehemently against the proposed regeneration. However, the initial plans for demolition of homes under 'Going for Growth' with the City Council were designed and promoted by the City Council under Labour. According to three different interviewees (Dr. Peter Robinson, 10 Nov 2005; Gina, 18 Nov 2005; Anne Mulroy, 2 Dec 2005), since the shift in the City Council to a Liberal Democrat majority in 2001, the Labour Councillors in particular have changed their mind and are now telling the community that they are opposed to demolition. In other words, the politics of change in Pottery Bank were further complicated by the politics of change in the City Council, resulting in a loss of trust in the City Council and in the partnership process in general.

The local politics of post-industrial change in Walker have been deeply fraught and contested. The strong role of the City Council in regeneration and economic development processes is clearly evident, even in the configurations of partnership. At

the same time, other actors such as faith communities have emerged in the absence of other leadership. Some community and voluntary sector organisations have begun to foster partnership 'from below', but this too remains tied up with funding and institutions of the City Council and its development partners. Local politics are post-industrial in the virtual absence of a labourist or trade unionist politics on the factory floor. However, the resilience of the local community in its struggle to retain its homes, families and sense of community, is in some sense a legacy of the industrial past, based on the spirit of solidarity and resistance of workers and workers' families.

Conclusion

The period of my study in Walker captures the uncertainty of a prolonged period of transformation, where the death knell has long been sounding, but the final blow has not been struck, and the life support has not yet been severed. This is a slow and painful process, and it is still underway. The 'inner world of creative destruction' (Zukin 1991) in the various forms of memory in Walker, articulated with sadness, anger, humour, resignation or transference, is an inner world which reflects many of the difficulties in shifting from a social space of industrial decline towards an undefined 'post-industrial' dream. The theme of 'imminent regeneration' was recurrent throughout the topics of memory, community spirit, and the local politics of partnership and contestation.

This chapter has grappled with a number of issues emerging from the interviews and site and ethnographic observations. The first section revealed how forms of memory and perceptions of landscapes of industrial ruination in Walker relate to class, generations, and processes of social and economic change. 'Silences' in local and official memory reflected the position of Walker as a place caught between an industrial past and an uncertain post-industrial future. The second section showed that despite an underlying ideal of 'community cohesion', there are a number of tensions and paradoxes of community solidarity in Walker as a socioeconomic and cultural legacy of industrial ruination, particularly in relation to issues of race and identity. Finally, the third section explored the local politics surrounding regeneration in Walker through a discussion of partnership and contestation. This section drew attention to the top-down structure of 'partnership' in regeneration planning in Walker despite official requirements for 'community engagement'. Notable aspects of local politics included the strong

regulatory role of Newcastle City Council and the strength of community resilience and activism in lieu of a traditional labourist voice. The next chapter moves on to a very different landscape of industrial ruination than that of Walker Riverside: Ivanovo, the 'Russian Manchester'.

6   Ivanovo, Russia: Rupture and Partial Reversal

One of the most poignant images of the twin historical identities of Ivanovo is a statue of Lenin standing next to a smokestack (Figure 21).   Lenin and the smokestack are situated in the centre of the city, not far from other semi-abandoned textile factories and from other statues of Soviet leaders, including another one of Lenin just a few blocks away. Lenin's posture is tall and proud, with a magnanimous air.
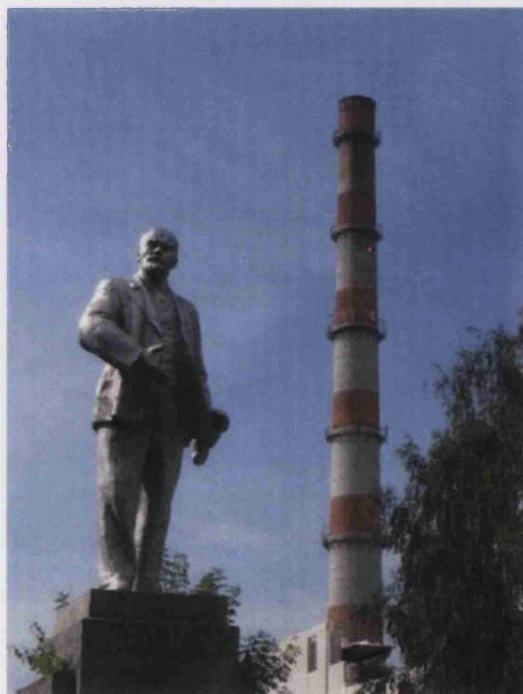
Figure 21 Lenin and Smokestack, Ivanovo City Centre, September 2006.

The post-Soviet context of Ivanovo adds a different dimension to an analysis of landscapes of industrial ruination, particularly in relation to the notion of an uneven geography of capitalism. The landscape of industrial ruination has been shaped not by capital flight, as the industries were set up during the Soviet period, but by integration into the global market economy: by the inability of industries to survive within the context of capitalism. If the post-industrial ideal falls short of people's expectations in a 'western' place like Walker, then how can this same ideal offer hope or possibilities for a place like Ivanovo, with such a different political, social, economic and industrial history?

My research focus in Ivanovo was on both abandoned and partially abandoned textile factories. I did not focus on one particular factory or area of the city because the textile factories were dispersed throughout the fabric of the city. With the help of two

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translators, I conducted eighteen semi-structured interviews during September 2006 with a range of people who were related either directly or indirectly to the textile industry in Ivanovo, including workers, former workers, residents, students, local government representatives, and economists. I also conducted a number of site observations by foot, public transport and car. I went on tours of sites with two of my key informants, my translator Roman and my Russian instructor Nikolai. Through the informants, I engaged in informal interactions (mostly short, fact-gathering conversations) with other local residents and workers. In total, I visited the following sites: six partially working, partially abandoned factories; numerous fully abandoned factories; one flagship factory conversion into a shopping mall; and two textile malls which were also factory conversions.

The city of Ivanovo as a whole told a story of industrial decline; ruins were written into the everyday landscape. I made two spatial observations about the landscape of ruination in Ivanovo: the abundance and pervasiveness of industrial ruins; and the phenomenon of partially abandoned, partially working sites. However, as I moved in and amongst the ruins and examined their character and their relationship with the fabric of the city and with people's everyday lives, the overall sense of industrial gloom and decline seemed less homogenous. I identified two key social and economic themes in the landscape of ruination: utilitarian use of space (function over form), and tenacity and resilience in reclaiming old textile industries (evident in the partially working factories). These themes are related to the sudden rupture with the past in the early 1990s, the lack of 'post-industrial' alternatives within the city and region, and the entanglement of Soviet and industrial histories in Ivanovo.

6.1 Setting the Context

The process of economic transition to capitalism in Russia has been widely theorised and debated (cf. Ashwin and Clarke 2003; Burawoy and Verdery 1999b; Freeland 2000; Kouznetsov 2004; Remington 2006). In particular, the profound unevenness of the transition has been described in much of the literature, with rise of the ultra-wealthy 'oligarchs', the 'victors of gladiator's capitalism' (Freeland 2000: 106), and the intense social and economic polarisation of Russian society as a whole. In cities such as Moscow and St. Petersburg, the juxtaposition between the super-rich and the extremely poor is stark, with flashy expensive cars, luxury restaurants and designer shops

(particularly in Moscow) in some parts of the city, and high levels of unemployment and decline in others. In Ivanovo, such contrasts are less evident; the city and region as a whole are generally marked by decline and exclusion.

Ivanovo is an out-of-the-way place. It does not fit into the nexus of global cities (Sassen 2002), or even intermediate city hubs, that define the landscape of global capitalism. Ivanovo is located just 300 kilometres northeast of Moscow, yet the city is located firmly outside of the tourist map. Even though Ivanovo is one of the train stops along the Golden Ring of ancient cities around Moscow, there is no entry for Ivanovo in the 2006 Lonely Planet guidebook to Russia. The 'Way to Russia' online travel guide provides disclaimers about the tourist value of Ivanovo, such as: 'In case you're stuck in Ivanovo and feel sad that the trip that was teaching you so much about architecture and history was abruptly paused in this town...' and: 'In case you like Ivanovo so much that you even decide to stay there, or (sorry) you're just stuck in the town, here's the list of a few hotels...' (www.waytorussia.net/GoldenRing/Ivanovo/Guide.html)

Ivanovo is excluded from the tourist draw of the Golden Ring because of its identity as a polluted industrial city rather than because of its spatial location. Even within Ivanovo itself, there was no tourist centre for visitors to the city at the time of my visit. The only offices concerned with tourism were for local people wishing to travel away from Ivanovo. Furthermore, travel into the city is difficult. The airport in Ivanovo was closed during the time of my visit, although there was talk of re-opening it in the future, and trains to Ivanovo from Moscow and St. Petersburg run only once or twice a day. The train from Moscow takes seven hours, and the overnight train from St. Petersburg takes sixteen hours or more, which is how I arrived in the city. The roads into the city are narrow and poorly paved. Commenting on the difficulties of travelling to Ivanovo from Moscow, Treivish (2004: 12) writes: 'Such a "fatal" Russian communication aggravates the contrast between the national centre and periphery.' However, since the time of my fieldwork, a tourist office has opened in Ivanovo, and the airport is set to re-open (2008), so the communication and transport gaps seem to be in the process of narrowing.
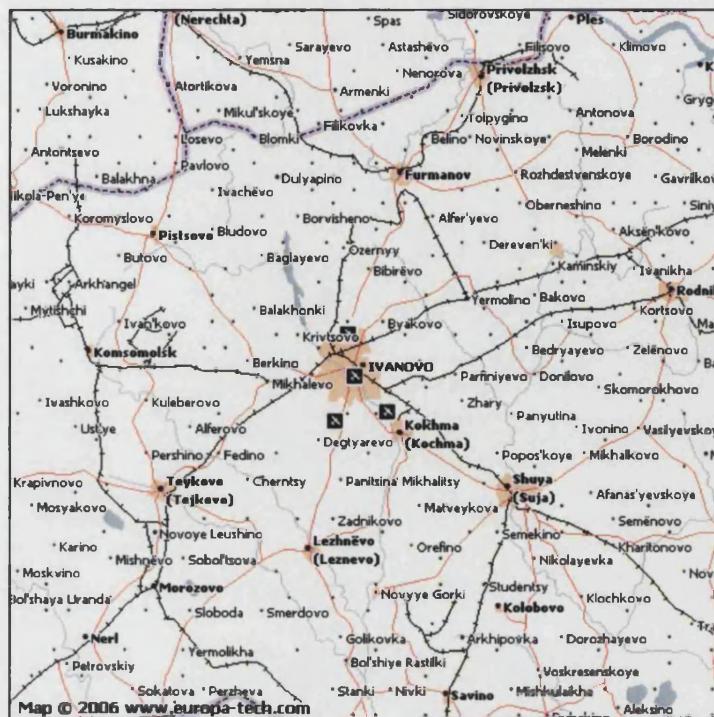
Figure 22 Map of Ivanovo Region, 2006. Source: www.europe-tech.com.

The geography of the city has multiple historical layers. Ivanovo was first documented in the Russian Chronicles of 1561 as a village on the River Uvod. It began as one of many rural villages in Russia with a basis in handicraft and weaving. Evidence of this village typology is found today in the single-family wooden houses with small gardens which are spread throughout the region (see Figure 23). Many of these houses are in a bad state of repair and rely on the individual initiatives of owners for plumbing and fixtures. I observed people who were living in a cluster of wooden houses (which I walked past every day to get to and from my own accommodation, a Soviet-style block of university flats) make use of a communal water pump in the alley between the houses. In 2000 only 64% of dwellings in the Ivanovo Region had running water supply at all and just 54% had a hot-water supply (Kouznetsov 2004: 38). These houses, particularly those situated in central areas of the city, have recently (2006) been threatened with demolition by developers from Moscow who wish to build more modern residential apartment blocks. According to several of my interviewees, these prospective demolitions have been met with resistance from residents who remain attached to their homes despite their structural problems. Although it is not the focus on my research in this case, the story of attachment to homes under threat echoes that of Walker.

Figure 23 Typical Wooden House, Ivanovo, September 2006.

Sitar and Sverdlov (2004) describe the overall urban picture in Ivanovo as reflecting overlapping successive political eras in urban planning, with various styles of Soviet construction—'stalinskie doma' (Stalin houses), 'krushchevki' and 'brezhnevki'—each leaving their imprints on the city. However, none of these Soviet construction efforts was fully embodied, leaving a:

> … perplexing superimposition of unfinished initiatives and "un-kept promises", marked by ubiquitous discontinuity, ruptures, and unprecedented functional/typological clutter in the areas where unfinished big scale planned developments collide with islands of spontaneous growth and small scale adaptations. The architectural identity of Ivanovo and surrounding cities thus had become characterized precisely by the absence of a consistent character. (Sitar and Sverdlov 2004: 9-10)

The cityscape of Ivanovo has undergone a great deal of change since the end of the Soviet Union. The landscape is filled with abandoned factories and dilapidated residential and commercial buildings. The city has also engaged in piecemeal, market-oriented renovations, and some western-style shops offering a range of products have opened in the city centre. The most prevalent of these is the mobile phone shop. However, some newer enterprises have already abandoned their building spaces due to economic difficulties. This was likely the case with the 'Plaza', a former theatre which was abandoned for some thirty years before being converted into a shopping centre in the 1990s. The Plaza closed down during the month I was in Ivanovo, reportedly because of the failure of the building to meet healthy and safety regulations.

The accounts given by my interviewees told more or less the same story of the decline of the textile industry as I found within my review of the literature. The textile industry plunged into crisis after the collapse of the Soviet Union, particularly with the independence of the Central Asian republics (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan), where Ivanovo got its cotton from. The price of cotton went up with the independence of these republics, and at the same time, the demand for textiles went down in the shift from a centrally planned economy to a market economy. Textile production in Ivanovo came to a complete standstill in the early 1990s. Gradually, factories began to open again throughout the 1990s, but they faced serious social and economic difficulties. The decline in the textile and machine building industries in Ivanovo is linked with nation-wide trends in the integration with the global market economy. Treivish (2004: 16) notes that light industry was the number one Russian loser, followed by machine building, which he said 'fared even worse [than light industry] in Ivanovo'. Two local residents who remembered these difficult economic times said that they had to make train journeys to Moscow every weekend to buy food, as for a time, nothing was available in the local shops (Interview, university lecturer, 14 Sep 2006; Interview, local resident, 21 Sep 2006).

Overall, Ivanovo more or less matches the descriptions in the literature of an economically depressed, polluted old industrial city: there were a great number of ruined factories and buildings left over from the Soviet area; one could see evidence of high levels of poverty, unemployment and alcoholism; and the roads, public transport and general urban infrastructure were poorly maintained. However, I noticed some inconsistencies in what I saw in Ivanovo and what I had read in the available literature. Firstly, I had expected that the gender division would be more important because of the nickname of Ivanovo as the 'City of Brides'. However, many of the interviewees claimed that this was a myth. For example, one interviewee explained:

> It was said that Ivanovo is the town of brides, you might have heard, but in fact
> it was only after the Great Patriotic War or the Second World War when many
> men died, perished during the war and women had to work hard to raise the
> economy. But it has never been so that there were more women than men. In
> fact, it was practically equal, an equal quantity. Maybe such opinion was born
> according to the fact that the textile industry requires… I don't know why but it
> requires women more than men, and our region was always associated with
> textiles. But this problem was urgent only during and after the Second World

War but then the situation changed. (Interview, student, Ivanovo State University, 12 Sep 2006)

Although the relative numbers of men and women in Ivanovo may no longer be indicative of a 'City of Brides', gender-specific imbalances are evident in the employment structure, as men tend to be privileged in hiring positions with higher pay (Kouznetsov 2004). Although issues of gender did not emerge from my interview data directly, I did note that amongst the people I interviewed and the people I heard about through stories of family histories, people in management and ownership positions tended to be men, and workers, former workers and administrators tended to be female. The gender dynamics in Ivanovo would be worth investigating further in future research.

Another example of inconsistency with the literature was with regard to the current political climate. Ivanovo has a strong labour history as the birthplace of the first Soviet. The *Shrinking Cities* website notes: 'Occurrences such as the arson attack on the shopping mall in the former "8th March Textile Factory", which took place in spring 2003, testify to social disruption.' www.schrumpfendestaedte.de/index.php) However, according to all of my interviewees and local newspaper articles, the spring 2003 incident at the former 8th March Textile Factory 'Silver City' shopping centre was not an arson attack but rather an organised burglary, and it was not inspired by workers' struggles. By contrast, the political voice of local workers and residents in post-Soviet Ivanovo has been relatively weak. Local interviewees emphasised that the level of political engagement at the level of local workers and residents has been very low and indeed, almost non-existent, a theme which will be elaborated on in the next chapter. The rest of this chapter will focus on some of the complex spatial, socioeconomic and temporal features of industrial ruination in Ivanovo that will provide some insight into these questions.

6.2 Scale and Scope of Ruination

My analysis of the forms and processes of ruination in Ivanovo was limited to a particular spatial-temporal moment—a period of four weeks in September 2006. Although Ivanovo has suffered decline and stagnation in the post-socialist era, it remains situated in a rapidly changing social, economic, cultural and political context of post-socialist transition. It is likely that many aspects of the landscape of ruination have

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changed since my fieldwork. Many of the partially working factories may have since closed or been bought up by investors; many of the small wooden houses may have been razed to the ground as planned by Moscow developers; and many of the abandoned factories may have been partially re-opened or else developed as commercial spaces. In years to come, Ivanovo may take a similar path to Łódź, the 'Polish Manchester', which has capitalised on its industrial ruins in arts-led regeneration of the city. Signs such as . the re-opening of the airport, the new tourist information centre, and new investments from Moscow into the city, indicate that Ivanovo is gradually becoming less excluded from the rest of the world. However, although my research may be suggestive of future developments and possibilities, I am not concerned here with changes in Ivanovo beyond the period of study. This limitation in focus is not simply practical, but it is also analytical: I am concerned with archaeologically examining a 'moment' in Ivanovo for what it reveals of the social and spatial dynamics of urban change, and of wider socioeconomic processes.

I drew two main observations about the landscape of ruination from my site observations: industrial ruins were both abundant and pervasive, and many old textile factories were in fact both partially abandoned and partially working. While the other two case studies focus on particular old industrial sites and their relationships to adjacent communities and neighbourhoods, this case study focuses on the city of Ivanovo as a whole because of the embeddedness of ruination within the cityscape. As the following photographs, descriptions and interview accounts of the abandoned and partially abandoned factories demonstrate, there is considerable variation in how factories have continued to function in the context of industrial decline, and in local understandings of the state of the textile industry. There appeared to be a continuum spanning from almost-fully-working to completely abandoned factories. As in the case of the former shipyards of Walker Riverside, this continuum is suggestive of the concept of ruination as a process rather than as a form.

Abundance and Pervasiveness

Industrial abandonment is both abundant and pervasive throughout Ivanovo rather than clustered in particular deprived areas. In the heart of the city centre, on either side of the river Uvod, there are two factories. One, Tovarshetva Factory, is completely abandoned, and the other, Bolshaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura ('Big Ivanovo

Factory'), faced serious economic difficulties and the prospect of imminent closure at the time of my research. Factories much like these span the river Uvod in both directions for several miles. I walked along the river and glimpsed these ruins during my first days in the city, starting in the city centre and moving outwards, first west, then east. Throughout my time in the city, I revisited these sites, some during more extensive site observations, and others in passing during travels by transport or by car. The most striking impressions were during those initial visits by foot, as these were my first encounters with the scale and scope of abandonment, and the factories seemed larger and more visceral when walking rather than when passing by vehicle.

The first ruined factory I visited was Tovarshetva Factory. This factory is located across the river from the former 8th March Factory, the 'Silver City' shopping centre. I recorded this first visit in my field notes: 'From the river, I saw my first glimpse of industrial ruins – a massive red brick textile factory along the riverfront on the other side of the river, fenced in by walls, covered in graffiti, with some broken windows but generally structurally sound. A star is perched atop the tallest tower of the building...' (03 Sep 2006)

Figure 24 Tovarshetva Factory, Ivanovo City Centre, September 2006.

Another massive abandoned factory which defines the landscape is Ivanovskiy Kambolniy Kombinat ('Industrial Complex'), once the largest textile factory in the Soviet Union. I visited this factory by car with one of my interviewees, Nikolai, a local resident and university instructor. Nikolai was my Russian language instructor, and

after a couple of weeks of language lessons, during which I told him about my project and about some of the challenges I faced, he agreed to drive me around to visit some of the factories in lieu of lessons. Our language of communication was in Russian, which limited the depth of our conversations but enabled me to conduct research that would have otherwise been difficult on my own. I also passed by the Ivanovoskiy Kambolniy Kombinat on a *marshrutka* (routing taxi, or mini-bus) on a day trip outside of Ivanovo with my translator Roman to Shuya, a small and depressed textile town in the Ivanovo region. On both occasions, I only viewed the building from the outside. My interviewees told me that the factory extends very far backwards from its façade and it remains an important symbol of the textile industry. The large broken windows on the front entrance are evidence of its state of dereliction (see Figure 25 below).

Figure 25 Ivanovskiy Kambolniy Kombinat, September 2006.

I observed a number of other abandoned or partially abandoned factories throughout the city. On the whole, it was very difficult to tell from the outside whether factories were working or not because although most factories appeared run-down, with broken windows and crumbling structures, often a small part of the factory would still be functioning, and indeed local people would not be able to tell me with certainty whether a factory was fully abandoned or not. The following map (figure 26) indicates the locations of the abandoned Tovarshetva Factory, the Silver City mall, and six partially working factories which I will describe in the next section.[12]

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[12] I have tried to be as accurate as possible in marking the locations of the factories, based on the poor quality local maps that I worked with during my visit, my field notes/maps, and memory.
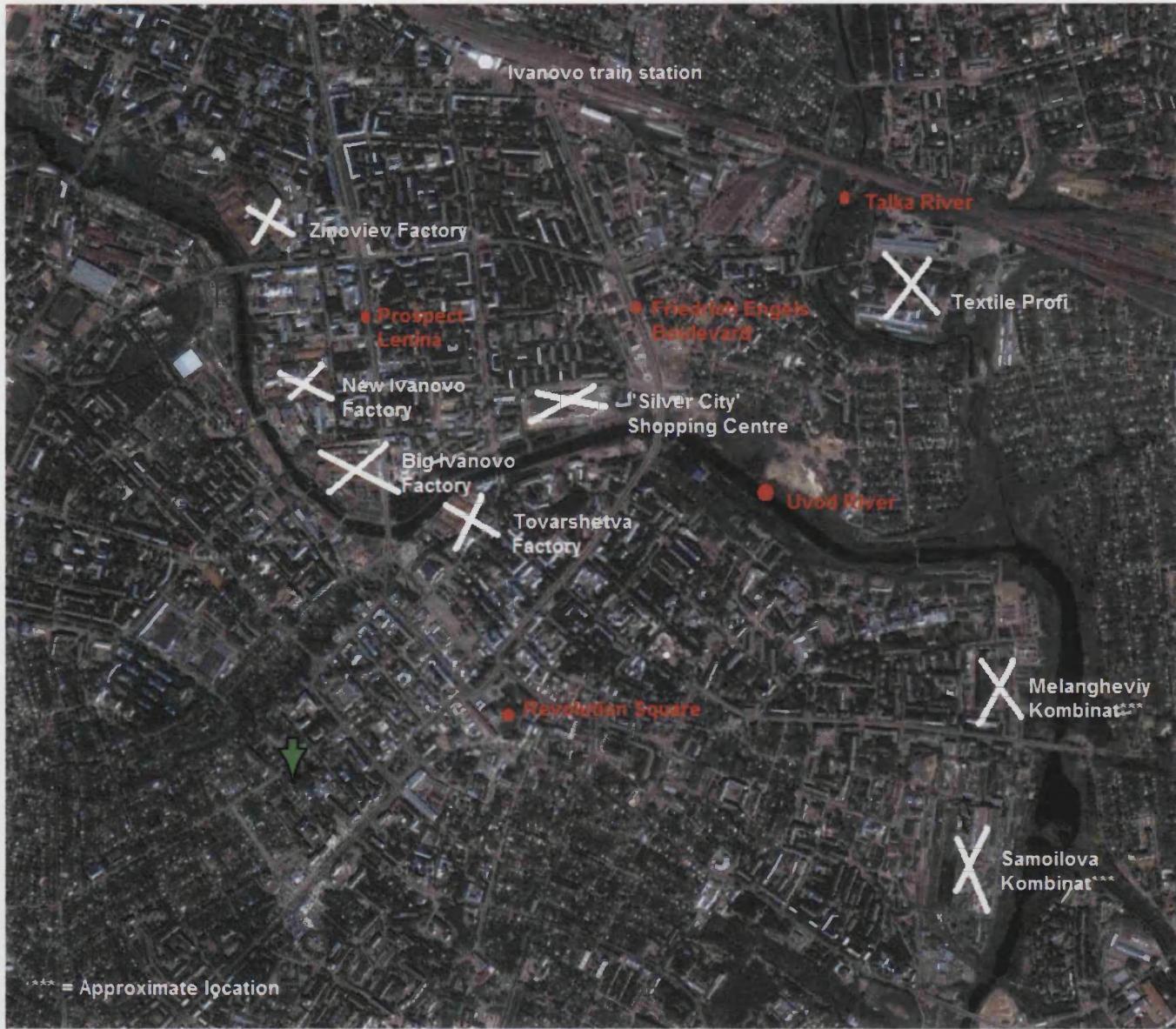
Figure 26 Map of Ivanovo with Marked Textile Factories and Sites, 2008. Source: Google Maps, 2008.

Map labels:
- Ivanovo train station
- Talka River
- Zinoviev Factory
- Textile Profi
- Prospect Lenina
- Friedrich Engels Boulevard
- New Ivanovo Factory
- 'Silver City' Shopping Centre
- Big Ivanovo Factory
- Uvod River
- Tovarshetva Factory
- Melangheviy Kombinat***
- Revolution Square
- Samoilova Kombinat***
- *** = Approximate location

Partial Work, Partial Ruins

The landscape of abandonment in Ivanovo is characterised at least as much by the phenomenon of partially working, partially abandoned factories as by completely abandoned factories. There are a number of factors behind this phenomenon. Firstly, the sheer number of textile factories has proven economically unsustainable under a competitive global market economy. Even under the Soviet Union, there was a 'creeping long-term depression'(Treivish 2004, 15) which was masked because of the centrally planned economy, where prices and output were fixed, new enterprises never directly displaced old enterprises and 'propaganda denied the very possibility of crises'. When the Soviet Union collapsed, so too did its economically unsustainable industries. The move towards the service economy or any kind of 'post-industrial' economy has been very slow, however, and few jobs have been created to fill the gap left from job losses in the textile and machine-building industries. Moreover, the textile identity of the city is very strong. As I wrote in my field notes, 'although the textile industry is in decline, it still appears to be very important in the region – many centres are named after textiles, and textile products are sold throughout the city.'(21 Sep 2006) This theme of textile identity will be explored further in the next chapter in relation to legacies of industrial ruination. In the absence of other industries, with the strong identification of the city and region with the textile industries, it is not surprising that people who had worked in these factories slowly began to re-open them as economic conditions improved. However, this was done in a very limited way, as the economy couldn't support many factories working at full capacity. Partially working factories are part of a larger trend in post-Soviet Russia in which people continue to work, often without receiving pay, in factories that have become insolvent and function at reduced capacities, in some cases open for only a few months of the year.

In textile factories in Ivanovo, production is organised into three lines of production – spinning, weaving and finishing. I learned this from Nikolai during one of our driving tours (18 Sep 2006), as he used to work in a textile factory himself. Nikolai explained that a 'kombinat' (industrial complex) is distinct from a 'fabrica' (factory) because a 'kombinat' is engaged in all three lines of production, whereas a 'fabrica' is only engaged in one or two of the three lines. I was not given an explanation of the precise definition of a 'manufactura' (another word for 'factory') in relation to the

number of lines of production. However, these distinctions have not held in the new economic reality: most of the 'kombinats' in Ivanovo were engaged in only one of the lines of production. When I visited the partially working factories, one of the key questions I asked (mainly via Nikolai) of employees at the factories was the extent to which the factories worked. Through my research, it became clear that there was mismatch between the level to which factories were believed to be working (moderate and slowly improving) and the extent to which factories were in reality working (barely at all and many were in serious crisis).

I investigated six partially working sites through site observations, tours with informants, and interviews with workers, former workers and relatives of workers: Bolshaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura (Big Ivanovo Factory, BIM), Novaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura (New Ivanovo Factory, NIM), Krasnaya Talka/Textile Profi, Melangheviy Kombinat, Zinoviev Factory, and Samoilova Kombinat. These six partially working, partially ruined textile factories were by no means exhaustive of the number of such factories in Ivanovo.

I selected the six sites after consultation with my interviewees. In an informal meeting, I met with a university administrator at Ivanovo State University whose husband worked in Melangheviy Kombinat, and she asked her husband to help her to produce a list of factories that were still in operation in Ivanovo. She provided me with a list of six factories, and it was from this list that I based my investigations. My initial aim in doing this was to work out which of the factories were abandoned and which were still working. I also wanted to speak with some factory workers even though my focus was on abandoned sites. In the end, this exercise was very useful, as it helped me to identify the phenomenon of partially working factories without explicitly looking for it. As in the other cases, this mapping reads like an interpretive tour through the sites and through the relations between these sites of industrial ruination and the wider landscape.

6.3 Analysis of Sites

Bolshaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura (Big Ivanovo Factory, BIM)
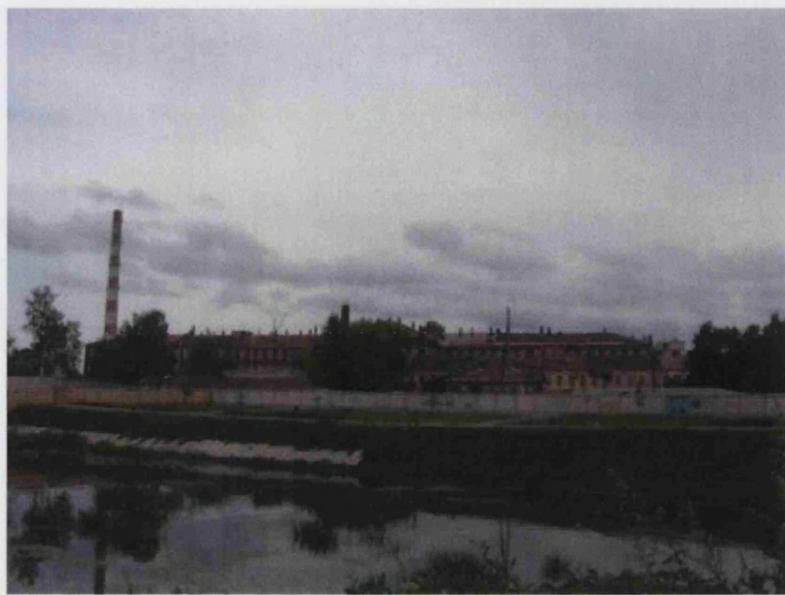
Figure 27 Bolshaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura (Big Ivanovo Factory), City Centre, Sept 2006.

Bolshaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura is situated in the city centre along the River Uvod, across from the central Pushkin Square. I viewed this factory only from the outside, and although I did not enter it, I walked past it many times. This is a large factory given its central location — it virtually dominates the core of the city. Its buildings stretch far back from the river; some are empty, while others have been converted into small businesses. This factory is one of the oldest in Ivanovo. Originally owned by a wealthy local entrepreneur named Burilin in the late 19th century, it was renamed the Company of Kuvaev's Factory after the Civil War (1917-1923) and then changed to Bolshaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura (BIM) in the 1970s. The factory is constructed of red brick, which was characteristic of industrial buildings in the late 19th century, with one tall smokestack.

The factory's function has diminished considerably over time. The local residents whom I interviewed were unsure as to the extent to which it was still working. Upon first glance, it appeared that the factory wasn't working, as many of its windows were broken and vast parts of it seemed to be abandoned. However, a modern-looking sign of the company BIM was posted across a lock on the river, and at certain times of the day one could see smoke billowing out from parts of the rooftop. I was struck by the fact that the looming factory of BIM and the abandoned Tovarshetva Factory across

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the road were located in the centre of the city: these spaces seemed to be prime areas for downtown redevelopment. Perhaps related to this fact, the factory had experienced numerous acts of sabotage and vandalism before my arrival in the city, and there had been speculation that these acts were done to encourage its closure. One interviewee described these trends in the following statement:

> Interviewee: I have visited only one [factory], the old building on the river, and the buildings themselves are 150 years old. BIM. I have been there.
> Q. To what extent does this factory still work?
> Interviewee: This is actually the most... this factory has more problems than other ones. It is in the centre of the city and other people would like to get this territory to build something more useful. They say that it's a kind of sabotage. This factory has a lot of problems now. It's going to be closed up and resold and I've read in one of the papers that it's all done on purpose just to get the territory and to demolish the buildings and to build new ones for more profits. (Interview, PhD Student, Russian History, Ivanovo State University, 26 Sep 2006)

The future of Bolshaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura seemed to be the most uncertain amongst the partially working, partially ruined factories in Ivanovo at the time of my research. Although following developments subsequent to my fieldwork period was not within the general scope of my research, I found that tracing developments of important sites could add useful context to the research. For example, the closure of Swan Hunter's shipyard in 2006 helped to situate my research in Walker as part of a lead-up to the final death of the yard. For this reason, it seemed appropriate to look into the state of BIM, which is the flagship textile factory in central Ivanovo. Over a year on from my period of research, I contacted the above-mentioned interviewee by email to ask about recent developments in Ivanovo, and particularly whether BIM still remained in operation. She responded with a positive note:

> The airport in Ivanovo will be opened really soon, the remodeling is finished; they just need to go through the certification process. As you know our Governor Mikhail Men used to work in the Moscow city administration, so he is attracting Moscow investments into the economy of Ivanovo. By the way, BIM is still operating. (Email correspondence, 12 Dec 2007)

The continued operation of BIM and increased investments in Ivanovo may indicate that there is still a future for textile industries in Ivanovo, despite their problems and their waves of abandonment.

Novaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura (New Ivanovo Factory)

Figure 28 Novaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura (New Ivanovo Factory), Entrance, Sept 2006.

Figure 29 Plaque to Zhidelyev, Novaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura (NIM).

Novaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura (NIM) was formally named after the communist Zhidelyev and has only recently been renamed in its present incarnation. The tradition with all factories in Ivanovo during Soviet times was to name each factory after a communist revolutionary figure. The sign at the entrance to the factory shows evidence of this renaming, with the old letters still visible under the new letters. Zhidelyev's plaque and ashes still remain next to the entrance (see Figures 29 and 30).

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Just a short distance away from BIM, NIM is also situated in the centre of the city, but it is a relatively small factory.

NIM was where one of my interviewees worked as a textile worker after perestroika (Interview, 12 Sep 2006). She also used to work as a librarian in NIM during the Soviet era, as factories in the Soviet Union had much wider functions. Each factory had its own 'palace of culture', a sort of museum which kept track of the history of the factory, and many had their own libraries. When the Soviet Union collapsed, one of the first things to go in the factories was their 'cultural' side, thus this interviewee lost her job as a librarian. To earn money, she took on work when NIM re-opened as a textile worker. She described the factory work as very hard and personally destroying, both from her perception of the industry as a whole, and from her own experience. In 2005, the interviewee switched jobs again, leaving her job as a textile worker and resuming a job as a librarian, this time in the university.

I happened upon the Veterans' Society at NIM almost by accident. Roman and I had been struggling with obtaining access to numerous factories, until we happened upon one factory in the neighbouring textile village of Shuya where the staff recommended that we try the factory's museum and former 'palace of culture'. We had only taken a day trip to Shuya, and the museum was closed, but it was at that point that Roman explained to me the phenomenon of the palaces of culture, and the possibility that some of these sites had been preserved as museums in the post-Soviet era. In particular, he remembered that there was a group known as the Veterans' Society at NIM comprising retired (mainly female) workers at the factory who held weekly meetings and offered a social support role for pensioners throughout the city. They met on the factory grounds and preserved much of the factory's history in a mini-museum of sorts, with old pamphlets, books and maps. However, they were independent of the factory because they no longer worked there, and so they would be free to speak with me. We arranged a meeting with three members of the Veterans' Society at NIM the following week.

The Veterans' Society members gave a generally positive account of the history of the factory. They were proud of their factory's role in the once massive textile industry in Ivanovo, and they were also deeply attached to the city of Ivanovo despite its political, social and economic problems. The Veterans' Society met in a small room inside the factory which seemed to be perfectly preserved from Soviet times. There was

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a large, bright orange map of the Soviet Union on the wall which identified all the trade links between the cities throughout the Soviet Union which were associated with the textile industry. The Veterans pointed out the extensiveness of the trade links and lamented the decline of trade connections with the end of the Soviet Union and the independence of the Central Asian republics. They gave me a book in Russian about the history of the factory from their collection, with a publication date of 1988.

I found it interesting that the history of the factory in their room and their records came to a halt at the end of the Soviet Union, despite the fact that the factory had re-opened in the 1990s and continued to operate. The Veteran's room seemed to be frozen in time, with the material objects – the orange map on the wall, books dated until 1988, and even the construction of the shelves, tables, chairs, posters, plans – all suggestive of a former area. The Veterans had a seemingly united narrative that there were willing to share; this was reinforced by the fact that they spoke as a collective, with one designated leader and the others interjecting from time to time. Roman remarked that the leader had once been a Community Party spokesperson, and the authority with which she spoke made this fact seem unsurprising. The Veterans also spoke with a spatial imaginary in relation to their narrative of change; they referred to maps and objects in their room as coordinates of a particular worldview; and many of their comments, while recognising social changes within the city, emphasised a strange continuity with the industrial and Soviet past. For example, the Veterans claimed that NIM was the only factory in Ivanovo which was involved in all three lines of production, while other interviewees expressed doubt regarding the extent to which NIM was still working, and the security guards at Krasnaya Talka, the next factory I will examine, claimed that there were no factories in Ivanovo which were involved in all three lines of production. The Veterans' story offered an initial window into the uncertain state of the textile factories in Ivanovo.

Krasnaya Talka and Textile Profi

Figure 30 Textile Profi, 2006. Source: *Ivanovskaya Oblast'* (Yefimov, et al.).

Krasnaya Talka ('Red Talka') is a factory located on the small River Talka northeast of the city centre. It is also one of the oldest factories in the city. It is named 'red' because it was the basis of workers' struggles which led to the creation of the first Soviet in Russia in 1905 at a meeting on the river Talka. Now the park of 1905 on the River Talka is devoted to that revolutionary memory. The present state of the factory is of split use. Half is a factory (Krasnaya Talka) and the other half is a textile mall (Textile Profi). I visited both Textile Profi and Krasnaya Talka on a driving tour with Nikolai. We wandered through Textile Profi to observe the types of shops and get a view of the surrounding buildings. Then we went to the gated entrance of the working factory section of Krasnaya Talka. We weren't allowed to enter, but Nikolai asked the security guards about the state of the factory. The two guards, both of whom were women, told him that the factory used to be involved in two of the three lines of production, spinning and finishing, but now it is only involved in the latter. The textile mall has taken over the section which used to be involved in spinning.   Nikolai then asked where they got their materials from and who they traded with, and they said that they got their materials mostly from small textile towns around Ivanovo. This was the first factory in which we discovered this reduced level of production to be the case. Nikolai was surprised at this development, and it was at this point in our trip that he explained to me the differences between the types of production.

I was less surprised by the reduced level of production than by the way in which the space had been re-used. The idea of a split-use factory and shopping centre seemed to be an unusual take on the theme of post-industrial conversion. In fact, the re-use of space as a textile mall is continuous with an industrial vision: it serves as an outlet for factory products. The re-use of space is also continuous with the Soviet idea of factories as encompassing broader aspects of social life than work and production.[13] Utilitarian use of space, or an emphasis on function over form, is a theme which emerged in my analysis of the landscape of ruination in Ivanovo. Textile Profi/Krasnaya Talka is one good example of a utilitarian use of space. Textile markets throughout the city also make functional use of space; the textile market 'Textile Grad', operates within a converted textile factory, while others operate in open street markets, in warehouses, or in abandoned municipal buildings. Other partially working, partially abandoned textile factories were also functional in their use of space: employers only focused lines of production where they were profitable or possible, and left the 'excess' space in continued disuse and disrepair.

Zinoviev Factory
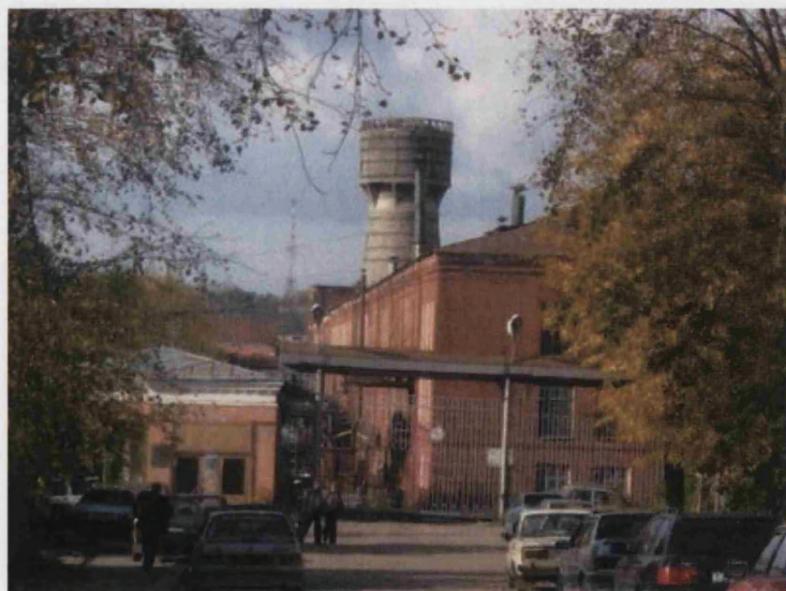
Figure 31 Zinoviev Factory, September 2006.

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[13] I made this observation about post-Soviet continuities in the use of space despite the difference that in the case of Textile Profi, the space encompasses post-Soviet practices of consumption.

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Zinoviev Factory is a small factory located in the city centre, just around the block from NIM. Today it is perhaps one of the healthiest working factories in Ivanovo, although interviewees were also unsure as to the extent to which it was working. I visited this factory for the first time with Nikolai, where he spoke with the guards and arranged for me to return at an appointed time. I returned with my translator Roman at the scheduled time, and we were given another appointment time, the following day, with the manager. Finally, we were turned away at the second appointed time, on the basis that I did not have enough proof of official status. It would have been interesting to be able to see the inside of a working factory, but had I been granted access, I'm not sure that I would have gained a much greater understanding of how it fit within the overall landscape of textile factories in Ivanovo. My main insight into this factory was through Roman, who noted that the Zinoviev factory was bought three or four years previously by investors from Moscow. The investors brought new equipment and new specialists, the production of goods increased rapidly, and the salaries became incomparable with salaries from other factories. Investment from Moscow is one of the main hopes of local people for stemming industrial decline in Ivanovo.

Melangheviy Kombinat (Industrial Complex)

Figure 32 Melangheviy Kombinat (Industrial Complex), September 2006.

Melangheviy Kombinat is located east of the city centre along the river. I also visited this factory with Nikolai. Again, we only went as far as the entrance room, although we inquired about the possibility of talking with employees or employers

inside. On the way to the factory, Nikolai had an interesting exchange with an old man[14] when he asked for directions. I recorded this exchange in my field notes (21 Sep 2006):

> After Krasnaya Talka, we drove to find Melangheviy Kombinat. When we got near, according to the map, Nikolai stopped to ask an old man for directions. It turned out that the old man had once worked in the factory. He said that the factory also only 'partially' works, to his knowledge. The old man enquired whether Nikolai was a businessman looking to buy the factory, which Nikolai found amusing.

Nikolai found the man's statements amusing because as a university language instructor he was in no position to buy a factory. The suggestion that a person looking for the factory might be hoping to buy it also provided a clue about the precarious economic situation of factories in Ivanovo: perhaps they were worth more for their buyout capacity than for the value of their production.

My translator Yuliya interviewed two people from Melangheviy Kombinat, a weaver and the head of marketing.[15] The weaver, who had worked for 22 years at the factory, described her view of the changes in the textile industry as follows:

> Before 1991, the textile industry worked stably. There was centralized raw material delivery, and there were high wages. Between 1991-1998 were the hardest times. There was a suspension of payments and national delivery, and that's why factories worked irregularly. Staff was reduced, and some of the workshops in the factory were sold. Some of the equipment didn't work because they didn't have training units. Between 1998-2006, the situation has become a little bit better, but the wages leave much to be desired. (Weaver, Melangheviy Kombinat Industrial Complex, 25 Sep 2006)

The head of marketing spoke more generally about the issues of the textile industry but did not make references to his personal experience at Melangheviy Kombinat. He stated rather plainly: 'All factors enumerated in the question list are connected with my ideas of the textile industry' (Interview, 25 Sep 2006), and his reflections were very much a mirror of other general accounts of the decline of the textile industry. I suspect that his official position as 'head of marketing' explained the impersonal nature of his account.

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[14] I use 'old man' here not because it stood out to me that the man was old, but because Nikolai referred to him as 'dyedushka', meaning 'grandfather', used commonly in Russian to refer to any older male.

[15] She gained access to interviewees in the factory through a personal connection with her father, access which she would have been unable to gain if I came along as well. I gave her an interview question guide to follow, and she translated and transcribed the interview materials for me.

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Both of these accounts reveal some of the limitations of conducting research through someone else: it is harder to read between the lines, and harder to negotiate the direction of the interview. At the same time, the accounts give a sense of the difficult times which the textile industry in Ivanovo went through, both in the past and in the present.

Samoilova Kombinat
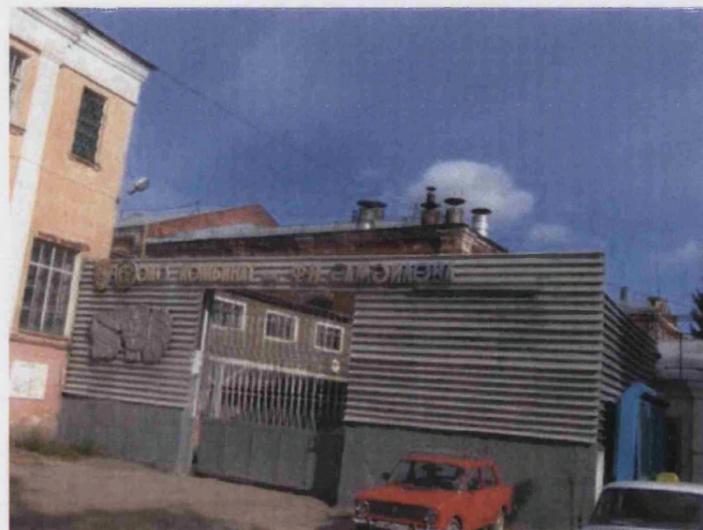
Figure 33 Samoilova Kombinat, Entrance, September 2006.

Figure 34 Samoilova Kombinat, September 2006.

Samoilova Kombinat was the last factory on our driving tours. By this time, Nikolai was familiar with the type of response that he was likely to get upon enquiring at the front entrance, so the rejection was not a surprise. However, by this time Nikolai also knew what kinds of questions he could ask, more informally, on my behalf. Nikolai

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asked an employee walking out of the entrance about the extent to which Samoilova Kombinat was working. The employee answered that Samoilova Kombinat was operating only in the third (finishing) type of production and at a low capacity, even though it was nominally still a 'Kombinat'.

On the drive back to the university, Nikolai said that he was surprised and that he'd thought before accompanying me on this driving tour of factories that the textile industry in Ivanovo was doing much better. He exclaimed somewhat despondently that Ivanovo was not really a 'Russian Manchester' as it claimed to be. I found Nikolai's interpretation of the nickname 'Russian Manchester' to be revealing. He viewed 'Manchester' to be a positive comparative epithet, one that he seemed to think Ivanovo had failed to live up to. He previously had a certain image of what it meant for Ivanovo to be 'a Manchester', one which was associated with growth and not with decline, and he did not see decline as being associated with 'a Manchester'.

Nikolai's reflections seemed an appropriate summary of the complex dynamics of the six partially working, partially abandoned textile factories, and how they relate more broadly into the identity and image of the city. Indeed, the continued operation of textile factories in Ivanovo despite significant economic struggles indicates that the textile identity of the city remains important, socially and culturally if not economically, for many local people. Despite the problems I accounted with access, I managed to obtain interesting and revelatory information about the landscape of partial ruination in Ivanovo through site and ethnographic observations.

Utilitarian Post-industrial Uses: Silver City

So far, this chapter has explored abandoned and partially abandoned factories within the landscape of industrial ruination. This section highlights one notable exception to decline, the 'Silver City' Shopping Centre. 'Silver City' is a flagship conversion of a textile factory, the 8th March Textile Factory, into a shopping mall. Located in the city centre, not far from the abandoned Tovarshetva Factory, 'Silver City' represents the strongest physical evidence of the 'new' and the post-industrial in Ivanovo. Half of the factory's buildings were converted to a mall in the 1990s; now the second half is in the process of being converted into an extension of that mall. The shopping centre is large, with four floors of shops and stalls, including a food court,

grocery store, and shops selling electronics, books, clothes, and many of the typical consumer products one might find in any regular mall.

Figure 35 'Silver City' Shopping Mall, former 8th March Textile Factory, September 2006

Treivish (2004: 17) writes that in 'Silver City', 'One can feel here like elsewhere in the world'. When I visited the shopping centre, I agreed that it certainly felt more like 'elsewhere in the world' than other places in Ivanovo. However, the mall did not appear new or post-industrial: it still looked like a textile factory from the outside, and no gloss had been applied to disguise this fact. The outside of the building was covered with an array of signs to mark it as a commercial space, but it looked more like a large warehouse than a four-story shopping mall. On the inside of the building, the warehouse structure was still very present, and many industrial parts remained exposed or unfinished. Some of the shops had the appearance of shops common in big box shopping centres, but others were arranged more in the style of street market stalls. This style of 'new' is fitting in the context of Ivanovo, more utilitarian in its conversion than glass-fronted 'western' examples.

According to several of my interviewees, some people were unhappy about the closure of the 8th March Factory and the subsequent opening of the mall, particularly older people or else people with strong ties to the textile industry. However, many people, including three elderly members of the 'Veterans' Society' of retired workers at New Ivanovo Factory, thought it was a good use of space and an improvement in the area (Interview, 21 Sep 2006). The main complaint was about the increased volume of traffic next to the mall.

'Silver City' is relatively unique in Ivanovo: such large-scale redevelopment of abandoned factories is the exception rather than the norm. Other examples of converted factories include textile shopping malls such as Textile Profi and Textile Grad, a night club in the city centre, and office spaces. However, many of the factory conversions represent a utilitarian use of space rather than a deliberate move towards post-industrial forms. In fact, the textile shopping malls, despite being places of consumption, are nonetheless firmly grounded in the historical textile identity of the city. They are organised more like informal street markets, with series of stalls and booths, than typical shopping malls. The other uses—as a night club, or as office spaces— more closely resemble the western post-industrial prototype, but their economic viability remains uncertain and precarious.

Themes of Ruination

Form and process, the spatial and the socioeconomic, blend and overlap in the landscape of ruination and partial ruination in Ivanovo. Instead of prolonged decline of industries which characterised the process of ruination in Newcastle, the industries in Ivanovo followed a different process: they were ruined swiftly and completely, and now the process is slowly being reversed. Thus, although the landscapes of industrial ruination in both contexts appear to be similar, showing signs of abandonment, near-abandonment and general decline, they are actually quite different. These differences can be 'read' in the landscape of Ivanovo through visual evidence of the post-Soviet context, and visual clues— such as billowing smoke, security personnel, and vehicles in parking lots— that many factories are starting to function again amidst the abandonment. Two themes speak to the particular character of industrial ruination in Ivanovo: form over function in the utilitarian use of space, and the partial reversal of ruination evident in the phenomenon of partially working factories and representative of the tenacity of the city's textile industries. Both of these themes are carried over into the next chapter on legacies of industrial ruination, in the context of practical and utilitarian approaches of living amongst 'ruins', and the enduring textile identity of the city. The next section explores the phenomenon of 'recent ruptures' with the past in Ivanovo through a discussion of the interrelationship between the landscape of ruination and the cityscape as a whole.

6.4 Recent Ruptures: Ruination and the Cityscape

The landscape of ruination blends into the cityscape of Ivanovo, with both spatial and socioeconomic manifestations. This is partly related to the historical blending of industrial and Soviet activities and identities within the city. There are in fact two types of ruins visible in Ivanovo: industrial ruins, in the form of abandoned factories, and Soviet ruins, in the form of dilapidated Soviet murals, buildings and monuments.

The city of Ivanovo has its roots in the Soviet period. The villages of Ivanovo and Voznesensk merged in 1871, and the rapidly expanding textile conurbation only achieved city status in 1918. The creation of Russia's first Soviet of Workers Deputies in 1905 in Ivanovo remains a point of pride for the city today. The 'Park of 1905' is situated near the Krasnaya Talka factory, along the River Talka where the first Soviet was created. This park contains a large monument to the revolutionaries of 1905 and statues of local communist heroes. In cities such as Moscow and St. Petersburg, many of the Soviet street names have been changed in post-Soviet years, and selected monuments have been destroyed. However, this move away from the Soviet past has not occurred within Ivanovo, where Soviet references define the plan of the city. This is reflected in the street names: the largest streets are named after Marx, Engels and Lenin, and smaller streets are named after local communists. Revolution Square, located in the centre of the city, marks Ivanovo's place as the 'the third Russian proletarian capital after St. Petersburg and Moscow' (an honour conferred by Lenin). Soviet murals can be found on numerous buildings, including the central train and bus stations, apartment blocks and factory walls. Prominent statues of Lenin are located in the city centre.

The historical identities of Ivanovo are very much present within the cityscape. I asked my interviewees about this continuity with the past, about whether there had been any political move in recent years towards renaming streets or tearing down monuments. Some remarked that there had been some discussion of changing the name of Ivanovo back to Ivanovo-Voznesensk[16], but nobody recalled any thoughts about changing the street names or monuments: they had lived with these names for a long time, and nobody had ever considered them a problem. Perhaps the total collapse of

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[16] The name Voznesensk was dropped in 1932 because it was associated with the religious term 'the Ascension' (Vozneseniye)

industry in the mid-1990s and the accompanying food and housing shortages seemed like more pressing issues during those years of sudden change: and perhaps this attitude, of working around and living with what was there, was also a reflection of a utilitarian approach in relating to space.

In addition to industrial ruins, Ivanovo contains a number of abandoned or derelict residential and commercial buildings. As I observed on one of my strolls through the city: 'Friedrich Engels Street, a wide and busy street which runs parallel to the Prospect Lenina, is rather grim – some dilapidated concrete buildings, residential blocks, and some random shops selling light fixtures, furniture and produce.' (field notes, 06 Sep 2006) I also noticed that city roads were poorly paved, and many roads, including the road where my accommodation was located, were simply made of dirt. Yet city traffic in Ivanovo is heavy, even along unpaved roads, with many old cars and *marshrutkas* crowding and polluting the streets.

Figure 36 Derelict Building, Ivanovo City Centre, September 2006.

Figure 37 Friedrich Engels Boulevard, Ivanovo, September 2006.

During my period of research, particularly on rainy days, the streetscape of Ivanovo seemed to be filled with a gritty atmosphere of industrial decline which was reminiscent of how people have described Manchester or Newcastle in the 1970s or 1980s.   I observed many people drinking alcohol openly in the streets, in shops, in parks, and along the river at all times of day.   Although this is customary in Russia, it seemed somewhat worse in Ivanovo.

If the landscape lacks juxtapositions and discontinuities such as those found in Walker, does Ivanovo fit into an uneven geography of capital development, or is this concept irrelevant to the Ivanovo case? I would argue that Ivanovo relates to an uneven geography of capital redevelopment precisely through its *exclusion* from the capital redevelopment which has occurred in more affluent places throughout Russia and the rest of the world.   In fact, this is not dissimilar to the discussion of Newcastle in relation to the rest of England, and Walker in relation to Newcastle. Even in the case of Walker, I noted that juxtapositions within the community itself were related mainly to a division between insiders and outsiders within the community.   In Ivanovo, 'outsiders' are relatively rare, but the discrepancies between insider and outsider perspectives on Ivanovo are quite significant, and these will be addressed in the next chapter. Perhaps the main theme which can be drawn in this discussion of the relationship between the landscapes of industrial ruination, of Soviet ruination, and of the cityscape as a whole, is that these landscapes are closely intertwined, and there are more continuities than discontinuities with the industrial and Soviet past.   It is difficult to separate Soviet

history from industrial history in Ivanovo, and it is even difficult to separate the past from the present.

Conclusion

If Benjamin's Angel of History were to visit Ivanovo, perhaps she would assume a different posture. Rather than glancing back whilst propelling forward, the angel might linger a little longer in the past; she might even stand defiantly against the currents of time, questioning the direction and the inevitability of capitalist 'progress'. The range of abandoned, partially abandoned and converted factories discussed in this chapter have illustrated various facets of industrial change in Ivanovo. The fact that much of the energy of the people and the city remain invested in textile industries, however run-down or unprofitable, speaks to the enduring industrial legacy, and the lack of anything to replace those industries. The confusion about the state of industries in Ivanovo makes the discrepancy between the city's image as the 'Russian Manchester' and the socioeconomic reality of the city as a dying Manchester difficult to make sense of. Ivanovo remains an industrial city, with a basis in textiles, yet it has experienced the total eclipse of its industry and a very slow and fragmentary recovery. The factory conversions of 'Silver City' and 'Textile Profi' illustrate an interest in function over form, and a fusion of old industrial ideas with new industrial realities.

This chapter has explored the landscape of industrial ruination in Ivanovo. It has been possible to read the landscape of ruination in Ivanovo as reflective of relatively recent and widespread industrial decline. The abandoned, mostly abandoned, and semi-abandoned textile factories in the city centre attest in spatial and scalar terms to the importance of the textile industry in Ivanovo. The Soviet street names, monuments, statues and crumbling mosaics, and the dilapidated residential and old industrial buildings are suggestive of a city which is living and functioning amongst its own ruins. However, this is only a first reading, a superficial glance of an outsider looking in and seeing only the obvious. The city is indeed still living and functioning, and many interviewees suggested that the city is gradually improving. There are more green spaces, less rubbish in the streets, the airport is re-opening, and the textile industries are slowly starting to operate again. Seemingly abandoned textile factories are in fact continuing to operate through the tenacity of workers and employers. Some have attracted investment from Moscow and seem to be doing well. Instead of tearing down

old textile factories, or completely changing their function by converting them into post-modern palaces of consumption, old factories have been converted or partially converted to textile markets. Accounts of socioeconomic deprivation amongst the people in Ivanovo suggest that there are strong continuities between the landscape of ruination and the socioeconomic landscape, and these continuities represent industrial legacies of decline and hardship. Yet the prevailing legacy of industrial ruination in Ivanovo is perhaps less obviously about socioeconomic deprivation and despair, although that is certainly part of the story. Rather, the industrial legacies in Ivanovo are evident in the enduring textile identity of Ivanovo as the 'Russian Manchester', and in the practical ways that people get by in their everyday lives, in and amongst the ruins.

Figure 38 'Ivanovo: Russian Manchester', 2006. Source: *Ivanovskaya Oblast'* (Yefimov, et al.).

Ivanovskaya Oblast' (Yefimov, et al. 2006) is a brightly illustrated Russian language book advertising the Ivanovo Region, and it includes a welcome note from the recently appointed (spring 2006) Ivanovo Regional Governor Mikhail Men. The first section in the book is about the city of Ivanovo, with the caption 'Russian Manchester' marked in bold letters (Figure 38). This caption is accompanied by a central crest with an image of a female figure in traditional Russian peasant-style dress spinning cotton. The central crest is flanked by two photographs depicting stone carvings of revolutionary figures from the Krasnaya Talka Factory. As a recently produced, officially sanctioned document, it is interesting to note that the textile identity of the city is emphasised above anything else, not only in relation to the industrial history of the city but also to the present. The inclusion of the stone revolutionary figures of Krasnaya Talka, the symbolic factory of the 1905 First Soviet, is also significant, demonstrating that the Soviet past has not been omitted from official memory: both Soviet and textile histories remain deeply interconnected, even within the present identity of the city.

A tourist publication (Shushpanov and Oleksenko 2005) published in both English and Russian versions by the Ivanovo City Administration, foregrounds another popular city motto, 'The City of Brides,' and relates this motto to the romance of Ivanovo. The publication guides the reader through different time periods in Ivanovo using a series of fictional love letters written from a young woman to a young man. The letters include details of historical and socioeconomic changes, and the final love letter is written on email using exaggeratedly modern slang. This method of story-telling presents the history of Ivanovo as one of continuity and romance rather than of disruption and struggle.

Both publications emphasise the historical and present day importance of textiles in Ivanovo. They mention social and economic change over time, but they highlight socioeconomic and cultural vibrancy throughout all periods. These are some of the first examples of tourist literature in Ivanovo. Despite pressures brought on by global capitalism for old industrial cities to move 'beyond the ruins' (Cowie and Heathcott 2003) towards a post-industrial future, these publications demonstrate that Ivanovo appears to be holding onto its image as a proud industrial city: the 'Russian Manchester'. In fact, local people's tenacity and resilience in the face of decline represents a powerful if unexpected legacy of industrial ruination.

There is a paradox in examining legacies of industrial ruination in Ivanovo. Ivanovo remains an old industrial city. It has made no move in the direction of the 'post-industrial'; rather, it has struggled to rebuild its crumbling industries, to reverse the process of ruination. It makes sense to speak about legacies when something new has replaced the old, but it becomes difficult to separate the past from the present when the two are so closely infused. Ivanovo, although part of the new post-socialist Russia, has struggled to find a new identity. There is a fundamental gap between Ivanovo as a real and imagined place, and between insider versus outsider perspectives of the city. Furthermore, there is a conflict between an idealised image of the city as a proud and industrious 'Russian Manchester', and the socioeconomic realities of decline and poverty. For outsiders, Ivanovo epitomises a landscape of industrial ruination. For local people, Ivanovo is the city where they were born and raised, where they work, live and spend their free time, and although they are aware of problems in their city, many people are reluctant to describe it in negative terms. This chapter addresses the paradoxical legacies of industrial ruination in Ivanovo, drawing on interview and

ethnographic material relating to people's relationships with old industrial sites and with processes of industrial decline.

7.1 The Tenacity of Soviet and Textile Identities

Ivanovo has been slow to move away from identification with the Soviet past. The textile industry identity of the city also remains strong despite industrial decline. This section explores the tenacity of Soviet and textile identities as a legacy of industrial ruination in Ivanovo through a discussion of memories of and perspectives on industrial decline and ruination. Whereas my analysis in Walker focused more on memory than on perceptions, this analysis focuses more on perceptions than on memory. This is because for many local people, textile industries are not perceived as belonging only to the domain of the past, to be remembered, but rather, they are seen as part of the present. Local people expressed their memories most clearly in relation to the Soviet past, in a feeling of disjuncture at the separation between an old and a new world. Differences across generations were noticeable in the level of attachment to Soviet and industrial identities and pasts. Outsider perspectives of Ivanovo tended to view the city more negatively, a fact which emphasises the stigmatisation of the city as a peripheral place both physically and socially. By contrast, both official and vernacular local perspectives were more connected with the textile identity of the city and with a sense of sadness and loss over industrial ruination. Finally, local memories and perceptions of landscapes of industrial ruination were more practical than cultural or aesthetic, viewed through the lens of employment, former employment, or consumption.

Soviet Legacies

Ivanovo was an archetypal Soviet city, to a degree that was perhaps unparalleled elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Ivanovo was the only city to be placed alongside Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) and Moscow as a 'proletarian capital'. Unlike Ivanovo, however, St. Petersburg and Moscow were historic cities of Tsarist Russia with multiple cultural and socioeconomic identities over the ages. When the Soviet Union collapsed, many historic symbols and spaces were reclaimed in both Moscow and St. Petersburg, including Tsarist palaces and monuments, Orthodox churches, and public spaces such as Red Square in Moscow and the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. By contrast, Ivanovo developed as a city in a purely Soviet context, and its pre-Soviet history was as a quiet

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village nestled in the forest with a history of weaving. The end of the Soviet Union was difficult to fathom within the city boundaries of a Soviet ideal type, in a city with a thoroughly Soviet foundation. Many things in Russia were destroyed during the post-Soviet years, including the social, economic and political infrastructure, the factories, and people's ways of life. New things were introduced as well: the consumer products of a global economy, greater access to media and travel, casinos, and the opening up of the economy to the fluctuations of market capitalism. However, Soviet legacies in Ivanovo have remained pronounced, not only in the landscape of the city, but in people's ways of thinking.

Many of my interviewees described a 'mentality' associated with the Soviet past, a difficulty in accepting and moving through difficult processes of change. One interviewee described the rupture between the present and the past with the collapse of the Soviet Union, invoking the notion of ruins herself, but in the context of post-socialism rather than deindustrialisation:

> All we had in the past was ruined and nothing new was built on the base of the old. When perestroika began, people tried to ruin everything that was connected with socialism, with the old life, but when they ruined everything they understood that not everything was so bad and some things could remain. It only became more difficult to build, to erect something new. We ruined everything and we couldn't build the new yet. Socialism was in our minds not around us. We ruined everything around us, but we couldn't change ourselves. (Interview, former worker at NIM factory, 12 Sep 2006)

This account highlights a connection between an interior landscape, 'in our minds', and an exterior world, that of perestroika ('restructuring'). There is also the sense that this is a collective rather than an individual story, a shared struggle between interior and exterior forces. The interviewee expresses regret, for she believes that the 'good' was thrown away with the 'bad', and that aspects of the 'bad' nonetheless remain. Her son Roman offered his view of this change, pointing out the difference between his generation and his mother's generation (Interview, 12 Sep 2006):

> It's one of the main problems of our parent's generation, so when they saw the two times, the older times and the new times, they lived in two different worlds. It's easy for me because I saw only the new world and I am used to it, but they had to be very flexible and some of them were a success and some of them were in a great depression. This depression can be seen even now among the older generation.

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In this statement, Roman empathises with the perspective of the older generation, admitting that it has been easier for him than for his parents. He also refers to the tensions between worlds, the new and the old world, and the associated interior worlds ('a great depression') which come with such rupture.

Another interviewee, also of the 'parents' generation', also expressed a view of what she termed a 'Russian mentality' as a barrier to social change:

> The shift to new economic life was and is very difficult because it is very difficult to live in a new way and all the factors are combined together and all the bad features from the past, from socialism, still influence us and our mentality, the Russian, rather strange mentality, don't help us to shift. Moreover our people don't like anything new. (Interview, local resident, female, 21 Sep 2006)

This description echoes the other accounts: the tensions between moving between old and new, and difficulty in erasing 'bad' parts of the old in order to move forward.

I experienced some evidence of differences between generations in relation to the Soviet past in my encounters with people. One old woman ('babushka') shouted at Roman and I while we were riding on a bus for talking in English instead of Russian. We were not speaking loudly, but she was annoyed that we were speaking in a foreign language. Other passengers defended us against the woman's protest, and a lively debate ensued on the bus about whether we should be allowed to speak English or not. An old woman from the Veterans' Society at Novaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura described a similar sentiment about the use of foreign words in the city:

> I dislike a great expansion of some foreign words in the life of the city and I don't like that many shops and other places are being named in a British or an American way and they often use English letters to write Russian words. They are Russian people. (Interview, 21 Sep 2007)

By contrast, younger people appeared to be more open towards western influences, although very few spoke English. Most students at the university came from Ivanovo and nearby towns in Russia, or else from countries in Asia, Central Asia, and Africa. Apart from occasional European exchange students, there were few students from western countries in the university. Perhaps for this reason, many local students expressed interest in me as a 'western' foreigner, and they talked me with about their own dreams to travel outside of Russia. In the first session with my two student translators Roman and Yuliya, both said that Ivanovo 'can fairly be described as a city with no opportunities' (Interview, 10 Sep 2006). Yuliya described her plans to work in

America after her studies. Both of them highlighted the high costs of travel abroad and the low wages and lack of employment available in Ivanovo.

In Ivanovo, the Soviet past and the industrial past are fused. The break with both pasts has been sudden and disruptive, and yet social, cultural and spatial aspects of both pasts live on. Although I did not interview many young or old people, the difference between generations amongst my interviewees was marked. The younger generation did not remember a time before the end of the Soviet Union, whereas the older generations (middle-aged and elderly) did. Yet the younger generation carried a strong historical memory of the changes passed through the older generations and the relative 'closeness' to the past. This historical memory was underscored by the social and economic difficulties which young people have faced growing up in Ivanovo. In the older generation, there were strong feelings of loss, both of industries and of a former way of life, and there were mixed feelings across the generations about what hope the future could bring.

Outsider and Semi-Outsider Perspectives

The differences between past and present and between new and old were not the only differences in memories and perceptions of industrial and Soviet structures and legacies in Ivanovo. As in the case of Walker Riverside, generational differences accounted for only part of the story. I noted that there was an 'outsider' and a 'semi-outsider' perspective of the city Ivanovo among Russians who were not from Ivanovo, and that this was generally more negative than the perspectives of local residents. I spoke with several Russian people in St. Petersburg, where I stayed for an intensive language course before travelling to Ivanovo, in order to get a sense of what Russian people from outside of Ivanovo knew or thought about the city. People responded with surprise: Ivanovo had a reputation for its dirtiness and ugliness throughout Russia, and it was not well known inside or outside of Russia as a place to visit. When I arrived in Russia, I contacted Professor Treivish, the Moscow-based academic who researched Ivanovo as part of the project on 'Shrinking Cities' (Oswalt, et al. 2002-2005). The Ivanovo portion of the *Shrinking Cities* paper was written in 2003, and since then, many things had changed. I also asked Professor Treivish for some advice on conducting research in Ivanovo, he told me that his research in Ivanovo was based on a few trips to the city during one year (Personal communication, Professor Andrey Treivish, 06 Sep

2006). He emphasised that his main interest in Ivanovo, as an academic from outside of the city, was as an interesting case of a 'depressed early industrial area'. In many ways, I shared Professor Treivish's interest and role, as an outsider to the city, although I was even further 'outside' through the perspective of language, culture and physical distance.

Roman described the discrepancy between perspectives of people who come from outside of Ivanovo and people, such as himself, who were born there:

> Some people who come from other regions compare the view on our city and they say that it's one of the dirtiest, one of the most bad-looking places in Russia. I don't know what it is connected with, but these are their words of people from other regions.
> Q: How do you feel about this?
> I rather like this place, as I was born here and maybe the fact that my parents were born in a village and they came to the town to study and work here and it was a great change for them and I appreciate and it contributes to my view of life and I feel okay that I live here, although I am afraid of my future as I don't see much opportunities here. (Interview, 12 Sep 2006)

His account reflects a tension between inside and outside perspectives of Ivanovo. On the one hand, Roman could understand the criticisms of people from other regions, as he was aware of the many socioeconomic problems in Ivanovo. On the other hand, he felt a sense of attachment to the place connected with his family history. Despite the lack of opportunities he saw in Ivanovo, he recognised the achievements in terms of social mobility and quality of life that his family gained through moving from a village to the city.

One interviewee who had lived in Ivanovo for seven years also offered a bridge between an 'outsider' and 'insider' perspective. She admitted that her first impression of Ivanovo was not very positive:

> I have been here for seven years. You know this city is really dirty and ugly. When I came here it was a sort of culture shock. Everything was so ugly. We used to have very many disorganised markets. My impression of the city is getting better. As I have said, the factories are going to be reopened, and it's getting more or less better. (Interview, PhD Student, Ivanovo State University, 26 Sep 2006)

Despite her early impressions of the city, she presented a positive perspective both on recent changes in the city, and on the future ahead of the city. She recounted details of municipal and regional politics and policies, recent newspaper stories, and her knowledge of different textile factories in the city. Despite her awareness of local issues,

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she was more critical of certain aspects of the city. For example, while other people spoke proudly of Ivanovo's identity as the 'Russian Manchester',this interviewee provided a more sceptical perspective on the adopted city name:

> As for the name, the Russian Manchester, maybe you know that there is an advertising company called Russian Manchester here, but sometimes it's just used in an ironic sense, just like a mockery; the way Manchester is big and still it has a future and Ivanovo is small and it doesn't have a future. (Interview, 26 Sep 2006)

Outsider perspectives of Ivanovo have tended to portray the city as a typical depressed and unattractive old industrial city, while semi-outsider perspectives have provided a bridge towards a more positive view of change and possibility. Admittedly, this image of Ivanovo was what attracted me to the city as a place to study industrial ruination. However, few places see themselves as exemplars of industrial decline: each place has to have its own positive images and associations. The local perspectives of Ivanovo, both official and vernacular, present a more positive and yet more contradictory take on the city.

Official Local Perspectives

Local economists and regional planners in Ivanovo offered a pragmatic perspective on the issue of industrial decline and abandonment in the city. I spoke with two economists at Ivanovo State University, Professor Dmitrievich and his former PhD student, Alexander Lodishkin, the latter of whom had recently been appointed as an assistant to the new regional governor Mikhail Men. They had both worked with the *Shrinking Cities* project in Ivanovo, and together, they highlighted many of the social and economic difficulties facing the Ivanovo region. They noted that they were well aware of the western model of economics, whereby society should develop through pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial stages. However, they argued that the post-industrial model based on the development of service industries is 'inapplicable in Ivanovo as industry should first be restored' (Interview, Department of Economics, Ivanovo State University, 26 Sep 2006). They stated that the local government was not placing hope on service sector-led development, as they believed it does not apply to conditions in Ivanovo as a viable means of economic development. The interviewees went on to describe alternative ways in which Ivanovo should attempt to improve its economy. They emphasized that the only role that government could play in economic

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development was in marketing the city as a place for investment: business investment alone could decide the economic future of Ivanovo:

> The economy of our region depends on how active the businessmen are and what decisions they take. So the businessmen influence our economy. And the task of the local government is to make a positive image of our region and to build up the infrastructure and the good positive conditions for the development of economics and for the work of businessmen. (Interview, Alexander Lodishkin, Assistant to Governor of Ivanovo Region, 26 Sep 2006)

Their marketing strategy was to play on the fact that Ivanovo 'is not so far from Moscow', where they said 85% of the country's wealth is located. They suggested that the city of Ivanovo could try to attract business investment in industries and in administrative centres, whereas other towns and villages in the region, such as the nearby picturesque village of Plyos, could be marketed for leisure and tourism. Indeed, the regional administration in Ivanovo seemed to have picked up on at least one strategy of the competitive 'post-industrial' city: to vie for capital resources through place-marketing. The marketing strategy has a long way to go, however, given that the assistant to the Regional Governor did not speak English, the websites for the city are predominantly in Russian, and almost all investment in the region comes from within Russia, primarily from Moscow. Alexander Lodishkin called me back for a second interview in which he revised his earlier statements in order to paint a more positive picture of Ivanovo. In the second interview, he noted that Ivanovo today is very different from the picture of staggering industrial decline described in the *Shrinking Cities* papers (Interview, 28 Sep 2006). This shift in perspective between his two interviews probably had to do with his role in the regional government in marketing the city, and my own status as a foreign researcher.

The local planning strategies for the future economic development of Ivanovo were pragmatic about the social and economic realities of the city. They recognised the importance of place-marketing and competitiveness in the struggle to attract capital investment to their city. At the same time, in official documents such as the book mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, they emphasise the industrial heritage of the city through highlighting the 'Russian Manchester' name, and they reject western models of arts-and-services-led post-industrial transformation. In this sense, local official perspectives within Ivanovo connect with local vernacular perspectives because of

their continued symbolic if not economic identification with the textile identity of the city.

Vernacular Local Perspectives

There was a certain pragmatism and functionalism in the ways in which people lived and worked within a city filled with ruins. This insight about how people get by with daily living in difficult material conditions can be connected with de Certeau's analysis of 'tactics and strategies' of daily living (de Certeau 1984). Local identification with Ivanovo as the 'Russian Manchester' proved to be important for many of my interviewees. Most interviewees were directly related to the textile industries through present or former employment or indirectly through the employment of family members. Many attached importance to the sites as the industrial heart of the city. At least by September 2006, nothing had come to replace the loss of the textile industries, and many factories continued to function but only very partially. The lack of a replacement for the textile industries in the city might serve as an explanation as to why the textile identity of the city has remained so strong. Ivanovo has yet to find a path of economic development that can erase the sense of the past so deeply etched into its urban and social fabric.

Throughout the city, I noticed many references to textiles: Textile Grad (Figure 39) was an example of a factory converted into a textile market. There were also many informal textile markets throughout the city. One of the few museums in the city was the Textile Museum, which I visited with Roman. The Textile Museum celebrated the history of textiles in Ivanovo and was divided into two sections, pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary. Its collection stopped in the early 1990s, and this was the museum's only indication of disruption in the history of textile production. When we visited the museum we were the only visitors, although there were several members of staff available[17] to give us guided tours of each room.

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[17] The prevalence of staff and security personnel in shops, grocery stores, museums and public buildings is quite common in Russia, a feature left over from the days of 'full employment' from Soviet times.

Figure 39 Textile Grad, Factory Conversion, Ivanovo City Centre, September 2006.

The connection between work and sites of industry has remained integral to how local people think about sites, particularly through the notion of 'hard work'. Indeed, many interviewees mentioned that they associate the textile factories with hard work. The connotation is one of strength, resilience and pride. One undergraduate student with no direct ties to the textile industry said that she associated old industrial sites with hard work but only related to the sites physically as a consumer, for instance at the Silver City shopping mall or the textile markets (Interview, student, 20 Sep 2006). Another interviewee, a manager in the 'Textile Profi' mall, highlighted the importance of textile industries and placed blame on the government for the decline of industry:

> My near relations used to work in the Kohma textile industrial complex. The textile industry has been in decline for the last 16-20 years. Now it's working, but the work has been reduced to a minimum. It's the government's fault that the factories are in decline; they did everything to bankrupt them. But these factories are very important for the development of the region. I associate these sites with hard work. (Interview, 10 Sep 2006)

The association with 'hard work' wasn't always a positive one, however, particularly for people who had experience with this type of work. A former worker at the New Ivanovo Factory (Roman's mother) described her experience of working in the textile industry during the post-Soviet period as follows:

> Everything associated with my job in the textile factory was very hard work. It was like during pre-revolutionary times when the owner of the factory was the owner of the people and he made them do everything he wanted. I supposed myself to be a slave there. The work was very destroying, very hard...' (Interview, 12 Sep 2006)

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Place attachment to Ivanovo was relatively strong for many of the local people in Ivanovo. Local residents who I spoke with said that despite Ivanovo's problems, they loved the city because it was their own. A member of the Veterans' Society described her view of Ivanovo in relation to other cities:

> I often go to other cities of Russia and I often go to Vladimir, which is much cleaner than Ivanovo and more compact although Vladmir is much larger. It is very difficult to compare Ivanovo with other cities such as Yaroslavl or Nizhni Novgorod because those cities are much larger, they have other branches of industry, many more people live there and salaries there are higher, but nevertheless Ivanovo is my native town and I love it greatly. (Interview, 21 Sep 2006).

Reflecting a similar sentiment, a local resident with family connections to the textile industry, said: 'When I compare Ivanovo with other towns of Russia, this comparison does not play in our hands, as other towns and cities are a bit cleaner, a bit brighter and their industries are more developed, and people there are more cultural, but nevertheless I confess that I love this town because I was born here.' (Interview, 21 Sep 2006). The latter interviewee also described her pride at living in the 'Russian Manchester': 'I was born here, I grew up here and I am very proud of living in the textile city. It was even compared with Manchester and called the Russian Manchester and I've always been proud of this fact.'

Roman gave an account of his own contradictory relationship with Ivanovo, a city that he felt attached to yet one which he knew had few opportunities in terms of employment and security:

> I can call myself a patriot, but I am not the kind of patriot that shouts that he loves his region and his region is the best. It is not the best and it has never been the best. But I believe that something should change or I shall change and I believe in the future things will be better. Ivanovo is my home but I won't hesitate if I get a chance to leave it, to leave this place and go somewhere else just to be sure of my future, just to be sure of my family, of my children, of my future because now I am thinking of it more and more. (Interview, 12 Sep 2006)

Roman's narrative demonstrates the stark contrast between desiring a better future for one's home city and desiring a better future for oneself. This was a theme in many local accounts: the conflict between hopes and expectations. In fact, many of the reflections

by the various interviewees, including outsider, local and official accounts, were suggestive of a conflict between image, expectations and reality.

A common thread across the accounts is the tenacity of Soviet and textile identities in the city of Ivanovo, regardless of socioeconomic fortunes. Divergent attitudes towards the Soviet and industrial heritage of the city reveal the paradox of industrial legacies: the tensions and fusions of past and present, image and 'reality'. The next section will investigate a second theme of the industrial legacies in Ivanovo: a practical or utilitarian approach to living within a landscape of ruination and socioeconomic difficulties.

7.2 In and Amongst the Ruins: Towards a Critique of Aesthetic Approaches

Artefacts of epic proportions from former Soviet and industrial era are spread throughout the city of Ivanovo. As a visitor from outside the city, these stand out like museum pieces, reminiscent of a scene from an apocalyptic movie. However, these artefacts are not museum pieces but part of the fabric of a living city. How people get by in a city full of abandoned factories and Soviet buildings is an interesting question. In the previous section, I analysed the enduring textile and Soviet place identities of Ivanovo and noted that many local people have conflicting ideas about the city, between how they prefer to imagine the city, and the socioeconomic realities that they are faced with. In this section, I will first explore some of the socioeconomic issues associated with industrial decline more directly, so as not to gloss over local people's acute awareness of these realities. Secondly, I will provide a critique of cultural and aesthetic approaches towards industrial ruins in response to my observations about how people live in and amongst landscapes of industrial ruination.

Several interviewees described problems in the city which they connected with industrial decline and socioeconomic deprivation. Problems included the lack of employment opportunities, particularly for young people, drug and alcohol problems, problems with health care, housing and services, and problems with roads and transport, amongst others. Seeing evidence of these problems in the cityscape and hearing many personal accounts of difficulties brought home a greater sense of the depth and scale of the difficulties of everyday life in Ivanovo. Many of my interviewees repeated the same observations. For instance, the following account from an economics student offered a fairly typical interpretation of the changes in Ivanovo:

There has been a great expansion of the trading network and construction of new buildings, but non-manufacturing businesses and human services leave much to be desired. Because of the baby bust, there are many old people in the region. Young people are trying to leave the region. At the same time, there are a lot of illegal immigrants from Caucasia. While there is an increase in the quantity of academics and universities in Ivanovo, there is equally a decrease in the quality of education. In general, the younger generation prefers to study law and economics. Services in the region are getting worse and worse; it's practically impossible to get good medical care in the region for free. All the experts work in privately owned enterprises. I associate the difficulties of economic transition with the absence of experts, related to the fact that many are unwilling to work for poor rates of pay. (Interview, 20 Sep 2006)

Another interviewee, the manager of a textile shop in Texile Profi, had a similar view of the types of socioeconomic changes in Ivanovo, although like Roman, she placed blame for the ill fortunes of the region and city on the government.

The government destroyed everything. There were a lot of textile factories, and now there are shopping and entertaining centres and the chocolate factory. Science has died. The population is getting older. Families are unstable; every third family breaks up. Villages disappear. The younger generation wants to get a higher education, but it's becoming less available. You can only get good medical care for money, not for free. Transport is getting worse, and there's poor safety on the roads. It's connected with the introduction of the market economy because they should have applied it earlier. The region is not sufficiently provided for. The prices are too high, and there are no jobs to match your education. The town is dirty, with few places for cultural rest. There is no rest for the heart. There are a lot of old buildings. There are a lot of fake things (fake cloth, fake fabric, etc.) In the future it will be practically impossible to renew the textile industry, but we can develop the other branches of industry to occupy a fitting place. (Interview, 10 Sep 2006)

If these two accounts read somewhat like a checklist of woes for the city of Ivanovo, this is probably because the interviewees were following an interview topic guide which I wrote for my translator Yuliya. The answers were in response to the topic of 'changes in the region' in relation to education, families, health, transport, services, and so on. Despite the limitation of sounding somewhat formulaic, they provide more recent qualitative insights into dimensions of socioeconomic change that supplement socioeconomic data reported in the existing literature.

More reflective discussions of the personal challenges and consequences of socioeconomic change in Ivanovo were found in more in-depth interviews, where I was

present. One local resident described her experience of change in Ivanovo as one which brought 'a great depression' to her:

> The 1990s were an extremely difficult time for all the people and for me as well. I was in a great depression and I didn't know how to go on living as it seemed to me like everything would be ruined and our country wouldn't exist anymore I didn't know what to do, but now I suppose that the times are changing and our life is slowly becoming better. However, I must emphasise all the changes are very slow and these slow changes are influenced by the indifference of our people. (Interview, local resident, 21 Sep 05)

One the one hand, this interviewee conveyed a sense of endurance, a hope that things were slowly improving. However, she related the problems of coping with social and economic change to a cultural issue of indifference amongst the people. This theme relates to the 'Russian mentality' which this interviewee described before, of a cultural block related to the socialist past in accepting new things. It also connects with the theme of weak political voice which emerged in accounts of the local politics of Ivanovo.

Nikolai also described years of intense struggle during the years of perestroika, when there was no food in shops in Ivanovo, and people had to eat food from their gardens or else take the train to Moscow on weekends. During one of our driving tours of the city, after Nikolai had lamented the failure of Ivanovo as a 'Russian Manchester', he spoke about his love of Ivanovo: it was located on a river in the heart of the Russian forest, and it was a city full of university students. On that day, the sun was shining and the autumn was turning the leaves bright red and orange. In the brighter light and crisper air, the ruined buildings and pot-holed streets seemed less forbidding, and I could see why Nikolai felt this way about his home city.

Roman commented on the very serious problem of drugs and alcohol amongst young people in Ivanovo and its effect on his own situation as a young person (Interview, 12 Sep 2006):

> Alcohol is still one of the principle problems. It is born of the problem of a great deal of free time and the problem to do something in the evening... Maybe the number of people who get some alcohol, it is practically the same, but the number of people who take drugs is increasing and the number of people who are infected with AIDS and other diseases connected with taking drugs is greatly increasing... So I suppose that the same problem leads to taking drugs, the problem that not so many things are done for the lives of the young generation. I can say that our government doesn't think of us, practically.

Roman accounted for the problem of alcohol and drugs amongst young people in Ivanovo as the result of the lack of social activities available in the city, and the lack of government attention to the issues of young people in general. He described this as an injustice; in this senses, he seemed to be speaking not only for himself but on behalf of all young people.

Later, Roman and I visited the neighbouring town of Shuya, a small textile town also in the region of Ivanovo. Some of my interviewees described Shuya as an even greater example of a depressed textile town. As the administrative centre of the region, with its own train station and a greater number of shops and services, the city of Ivanovo at least has a few things apart from the textile industry going for it. However, the small town of Shuya has very little going on apart from its severely declining textile industry. For this reason, I wanted to visit Shuya and possibly enquire at some of their factories. Roman and I took a *marshrutka* one Saturday to visit Shuya. Not surprisingly, we did not get any further than the gates of any of the factories in the town, and we were grilled somewhat severely by the security personnel when I took a photograph of one of the factories. After walking the full length of the town and enquiring at the main textile factories, which took just over an hour, we abandoned our mission for the day. Instead, we drank tea and ate some packaged biscuits in the only local café that was open. Looking at the disco ball attached to the ceiling, Roman remarked to me that he sincerely hoped that this establishment was not the only place where young people could go to have fun in this town.

These more personal accounts are compelling not simply because they represent stories of hardship and difficulty, but because they also represent stories of resilience and modest hopes for the future. In the midst of practical concerns about social and economic prospects in the city, the contemplation of derelict industrial sites as aesthetic objects or potential sites of culture seemed to be very far from the minds of the people I spoke with in Ivanovo. The visual impact of the textile factories of Ivanovo, one at the height of industrial strength and one at the point of ruination, were described by one local resident as follows:

> It hurts me to see that the 8th of March factory which was being built for a long time and very many efforts were spared on it. It was one of the unique factories, it was fully automated, and now it is made a trading centre. There are enough trading centres in our cities even without it. The same is with Samoilovi Kombinat. When I was a girl, I went there as an excursion. I was under a great

impression from the view of this building and all the production there. And now it hurts me to see that practically all the production there no longer exists. (Interview, 21 Sep 2006)

In this statement, the interviewee evokes a sense of personal injury over the conversion of the 8th March Factory into a shopping mall ('Silver City') and the near-abandonment of Samoilovi Industrial Complex, another large factory in the city. Her husband, son and extended family all worked in the textile industry.

Industrial ruins are part of people's daily life in Ivanovo, and they are suggestive of social and economic depression, decline and blight rather than anything else. There has been no move towards a 'Tate Modern' or 'Baltic Arts Centre' re-use of space, most simply because the money does not exist for such projects, the state has no role in 'regeneration' projects as in the west, and 'ruins' are abundant. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, even the 'Silver City' complex is utilitarian in its conversion. There has been no attempt to apply gloss to the construction; it still very much resembles an old factory, both from the outside and the inside, and the signs for shops are arranged in an anarchic pattern.

Similarly, I found no suggestion of a tradition of an artist, musician or activist squatter community in Ivanovo, as in abandoned industrial sites in other cities around the world (cf. Florida 2005; Landry and Bianchini 1995; Laz 2001; Zukin 1991). Since the landscape of ruination in Ivanovo is vast and unregulated, there are probably a number of informal uses of such spaces, but it was not within the practical scope of my research to investigate the extent of such possible informal uses. Potential informal uses of abandoned sites in Ivanovo are as a place to drink, to take drugs, to gather, to produce graffiti and to commit acts of vandalism. The only reference to such uses was the account of vandalism and sabotage already mentioned in the case of BIM. I didn't witness any squatting or illegal activities, just consumption of alcohol in and around the ruins, graffiti, and possible signs of occupation. For example, at the abandoned Tovarshetva factory, I noticed people strolling on either side of the river near the abandoned factory, a mixture of families and people of different ages and backgrounds. There were broken alcohol bottles on the ground and some people were drinking while walking (field notes, 03 Sep 2006). The only evidence of a link between art and ruined factories was found in a wall painting on the Tovarshetva factory, which depicts an industrial landscape of empty rail lines (Figure 40).

Figure 40 Wall art, Tovarshetva factory, Ivanovo City Centre, September 2006.

Perhaps over time, Ivanovo will seek to capitalise on its unique landscape of industrial ruination as a cultural and aesthetic commodity, echoing the forms and practices of its sister city, Łódź the 'Polish Manchester'. However, aesthetic and cultural approaches towards industrial ruins, either in the realm of arts and journalism, or the realm of economic development, tend to obscure the harsh realities of industrial decline. They romanticise these sites and through that process, turn them into commodities: a form of 'creative destruction'. Even after a few days of staying in Ivanovo, my original sense of awe at the scale of ruination was eclipsed by the sense of the socioeconomic difficulties embedded in these sites. As I wrote in my field notes, 7 September 2006:

> Reflections on distance and proximity: Industrial ruins are only 'spectacular' and 'sublime' from a distance. For example, as the 'Way to Russia' guide suggests, it's best to view the Soviet ruins as one passes through rather than stopping too long. I felt almost as soon as I arrived the social reality (stark, depressing, mundane) of living amongst such ruins. To call the ruins aesthetically beautiful is already to put oneself at a distance. It is a privileged position.

7.3 Politics: Capital and Community

Ivanovo was formed as an ideal socialist industrial city, and thus the story of industrial decline is linked to post-socialist transition rather than to capital abandonment per se, as in western cases of deindustrialisation. There are arguments in the literature on post-socialism as to the extent to which social and economic problems in the new Russia can be attributed to post-socialist legacy or to the new capitalist context (cf. Ashwin and Clarke 2003; cf. Burawoy and Verdery 1999b; Chossudovsky 2003). The answer to this question is not clear-cut, and a carefully considered answer would perhaps attribute factors to both post-socialist legacy and to capitalism. It can be said, however, that with the integration of Russia into a market economy, some industries have been winners and some have been losers, in fitting with the logic of capitalism, and textile industries in particular have been losers. The role of capital in shaping the social and economic landscape of Ivanovo is most evident in the demise of industries, even if capital did not create or 'artificially' sustain those industries. Indeed, the role of capital has become singular in directing the future of industries in the region, both new and old. This has to do with what many interviewees have referred to as the complete dismantling of the old (the state) to create the new. Since the end of the Soviet Union, there have been periods of complete industrial collapse, there has been a period of slow and partial recovery of old industry, and new industries have floated in and out of the city in a piecemeal and inconsistent fashion. In addition to visual clues in the landscape, the interview material points strongly to the near-singular and relatively new role of capital in shaping the present economic and political life of Ivanovo, and the minimal voice of 'community', defined loosely here as local workers and residents of the city.

According to interviews with a range of local people, capital alone 'decides' whether to invest in or to abandon sites. The political life of the area is shaped by the government, regional and local, but the government's economic development policies are dependent on making the city an attractive environment for investment. There have been piecemeal market reforms since the 1990s, with some factory conversions to shopping malls and office spaces. However, some of these new consumer spaces have since been abandoned, and service industries as a whole have not become a significant source of economic development in the city or region as a whole. All interviewees

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agreed that the decision whether to abandon or to invest in industries rests with business and that the economic and political life of the region depends on the government rather than with workers and residents. This imbalance was articulated in similar ways by the interviewees. One of them placed some of the blame on trade unions, arguing that trade unions fail to represent the interests of workers:

> The life of a factory depends on the wish of its owner, it fully depends. The trade unions defend the rights of the employer but not of the employees. It is one of the problems of the factories that the trade unions can't function anymore, so something should be changed inside them, maybe the way they work, maybe the people who work there, but now they don't bring any good to the workers and they don't fulfil their duty. (Interview, former worker at NIM factory, 12 Sep 2006)

The head of marketing at Melangheviy Industrial Complex situated political and economic power in the hands of the government rather than business, although he also noted that the director of a factory is the person to decide whether to abandon or renew it (Interview, 25 Sep 2006). Interviewees also described the level of resistance and political engagement on the part of local residents and workers as minimal, particularly in the past fifteen years. One interviewee noted: 'Inhabitants do not participate in the political life of the region. Struggles and conflicts are very rare in the region, so they are of little importance.' (Interview, student, 20 Sep 2006) A former textile worker couldn't remember any strikes during her years as a worker, but she remembered people trying to change their lives through less confrontational means, such as petitions and meetings:

> I can't recollect anything like a strike or a struggle. The only thing we had were meetings when we gathered together with workers from different factories and plants. We discussed our problems and nothing else followed, so nothing changed. We were not happy and the workers are not happy now, but we couldn't do anything. The only thing we could do was to gather and to discuss our problems. We had some leaders. We tried to change some things in our lives, we made petitions and papers with our requirements and our desired changes, but they were neglected and we could not change anything although we never tried to fight with ours employers. The role of the workers and the residents in guiding their own lives was minimal, and it practically remained the same. (Interview, former worker at NIM factory, 12 Sep 2006)

This narrative contrasts with the themes of indifference and a 'Russian mentality' to change, in that the interviewee emphasises people's desire to make changes, but their

inability to create change, because even if they made demands these 'were neglected'. However, this account also suggests that people did not and would not try very hard to make changes: 'we could not change anything although we never tried to fight our employers'. The idea that things 'practically remained the same' suggests a sense of continuity with the Soviet past, in terms of local politics. Thus, in this case, the local politics of weak political voice also represents a legacy of industrial ruination.

Indeed, many interviewees attributed the lack of strikes, protests or struggles in recent years to the powerlessness of people to make decisions in relation to government or business. They referred to the passivity of the people but did not explore the causes for this. Few could remember a time when the political climate was any different. However, one interviewee noted a change in the politics of local people over time from greater involvement twenty years ago:

> Only officials and people who have money make political and economic decisions. We haven't had a lot of conflicts or struggles, only the communists' political meetings. The population is very passive. People are not involved in the politics or economics of the regions. It was so twenty years ago. (Interview, manager, textile shop in 'Textile Profi' mall, 10 Sep 2006)

This account identifies a critical turning point in local politics, a moment when things shifted towards passivity. If the interviewee was remembering correctly, this would place the moment of change to roughly 1986, which would seem about right, in the context of the optimistic days of Gorbachev's glasnost' (*opening*), which some scholars (Burawoy and Verdery 1999b; Remington 2006) have argued were the most democratic and progressive times that Russia has seen, even after the transition to capitalism and 'democracy'.

Another interviewee connected the lack of political engagement on the part of local people with a culture of indifference and complacency which she felt was fostered through the Soviet years.

> There have been no strikes or struggles connected with the fact that people didn't like the political or economic points of their life but this depends on our people's inactiveness and indifference. For the years of Soviet ideology, all Soviet people were taught to obey the rules and not to think for themselves. That's why people from my generation especially don't know how to hold their own point of view, don't know how to protect themselves. (Interview, local resident, 21 Sep 2006)

This interviewee elaborates again on the theme of inactiveness and indifference, and argues that this is a legacy of Soviet ideology. It is interesting that she argues with such clarity that people from her own generation 'don't know how to hold their own point of view'; yet she doesn't explicitly position herself outside of the context of this indifference. Nonetheless, despite references to continuity with the Soviet past, in terms of mentality and culture, this interviewee is quite critical of the political and social restrictions of the Soviet period. In the recounting of this theme of inactiveness, indifference, or inability to create change because everything stays the same, this narrative seems to become a self-fulfilling prophesy.

Nobody referred to the legacy of revolutionary spirit and labour activism in Ivanovo in 1905. However, some of the most active political voices in Ivanovo in recent years have been pensioners. One of the only effective political protests during the post-socialist transition occurred when pensioners took to the streets to demand payment of their pensions. A member of the Veterans' Society at the NIM factory described this victory as follows:

> Some time ago, just after the perestroika when the economics of our country was in very bad shape, the pensioners didn't get their pension in time. So that's why they came out on the road, just blocked the traffic. This was the greatest meeting that they had. They were effective and all the money was paid in time. And now the pensions are being increased. Not great, but it is slowly increasing. (Interview, 21 Sep 2006)

The Veterans presented one of the strongest narratives of change; they had definite views, and people seemed to respect their authority as *babushkas*, although this respect for the elderly seemed to have continuity across in both Soviet and post-Soviet eras.

Another of the most active local groups in campaigning for economic and political change in Ivanovo today is the nationalist, pro-Putin youth movement 'Nashi' ('Ours').[18] However, 'Nashi' is a national youth organisation, not a locally inspired group, with militarist, nationalistic and conservative roots. The nationalism and conservatism amongst these young people is an interesting development in post-Soviet Russia (see Malysheva 2007; Schwirtz 2007). Throughout 2006, a small group of students and young people under the banner of 'Nashi' campaigned in the streets in Ivanovo over a number of different pressing issues in Ivanovo. One protest called 'we

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[18] 'Nashi' also has connotations of 'motherland' and 'nation'.

want three' drew attention to the economic impossibility of raising a family with more than one child in Ivanovo (09 Oct 2006). Another protest was targeted against alcohol companies over the debilitating effects of widespread alcoholism on youth, education and families (13 Sep 2006).

I witnessed one protest outside of a casino on Prospect Lenina on 22 September 2006, where a group of about twenty-five students were sitting and standing in the street with placards and Russian flags (Figure 41). The protest seemed relatively peaceful, as many of the young people were sitting and chatting with one another, although a number of policemen were standing around. I stopped to ask the protesters about their cause and learned that the protest was over the presence of casinos in Ivanovo and the negative effects of casinos on family and national values and the local economy. Other interviewees highlighted similar concerns about the presence of casinos in Ivanovo. One of the Veterans' Society members voiced her criticism as follows: 'We don't like the great number of casinos in our town. They are everywhere, usually some people with a dark past and some dark thoughts gather there, and sometimes they are criminals.' (Interview, 21 Sep 2006) Casinos have since been banned in large towns and cities in Russia by the national government in January 2007.

Figure 41 'Nashi' Student Demonstration, Prospect Lenina, Ivanovo, 22 Sept 2006.

The politics of capital and community in Ivanovo are characterised by the new and powerful role of capital in shaping economic realities and the related role of government in guiding and directing investments. The former role of the state

disappeared with the collapse of the Soviet Union, along with its role in the provision of services and socioeconomic health in Ivanovo. Many people have been slow to move away, both socially and economically, from the industrial past. Cultural, social and spatial traces of the Soviet past also remain in the present, and perhaps this accounts for the passivity of local people in the politics of change. The most active political voices have been conservative, from pensioners and nationalist youths who lament the problems of alcoholism, drugs, broken families and gambling which they associate with the new capitalism and western influences.

Conclusion

Socioeconomic deprivation and industrial ruination define the landscape of Ivanovo as a whole, as a physical and as a lived space and as a 'real-and-imagined' (Soja 1996) place. Paradoxically, changes in Ivanovo have occurred both too fast and too slow: the Soviet and industrial foundations of the city were erased overnight, and yet they persist in the city's identity and fabric. The contradictions between old visions and new realities are related to the city's unique past. The city has been transformed from an ideal, socialist industrial city to an exemplar of industrial decline. Nothing has effectively replaced the positive socialist and industrial associations of the past, so many of those associations have survived.

This spatio-temporal moment in the story of ruination in Ivanovo is one fragment in a longer story with many possible trajectories and outcomes. In many ways, it parallels the early stories of industrial decline twenty to thirty years ago in places such as the North of England. Whether Ivanovo will or can follow the 'post-industrial' paths of regeneration and the service economy like many other old industrial cities, whether it will remain an area marked by industrial decline, or whether it will find other alternatives, remains uncertain. Uncertainty defines the lives of people living in places situated precariously between moments of destruction and moments of recreation, including both Ivanovo and Walker Riverside. This provides an appropriate segue into the next case study of Niagara Falls, where deindustrialisation happened long ago, yet the pathway out of decline remains far from clear.

8 Niagara Falls, Ontario and Niagara Falls, New York: The Toxic Tours

Symbols and flagships of old industries are common reference points in landscapes of industrial ruination. The Angel of the North and Swan Hunter's in Walker; Lenin and the Bolshaya Ivanovskaya Manufactura in Ivanovo: these encapsulate the hopes, the strengths, and the struggles associated with old industries. They speak to the pride and to the sadness of collective memory at the decline of an era. The case of Niagara Falls also has a dominant old industrial symbol and flagship, which happen to be one and the same: the Love Canal. However, Love Canal represents neither pride nor strength, neither sadness nor hope; it is a bleak symbol of the effects of toxic pollution on human health.

The infamous Love Canal environmental disaster occurred in 1978 when a buried toxic chemical dump was discovered buried under a residential community and elementary school in LaSalle, a working class neighbourhood located on the outskirts of Niagara Falls. The Hooker Chemicals Company had been dumping for over thirty years in the Love Canal, which ran through the community of LaSalle. For several years leading up to the crisis, residents had been finding thick black liquid erupting in their basements and in their backyards. However, people only became seriously concerned when a staggering number of illnesses, miscarriages and deaths began to occur within their community. Under the leadership of local resident Lois Gibbs, a mother of sick children who attended the LaSalle elementary school, residents campaigned to have the school closed and the health effects of the contaminated land investigated. Debates between scientific 'experts', city officials, Hooker Chemicals representatives and local residents regarding the gravity of the situation escalated, culminating in the declaration of a state of emergency by U.S. President John Carter and the evacuation of homes in the section of LaSalle which had be built on top of the dump (cf. Brown and Clapp 2002; Colten and Skinner 1996; Gibbs 1998; Mazur 1998; cf. Newman 2003). The evacuated area of Love Canal still exists today— a large fenced-off empty field surrounded by blocks of abandoned homes with overgrown properties.

On the last day of my research in Niagara Falls, I made a pilgrimage out to Love Canal. This particular landscape, one which I had read journal articles, books, novels, and newspapers clippings about, resonated with the stories of cancer, emotional and economic upheaval and hardship shortly to be related that I had recorded in speaking

with residents and ex-workers about their experiences with chemical industries, past and present:

> I drove all the way along Buffalo Avenue, southeast. I drove slowly over the massive potholes, stopping a few times to take photos of the factories. Beyond the factories was a residential/commercial strip- fairly run down. I counted the blocks as they moved towards 99th/100th (the streets of Love Canal)... 70th, 71st... and eventually, I turned under the La Salle Expressway up 102nd Street. Very soon, I saw to my left, a large fenced in area of open, desolate-looking field. I knew that had to be the Love Canal. I turned towards the street that ran next to it, 100th St. The streets between 102nd and 100th were empty- barely paved anymore, with huge potholes, and the grassy areas where houses might be were full of shrubs, overgrown grass, rubbish, trees, some broken branches. There were just one or two run down houses... I stopped along 101st St. and took in the silence. No traffic, just weeds, trees, wind. There were no signs on the fence, no plaques marking the Love Canal. The place definitely had a presence, a spookiness, a feeling of a boarded up catastrophe. (field notes, 13 Apr 2007)

Figure 42 Love Canal Site, Niagara Falls, New York, April 2007.

In the 1980s, Alan Oleksiuk, founder of the organisation 'Canadians for a Clean Environment', guided groups of people on bus tours of contaminated industrial sites in Niagara Falls, Ontario and Niagara Falls, New York. He called these the 'toxic tours'. The tours took place in the aftermath of Love Canal. During the 1980s, people knew about Love Canal, but many people did not know that there were numerous other 'Love Canals' which lay undiscovered, beyond the vision of the public eye. There was still,

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and there remains today, a great deal of uncertainty about the health impacts of living next to toxic sites, and the precise levels of pollution in the area. The toxic tours were part of an effort to raise public awareness of the serious levels of environmental contamination in the Niagara Falls area.

The socioeconomic and environmental legacies of heavy chemical and abrasives companies located on both sides of the border endure today. Many of these industries have been abandoned, beginning from the 1980s and continuing to the present day. Some of the companies have faced legal action for negligent dumping, notably Hooker Chemicals in New York and Norton Abrasives in Ontario. Most of the companies have not been held accountable for the costs of clean-up and remediation, particularly in the United States. The largest chemical company on the Canadian side of the border, the Cyanamid plant on Fourth Avenue, closed in 1992. Its buildings were demolished a few years later. Many flagship plants along Buffalo Avenue and Highland Avenue closed in Niagara Falls, New York: Hooker Chemicals, Union Carbide, and Carborandum, to name just a few. Yet although the buildings have been abandoned or torn down, unknown levels of contamination remain. The social impacts of industrial abandonment on residents on both sides of the border include not only job losses but serious health problems associated with living and working near to contaminated sites. These health impacts remain a matter of debate; little to no epidemiological or toxicological research into cancer clusters and other environmental health effects have been undertaken in either Canada or the United States. Qualitative research is largely disregarded by government officials, and residents' reports of high levels of cancer and other illnesses in their families since living in areas next to contaminated sites are often dismissed as being linked to other factors such as smoking or poverty. This chapter will provide a background to the case study areas of Niagara Falls, Ontario and Niagara Falls, New York, outline the sites selected for study in the landscape of ruination, and examine the relationship between the old industrial sites and adjacent communities.

8.1 Background to Old Industrial Sites in Niagara Falls

Elgin Industrial Area, Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada

Niagara Falls, Ontario is part of an industrial region south of Toronto which includes St. Catharine's and Hamilton. The population of Niagara Falls, Ontario was

measured at 78,815 residents in the 2001 Canada Census. The city has a number of identities, as a tourist destination, a port of entry, and an old industrial city. The tourist identity of the city is the most well-known, whereas the old industrial identity is less visible on the surface. Hydroelectric power supplied by the falls historically supported numerous heavy industries, including: chemicals, silverware, machinery, sporting equipment, and paper products. Although heavy industries have suffered significant decline in the past thirty years, the tourist industry has been relatively successful (albeit unevenly) in the economic development of the city. The Niagara Falls region also supports lighter industries. For example, the nearby town of Niagara-on-the-lake has several wineries, which is a unique regional feature on the Canadian side of the border. Despite this fact, residents as far away from heavy industry as Niagara-on-the-lake also reported disproportionately high levels of miscarriages and health problems during the height of environmental crises in the 1970s and 1980s (Interview, former Niagara-on-the-lake resident, 26 Mar 08).

The introduction of legal wagering by the Ontario Government in the local economy in the mid-1990s brought a wave of tourist development into the city. The first casino was opened in December 1996 and prompted studies of gambling and employment problems in the region. A larger casino followed in 2004. A complex of hotels, various tawdry amusements, honeymoon activities and other tourist commodities are built up around the falls, although the tacky and aggressive nature of the Niagara Falls tourist industries is nothing new, but rather a continuation of a historical tradition (Berton 1992; Dubinsky 1999; Healy 2006; Zavitz 2003; Zavitz 2006). Despite relatively lucrative tourist and casino industries, the industrial decline of the region in general is evident when one ventures beyond the theme park immediately surrounding the falls. For example, the historic downtown of the city shows visible signs of poverty and dereliction, with the majority of shops on the main street closed down.

The city markets itself as a tourist destination and a good place for business. Unlike Niagara Falls, New York, the city has not experienced depopulation; between 1996 and 2001 the population of the city grew by 2.5 percent, although this was lower than the provincial and national average (2001 Canada Census). The City of Niagara Falls has a number of reports on its website under the section 'community profile' (www.city.niagarafalls.on.ca). The report 'Industrial Niagara' emphasises the strengths of Niagara Falls as an industrial competitor, with 19% of its workforce found in

manufacturing alone. The report cites competitive labour rates, low corporate taxes, excellent import/export infrastructure, and a diverse economy as factors which make Niagara Falls an ideal place for business. The report also highlights the types of manufacturing and non-manufacturing industries in the Niagara Region, which include: transportation equipment; fabricated metal; food and beverage; machinery; printing; wood; chemicals and chemical products; wholesale and distribution; and utilities companies. No reference is made in the report to a decline in industries or manufacturing, and the environmental section of the website focuses more on recycling policies than on contaminated sites or derelict industrial buildings. Rather, 'vacant industrial sites' are promoted as 'ready for building today at competitive prices' through public/private partnership deals and the promotion of industrial business parks.

However, the City of Niagara Falls has a number of brownfield initiatives to address the problem of brownfield redevelopment in the city. The City of Niagara Falls defines brownfields as 'abandoned, idled, or underused industrial and commercial properties where expansion or redevelopment is complicated by real or perceived environmental contamination, building deterioration/obsolescence, and/or inadequate infrastructure.' (www.city.niagarafalls.on.ca) Brownfields can be found in particular areas of the city, well away from the main tourist area of Clifton Hill and away from the greenbelt along the Niagara River. The largest brownfield area is the 'Elgin Industrial Area', located next to the residential community of 'Glenview-Silvertown', and next to the historic and near-abandoned downtown. Other sites have already been redeveloped, such as the MacBain Community Centre, which was built on top of a cement-capped brownfield site and opened in September 2005. The Elgin Industrial Area was selected as a Pilot Project Area by the City of Niagara Falls for the following reason:

> Based on the number and large size of properties in this area, proximity to the Downtown, and significant land use changes occurring in the area such as the Great Wolf Lodge and Ripley's Aquarium being developed at the intersection of Victoria Avenue and Leader Lane, this area was identified in the Brownfields CIP as having the highest priority for brownfields assistance programs. (RCI.Consulting 2006)

On my first day in the city, I visited the public library, and when I asked for information pertaining to chemical factories in Niagara Falls, the librarian asked if I meant Cyanamid, since that was by far the largest chemical factory in the city. I was given several vertical files on the Cyanamid factory alone. After reviewing some of the

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literature on the plant, I decided to focus my attention on the former Cyanamid plant in the Elgin Industrial Area. Since little research has been done on the old industrial legacies of Niagara Falls on the Canadian side of the border, it seemed logical to start with the most obvious and significant chemical factory in the city.

Highland, Niagara Falls, New York

The population of Niagara Falls, New York is roughly 55,593, according to 2000 US Census data. Niagara County has a population of approximately 220,000 people, whilst the broader Buffalo-Niagara Falls region has a population of 1.1 million. Historical industries in the area include steel production, aircraft, mechanical and electrochemical products, aluminium goods and hydroelectricity. Other features of the city include a gambling casino owned by Senaca First Nation, several bridges across the river into Canada, and tourism. More than two hundred companies departed the Niagara region between the 1960s and the 1990s (Newman 2003: 128). Niagara Falls has witnessed economic and industrial decline, and serious employment and population loss in the past forty years, as many of its core manufacturing industries have been abandoned. To mitigate these losses, there have been some government and municipal-led brownfield redevelopment initiatives, but there remain many abandoned and contaminated industrial sites and decaying urban neighbourhoods today. The city of Niagara Falls, Ontario in Canada has surpassed Niagara Falls, New York as a tourist destination.

The website of the City of Niagara Falls, New York acknowledges the city's economic difficulties, noting that the city lost two thirds of its industrial workforce in the past forty years (www.nfez.org/planning/programs/brownfields.htm). The City offers business incentives for economic development, with a Brownfield Redevelopment Initiative managed through the City's Office of Environmental Services. The Brownfield Redevelopment Initiative tests sites for contamination and works towards remediation of selected brownfield sites. According to Tom DeSantis, Senior Planner for the City of Niagara Falls (Interview, 21 Mar 2007), the funds for brownfield redevelopment are very limited, enabling initial site investigations to assess levels of contamination, but offering little in terms of actual remediation.

The scale of the environmental devastation in the Niagara Falls region has been significant due to the types of manufacturing in the area, specifically chemical plants and

hydroelectric projects which were built to harness the energy of the river. Billions of gallons of chemicals have been poured directly into the river over the years. During the 1960s, the Chemtol Chemical Corporation dumped vast quantities of hazardous chemical waste into open air lagoons near the Niagara River shoreline, and during the 1970s, Stauffer Chemical Corporation was dumping toxic waste into the river. As previously mentioned, one of the worst environmental dumping disasters in North American history occurred at Love Canal on the Niagara frontier in 1978. Chemical dumping continued through the 1980s, and it has recently been estimated that 90% of all toxic waste pollution in the area comes from chemical dumps left abandoned by former industrial and chemical companies (Berketa 2005).

More than twenty large-scale brownfield hazardous waste sites (paper companies, chemical corporations, generating stations, lagoons, metal companies, chemical waste companies) have been identified by the United States Environment Protection Authority within Niagara County, seventeen of which are in the city of Niagara Falls itself. Niagara Falls City Council defines brownfields as 'vacant or underutilized industrial and commercial properties where expansion or redevelopment is complicated by real or perceived environmental contamination' (Dunn and Dunn 1998), a similar if more succinct definition to that of its Canadian counterpart. According to the City Council's website, joint efforts to address these sites between the Canadian and American Governments have been underway since the 1980s. However, in practice there has been little cross-border communication or collaboration on these issues, at least according to interviews with City Council officials on both sides of the border.

There are two main old industrial (brownfield) areas in Niagara Falls, New York. The largest area is the Buffalo Avenue industrial corridor, which runs east along the Niagara River for several miles, and although many of the factories are abandoned or demolished, several of the factories remain working at a reduced capacity today. City Planner Tom DeSantis told me (interview, 21 Mar 2007) that many of the factories along Buffalo Avenue were in fact partially working. However, the dynamics behind their partial operation were very different from the partially working textile factories of Ivanovo. Mr. DeSantis explained that companies prefer to keep their properties barely in operation and pay taxes, rather than selling their properties and facing potential legal responsibility for clean-up. He noted that most of sites would be highly contaminated,

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and clean-up could cost millions of dollars. Many of the companies have denied allegations of contamination, and without selling their properties, they can continue to do so indefinitely. Whilst in Ivanovo, the phenomenon of partially working sites was related to the tenacity of the textile identity of the city, in Niagara Falls, the phenomenon of partially working sites was related to avoiding accountability for the costs of toxic contamination.

The second main brownfield area in Niagara Falls is located further up the river, to the north, in the Highland Avenue residential area. Four brownfield properties are located within the Highland community, and a few partially working factories continue to function in the area. Highland is one of the poorest communities in Niagara Falls, a largely African-American area which is physically separated from the rest of town by railway tracks. After speaking with Tom DeSantis and doing some research in the local library, where I chatted for over two hours with Ken, a Highland resident and community activist, I decided to focus on the Highland Avenue brownfield area and adjacent community as my area of research. I thought that this area would be an appropriate one to focus on because of the extreme example of the case, the relatively small size of the industrial corridor as compared with Buffalo Avenue, and the spatial dynamics of racial and social exclusion. I also remained open to accounts from people about Niagara Falls as a whole, the downtown, and Buffalo Avenue, because in this case, as in Ivanovo, decline seemed to be 'pervasive' and spread out rather than completely isolated.

8.2 Scale and Scope of Ruination

Old industrial sites in Niagara Falls are scattered throughout a landscape of tourist attractions, hotels, casinos, expensive houses, derelict downtowns, and natural spaces. Sites of industrial ruination tend to be clustered together along industrial corridors or on broad swathes of land, and they also tend to be situated next to poor, dilapidated commercial and residential areas. In Niagara Falls, New York, the ruins are more pervasive and visible. The whole city has a feeling of being in ruins, with potholes in the roads, and boarded up gas stations, restaurants, cinemas and shops. Many residential buildings are vacant and derelict. The industries along the river on Buffalo Avenue butt against the crumbling downtown infrastructure, which gives an impression of continuity rather than disruption. The city infrastructure is half-abandoned, with

significant depopulation over the past forty years. The more affluent areas are on the outskirts of the city, or else in neighbouring cities. On the Canadian side, the ruins are more hidden, pushed away from the tourist infrastructure and from the green belt along the river, which is protected by the Niagara Parks Commission. However, the ruins are still extensive, and they can be found not only in the City of Niagara Falls, but in neighbouring towns and cities within the Niagara Region.[19]

The landscape of industrial ruination in Niagara Falls is best experienced by car. This is because the old industries are spread out across the landscape and situated in places which are difficult to access by walking or by public transport. Most of the sites are blocked off from public access, and have unknown levels of contamination. At the same time, many of the old industrial sites are 'unseen': they are buried toxic dumps which are no longer 'ruins', at least not as physical buildings. I was able to locate certain sites only after reading about the old industries and locating them on a map, then driving towards them. Not surprisingly, the sites were not signposted.

I drove past the old industrial areas of Cyanamid, Highland and Buffalo Avenue during my initial investigations on both sides of the border. Later, I returned to explore the sites I was particularly interested in by car and by foot. What follows is an analytical tour through the sites of industrial ruination. Whereas in Walker and Ivanovo, my focus was on multiple sites which could be traced across a map in relation to one another, my focus in Niagara Falls was on two specific sites, one from each side of the border. One particularity of the sites in Niagara Falls was their spatial, socioeconomic and environmental integration with adjacent residential communities.

8.3 Analysis of Sites

Cyanamid

Cyanamid, a chemical company that produced calcium cyanide and other chemical products, was once the largest manufacturer in Niagara Falls, Ontario in terms of employees and production. Niagara Falls had other manufacturing plants as well, including plastics, abrasives, distilleries, and machinery, but Cyanamid was the

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[19] Examples of key former industries in neighbouring cities in the Niagara Region of Ontario include: Atlas Steel in Welland, Ontario; General Motors in St. Catharine's, Ontario; and the International Nickel Company in Port Colborn Ontario.

biggest. Cyanamid produced calcium cyanamide as a fertilizer, shifted to war industry production of ammonia, ammonium nitrate and special chemicals in the 1940s, and resumed the manufacture fertilizer and cyanide-related products after the war. Cyanamid had two plants in the area. One was located downtown, on Fourth Avenue. It was founded in 1907 and closed in 1992. Cyanamid opened a recreation center for its employees in 1951, which was later donated to the YMCA. The building is now closed and boarded up. Cyanamid also built a large and popular swimming pool on its grounds which remained open from 1936 until 1971. The pool closed because it became unprofitable and because it did not meet new government regulations which stated that one had to see the bottom of the pool (Ricciuto 1995).

Although the reputation of Cyanamid in the community of Niagara Falls was generally positive during the many years of its operation, the company faced problems with industrial action and environmental regulations. Periodic labour disputes and strikes over wages occurred during the history of the plant, from the 1950s to the 1980s. On several occasions, environmental regulations concerning furnace emissions and waste disposal were flagged by the Ministry of Environment of Canada, and Cyanamid was forced to comply by upgrading their equipment. Residents of nearby Glenview-Silvertown complained that "Cyanamid dust" covered their cars, houses and laundry, though the long-term health effects were not substantiated by official reports. When the plant closed in 1992, newspaper reports reflected a sense of loss on the part of the community over the decline of this important factory (Murray 1992; Skeffington 1992). A follow-up report was done a year later to document the degree of unemployment the factory closure had caused (Skeffington 1993). The factory was finally demolished in 1995 after Cyanamid failed to sell its properties.

The other Cyanamid plant, located in the south end of the city, remained in operation during the time of my research (2007) (though at a significantly reduced capacity) under a new company name, Cytec. Following the closure of the Fourth Avenue plant, the Ministry of Environment of Canada required Cytec/Cyanamid to pay for some of the environmental damage to the abandoned site. Cytec has since undertaken studies into the contaminants in the soil and performed limited remediation efforts at the Fourth Avenue site, but concerned environmentalists and citizens have argued that these efforts are not sufficient. Debates as to whether the contaminated land has health implications for nearby residents persist today.

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The site of the former Fourth Avenue plant is adjacent to a working class neighbourhood known as 'Glenview-Silvertown'. The old downtown Niagara Falls (rather than the tourist area known as Clifton Hill) is also situated very close to the Cyanamid site, and the downtown is full of boarded up shops and derelict properties. Next to Cyanamid are a number of abandoned or vacant industrial properties, including an abandoned Canadian National Rail yard. Together, this area is known as the 'Elgin Industrial Area', and as I have already mentioned, it is the 'pilot project' of the City's brownfield redevelopment initiative to attract investment and development to brownfields in Niagara Falls.
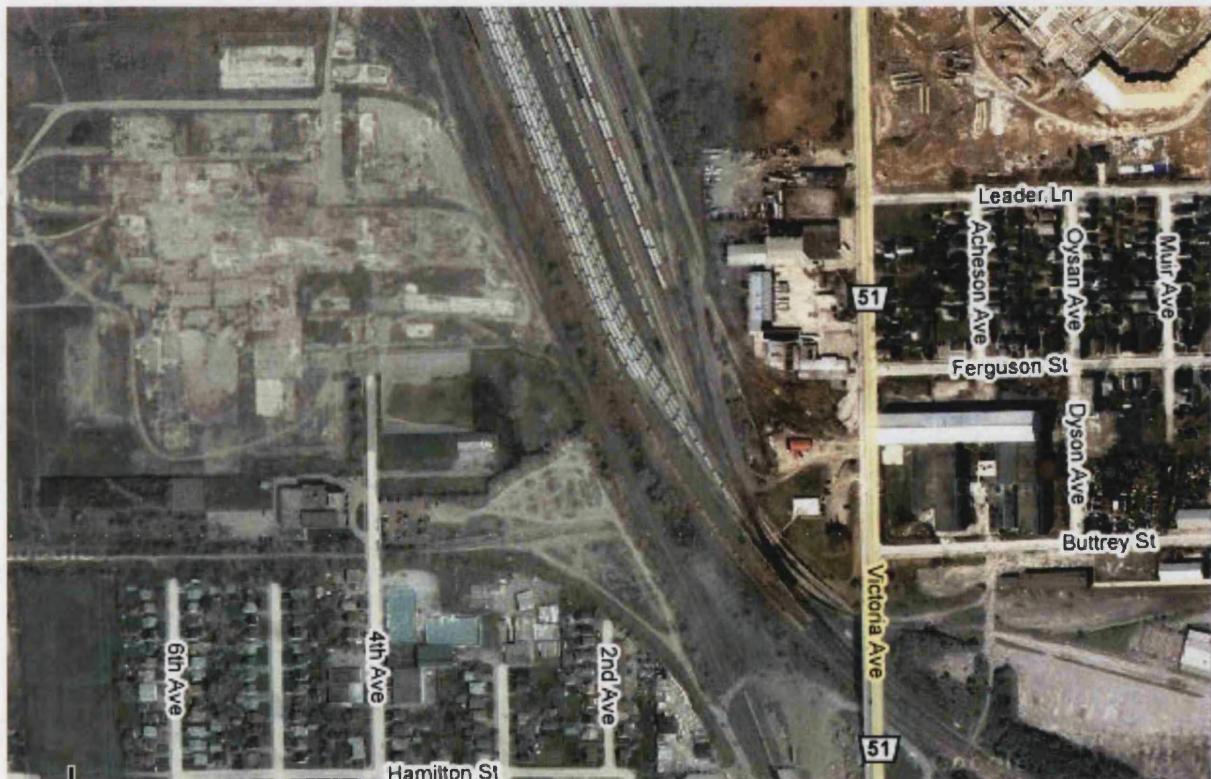
Figure 43 Map of Former Cyanamid Fourth Avenue Site, Niagara Falls, 2008. Sources: Google Maps.

The current extent of ruination of the Fourth Avenue Cyanamid plant is complete: there are no ruins left standing, just an open field where the factory once stood (see the area above Fourth Avenue in Figure 43). The only building remaining is the old YMCA, now boarded up and vacant. The site of the YMCA and the south east of the site are part of a brownfield redevelopment proposal of Niagara Falls City Council. Cytec/Cyanamid donated sixteen acres of land in the southeast portion of its

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93 acres property to the City Council, which the City wants to use to build a skating arena for the community. This proposal has met with opposition from some local residents who are concerned about the residential contamination in the area and the lack of testing and clean-up. The trade union Unite Here, representing hotel and service workers, has also taken this issue up with the City Council since 2006, because many of the union's members live in the cheaper housing in Glenview-Silvertown, near the site. Despite the objections of Unite Here and some local residents, the plan to build the arena is going ahead, with the approval of the Ministry of Environment and the City Council. The sixteen acres of land of the proposed arena site were cleaned up by Cytec in the months leading up to the City Council decision to go ahead with the plan, with some contaminants in the soil removed and replaced with other soil. Some residents believe that the land remains contaminated to some degree, and the rest of the site is more contaminated, although the real extent is uncertain. The plan for the rest of the site, according to the brownfield improvement strategy of City Council, is that light industries will 'spin off' the arena development. The future success of such an initiative remains to be seen.

The interplay between past, present and future in the Cyanamid/Cytec site reveals many of the complexities of processes of industrial abandonment and post-industrial change. The physical ruins of the factory are no longer there, but some things remain: a vast open field surrounded by fences, an abandoned community centre, and unknown levels of contamination. As the former Glenview-Silvertown resident, activist and steelworker Mike Cushman noted, the arena proposal might have slipped by without controversy if it was ten years later, when nobody remembered the Cyanamid dust. But he remembers: he has three generations of cancer in his family, and he does not want his children getting sick too (Interview, 27 Mar 2007). The former Cyanamid site is thus a recent ruin, a hidden ruin, and its past has not yet been wiped clean. Environmentalists such as Alan Oleksiuk wondered why groups such as Unite Here have focused on just this one case, when there are so many other, more pressing issues (Interview, 12 Apr 2007). Cyanamid was just one of many polluting industrial companies, he argued, and it was possibly one of the cleaner ones. Most of the damage it did went straight into the ground and into the river. Not much that is truly dangerous remains. But what of the past; what of the people who grew up around the area, who worked in the factory? What of the lingering effects? And what of the

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symbolism of the place; what does it mean that people have focused their efforts here and not elsewhere?

Figure 44 Former Cyanamid Site, March 2007.

Figure 45 Former Cyanamid Community Centre and YMCA, March 2007.

Highland Avenue Brownfields

Niagara Falls, New York is visibly much worse off than its Canadian counterpart. The United States tourist infrastructure is not nearly as built up as on the Canadian side, although the city does have a casino owned by the Seneca Indian

Reservation which employs a number of people. The downtown shows marked signs of poverty and disrepair, with many abandoned and derelict properties. The United States border guard asked me what I was doing when I crossed the border and when I said 'researching industrial decline' he said I'd come to the right place- that unlike in Canada, the United States 'did it the wrong way' and didn't keep tourism and industry separate. His grandfather worked in many of the factories in the 'heyday' of industry.

The Highland brownfields present a stronger picture of neglect and a more uncertain picture of contamination than the Cyanamid site. Aside from the brownfields (see figures below) along with looming old industrial buildings standing very close to the houses in the Highland Avenue community, there are a few partially working factories in the area. The Highland area was taken up by the City Council as a pilot project when the vast Union Carbide factory became derelict about ten years ago and the City of Niagara Falls inherited it.
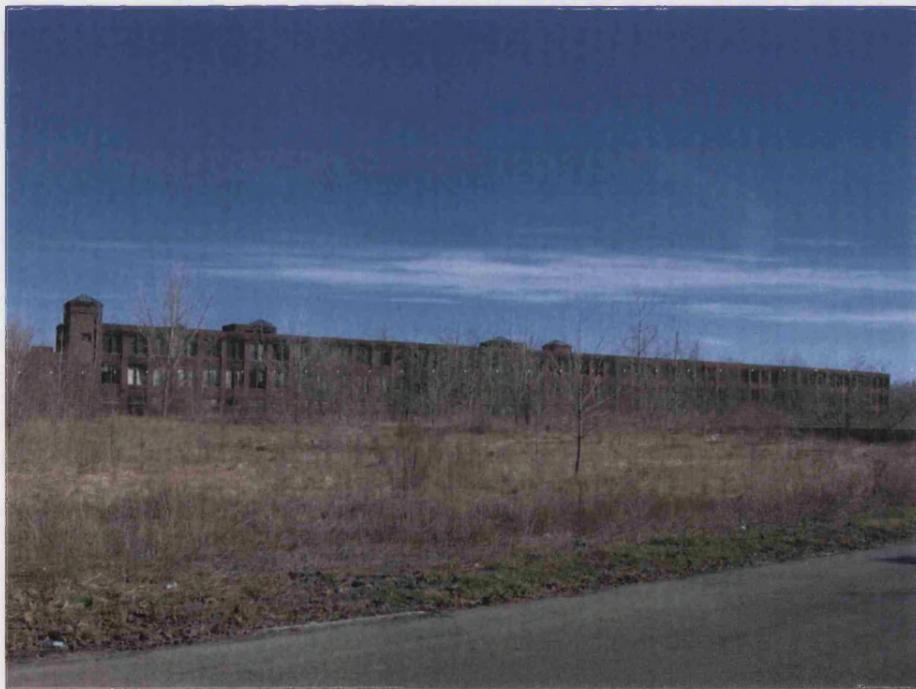
Figure 46 Former Union Carbide Factory, Highland, Niagara Falls, March 2007.

Figure 47 Highland Avenue Brownfield, March 2007.

Figure 48 Map of Highland Avenue Brownfields, 2008. Source: Google Maps.

The Union Carbide site is situated on 88 acres of land, and the area around it is overgrown with grass, shrubs, trees and weeds. The history of the Union Carbide site is perhaps more ordinary in relation to local history than that of Cyanamid, despite their

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comparable sizes. Union Carbide was just one of several large chemical companies that operated in Niagara Falls, and the National plant on Highland Avenue was just one of at least six Union Carbide plants operating in Niagara Falls during the heyday of chemical companies, the 1950s and 60s. Union Carbide was an American multinational company, incorporated in 1917, which produced over 700 kinds of chemicals for various purposes. The Niagara Falls plants specialized in chemical production for the Second World War (including work on the Manhattan Project) and chemicals related to steel and metal industries. In the 1970s, there were reports of racism within the Union Carbide plants. The Black Employees Club at Union Carbide's Carbon Products division in Niagara Falls accused the company of maintaining a 'prejudiced, racist and biased system' and said that 'minority employees are limited and restricted as far as promotion, job-upgrading and training as compared to white employees' (Summers 1971). Union Carbide started to cut back its operations in the 1980s, scaling back to two plants, including the Highland Avenue plant, by 1985.

In 1998, as part of the initial brownfield pilot project, 5.5 acres of the Union Carbide site were assessed by the City, with some ground contamination and asbestos detected, and the property was purchased after site 'renovations' for $30,000 by the company Standard Ceramics, a high-tech manufacturer of silicon carbide (Henry 2001). However, this pilot project came to a standstill in the last five years because federal and state funding 'dried up', and only recently has funding come back into brownfield redevelopment (Interview, Tom DeSantis, 21 Mar 2007). Tom DeSantis informed me that now, ten years after the pilot project started, the City can finally do some site testing in the Highland area and apply for further funds for clean-up. He said that people in the Highland community are not particularly concerned with reusing the sites but are more interested in the removal of blight.
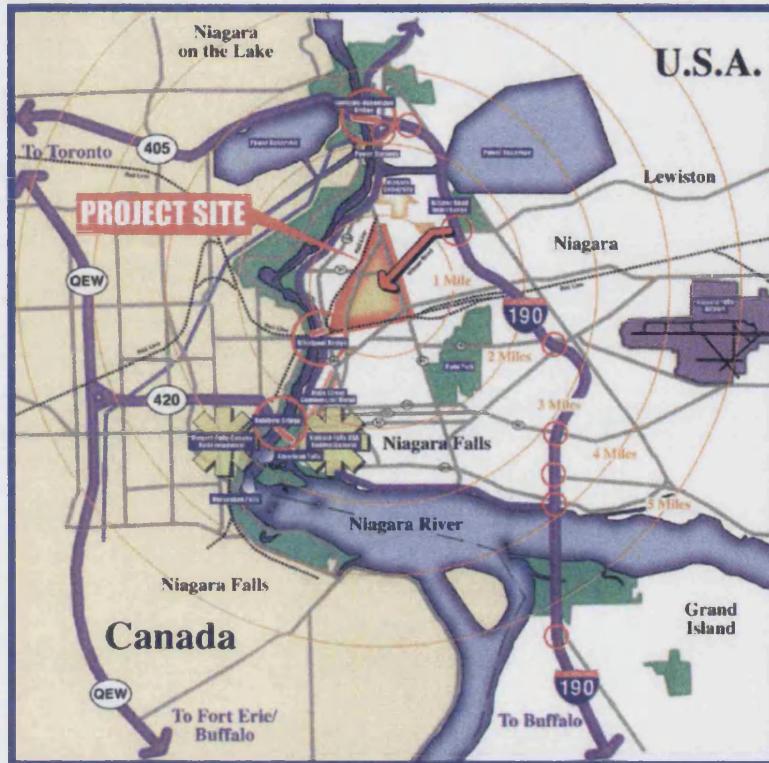
Figure 49 Highland Avenue Brownfield Project Site, 1999. Source: City of Niagara Falls ,NY.
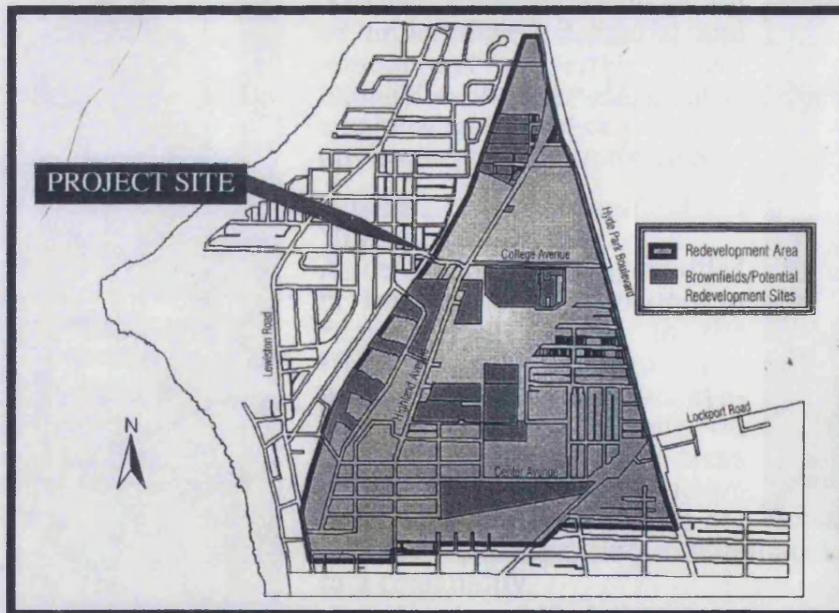
Figure 50 Highland Area Redevelopment Area, 1998. Source: City of Niagara Falls ,NY.

The dynamics of the Union Carbide site are similar to the Cyanamid site in that the respective Niagara Falls City Councils have acquired ownership of all or part of the sites and have interests in redeveloping them. The difference between the politics of redevelopment behind the two sites can in part be explained by the fact that Cyanamid

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was a flagship industry, once the largest employer in the city, whereas Union Carbide was one of many flagship industries, and its Highland Avenue branch carried little individual significance to local memory and history. Another difference relates to the different regulations surrounding corporate responsibility in the two national contexts. As a legal requirement set by the Government of Canada, Cytec/Cyanamid participated in testing, clean-up and remediation efforts on its former Fourth Avenue Plant. However, at the time of my research, the land had not be fully tested or remediated, and the company would not let independent testing (i.e. by people who are not employed directly by the company) take place. This was one of the main problems that the trade union Unite Here had with the arena proposal: the union wanted to know the 'true' level of contamination of the site as a whole. The Highland Avenue Union Carbide plant, on the other hand, was abandoned completely by the company. In some cases in Niagara Falls, New York, corporations were held accountable for contamination, but only as a result of legal action. In the absence of legal action, corporations were not automatically held responsible for clean-up costs by the government. According to Tom DeSantis, the City of Niagara Falls wants to investigate, clean up and redevelop the sites, but it lacks the funds and the economic interest of developers to do so.

Cross-border Commonalities: Themes of Ruination

The landscapes of ruination in Niagara Falls, Ontario and Niagara Falls, New York were created by capital flight: industries left as they lost profitability and markets, and as environmental regulations tightened. The geography of industrial abandonment differed in the Canadian and American contexts, partly because of tighter environmental regulations and corporate liability on the Canadian side, and partly because of the different relationships between industry and tourism on each side. Some old industrial properties have been kept as partially working factories on the United States side in order to avoid legal repercussions of hand-over and to delay costs of clean-up. A representative from Unite Here also mentioned that there is speculation that this is the reason why the second Cytec/Cyanamid plant in the south of the city remains open today (Interview, 5 Apr 2007). The remaining costs for clean-up of contaminated sites are very high, and in both cases, this burden has devolved onto governments and communities. One of the common features on both sides of the border is that the chemical companies were American. Another common feature is the legacy of

environmental damage and health impacts on residents and workers in the communities, a topic which to be explored in the next chapter.

Two interrelated themes in the landscape of industrial ruination which emerged in both cases in Niagara Falls which emerged were their unseen qualities and their uncertain levels of contamination. Whereas industrial ruins are typically associated with physical buildings, another type of industrial ruin was present in the contamination of the soil. Invisible to the eye and unquantifiable in degree, contamination as a 'ruin' was a particular and pernicious form of industrial ruination in Niagara Falls. This leads to a consideration of the relationship between the sites of ruination and the adjacent communities.

8.4 Relationships to Adjacent Communities

A significant theme in my analysis of the relationship between old industrial sites and adjacent communities in Niagara Falls is that of discriminatory or exclusionary spatial segregation of people, on the basis of race and class, by pushing certain social groups to live in areas with increased risks to health and safety.[20] The term for this spatial manifestation of discrimination in a discourse of race and ethnicity is 'environmental racism', which in general terms refers to racial discrimination whereby polluting industries, toxic dumps, or other environmental hazards normally deemed unsuitable for residential proximity, are located next to minority groups (Bullard 1993; Clairmont and Magill 1974; Cole and Foster 2001). One example of 'environmental racism' was the community of 'Africville', an Afro-Canadian neighbourhood within the city of Halifax that was first settled in the 1700s and grew up to be surrounded by toxic polluting industries of all kinds. Eventually, residents were forced by the city to relocate as part of an urban renewal project in the 1960s, for a small sum of money, a process which many criticised as 'ethnic cleansing' (Clairmont and Magill 1974). It is not difficult to see the argument that the African-American community which grew up around the factories of Highland Avenue could be described as subject to a form of 'environmental racism'. Indeed, one could argue that the most marginalised and vulnerable people in society are more likely to live in areas next to environmental

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[20] This leaves aside the question of quantification of health effects, which will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

pollution, either through intentional discriminatory policies (black people were not welcomed in many other areas of the city of Niagara Falls when they moved there) or through indirect means, such as housing affordability.

The location of working class areas next to heavy industries can be related to the concept of 'environmental racism', but in terms of class rather than race. The relationship of class to spatial segregation is related more to the concept of a 'classic ghetto': 'the involuntary segregation of a group which stands in a subordinate political and social relationship to its surrounding society' (Marcuse 1997: 228). These theoretical literatures serve as points of reference in relation to my research. Other authors have provided this kind of theoretical engagement: for example, Pulido (2000) aptly criticises the environmental racism literature, arguing that it fails to offer any substantive discussion of racism. Rather than seeking to develop these literatures, my aim is to critically explore the complex dynamics of race and class in the relationships between contaminated sites and adjacent communities.

Cyanamid

The spatial and socioeconomic relationship between the former Cyanamid site and the adjacent community of Glenview-Silvertown is one of integration and continuity. This is a theme that was also present in the relationships between sites and surrounding areas in both Walker and Ivanovo. The theme of juxtapositions and spatial gaps in relation to the city as a whole that was first identified in the case of Walker is also relevant in this case. The difference in the character of that juxtaposition is that whilst in the case of Walker, the comparison was between areas of regeneration and areas of deprivation, in the case of Silvertown-Glenview, the comparison is between tourist areas and areas of deprivation and contamination. However, the relationship between the landscape of industrial ruination and the adjacent community in this case takes on a different dimension in that the spatial relationship arguably has more direct health and environmental implications for local residents.

Glenview-Silvertown is a relatively dilapidated residential area, with few shops and services. Historically, Glenview-Silvertown has been a working class area, with a history of industries including not just Cyanamid but also other industries, most notably silver, which is where the name comes from. A number of hotel, casino and service sector employees live in this area now because of its affordable housing. Cyanamid is

also situated close to the downtown business district, which has been in decline since a 'big box' shopping area opened south of downtown called 'Niagara Square' in 1977. There is no community centre located in the Glenview-Silvertown or downtown area; nothing replaced the Cyanamid YMCA when it closed. The MacBain Community Centre has since been built across from Niagara Square (2005), a large glass building built on top of a brownfield site. Despite its role as a community centre, the MacBain Centre provides limited services for the community: its facilities include a members-only YMCA with high membership costs even for seniors, a small second branch of the public library, a small café in the foyer, and a few conference rooms. Like Niagara Square, the MacBain is premised upon a car culture, as both places are located near the highway, far beyond walking distance from downtown.

Figure 51 Glenview-Silvertown, Niagara Falls, Ontario, April 2007.

In the downtown, more than half of the shops are closed. Niagara Falls City Council has also targeted this neglected area for renewal and 'community improvement'. Many of the closed shops were bought by a single developer, a New York businessman who bought up 60% of the shops along Queen Street (the main street) in 2006 with the idea of revitalising the downtown in partnership with the City. However, the developer has no clear plan and has expressed some hesitation since City Council has not been able to provide extra funding or to guarantee improvements in civic culture and beautification. The tourist section of Clifton Hill, based right around the falls, is

completely separate from the downtown and the local community. It consists of hotels, casinos, restaurants, and tourist amusements, and the restaurants all have inflated prices.

Figure 52 Queen St., Downtown Niagara Falls, Ontario, March 2007.

According to the Ministry of the Environment of Canada, there are several reasons why people who have lived in Silvertown could have higher levels of illness or mortality rates: 'Lower socio-economic status, higher levels of smoking or alcohol consumption or the old-fashioned way in which houses were heated- by burning oil or coal – could be the culprit.' (Pelligrini 2005) Perhaps one could try turning this claim around by suggesting that people with 'lower socio-economic status' were not only more likely to have health problems related to drinking or smoking, but they were more likely to live in places with higher risks to health: near chemical industries. The newspaper article which summarises the Ministry of Environment's report also mentions that other industries in Silvertown, earlier industries, could have been the cause: the silver manufacturers of the 1800s, or various other manufacturing industries (Pelligrini 2005). The possibility of a correlation between health risks and heavy industries was thus implied, but only with previous industries. One local resident who did not express much concern with the industrial history of Niagara Falls because of her greater relationship with the tourist industries, noted that the proximity of poor areas and industrial areas was a 'natural' phenomenon: 'It [Silvertown] used to be the poorer part of town, but they had a major factory there, I can't remember, but anyway they had these big noisy smelly plants there and they had the train tracks there, so naturally that's

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going to end up to be a poorer area.' (Interview, 27 Mar 2007) Of course, part of the role of the social researcher is to question the extent to which social and economic processes are 'natural'.

Environmental racism per se did not seem to factor significantly into the Glenview-Silvertown case, as the area was predominantly white during the time of Cyanamid's operations. It may be true that more marginal ethnic minority groups or newer migrants to the city are concentrated in the present day area of Glenview-Silvertown and the downtown more generally because of lower housing costs, although the precise numbers are difficult to establish due to a lack of neighbourhood-specific Census data. A number of ethnic minorities have long been a part of the city of Niagara Falls, with the largest group being Italians. One local resident of Niagara Falls drew a distinction between older migrants, who were 'hard-working', such as the Italians, Poles, Greeks and Hungarians, and newer migrants, mostly from China, India and different parts of Asia, who she said do not tend to share that work ethic (Interview, 27 Mar 2007). She did not feel that the new migrants suffered from any form of social exclusion by working in lower wage jobs or living in poorer housing. This reflected a certain negative attitude towards new migrants, one that was perhaps shared by other residents of Niagara Falls. All of the hotels in Niagara Falls are owned by just four Italian families, a fact which some interviewees admired and others resented.[21] The issue of racism did not emerge as a significant theme in the interviews that I conducted or the archival material I examined, which is not to say that issues of racism were not present, but rather that class was seen as more of a factor than race in the social and economic geography of Glenview-Silvertown. The issue of environmental racism emerged more strongly in the case of Highland Avenue across the border in Niagara Falls, New York.

Highland Avenue

Highland Avenue is a spatially, socio-economically, politically, environmentally, and racially excluded community. The Highland area developed during the post-war period, when jobs in chemical factories were booming, and African-American people from the South were moving North to find work. They were placed in this area (by

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[21] Some of my interviewees suggested that the four Italian families who own the hotels in the city operate like a mafia, but I did not encounter any evidence to support this claim. I did find references to mafia activities on the American side of the border in some of the literature, however.

City officials) on the edge of the city directly adjacent to the chemical factories, and gradually they built their own homes and their own community. The environmental and racial segregation of Highland Avenue arguably represents an example of what is known as 'environmental racism' (Bullard 1993; Clairmont and Magill 1974; Cole and Foster 2001), as the proximity of the African-American community to toxic contaminated sites was not an historical accident.

Other spatial indicators of the separation of Highland from the rest of Niagara Falls are the railroad tracks over two of the main roads which one must take in order to enter the area, and the boundary of the city. The neighbourhoods on the other side of the track are also relatively poor, particularly on the other side of the city boundary, where there is an equally socio-economically and environmentally excluded white community living next to brownfield sites. However, as one moves further from the Highland Area, the conditions of housing and the affluence of residents gradually rises.

Figure 53 Highland Avenue Neighbourhood: Smokestack Views, March 2007.

The close proximity of the African-American Highland community to the chemical factories of Highland Avenue, as I have alluded to already, was not accidental. Willie Dunn, manager of the Highland Community Revitalization Committee and former Highland Avenue resident, explained how African-American people ended up living in the Highland Avenue area, next to the chemical factories (Interview, 23 Mar 2007). He described how African-American people moved from the southern United

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States to work in factories in Niagara Falls, dating from the Second World War. They were not allowed to live in the downtown area and were pushed into housing projects directly next to the factories on the city's edge, in the Highland Avenue area. Slowly they built their own homes in this area. They worked in lower level factory jobs, as better jobs were given to white people. With the decline of industry, many people have left, but according to Willie Dunn, those who remain are mostly widows because their husbands died early from working in the plants. Many people remain attached to their homes, as their homes are all they have left. Mr. Dunn said that there is a sense of pride at having contributed to industrial history, but all that remains are stories. The area is seen as crime-ridden and stigmatised from 'outside', but internally there is a strong sense of community, to the extent that neighbours often volunteer to clean up other people's lawns, or bring food to people who fall ill.

Mr. Dunn took me on a driving tour of the Highland area, telling me the history of every home: who lived in each house, whether they had undertaken home improvements, and so on. He also pointed out how close the old industrial sites were to people's backyards. His knowledge of the community and the streets was intimate, reflecting deep local knowledge, but he also situated his knowledge in relationship to the broader context of the city. He pointed out that the Highland area has only about 3000 people, but there are 18 churches. Mr. Dunn also showed me neighbouring white communities in the DeVeaux area which become increasingly upscale as they get closer to the Niagara Gorge. He is one of very few black people to live in the slightly more affluent (middle class) white neighbourhood of DeVeaux, and he has faced a lot of racism in his thirty years living there. The DeVeaux area is divided into three sections according to local residents: 'beer, wine and champagne', suggesting what people in each section might serve at dinner parties. Students and lower middle class white people are the main residents in the beer area, which is situated across the railroad tracks from the Highland community. Mr. Dunn lives in the wine area among teachers, contractors and administrators. The mayor and higher level administrators and bureaucrats live in the champagne area, close to the Niagara Gorge. Finally, Mr. Dunn took me outside of the city limits to the neighbouring city of Lewiston to show me the contrast with a much richer area, with mansions overlooking the Gorge and a private golf course. He said that the only black family to have moved there had their house fire-bombed a few years ago.

Figure 54 Highland Avenue Overgrown Brownfield, April 2007.

Ken, an African-American resident of Highland, also pointed out the fact that the city planning of the Highland Avenue community was a deliberate act on the part of the City. He said that in 1943 the City Council made a decision to build public housing to address the housing shortage in the city.

> So now, those were poor people and largely, poor African Americans. Where do you put them? Here [pointing to a map]. Centre Court [public housing project] was supposed to be on 14th and Buffalo Avenue, down the street here. It was supposed to be near a church called Holy Trinity where they still conduct mass in Polish today. The Poles looked at the fact that they were going to put up a housing project that was largely for African Americans, next to their church. They protested vehemently. And so what happened is, the city decided well we'll put this someplace where we'll get the fewest amount of complaints. This was all a swamp. So they developed this neighbourhood and put this housing project here because you have the least amount of protestation. (Interview, 21 Mar 2007)

Ken's reference to a particular image – one of the many maps of Highland in the corner of the Niagara Falls Public Library, where our interview took place – drew important connections between image and narrative. Ken defined in spatial terms the social exclusion which he felt that the Highland community had experienced, and he could point to these features on a map. We could have a 'spatial' discussion, in this sense, just as I did while accompanying informants on driving and walking tours of other sites.

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Elaborating upon this spatialised narrative, Ken argued that placement of an African-American community in the Highland Avenue area was a deliberate act of segregation on the part of the city: 'The community is not accidentally segregated. The whole intention of the building of that community was a segregated community. These are railroad tracks, which are traditionally boundaries to separate communities.' On a driving tour of the Highland Avenue, Willie Dunn showed me these markers of separation between the Highland Avenue community and other areas of the city: the railroad tracks, the abandoned factories, and the boundary of the city limits.

The notion of Highland Avenue as the product of environmental racism was something which seemed to belong more to the past, to the telling of the history of the area. No residents or activists seemed concerned with making formal or legal claims about environmental racism. However, racism was something that Highland residents continued to experience in Niagara Falls, both implicitly through their segregation from the rest of the city, and more explicitly. I asked Reverend Jackson about whether she had experienced any racism in her time in Niagara Falls, and she replied:

> I came from Alabama, I have to repeat that, and I've never seen as much prejudice. I didn't see prejudice in Alabama where I came from like it was in Niagara Falls when I came here. Niagara Falls is the most prejudiced place I have ever opened my eyes to.' (Interview, 28 Mar 2007)

I asked her to give me some examples of racism, and she talked about how difficult it was for black people to get jobs in the city in hotels, shops and restaurants, or in jobs such as teaching. Willie Dunn also spoke about racism in the hiring of black people in the chemical plants at Niagara Falls. He said that when the Second World War was over and the troops came back to the city, black employees were either laid off or demoted to poor menial positions (Interview, 21 Mar 2007). Reverend Jackson's husband, in fact, was laid off from the plant which he moved to Niagara Falls to work for just two years after he had arrived in the city. Reverend Jackson and her husband supported themselves and their ten children by working in a restaurant, by doing dishes and by working in several small jobs.

Reverend Jackson commented that there used to be a couple of white families who had lived in the Highland community who always waved and spoke to people, but she said that the few white families living there at that time did not speak or wave to black people in the community. Willie Dunn remarked that people in the Highland

community were generally very protective of the few white families within the area, although he may have been referring to the two white families who had left the area. During my driving tour with him, we crossed the Niagara Falls City border forming one edge of the Highland community area, and entered another residential community where the houses are situated in close proximity to abandoned chemical factories. Willie explained that this was a white neighbourhood with similar socioeconomic problems to the Highland community, which he said were connected with poverty rather than race. This suggests that in Niagara Falls, New York, both race and class have been factors in residential proximity to toxic industrial sites. The legal allegation that 'environmental racism' as a form of state-sponsored wrongdoing occurred in Highland Avenue is a plausible one, but without the political desire of members of the community to make this case, it has limited use as a legal discourse. The existence of the neighbouring white community with similar problems also suggests that spatial discrimination in Niagara Falls was not only based on race but also on class. Moreover, as in the case of legal and political action in Niagara Falls, Ontario, regarding Cyanamid, and as in larger cases such as Love Canal and Norton Steel, the battle to 'fingerprint' corporations would require considerable financial, political, scientific and legal backing. In the case of Highland Avenue, however, there is no one to be held accountable for contamination of the area: the corporations left long ago, and the City Council is a fraction of its former size.

Cross-border Commonalities

Cyanamid and the Highland Avenue brownfields are both adjacent to poor, working class areas. The Highland Avenue residential community is also predominantly African-American. The old industrial sites in both cases are so close to residential areas that they are part of the areas, rather than separate: Cyanamid is effectively part of Glenview-Silvertown and Union Carbide is right in the middle of Highland. Unlike in Walker Riverside, there is no clear physical separation between old industries and residences. The old industries are woven into the fabric of the neighbourhoods. However, as in both Walker and Ivanovo, there are socioeconomic continuities between the sites of ruination and the surrounding residential areas. The landscapes of ruination and their adjacent communities in Niagara Falls stand in juxtaposition with wealthy, white areas on the New York side and tourist areas on the Canadian side, reflecting an

uneven geography of development which is more pronounced on a regional scale than in the case of Ivanovo. Class and race emerged as major themes in the spatial and social exclusion of people in these areas. In both areas, residents have reported abnormally high rates of cancer, early deaths and rare health problems. Official studies have reported high cancer statistics for the Niagara region as a whole, but to date there is no neighbourhood-specific toxicological or quantitative data. Qualitative accounts of health problems in both Niagara Falls, Ontario and Niagara Falls, New York will be addressed in the following chapter, particularly set in relation to the problem of quantification and a lack of area-specific epidemiological data.

Conclusion

As the toxic tours of the 1980s highlighted, there are multiple, hidden Love Canals in Niagara Falls that have yet to be officially recognized and remediated, both as concrete problems to be addressed and as lessons about past, present and future practices. The toxicity of these sites may have dissipated over the years, or it may have lingered and shifted, but it remains a serious issue today. The complex problem of contaminated sites compounds the social and economic issues associated with industrial abandonment: job losses, depopulation, social deprivation in adjacent neighbourhoods, and the precarious nature of employment in the hotels and casinos of Niagara Falls, which are now the biggest employers on both sides of the border. The property market is also at odds with the incentive to investigate sites for clean up, as real estate investors don't want to advertise that contamination could be an issue, and City Councils depend on developers and investors. This was one of the biggest barriers to addressing the crisis in Love Canal: residents did not want their new houses to lose their value. Indeed, it was not until people started to get seriously ill that officials paid attention to the dioxins in Love Canal, and even then there were 'experts' brought in who denied the health impacts right up to when Love Canal was declared a national emergency (Gibbs 1998).

This research is concerned with the lesser known Love Canals of Niagara Falls, and with their less obvious but nonetheless significant impacts on people's lives. The next chapter will explore different social impacts of living through processes of deindustrialisation and of living and working near to toxic industrial sites. In particular, the chapter focuses on local people's lived experience, following a similar framework to previous chapters on 'legacies of industrial ruination': with a focus firstly on memory

and perceptions, secondly on specific social impacts, and finally on the politics of community and development. The issue of toxic contamination is highly significant in terms of both landscape and legacy in Niagara Falls, and it is also specific to this case. Thus, contamination will be the prevailing theme in my analysis for both chapters.

9 Niagara Falls, Ontario and Niagara Falls, New York: Toxic Legacies

This chapter examines the legacies of industrial ruination in two old industrial areas, the former Cyanamid chemical plant in Niagara Falls, Ontario and the former chemicals plants on Highland Avenue in Niagara Falls, New York. Ambivalence and uncertainty amidst the contested costs of industrial decline and contamination emerged as significant themes within the toxic legacies of industrial ruination in Niagara Falls. Re Workers and residents in both cities of Niagara Falls expressed awareness that jobs and pollution were deeply interrelated. One interviewee quoted an old piece of wisdom that he had received as a young man growing up in Niagara Falls during the 1970s: 'When the smell goes, the jobs go.' (Interview, Jim, 28 March 2008). Moreover, the lingering and seemingly unquantifiable costs of contamination remain.

9.1 Living Memory and Nostalgia: Ambivalence and Tensions

Local residents' 'living memory' of the two old industrial areas and deindustrialisation more generally in Niagara Falls, were not surprisingly varied, spanning from indifference to sadness, nostalgia, regret, resignation, anger, denial and acceptance. These differences could be traced across different generations, genders, classes, occupations and ethnic groups. Despite varied forms of living memory and nostalgia, in both cases, I noticed a sense of ambivalence and tension in people's memories of old industries and in their attitudes toward processes of industrial change. In Niagara Falls, Ontario, this ambivalence seemed to lie in the relationship with a somewhat hidden industrial past, one which affected some people and neighbourhoods more than others, and one from which many of the physical traces have been erased, despite lingering health, environmental and socioeconomic effects. In Niagara Falls, New York, the tensions hinged around how different people have coped with, identified with, and related to significant industrial decline throughout the city as a whole, with the worst effects clustered in particular areas of the city. This section contributes to the literature on nostalgia and memory by drawing attention to ambivalent cases where there was both 'a sadness and a gladness' when industries left.

The bittersweet quality of nostalgia, as a particular supply of memories, is useful in developing the theme of 'living memory' in this case. The philosopher Ralph Harper (1966) points to inherent contradictions in the concept of nostalgia:

Nostalgia combines bitterness and sweetness, the lost and the found, the far and the near, the new and the familiar, absence and presence. The past which is over and gone, from which we have been or are being removed, by some magic becomes present again for a short while. But its realness seems even more familiar, because renewed, than it ever was, more enchanting and more lovely.

Other authors (Davis 1979; Shaw and Chase 1989; Wilson 2005) have also argued that nostalgia is inherently paradoxical and contradictory in its bitter sweetness. The case of Niagara Falls takes the already contradictory nature of nostalgia a step further: the pain of longing for a different place or time is not the only bittersweet aspect; it is also the pain of longing for a time that produced both positive and negative effects.

Niagara Falls, Ontario

Most local residents, particularly older people, expressed awareness that Niagara Falls has a history connected with heavy industry. However, the relative importance of the industrial history in relation to other histories of the city differed depending on the respondent. One might account for these differences in terms of factors such as age, vocation, location within the city, class, and gender. Those who identified only marginally with an industrial history were local residents who lived and worked in areas further away from the factories, or who had long pinned their hopes and futures on tourism as the main industry in the city. Those who identified most strongly with the industrial history of Niagara Falls were the residents who grew up near to the factories, former workers and relatives of former workers at the factories. My analysis of living memory and nostalgia in relation to sites and processes of industrial ruination in Niagara Falls, Ontario takes each group in turn: outsiders or visitors who saw little beyond tourism in Niagara Falls; local residents without deep connections to industries who saw the industrial history as one story amongst many; and those who could 'remember the Cyanamid dust' rather strongly.

A Tourist Town

The 'Rust Belt' identity of Niagara Falls, Ontario is buried beneath the gleaming surface of a tourist waterfront full of hotels, overpriced restaurants, casinos, and amusements. Most visitors to Niagara Falls, Ontario stay no more than one or two nights, never leaving the Clifton Hill tourist area, and come away from the city without much sense of an industrial past. The abandoned power stations which stand just a few

hundred meters beyond the falls offer some indication of the old industrial history of the city. Should the more inquisitive tourist happen to drive into the 'downtown' instead of remaining in the Clifton Hill tourist area, perhaps in search of a restaurant outside of the American family-style range, another clue of decline would be found in the derelict state of the old downtown. Very few visitors would venture further still, to the brownfield sites which lie just north of the historic downtown, where Cyanamid once loomed.

One of the first places I investigated in Niagara Falls was the downtown. As previously mentioned, the main commercial street in the downtown area is Queen Street. Niagara Falls City Council has its main offices on Queen Street, and that was also one of my first points of call. Apart from the large number boarded up shops on Queen Street, I paid attention to the businesses that still were in existence: a single greasy spoon restaurant, a newsagent, and a few shops with random dollar store items. One building which caught my eye was the Historic Niagara Development Corporation, one of the many empty single-story offices in downtown Niagara Falls. Two posters about downtown revitalisation were on the door. For the first few times that I walked past the building, nobody was there. One day I saw that a man was sitting inside the office. I knocked on the door and asked if I could interview him. The man came from Brooklyn, New York and was employed as the property manager for a wealthy businessman in New York City who had bought up 60% of the properties in downtown Niagara Falls. According to the property manager, the developer was hoping to redevelop the downtown just as another developer had done in two other cities in America (Naples, Florida and Taltson, South Carolina). However, for this developer further investment in the redevelopment of downtown Niagara Falls remained conditional on the City Council spending money on a new parking garage, and provision of other amenities to improve the overall attractiveness of the downtown area. When I explained my research interests, the man was incredulous. He had never heard of heavy industry on the Canadian side of the border, and he was certain that it was insignificant to the city as a whole: 'It seems strange to me, this was never a heavy industry place like those places you mentioned... the main industry in Niagara Falls is the tourist industry' (Interview, 22 Mar 2007).

Some interviewees expressed awareness of the industrial history of Niagara Falls, but they perceived the industrial history as just one of many other stories, with no greater importance. The 'official historian of Niagara Falls' Sherman Zavitz expressed this view, which seemed appropriate given his title. Mr. Zavitz has written several local history books about Niagara Falls, including *Niagara Then and Now* (1996: 5), *It happened at Niagara* (2003) and others with similar titles. The books are based on old postcards and photographs, juxtaposed with present day photographs and short summaries written by Mr. Zavitz.

Mr. Zavitz told me about various parts of the history of Niagara Falls, most of which could be gleaned from his books. His take on the history of Niagara Falls was a multi-layered one of 'different themes.' He began by emphasising this point: 'Niagara Falls, much has happened here, so many different themes, as I like to say, of history here…. a lot of different themes to the Niagara story.' (Interview, 27 Mar 2007) He described earlier periods of history: the first settlers; the war of 1812, various economic and political developments; the development of tourism; and the development of heavy industry. I specified that I was particularly interested in the theme of Niagara's industrial history, and how that theme fit into all the rest. He provided a summary of many of the industries in the area, and when I asked about the impact of industrial decline on the community as a whole, he summed up by saying: 'I think sadness would be a good word, to lose an industry, to lose those jobs is always sad, I think certainly it has an economic impact on the community.' Mr. Zavitz also noted more positively that the casino and tourist industries had replaced many of the old industrial jobs that were lost. Mr. Zavitz provided a relatively neutral ('official') overview of the history of industrial decline and job losses in the city, as one story amongst many others, and one that had largely passed but still had its importance.

Two other interviewees I spoke with had a similar view about the role of heavy industry in the history of Niagara Falls. Both were elderly local residents of Niagara Falls who lived in Stamford, a residential and commercial area next to the downtown but further away from the former Cyanamid site and the downtown core itself. I was directed to these two interviewees by Bob Bolibruck, Planner, Planning and Development, Niagara Falls City Council, because he thought that older people in

Niagara Falls such as these two interviewees would remember more about the history of industry.

The first interviewee was an elderly man who had an interest in local history. He was well known as a visitor in the Lundy's Lane Historical Museum, and he served as a town crier for many years. We met at the Lundy's Lane History Museum, a small converted house with a display of the history of Niagara Falls on the ground floor and a reading room upstairs, where we spoke. In many ways, this interviewee's account was similar to that of Mr. Zavitz, although less structured and cohesive. Although I tried to focus his attention on the particular stories of old industries and of social and economic change, he moved back and forth between many subjects, themes and time periods, telling me of historical figures, battles, 'Indian legends', tourism, and the natural beauty of the falls. When I asked him specifically how he felt when the industries in Niagara Falls left, he answered: 'Oh, it's terrible because a lot of people were unemployed. That was, I was still going to high school around that time.' (Interview, 23 Mar 2007) I found it interesting that he dated the decline of industry as far back as his days in high school, which would have been over fifty years ago. The interviewee only mentioned the industrial aspect of Niagara's history once his attention had been drawn to it, and for the most part, he was interested in telling me other aspects of the history of Niagara Falls.

The second elderly Stamford interviewee gave a slightly contrasting view from the others, one which situated the industrial past in greater tension with the tourist industries of the present. The interviewee had formerly worked in business redevelopment in the downtown of Niagara Falls in the 1980s. She described the changes that have taken place in Niagara Falls, both with the decline of heavy industry and with the decline of the downtown. The interviewee noted that her family background, both her own and her husband's, was in tourism rather than industry. She identified Stamford as a 'working class community' and herself as an 'ordinary citizen', and she stressed that although her husband was a school principal, he had worked hard during summers to obtain his teaching qualifications, and his own family, who came from Hungary, had worked hard as migrants to Niagara Falls. In this way, the interviewee set her family apart from other people who she perceived as less positive about change and less hard-working. For example, she mentioned the lack of business acumen of local retailers as a factor in the decline of the downtown. She argued that

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most people in Niagara Falls were too negative about the tourist industry, and that they weren't justified in their complaints because tourism offered good jobs, opportunities for community redevelopment, and economic vitality to the area. She compared the tourist industry to Cyanamid, noting that like Cyanamid, the tourist industries had become the main contributor to the city in terms of jobs and tax revenue. When I asked whether she thought people in the local community felt sad when Cyanamid closed, she replied: 'Those that worked there. The rest of us thought... all this pollution. No, only those that worked there, which is natural.' Indeed, the interviewee's lack of connection with the old industries of Niagara Falls, in terms of employment and family background, was a factor in her lack of sadness or regret at their passing. The industries fit into her account as part of the history of Niagara Falls, but not as part of its present or future.

The accounts of industry in Niagara Falls as 'one story amongst many' reflected a relatively neutral stance about the decline of industry. The interviewees remembered the decline of industry and recognised that many people were sad that they lost their jobs. However, they identified more with other aspects of the city, such as tourism, natural beauty, and other historical events. By contrast, as in the case of Walker, the interviewees who expressed the greatest sense of personal injury over the loss of employment and health associated with an industry, were those who were most directly related to the industry.

'Remember the Cyanamid dust'

Mike Cushman— former resident of Glenview-Silvertown, steelworker, and community activist— has been campaigning for the clean-up of the former Cyanamid property for over sixteen years (at the time of my writing). After several years of research in government documents, he decided to go public with his findings. In 1999, Mike addressed an open letter to the people of Glenview-Silvertown entitled 'Remember the Cyanamid dust.' In this letter, he asked residents to come forward with stories of health problems such as cancer that they felt might be related to living near the Cyanamid plant. He cited three generations of cancer in his own family and his own illnesses as a child as personal evidence of environment-related health effects. The letter was part of a broader effort to bring public attention to the adverse health effects of Cyanamid and other chemical industries on the people of Niagara Falls. He received many responses, and I will cover some of the particular accounts of health problems in Glenview-

Silvertown in more detail in the next section. 'Remember the Cyanamid dust' is an appropriate phrase in the context of present day collective memory; it invokes a memory of something that was part of everyday life for decades in Niagara Falls. Mike told me about his own memories of the Cyanamid dust:

> I remembered the Cyanamid dust because I used to wash my father's car in vinegar to get the Cyanamid dust off of my father's car. In many instances, it left spots that wouldn't wash out. My mother would have to choose when to hang the clothes on the line because of which way the wind was blowing. When the wind was blowing in the wrong direction, you didn't do your laundry that day. (Interview, 27 Mar 2007)

Indeed, in the numerous newspaper articles I read in the Cyanamid vertical files of the Niagara Falls Public Library, which spanned several decades, there were intermittent references to the Cyanamid dust and to different people's complaints and experiences of various forms of pollution from the plant during its days of operation. For many people, including Mike Cushman, Alan Oleksiuk (the environmental activist with the 'toxic tours'), and several others, pollution was the main memory and perception connected with the Cyanamid site.

Others remembered Cyanamid, despite its dust, with a greater sense of sadness at the loss of industry. The high wages, the community support, and the camaraderie between workers were cited by many people in newspaper articles. One newspaper columnist argued: 'While the citizens complained about the dust from the Fourth Avenue plant, or ammonia from the Welland site, thousands of families were fed, housed, clothed and educated on Cyanamid paycheques' (Murray 1992). Another article described 'nothing but fond recollections' when local residents remembered the Cyanamid pool (Ricciuto 1995). In 'The Cyanamid closing; a year later' (Skeffington 1993), a follow-up report was done on the 240 employees who lost their jobs when the Cyanamid plant closed in 1992. Of these, 123 had found full-time employment, according to statistics kept by a job placement centre set up by Cyanamid. Approximately 90 workers remained unemployed, and the article followed up on different workers' accounts of struggle in the labour market. I spoke with one of the workers who had been interviewed, Earl. The article noted that Earl's job loss had put stress on his relationship with his wife, resulting in arguments about money.

Earl was 47 when Cyanamid closed its doors— a difficult time in one's life, he said, to find work. He was 62 at the time of our meeting. He recalled that it had taken him six years to find full-time employment, and in the meantime, he had to work odd jobs in order to get by. The job he eventually found was in maintenance at a company that made bathtubs, and he worked with that company until it closed eight years later. After that, Earl decided to retire even though he would have continued to work if there had been the opportunity. Although Earl acknowledged that the health and environmental conditions of working at Cyanamid were not very good, he stressed that the company itself was a decent employer:

> Well, the company itself was a great company. You can't say anything bad about them. They looked after me. I've got two sons who got sick at the same time. One had liver transplant and the other had cancer at the same time. One was in London, Ontario. One was in Toronto. I had one car. Cyanamid, they brought down a car from Toronto, gave it to me for five months, and they looked after me as far as money went, I didn't lose any time. Stuff like that. So the company itself was good. The company was dirty, just kind of like most chemical plants, just dirty.

He said that he did not blame the company for his health problems or for the loss of his job: the former was just part of the job, and the latter was an economic reality. He expressed sadness at the closing of Cyanamid, noting that it had been important to the city not only economically but also socially:

> Q. How did you feel when the plant was demolished?
> E: It was sad. Cyanamid was a good thing for the community. One of the policies they had, they hired employees' children, school age kids, and there were a lot of kids in Niagara Falls who got their university education from Cyanamid. The overtime in Cyanamid was phenomenal. I worked there for ten years, and in the first eight years I had one flat cheque.
> Q. Did you like to work overtime?
> E: Overtime is part of the piece.
> Q. Did you enjoy the work?
> E: I enjoyed the work. I enjoyed the fellowship for the employees. As far as the environment went, no I didn't enjoy the environment. There was no heat in the plants, so it was sometimes too hot, sometimes too cold. There was no in between, it was one or the other... A lot of times the heat got to you. Heat exhaustion. I got that twice there.

For Earl, memories of Cyanamid contained a mixture of positive and negative elements. He remembered the camaraderie between workers, the sense of community, and the

high wages with fondness. Yet he expressed a sense of sadness both at the loss of industry and at the health effects that both he and his two sons have suffered (which will be addressed in the next section).

To summarise these observations, in Niagara Falls, Ontario, local residents' associations, memories and connections with former industrial sites and the industrial history that they imbue, exemplified by the case of Cyanamid, have ranged both in intensity and in attitude. Some expressed no attachment at all to old industries, positive or negative, and some expressed stronger associations, either positive or negative or a combination of both. The fact that not everyone in the city identified much with the industrial past or with the abandoned sites themselves is an interesting part of the overall picture, revealing how the industries fit into the larger context and social and economic geography of the city. By contrast, the accounts of those people directly affected by the industrial sites, either through employment or through living in close proximity to the sites, provide a picture of a community seriously affected by the socioeconomic and environmental impacts of industrial decline. These last accounts more closely resemble the memories and associations with industrial sites in Niagara Falls, New York.

Niagara Falls, New York

In Niagara Falls, New York, the 'rustbelt' identity of the city is more or less indisputable, both for visitors and for local residents. While in Niagara Falls, Ontario the rustbelt identity is submerged, hidden and contested, in Niagara Falls, New York, it is highly visible and pervasive. In the last forty years, the population has declined from 120,000 to just over 50,000. Half of the infrastructure in the city, including not only factories but roads, housing, sidewalks, and commercial buildings, is abandoned or in a serious state of disrepair. Highland Avenue is a stark example of a contaminated old industrial area with serious socioeconomic and health implications for the adjacent community. This section will focus on themes of remembrance and perception of old industrial sites and of the related processes of industrial decline, drawing both on specific examples from within the Highland Avenue community and broader examples about the City of Niagara Falls as a whole. As with Niagara Falls, Ontario, there were mixed feelings and memories about old industrial sites and industrial decline, but they had less to do with level of association with old industry than with being deeply embedded in processes of decline. Three tensions in the accounts will be examined:

nostalgia for industry within a changing economy and amidst concerns over pollution and health risks; gender differences and the role of the family; and, strong attachment to homes and community despite severe poverty and socioeconomic problems.

Nostalgia for Industry

In Niagara Falls, New York, the story of industrial decline was not only one among many, it was *the* story. Nostalgia for old industry was double-edged: old industrial times represented a more prosperous era, but pollution and lingering contamination were heavy social costs to pay for economic stability.

Tom DeSantis, Senior Planner in the Planning Department in the City of Niagara Falls, described local people's attachment to the industries of the city as very strong and related more to a cultural understanding of the place:

> Looking forward, [people had a...] cultural expectation because of the city's history— past employment, the economic engine that ran the city and produced the wealth that people still enjoy here, was largely tied to manufacturing plants and chemical plants and other industries that were all associated with that, and even though those have for all intents and purposes gone away and continue to shrink in terms of their relevance, the cultural understanding of the place is still that industry is still very important; we need to do what we can to preserve industry, we need to do what we can to bring it back, and that's really cultural. It's not an intellectual or an academic argument, it's really a cultural argument. And that's a difficult thing to just sweep away; it's there in the community; it's a residual imprint, I guess, and you can't escape it. (Interview, 21 Mar 2007)

According to Mr. DeSantis, a further barrier to change was the fact that some of the industries still remained in operation, albeit at significantly reduced capacity, and people kept hoping that industry would return. He said that pinning one's future on that possibility would be 'akin to putting all your family resources on a roulette wheel in the hopes that things will be better tomorrow, because you know, you're going to win, you're going to hit the jackpot. You're not going to hit the jackpot.' Despite the 'cultural understanding' which Mr. DeSantis referred to, he didn't think that people were nostalgic about the sites themselves. He explained that abandoned sites were associated with economic depression, blight and the stigma of Love Canal:

> I think it's a disconnect because we lost a whole generation here in between when people lived and worked in the plants and then plants start closing, the young people all go away, now all you get left are oldtimers who remember the

way it was or younger people who have no clue what that was all about, so they have no connection and the oldtimers, of course, they have the connection, but they are few and far between now and will get less in the future. So the community's affinity to any of these places is extremely low. We remember the bomb going off; we remember the Love Canal; we remember the plants closing; we remember our parents being out of work; that's what people remember. They remember all the fall-out of the plants closing, the fall-out from Love Canal.

Tom's description of Love Canal offered a key insight into attitudes and narratives about the experience of deindustrialisation in Niagara Falls. Love Canal had been experienced as a defining cataclysmic event. It changed everything in its wake. This was not the same story of decline as in Newcastle, with protracted decline mediated by state regulation and corporate buy-outs. This was a traumatic event which played a role in facilitating industrial decline; it drew national public attention to the dangerous health impacts of toxic industry.

Ken, an African-American man who had lived in the Highland community all of his life (introduced in the previous chapter), also painted a rather grim picture of Niagara Falls as a whole, describing the loss of industrial jobs, depopulation, the crumbling city infrastructure, and more detailed information about Highland Avenue in relation to Niagara Falls. Ken's father came to Niagara Falls in the 1950s from the south of the United States to work in the industry. Ken himself worked in a number of factories, and at the time of our interview, he had just been laid off from the plant he had been working at. Ken remembered the heyday of Niagara industry, when getting a job was very easy, and he said that he hoped industry would return. He believed that this would be possible only if Niagara Falls, New York, would take advantage of its proximity to the Golden Horseshoe of industry in Canada (Hamilton, Toronto, and Niagara Falls). He suggested that the Highland community residents be relocated back into the centre of the depopulated city and that industry be redeveloped in the Highland area. He then described an elaborate plan whereby Niagara could reposition itself as a manufacturing area in a changing economy, particularly when the Chinese economy inevitably declines (as he believed it would) like the American one did. He argued that metals and other raw materials will always need to be refined, and that there will always be an important role for heavy industry in the global economy. Following on from this argument, he concluded:

We're uniquely qualified to make [heavy manufacturing products] here. We could do it cleanly and cheaply, more cheaply because of low cost electricity. We could find a balance between health issues, quality of life and the environment and the economy. We could find that balance, and I think we could do it right here if we were smart enough to recognise that the future's going to change, and we need to poise ourselves for something other than tourism, that the tourism market is something that people who are far from any natural resource have been able to do far better than we've been able to do so. There's a cost. *We have to recognise, 'yeah, some people are going to get sick'* [emphasis added]. We have to look at societies that look at macro-level issues and not just micro-level issues, but we are people who are more into the micro-issues than the macro-issues.

Ken was one of few people I spoke with who argued so adamantly for a return to heavy industry, even at the cost of people's health. One senior citizen I spoke with said that the City Council should send 'two intelligent men to Japan and China and see if they want to invest in Niagara Falls like they did in Canada, and we'll give them cheap power and low taxes' (Interview, John Duke Seniors Center, 11 Apr 2007). However, Ken's suggestion, of a full-scale, Niagara-Falls-and-America-based return to heavy industry, was a more radical suggestion. It reflected a certain type of nostalgia for an industrial past, one that was not only limited to that past but had been extended into a somewhat fantastic vision of the future. Indeed, as much of the literature on nostalgia suggests, nostalgia always tells us more about the present than it does about the past (Davis 1979; Shaw and Chase 1989; Stewart 1988).

I spoke with another African-American man whose family moved to the Highland area from the south around the time of the Second World War, Willie Dunn (also introduced in the previous chapter). He said that the only thing that people in the Highland area have to show for their many years of work and struggle in the plants, raising families and building homes, were their stories:

A lot of people do have connections and a lot of pride about working in the plants and helping to build the plants and helping to see production expanded, and you know, maybe even things that they've suggested that went into making the plants more profitable. But you know, it's only, the only thing that they have to show for that, you know, are the stories that they're able to tell and their family members have passed along. (Interview, 23 Mar 2007)

As for the connections between the sites themselves and the community, Mr. Dunn said, community members would like to see the buildings cleared away, cleaned up, and

possibly redeveloped into other industrial uses. He did not think that the people in the community would like to see a return to the same kind of industry as before: 'What the community doesn't want to see, even though we have this industrial heritage here, because we know better, we want to see things that are more compatible with having residential usage immediately adjacent to the industrial sites.'

Mr. Dunn's notion, that only people's stories remain, seems applicable not just to the people in the Highland community, but also to many of the older people in Niagara Falls who experienced job losses and the many socioeconomic difficulties associated with significant decline. I visited the John Duke Seniors Center, situated not far from the Highland community on Hyde Park Boulevard, and I interviewed over twenty-five senior citizens, moving between individuals and groups of two to four people at a time across four long tables (11 Apr 2007). Despite the relative proximity to Highland, all but two from a total of fifty of the senior citizens there were white. This was indicative of the sharp racial divisions within the social geography of Niagara Falls.

In order to gain access to the John Duke Seniors Center, I remained general about my research interests: I said that I was interested in older people's memories of Niagara Falls and the changes that had taken place over the years. I was granted a visit to the centre during a two-hour lunch period, one of the most popular times for seniors to visit the center. One of the women who worked at the center introduced me to the entire group by a general announcement, telling them who I was and asking them to tell me about their memories of Niagara Falls. She added, 'just tell her the good ones'. I was a little bit concerned that people would follow her advice; I wanted all the memories, of course, not just the 'good ones'. It turned out that many people wanted nothing more than to talk about the 'bad' things about Niagara Falls, without prompting. One conversation that was typical of the conversations went as follows:

> Man 1: We've gotta live with Niagara Falls, but Niagara Falls is a dump.
> Man 2: You don't like have to like him. [This statement was directly to me in reference to Man 1's negative attitude]
> Man 1: It's an awful place. You better miss me because you're not going to hear anything good. (table laughter)

Many of the seniors struggled for a moment to think of 'good' things to say before launching into the things that they didn't like. In general, the accounts of the senior citizens reflected a high level of nostalgia for the golden days of the past. In the

following section, I will explore some of the gender differences in the kinds of nostalgia and memories that the seniors spoke about and relate these to notions about the role of the family more generally.

Gender Differences

One of the biggest differences I noticed was that women talked more about the glory days of downtown— of shops, parades, cultural events, and theatres. People remembered when the streets downtown were bustling, when cinemas and train stations were open, and when they could walk across the bridge into Canada. They talked about furniture shops, five-and-dime stores and the wide selection of fashion goods. For example, one woman said:

> My best memories here in the falls... Oh, you know, when they used to have the parades. They quit them all. When they had the parades everybody'd get out and you'd meet everybody and it was so much fun. But they don't have anything going anymore, you know, and it's too bad because probably a third or a half of these people here are seniors in this town that are left. So that was a fun time.

Another elderly woman, Reverend Jackson from the Highland area (who I interviewed separately), expressed a similar view about how she felt about downtown Niagara Falls in the 1950s:

> Downtown was beautiful when I came here, not just beautiful but it was nice. The clothing stores, and there was so much down there that you could enjoy. Theatres, they had three, on Falls Street, Main Street, on Pine Avenue. It was nice. You could go places to sit down, relax and enjoy. But through the years everything changed, and they took the theatres out from downtown which was a great mistake. (Interview, 28 May 2007)

Some women mentioned that their husbands worked in the factories and talked a bit about the demise of factories in relation to general decline. In general, however, the women had a slightly more positive view of Niagara Falls and could talk at length about the natural beauty of the falls, the various attractions in the present and past, and about the heyday of the downtown. One woman repeated a couple of times that she liked Niagara Falls 'no matter what they say', and several women said that they liked the city because they were born there. The only 'bad' memory that one woman referred to was in reference to an ice bridge in the 1940s: 'The bad thing was, it must be 1946 or '47 I don't know, the bridge fell down and they had the ice bridge, it fell down...' Yet

the woman spoke about the ice bridge and the bad weather of that year somewhat fondly, like a strange and adventurous thing that she had experienced. Then she moved on to describe the different night clubs, theatres, and shops that existed in the bustling days of downtown. Another woman tried to paint a positive picture of the city in the following statement:

> What have we got here in Niagara Falls? We've got the Falls (laughs). And that's been going over for a long time. And we don't have very good government right here, but it'll pick up, I'm sure, yeah, things'll look better when the spring hits, when we get some nice weather, get some tourists in town and perk up a little.

By contrast, the men talked more about the factories, about the pollution, the job losses, and the current state of political and economic affairs. Some men also spoke about the heyday of downtown, but it was generally framed in the context of industrial decline. One man, for example, said: 'Oh yeah, well the town used to be busy. Falls Street was going like mad. Everything was booming. Hard to believe. Lots of jobs around. Factories going.' Many of the men talked about the government and some blamed the mayor's 'champagne tastes with beer money' and the City of Niagara Falls for the poor state of roads. Other men talked in a somewhat blasé manner about the decline in the city, as though it was an old story:

> Man A: So what do you think of all the downturn in the city?
> Man B: Of all the downturn?
> Man A: Yeah, like the factories closing and everything going downhill. Streets not getting paved, sidewalks in bad shape, the streets, potholes all over...
> Man B: Well, there's so much, you know, going down that I don't know. Nothing going up.

One man spoke extensively about the pollution in response to my 'general' question, about his perspective on the changes that had occurred in Niagara Falls, and his memories:

> Well, Niagara Falls had a lot of factories, a lot of pollution, probably still does, the whole area is surrounded by dumps, chemical dumps all around. All along the rivers is all, chemical landfill, Tonowanda, all chemical landfills, garbage, along all the way up to probably up to the lake, it's all in the back of the Niagara River, it's all chemical landfills, dumps. Lewiston, the biggest polluter, they made the atomic bomb. They had more radium in Lewiston than they had in the whole world in a silo. So this area is contaminated or was and probably still is, with radiation and pollution.

In fact, the man was so focused on the pollution and contamination in Niagara Falls that it was difficult to disengage from our conversation in order to move on to the next set of people. Many of the senior citizens encouraged me to move quickly between the different groups and tables because they wanted to have a chance to speak to me before they were finished their lunch.

The differences in the accounts between men and women were not entirely surprising, particularly given the fact that it had been the men who had worked in the factories and who had lost their jobs, whereas the women's roles had been more oriented around traditional 'nuclear family' activities such as raising children, household chores, and shopping. Interviewees from the Highland area referred to the structure of families in the past, with the man working in the factory and supporting a wife and children. They lamented the demise of this structure, as it was no longer tenable without the possibility of men gaining full-time high wage employment. Willie Dunn explained the impact of the loss of manufacturing jobs on families as follows:

> You can find a job that's part-time, that's paying just enough that you can survive, but not really enough to do anything, not enough to really save. Not enough to really feel secure financially and make plans, you know. You hear people say, well, you know, 'I can't afford to get married; I can't afford to do it. Because I'm barely able to take care of myself and I can't take on a wife and children. I can't buy a house.' (Interview, 23 Mar 2007)

Reverend Jackson moved with her (late) husband and children to Niagara Falls from Alabama in the 1950s. Her husband worked in one of the plants. Together, they had ten children and took great pride in the home that they made in the Highland community. Reverend Jackson echoed Willie Dunn's view about the impact of job losses on families:

> How can people survive, how can they live? Your whole livelihood is gone if you close the factories and things. You don't have income. My family, my grandchildren, they are leaving as they are graduating and going to college, they leave the city. And they go to other big cities where they can get good jobs, so that means when they closed the factories and things, it meant that the younger peoples as they get good education, they are leaving here, they should have something here for the ones that are educated, black and white, would look forward to having good jobs here in Niagara Falls, to stay here and to work and raise their families. (Interview, 28 Mar 2007)

Ken also commented on the change in the Highland community and the erosion of the family home, which used to be such an integral part of the community:

> We have about a third of the homes [in the Highland community] that we had when the city was booming. Most of those homes have been torn down, burned out and torn down. Of the remaining homes, you only have a third of the disposable income that you had. The house that I live in, and I live there alone, used to be a two family home. There were nine people living in that house at one time, now there's one. But you look down the neighbourhood, you still see, there's a house there. You can no longer make the assumption that there's a family there. (Interview, 21 Mar 2007)

In other words, the interviewees seemed to wish for a return to the traditional 'Fordist' structure associated with manufacturing and nuclear families. However, they did not express disdain for elements of what has been theorised as the post-Fordist social and economic structure (cf. Amin 1994; Boyer and Durand 1997; cf. Jessop 1991; Lipietz 1992)— with different gender roles, different forms of employment, and different consumption patterns. In fact, the 'Fordist' structure was the only one they had experience with, since nothing had come to replace the logic and socioeconomic reality of the heavy industrial era, as in other cities around the westernised world.

Both the gender differences in the accounts of the seniors at John Duke and the reflections on the decline of families, demonstrate the salience of memories and perspectives which are related not only to solid, high waged manufacturing employment, but also to the social world views associated with the Fordist era more generally. They suggest that place memory is not only related to class, as might be argued in the case of place memory of Cyanamid in Niagara Falls, Ontario, but it is also related to some extent to gender and gender roles. As in Walker and Ivanovo, there was a gap between the industrial past and the distant post-industrial future in Niagara Falls. The social and economic aspects of the post-industrial paradigm – the growth of the service sector, the promises of knowledge and clean technology, and the feminisation of labour – all bypassed Niagara Falls during its years of deindustrialisation.

Attachment to Homes and Community

Across all three of my case studies, local residents' attachment to homes and community, particularly in areas with high levels of social and economic deprivation, proved to be remarkably strong. This attachment was at a general city and

neighbourhood level, where residents felt that despite the many problems of their city or neighbourhood, it was their home, either because they'd been born there or they'd made it their home. Attachment was felt even more strongly on the level of people's individual houses. This was certainly the case in the Highland area. My interviewees described earlier days, when the roads were made of dirt, and they described the difficulties that families endured in order to be able to afford to build homes and support their families in them (Interviews: Ken, 21 Mar 2007; Willie Dunn, 23 Mar 2007; Reverend Jackson, 28 Mar 2007). Willie Dunn explained this attachment as follows: 'One of things that I think is sort of difficult about this city is that the families' homes is sort of all that they have that's left, and no matter what they don't want to leave their home, they don't want to sell their home' (Interview, 23 Mar 07).

Robert Antonucci, who works in Community Development for the City of Niagara Falls, told me his own account of growing up in Niagara Falls. He grew up in an Italian-American neighbourhood, went away to college, worked in some of the factories during the summer months, and then returned to get a job in the City. His colleague Jim, over in the next cubicle, was his next door neighbour. Mr. Antonucci introduced me to Jim, and the two of them reminisced about their similar family backgrounds and similar career paths. When I asked about whether they liked Niagara Falls, they both said that they were attached to Niagara Falls because that's where they were from. Jim said that their attachment was psychological: 'It's in our minds, even though the neighbourhoods are in decline' (Interview, Robert Antonucci and Jim, 28 Mar 2007).

According to Willie Dunn, there is indeed a discrepancy between the way that neighbourhoods are perceived, the way that they are experienced, and the social and economic realities. He said that the rest of the city perceives Highland as an area with the largest number of low income families, with high rates of crime. A lot of that image came from the portrayal of the Highland community in the media, which often connected stories of crime which happened in other areas of the city, back to Highland. In contrast to this stigmatised perception of Highland, he said:

> For the families that live here, it's a very different sense of what the community is all about. It's a stronger sense of home... I think that the people that are here have a very strong sense of community among themselves, and I think that almost the poorer they are, there may be a stronger sense of community because they kind of watch out for each other. People will get sick and neighbours will

bring them food and make sure that they have something to eat. And then maybe that sense that I have to help this person, because if something happens to me and my family's now all gone, who's going to be there. You know, it's just going to be the neighbours that are left.

When I interviewed Reverend Jackson at her home on Virginia Avenue, she was breathing with a respirator and had a bad chronic cough (28 Mar 2007). Reverend Jackson said that she had led a good life in Niagara Falls despite the economic hardships, and that it was because of family, church and community. She spoke of the individual homes and families on each street with intimate knowledge, and conveyed her sense of each street as a unique space. I was struck by the sense of place that Reverend Jackson evoked in her descriptions of Virginia Avenue:

> But as far as Virginia Avenue runs, there wasn't when I came here, there was just one, two, three, four, five, maybe six houses here. And that's all. The tall house when you come up around the curve around there, that house was there, and the (family's) house was there, and they had this other house, that light green and dark green house, and then the house next door to me, and the (family's) house, and there was another house up the street there.

She also described the social world on Virginia Avenue as one of a big extended family:

> But as far as Virginia Avenue, we've had a neighbourhood, one thing, a very good friendly neighbourhood, we had on Virginia Avenue black club that we was very close with one another, we visited with one another, you know, and had good times in each other's homes. We would have the meetings, and it was like a social club cause each family would prepare a nice big meal and we would have our meetings and then we would eat and unite and we was served, and we was like a family here. We supported each other, the Virginia family, we came together and we supported each other. And it's been good living here for me. And my health isn't that good but I'm doing okay.

Even though Reverend Jackson referred to the 'dump' on which the houses in the area were built, to the old factories in the area, and to her poor health, she did not express much interest in whether the areas were contaminated or not, or in whether the health problems in the area were related to these sites. She thought this was a possibility, but she couldn't be sure and didn't want to make that claim. Her own life in Highland had been a good one, she stressed, despite health problems in later years and the fact that most of the seniors in the area, who she listed at some length, were now dead. Above all, Reverend Jackson emphasised the strong sense of family and community in

Highland, and the importance of the churches, which she said work together and are like families too.

To summarise thus far, in Niagara Falls, New York, memories and perceptions of old industrial sites, processes of industrial change, and the communities adjacent to old industrial sites, are fraught with tensions. All of the accounts I recorded were tied to a story of significant industrial decline, whether the memories and associations were positive or negative. Few held out for a total return to the industrial days of old, at least not in the manner advocated by Ken. However, many old people remembered the good old days of jobs and a booming town. Unfortunately, pollution and jobs were deeply entwined in the industrial history and legacy of Niagara Falls. The story of attachment to homes and community in Highland and in Niagara Falls more generally is clearly a common theme across the three case studies, which I will return to in the concluding chapter.

9.2 Questions of Health Impacts

This section deals with one of the most significant themes of this case: the health impacts on residents living in communities adjacent to contaminated sites and on former workers at chemical plants. Health impacts are difficult to quantity, and many citizens who have claimed ill effects from living near to contaminated sites have had to grapple with the problem of quantification. Even in the extreme case of Love Canal, where the correlation between illnesses, deaths, and contamination proved incontrovertible and tragic, the residents had to contend with a series of evasive statements and outright denials that there were any health risks associated with the Love Canal, whether from city officials, representatives from various levels of governments, or various scientific 'experts', up to when the crisis exploded (Gibbs 1998).

In his analysis of the events and realities of Love Canal, Mazur (1998: 5) positions the question of conflicting accounts at the centre of his query: 'Any time we find interest groups in conflict, whether the rich against the poor, one nation against another, or environmentalist against corporations, we will find inconsistent accounts of the situation, with each version serving the interests of its subscribers.' Mazur argues that there is one standard account of Love Canal that is generally accepted within our culture: 'Love Canal has become an emblem of technological disaster in the modern industrial age. It is the paradigm example of a community poisoned by toxic industrial

waste.' (p. 6) By contrast with the standard account, Mazar is concerned with sifting through the range of conflicting accounts of Love Canal proposed by the different interest groups, and with understanding why one account became canonical rather than others. He presents the perspectives of six different actors, including the 'victims' and the Hooker Chemical Corporation at either extreme, and offers his own perspective as a relatively neutral 'outsider observer'. Mazur's book has been criticised within the public health literature for its downplaying of health effects in its retelling of the story of Love Canal (Brown and Clapp 2002). But what exactly are the health effects of living near toxic sites? Are they even possible to quantify?

The tension between quantification through epidemiological or scientific research and qualitative accounts of health hazards is one which deserves further attention. A great deal of general epidemiological literature emphasises a co-relation between living near toxic sites or working in various industrial factories and illnesses such as cancer (egs. Brown 2002; Doll and McLean 1979; Draper 1994; egs. Hang and Salvo 1981; Josephson 1983; Mitman, et al. 2004; Tesh 1993). However, the strength of this co-relation is highly debatable even within the epidemiological literature, and there are considerable gaps in research for most geographical areas where toxic contamination is a concern. In a review of current epidemiological literature on the health effects related to residence near landfill sites, Vrijheid (2000) notes that the majority of studies have investigated single waste disposal sites, frequently in response to public concerns about contamination or reported clusters of disease, and a small number of studies have investigated the risks of living near waste sites in general. Vrijheid (2000: 101) also flags a problem of quantification within epidemiological studies: 'Although a substantial number of studies have been conducted, risks to health from landfill sites are hard to quantify. There is insufficient exposure information and effects of low-level environmental exposure in the general population are by their nature difficult to establish.' Another study (Tesh 1993) identifies a dilemma for policy analysts in cases of environmental pollution between sympathy for citizens who are worried about contamination in their communities, and recognition of the lack of epidemiological studies which made clear links between pollution and disease. Tesh argues that policy analysts tend to side either with 'science' or with 'democracy', but that both sides take the notion of 'science' as fixed, attempting to validate or invalidate environmentalists' claims through scientific data.

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In both Niagara Falls, Ontario and Niagara Falls, New York, a relatively large number of people report illnesses in their families, such as cancer, heart and respiratory problems, and rare diseases. *The Ravaged River* (Hang and Salvo 1981) provided epidemiological data which suggested a co-relation between contamination and ill health in Niagara Falls, but that was in the 1980s, and since then, not a lot of research has gone into systematic epidemiological studies of the area. My concern is not with quantification of cancer clusters, as this is problematic even within the context of epidemiology. Rather, my concern is with examining a wealth of qualitative material that points towards a connection between contaminated sites and negative health effects. Whether this connection derives from toxic chemical exposure, the stress and fear of living in proximity to toxic sites, other health problems prevalent within with areas of socioeconomic deprivation, or to a combination of perceived and real causes, remains uncertain. Highlighting this uncertainty and the lack of research in the area is perhaps the most important outcome of my analysis. A common view amongst environmentalists according to Tesh (1993: 13), is that 'when science is uncertain, public policy should not risk people's health.'

Cyanamid, Niagara Falls, Ontario

Former and current residents of the Glenview-Silvertown area next to Cyanamid have reported a high number of serious illnesses in their families, such as cancer and heart and respiratory problems. Whether these accounts can be linked to direct health effects related to toxic chemical exposure, to the stress and fear related to living in proximity to toxic sites, to other epidemiological health factors associated with areas of socioeconomic deprivation, or to a combination of both perception and reality, remains uncertain. I argue here that people's stories provide sociological insights as ways of understanding diverse lived experiences with real and perceived contamination. In this case, I will focus on three different 'stories'; those of Mike, Earl and Alan, all local residents and workers in Niagara Falls.

Mike Cushman expressed his firm belief that residents who lived in Glenview-Silvertown during the era of the 'Cyanamid dust' suffered from a disproportionately high number of serious illnesses, particularly cancer. Six years after he wrote the public letter to residents of Glenview-Silvertown, 'Remember the Cyanamid dust,' Mike wrote to the *Niagara Falls Review* and asked them to do a story about the health impacts of

Cyanamid on residents of Glenview-Silvertown. He told me that the newspaper initially rejected his request, and he had to go through an appeal board for fairness in reporting in order to get the report written. The *Niagara Falls Review* eventually sent someone to do his story. Mike said that at first, the reporter was sceptical, but in the end, she was persuaded that he had a point, and she wrote a fairly balanced series of articles on this issue (Pelligrini 2005). The *Review* also published a parallel report which refuted Mr. Cushman's claims, citing a report by the Ministry of the Environment which showed 'no link between Cyanamid and residents' health' (OspreyNewsNetwork 2005). In fact, I first learned about Mike Cushman through reading these articles in the Cyanamid vertical files at the public library.

In contrast with Mr. Cushman, Earl, a former worker (already introduced), did not blame Cyanamid or in any way hold it accountable for its legacy of pollution. He felt that the company had treated its employees well, and that the health risks were just part of the time period, and part of the job. Indeed, he directly linked his own health problems with his work at the plant:

> Yeah, it wasn't a clean place to work. I mean, carbide dust, it's... I don't know if you know the chemical makeup of carbide: (no) it's coke, which is coal and lime. Lime and carbide liquid makes bleach, it's a chemical reaction. So you get the dust in your skin and it burns your skin, you get it up your nose and its burns the linings of your nose, as you can tell by my voice it's had that effect on me and I've never recovered from that. The inside of my nose is burnt, scarred. I can't breathe at night when I go to sleep; I have to use a machine for breathing at night, when I lay down. It had that effect on me. (Interview, 13 Apr 2007)

Both of Earl's sons also suffered from health problems; one had cancer and another required a liver transport. Earl acknowledged that there might be a connection between his second son's cancer and 'the environment':

> The area of Niagara Falls, Niagara region, it's a very high cancer occurrence over here. My second son, he was 18, he had testicular cancer. He was lucky that he caught it when he did because doctor told me that if it had been another month then he wouldn't have survived. But that's his fault because he didn't sight it. You know, when you're young you don't want to know what's happening, you ignore it and it will go away. He was only 18. So what caused it, I don't know. I'd guess, quite often, it was the environment.

Through this example, Earl was suggesting that Cyanamid had acted beyond its call of duty in its sympathetic response to his family crisis, despite the links which could be

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drawn between the company's environmental record and his family's health problems. Earl's story demonstrates the complexity and ambivalence associated with the double-edged sword of industrial decline and toxic pollution. He had suffered both from the loss of his job and from personal and family illnesses related to the toxic working environment of the plant, yet he still felt that Cyanamid had been a good employer. His story provides an interesting counterpoint to that of Mike's (see the section 'Remember the Cyanamid dust'), for although both were residents and factory workers, and both had reports of health problems which they connected with Cyanamid, Mike felt that this was an injustice, whereas Earl felt that it was something unfortunate but inevitable.

Alan Oleksiuk talked more explicitly about the connection between toxic pollution and his own sick children. He had not experienced the 'Cyanamid dust', but he identified with it because he had his own local story to tell. The largest environmental issue that he and his wife Peggy as co-founders of the organisation 'Canadians for a Clean Environment', grappled with, was the clean-up of the Welland River in Chippewa. This is a small town on the outskirts of the City of Niagara Falls, where the major employer, the abrasives firm Norton Company, had been dumping chemicals into the river. Mr. Oleksiuk described the events which led to the clean-up of the area as follows:

> .... one of the things that occurred was that we started to notice that people were seeing an oily film on the water. What occurred over a three day period, at that time my daughters were four and five, and they swam in the water, they played in the water. We had children suddenly showing up with burns, some kind of contact burns on their bodies, and their bathing suits were deteriorated, a couple of them had it on their faces and their hands, and then some of them were getting violently ill, very, very ill.

Mr. Oleksiuk's children were among the children who suffered from burns after swimming in the river. He worked for six and half years with various agencies, government representatives and citizens to clean up the site. In the end, their efforts cost over three million dollars, and despite vehement denials of wrongdoing, the Norton Company was finally 'fingerprinted' through a link between dioxins and other compounds found inside and outside of the plant. There was no doubt for Mr. Oleksiuk about the connection between this incident and the fact that his children

developed cancer later in their lives. Mr. Oleksiuk noted that the other children who were burnt in the river were also seriously ill today.

I read other accounts of high levels of health problems in Glenview-Silvertown in various newspaper articles in the public library (OspreyNewsNetwork 2005; Pelligrini 2005; Skeffington 1993). I also read several letters that Mike Cushman received from different residents of Niagara Falls in response to his public letter, 'Remember the Cyanamid Dust'. He emailed me over sixty items, including letters, photographs and various documents, which he had collected in his years of research. The respondents all included their name, address and contact details, and were willing, according to Mr. Cushman, to have their information made public for the purposes of research. I will not include their details here, other than to report that the letters gave detailed accounts of family illnesses such as cancer, respiratory illnesses, and blood diseases, in addition to personal memories of living with 'the Cyanamid dust'.

Mike Cushman was certainly the most vocal figure in campaigning against Cyanamid within Niagara Falls, despite the fact that other residents identified with his concerns. Although many officials in the City of Niagara Falls and various levels of government have disregarded Mike Cushman's claims, his case attracted the attention of Unite Here, which I have mentioned is an international trade union representing hotel and service sector workers. The union branch in Niagara Falls had heard about Mr. Cushman because of his appearance in local newspapers and at City Council meetings. Representatives from Unite Here were interested in building their own case about the continued health effects of contamination at the former Cyanamid plant. The reason they wanted to adopt this stemmed from the fact that many of their members lived in Glenview-Silvertown. When Niagara Falls City Council selected a portion of the former Cyanamid site for redevelopment as a community arena, the issue of lingering health risks caused a political struggle between a group comprising Unite Here, their lawyer, and a small number of concerned local residents of Glenview-Silvertown, and a group including representatives from Niagara Falls City Council, the company Cyanamid (renamed Cytec), and an array of scientific 'experts'.

How is one to relate stories of these health problems suffered by people who lived near to or worked in chemical industries, to cancer clusters, both in Glenview-Silvertown and more generally across the city of Niagara Falls? After all, there is no quantitative data demonstrating cause and effect, nor are there any area-specific

epidemiological studies. The accounts of Mike, Earl and Alan represent contrasting perspectives amongst Niagara Falls workers who had experience of toxic legacies, about the degree of corporate accountability for the health impacts of Cyanamid. However, they each suggest that personal, family and community illnesses were caused by toxic pollution in Niagara Falls, and more specifically by the Cyanamid plant. Questions concerning the lingering health effects of the Cyanamid site remain a matter of contestation. As I have argued, the aim of my research is not to quantify any health effects, as that is outside the scope of my project, but rather to point to the very real social issue of health concerns over toxic legacies possessed by local residents.

Highland Avenue, Niagara Falls, New York

Residents in the Highland Avenue community in Niagara Falls, New York reported a high number of health problems. However, from the interviews I conducted both in the Highland Avenue community and in Niagara Falls more generally, I did not encounter the issue of residents seeking answers to health problems, nor was I able to locate any environmental organizations or individuals. Certainly, environmental activists in Niagara Falls did not have the same profile as they did in the 1970s and 1980s. Perhaps this was because Niagara Falls was still suffering, nearly thirty years on, from the stigma of Love Canal which branded the city as a symbol of the human costs of industrial pollution. As in the case of Cyanamid, I will focus on two contrasting stories of residents in Niagara Falls.

In contrast with Niagara Falls, Ontario, the high level of illnesses in Niagara Falls, New York, seemed to be well-established as a fact amongst many of my interviewees, including city officials. The issue of quantification did not arise in my interviews, arguably because the level of contestation within the community over the issue of contaminated brownfield sites was low if non-existent. Tom DeSantis of Niagara Falls City Council spoke about the connection between health risks and chemical industries as something that had become obvious in the present day but had been neglected in the past. In fact, in some cases, he told me, the workers themselves were the ones who denied the health implications of working with chemicals, even with Love Canal:

> It was just the attitude, hey, I work here every day. This stuff doesn't hurt you. But when you look back now, and you say, oh look, how come everybody died of a heart attack or cancer? The epidemiology of this place is not all that pretty.

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> You had chemical workers dying, you had people working on nuclear programs during the Cold War here, people were dropping like flies. Nobody got the connection. And nobody cared either because their families relied on plant jobs, and the community relied on plant taxes to keep everything moving along. That was just the end though, it was the beginning of the end. With the 70s and Love Canal was just, you're sitting in this room full of gasoline and somebody threw a match in and boom, and everybody said wow, this place is really messed up. And we didn't want to admit it, and there's still people that say, ah, that was all just a bunch of baloney... (Tom DeSantis, 21 Mar 2007)

The denial of health effects of industrial plants on the part of workers reflected the tension between 'jobs' and 'pollution' that emerged in relation to local people's nostalgia at the loss of industry. Jim's quote, 'When the smell goes, the jobs go,' sums up the dilemma of toxic industrial work quite succinctly. Indeed, if the connection between full employment and the associated 'costs' and 'risks' of ill health was such an interdependent one in the case of Niagara Falls, then one can see that for some people, the benefits of employment and economic prosperity might be interpreted (at least in the short term) as outweighing the costs to people's health and the environment.

Willie Dunn also spoke about the epidemiology of Niagara Falls: 'Our area has some of the highest, our city, our county, has some of the highest respiratory illness rates in the country. And we have also the highest heart disease occurrence in the country, so residents are more thoughtful about that stuff now' (Interview, 23 Apr 2007). As I mentioned in the previous chapter, he noted that there were a high number of widows living in the Highland community, as their husbands had died early deaths from working in the plants. Some of the senior citizens at the John Duke Seniors Center also mentioned the health problems associated with living in Niagara Falls in relation to all of the other problems that they catalogued about the city. One man warned: 'We're going to have birth defects and all kinds of medical problems, people are gonna get sick, kids're gonna die younger, get sicker, get cancer. My mother and father both died of cancer, probably from being in this area' (Interview, 11 Apr 2007).

Reverend Jackson was less concerned about the relationships between chemical factories and health in Highland. Regardless of the social and economic problems of crime, drugs, poverty and poor health in the area, she was very positive about her experience of living in a community with close friends and family. As such, she was reluctant to draw any connections between people's health problems and the proximity

of the factories. However, she described one time in her life when she felt that where she lived was a danger to her heath:

> When we was on Maple Avenue, and [sic] that was a hazard to health. I knew that. We bought the home not thinking about the factory and what it could do, and we moved in, and we'd get all this black stuff, shiny stuff, and it would get all in your windows, all on your porches, constantly cleaning it, all the time. And it just a lot of... black... I can't say it was soot because it was all shiny stuff come all over. And I didn't like that, and I was glad when we moved out from over there. (Interview, 28 Mar 2007)

Despite having lived with this 'black, shiny stuff' and suffering from a cancer, a chronic cough, and an arm with almost no mobility from the shoulder down, Reverend Jackson felt that the health problems in the community were related to age, regardless of whether people had worked in the factories or not. She knew people who had died who hadn't worked in factories and people in reasonably good health who had worked in factories. She explained her uncertainty as follows: 'I can't say it's [health problems] from working in the factories, we just have health problems. I didn't work in a factory. I never worked in a factory.' After describing the varying states of health of the people of several of the people she knew in the area, she added: 'There were some that worked in factories, and I don't know if their deaths or sicknesses were related to the factory work that they was doing or not, I can't say that.' Reverend Jackson's account echoes that of Earl's in the Cyanamid case, both in her reluctance to blame anyone for the health problems in the area, and in her positive feelings of community associated with the heavy industrial era.

It is interesting to note that the case of Niagara Falls, New York, reflects almost the opposite politicisation of the connections between health problems and proximity to toxic industrial sites as does the case of Niagara Falls, Ontario. In the latter, government and corporate experts denied the connections between health and environment on the basis of a lack of scientific evidence, whilst workers and residents argued that the connections were dangerous and obvious. In the former, most people accepted the connections between health and environment in terms of general epidemiology, whilst some of the workers and residents with the closest connections to industry remained more sceptical. The next and final section will explore some of the reasons behind the different politics of community and development in relation to brownfield sites.

9.3 Politics of Community and Development

The politics of community and development surrounding abandoned industrial sites in Niagara Falls and the communities adjacent to them have revolved around competing visions from municipal government, corporations, community organisations, local residents, trade unions and activists. Many of the debates and struggles have been complicated by the 'unknown' element of contamination and the limited capacity of governments, scientists or concerned citizens to research, understand, fully remediate and integrate contaminated areas. Other tensions emerged between the goal of economic growth on the one hand and a clean environment on the other. The debates surrounding the proposed development of a skating arena on a portion of the former Cyanamid property serve as an example of these politics. The more tenuous brownfield clean-up and community revitalization initiatives in Highland Avenue are also illustrative of the constraints on local political action in areas of extreme marginalisation.

Cyanamid, Niagara Falls, Ontario

The politics of community and development in relation to old industrial sites are perhaps best explained in the case of Cyanamid through a single example: the proposed development of a four-acre portion of the former Cyanamid property into a twin-pad skating arena. The process started in 2005, when the City wanted to develop a brownfield site into an arena as part of the city's brownfield initiative plans. Cytec (formerly Cyanamid) offered to donate the property to the City of Niagara Falls for these purposes. The proposal was met with approval from many residents, as arena facilities were desperately needed within the community. At the same time, some residents were concerned about the potential health risks because the precise level of residual contamination on the property remained uncertain. The trade union Unite Here took these concerns on board and issued a press release in June 2006 highlighting some of its concerns about the lack of testing done by people other than those hired by the Cytec company, and the low level of actual clean-up, both of the four acres themselves, and of the remaining 89 acres. As a result of the intervention of Unite Here, a number of meetings were held at Niagara Falls City Council to try to address these concerns.

A culmination of these local events occurred at the 'Special Council Meeting regarding the Proposed Arena Development on Cytec Property' on the evening of 11

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April 2007, which I attended as part of my research. This was one of the last in a series of such meetings. The core of the meeting consisted of a series of presentations based on a new report written issued only the night before, entitled: "Response to Issues Raised by Unite Here, Proposed Arena Complex Site." The presenters were Cytec consultants, experts in science and in economics, and they produced scientific and economic data with numerous graphs and figures on power-point slides to show that they had gone through the correct planning processes, had done enough testing, and had found no concrete evidence that there was risk to human health associated with building an arena on the proposed site. Other deputations came from community members representing hockey and skating associations who expressed their desire to have a community arena and their disapproval of Unite Here for its opposition.

The other side of the battle was armed with fewer members, fewer economic resources, and no scientific experts. Their case rested solely on the "stories" of residents such as Mike and the legal and political support of Unite Here. The critical presentation on this side was supposed to come from the lawyer representing Unite Here. However, the lawyer refused to give the presentation which he had prepared in light of "new information" revealed in the City Council's report. The lawyer's refusal to present caused a great deal of debate and resistance on the part of the mayor, the clerk and some of the Councillors. The one City Councillor who had until that meeting been supportive of Unite Here's position, commented that her eyes had been opened: she felt that if only all residents could see a broadcast of this meeting, then all their misconceptions and fears surrounding the proposed arena development would be cleared up. The mood after the meeting was one of clear victory for Cytec and the City Council and defeat for Unite Here.

The meeting demonstrated a politics of authority, as different parties grappled to gain the upper hand through appealing to scientific, economic and legal discourses. The City Council and Cytec responded to the concerns raised by Unite Here with a spectacular arsenal of scientific and economic expertise. On first glance, I noted some flaws in the 'expertise' presented: some speculative economic accounting for job creation and increased money in the city as a spin-off from the arena development; and figures about testing only relating specifically to the arena site (sixteen acres) and not the whole site (93 acres). However, their presentation made it clear that it was difficult if not impossible to contest their scientific claims without extensive financial and political

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resources. On 8 May 2007, The Niagara Falls Review noted that the City Council had voted unanimously to build a four-pad arena complex, 'beefing up the original plan for the twin-pad on the arena site' (Larocque 2007).

It was difficult to assess whether this final decision was an appropriate one. Mike Cushman's case about the health effects of Cytec/Cyanamid during its days of operation was certainly compelling, but with regard to the lingering contamination and their health impacts, it was harder to know for certain. The use of the four-acre area where the Cyanamid factory itself once stood, away from the landfills and the more serious areas of contamination, may well have been safe enough to use as an arena. Even Alan Oleksiuk, a dedicated environmentalist, thought that most of the harmful effects on the former Cyanamid property had long since gone, having been dumped into the water and the air (Interview, 12 Apr 2007). Although my research interests in the issues made me feel somewhat compelled to find an answer, it was beyond the scope of my project. What this case did highlight, sociologically, was the power of place memory, and the indirect psychological effects of contamination on people. In some sense, fighting a battle in the present after suffering in the past is a way of asking for reparations for past injuries, but without knowing in what terms to phrase them and what battles to choose. As Mr. Oleksiuk said, there are a number of environmental issues which are more pressing which need to be fought. Yet each one is slippery; it's difficult to battle science armed only with 'stories'.

Highland Avenue, Niagara Falls, New York

Although people from Highland Avenue and Niagara Falls, New York, reported a similar incidence of illness and cancer to the residents of Glenview-Silvertown, the politics behind these stories are different. The neighbourhood of Highland Avenue is composed primarily of African-American people with very limited access to political, social or economic resources. The health problems in the area, while quite severe, have been taken for granted by city officials and experts: the corporations are long gone, the City Council has almost no tax base and relies on federal grants for community development projects, and the remaining people have little political voice, with no one to blame. In this case, it does not matter if the political authorities concur that there are health effects of toxic industries: most people acknowledge this to be the case already,

and scientific quantification does not come up as an issue. After all, there are no longer any stakes in claiming one way or another if there is no accountability.

I found little evidence of political struggle in the Highland community area. As Tom DeSantis said, the community revitalisation and brownfield clean-up plans for the Highland Avenue area began several years ago, then they stopped due to lack of funding, and they have only recently started again. He expected that residents would be happy just to see the buildings torn down (Interview, 21 Mar 2007). When I asked Reverend Jackson about how she felt regarding the City's plans, she seemed unaware that there were any plans at all: 'I really haven't been reading the paper about that... But whatever they plan, it takes them too long to do' (Interview, 28 Mar 2007). Ken expressed his cynicism at the prospect of change in the Highland area, referring back to the initial plans for redevelopment of the area close to ten years ago:

> You're looking at your chart of the Highland Redevelopment Plan, which is just somebody's idea of buying votes, they never intended for this thing to happen anyway. My first knowledge of the plan was when I opened up my mailbox and looked at the flyer that they had that showed that they had redirected the street that I lived on and that my house was gone (laughs), and I was rather upset at first. How dare these people move my house and not even tell me what their plan was? But then when I finished reading it and I saw who was putting this thing together, I laughed, I says, I don't have to do anything; this'll never happen. It's just politics; it's just poor politics. (Interview, 21 Mar 2007)

Through this quote, Ken was engaging, as he did before in the context of the spatial segregation of Highland, with a relationship between image and narrative. This image of the Highland Area Redevelopment Plan represented a vision of the future for him which he did not believe would ever materialise. If it were to materialise, he would have protested against the plan, but he felt that this possibility was a moot point. This engagement with a projected image of community redevelopment demonstrates a double criticism on the part of Ken, both of the projected plan of change which would destroy Ken's house, and of the impossibility of real change in the local context of extreme community poverty and ineffectual local government.
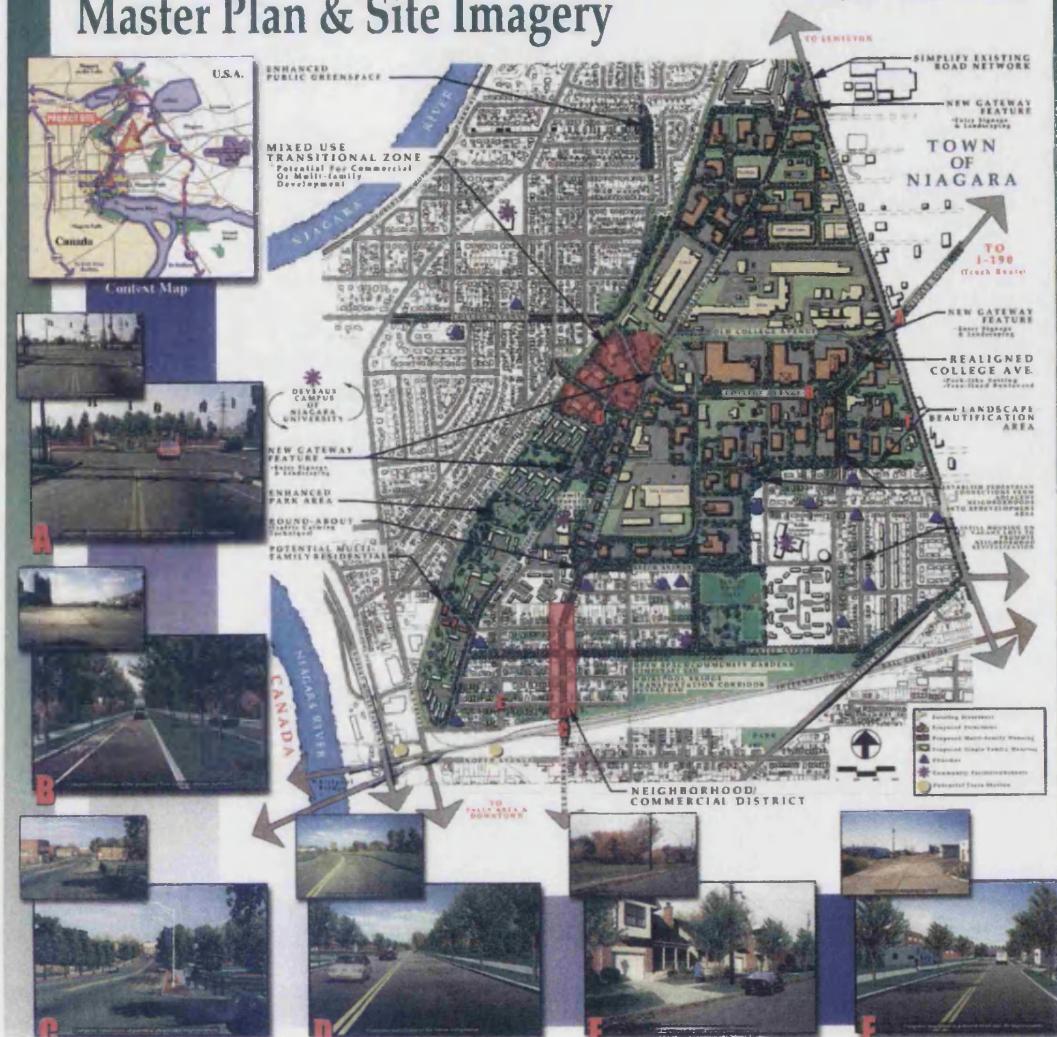
Figure 55 Highland Area Redevelopment Plan, 1999. Source: City of Niagara Falls, NY.

On a more positive note, Willie Dunn spoke at length about some of the accomplishments that the Highland Community Revitalization Committee has achieved over the years, including: partnership with Niagara Falls City Council (i.e. Tom DeSantis) in the Highland Avenue brownfield plans; involvement with a community outreach program run by Niagara University; and greater community attendance at City Council meetings. Willie Dunn was also excited about the prospect of a 'National Heritage' designation in Highland Avenue which would draw on the history of the area as part of the 'fight for freedom', when white people in the north helped enslaved black people from the south escape via the Underground Railroad into Canada before the American Civil War.

The only visible signs of struggle that I found in the Highland community were the protests of the Local 91 Trade Union. The trade union was demonstrating outside the demolished site of a public housing project in the Highland Avenue area, where new public housing was about to be constructed. Willie Dunn drew my attention to the site and the protests during our driving tour. I found reports in the local papers about Local 91 which described the actions of the trade union as mafia-like, citing incidents of violence and intimidation against its enemies, including reporters and government officials (Moretti 2007). After reading these reports, I was somewhat nervous about approaching the small group of men who marched daily outside the site with their placards and their giant rat (Figure 56). However, when I approached them, they seemed amiable enough, and they invited me to speak with them as they walked around in a circle waving their signs. One of the members explained the reason for their protest: they were opposed to the hiring of non-unionised, non-local labour for the construction work of the new housing project. He claimed that this was due to racial discrimination.[22] It was not surprising that one of the few contentious issues in the area hinged on the only major employment opportunity available in the area, and perhaps one of the few employment opportunities in construction in the city as a whole. Rather than being taken up by local residents, the issue had been taken up by a trade union who the media reported as having a 'vice grip on construction jobs and development' (Moretti 2007). This was one of the few parallels with the case of Niagara Falls, Ontario, where the political power of trade unions, despite decline in industrial jobs, played a strong role in local politics.

[22] The protesters themselves were white.

Figure 56 Local 91 Trade Union Protest Rat, Construction Site, Highland, NF, 13 Apr 2007.

The politics of place in Highland Avenue reveal the depth of some of the problems in the area.   The area has been through so many difficult times, and the existing community remains so separated from the rest of the city, that the prospect of change has been met with scepticism by many of the residents, since little has happened in the past ten years.   Also, unlike in Walker, where the modest homes that local residents were so attached to were of little financial value and under threat of demolition, the homes in Highland may have had resale value if they were situated away from contamination and poverty.   Indeed, Willie Dunn remarked that people in Highland would build very solid and attractive homes despite the fact that they could not resell them at a fraction of what they cost to build.   They built and refurbished their homes because of their long-standing attachment to the community.   In other words, although people's homes in Highland were not under threat, their livelihoods, their business district, their health, and everything else except for their homes and their networks of community solidarity, had gone.   Their homes and their 'stories', as Willie Dunn said, were all that they had left.

Conclusion

One can trace a number of important themes of toxic legacies across the international border of Niagara Falls. One is that of ambivalence in living memories, and of contradictory nostalgia related to the intertwined benefits and costs of chemical industries. The ambivalence and contradictions came through most evidently in the different narratives of local residents. In many ways, the stories of Ken (Highland resident) and Mike (former Glenview-Silvertown resident) represent opposite perspectives. Ken wanted the chemical industries to return in the name of a stable economy, whereas Mike wanted to clean up the contamination caused by chemical industries in the name of a clean and safe environment. However, both were concerned about the future of their respective families and communities. Ken had witnessed the socioeconomic devastation of Highland associated with the decline of industry in Niagara Falls. He knew about the health problems associated with heavy industry, but he was willing to take the risk as an inevitable "cost" of economic prosperity. Mike had witnessed deaths and illnesses which he believed were caused by exposure to toxic chemicals, but he had not experienced the severe level of poverty and social exclusion evident in Highland. Although residents in both case studies reported similar incidents of illnesses and cancer, their stories reveal variations in lived experience of industrial decline. The accounts of Reverend Jackson and Earl reflect similarities between the cases in terms of contradictory feelings regarding the legacies of industrial decline. The accounts of Ken and Mike are illustrative of the different socioeconomic and political situations in each case, and of diverse forms of political and community engagement.

Another is that of severe health and environmental impacts on residents. Whether these impacts are quantifiable or not, and the extent to which they are real or perceived, is not the topic of this research. Rather, this study points to a sociology of perception of risk, and the stress, fear and disruption in people's lives in relation to toxic legacies of contamination. Many people have suggested that health problems are clustered in the communities adjacent to industrial sites, possible spatial manifestations of discrimination along lines of class and race. Certainly, socioeconomic conditions in both of these areas are indicative of spatially defined divisions. There have also been many differences between the two cases, most notably the higher level of environmental regulation and corporate accountability in the Canadian case, and the widespread and visible impacts of industrial decline on the American side as opposed to the more hidden

impacts on the Canadian. Finally, another theme emerging in considering the politics of community and development in both cases is the uncertainty and difficulty involved in understanding, researching, and overcoming the many costs of contaminated sites. There is a need for policy to address rather than to ignore toxic legacies, to properly investigate the epidemiology of the area, to consider issues of corporate and industrial responsibility, and to find ways to remediate areas. This is no easy task, as Niagara Falls, particularly on the American side, faces the double burden of industrial contamination and economic depression. Both the economy and the health of the people are suffering, and the funds are not available to repair the damage of the past.

10 Conclusion

Sites and processes of industrial ruination, and the social and economic processes embedded within them, shape places around the world. This thesis has analysed three case studies of distinctive yet interconnected landscapes and legacies of industrial ruination. The theoretical framework of 'industrial as lived process' emerged as a lens through which to examine landscapes and legacies, emphasising firstly the relationship between form and process within industrial ruination, and secondly the importance of understanding processes of ruination and socioeconomic change as lived experiences. It has been possible to read layers of social, historical, economic and cultural processes within landscapes of industrial ruination, and to trace legacies across these layers. This concluding chapter will draw out three themes of conceptual significance which have come through the field work: 1) *landscapes and legacies as palimpsest*, 2) *devastation, yes, but also home*; and 3) *divided imaginings of past and present place*. Once I have elaborated upon these themes, I will draw connections between the conceptual and distinctive themes in relation to the four sets of literature, and the implications for theory raised by this research. Finally, I will reflect on the policy implications of the thesis for policy actors interested in tackling issues of deindustrialisation and local decline.

10.1 Landscapes and Legacies as Palimpsest

One of the central aims of my thesis was to examine how social and economic processes are legible within landscapes of industrial ruination, following from the notion central to urban archaeology and material culture studies that urban landscapes can been read as palimpsests (cf. Buchli 2002; Buchli and Lucas 2001; Van der Hoorn 2003). Michel de Certeau (1984: 201-202) argues explicitly for place as palimpsest:

> ... beneath the fabricating and universal writing of technology, opaque and stubborn places remain. The revolutions of history, economic mutations, demographic mixtures lie in layers within it, and remain there, hidden in customs, rites, and spatial practices. The legible discourses that formerly articulated them have disappeared, or left only fragments in language. This place, on the surface, seems to be a collage. In reality, in its depth it is ubiquitous. A piling up of heterogeneous places... The place is a palimpsest.

David Harvey (2003a: 230) similarly reflects on the concept of the city as a palimpsest:

The result [of 'the relationship between the urbanizing process and this thing called the city'] is an urban environment constituted as a palimpsest, a series of layers constituted and constructed at different historical moments all superimposed upon each other. The question then becomes how does the life process work in and around all of those things which have been constituted at different historical periods? How are new meanings given to them? How are new possibilities constructed?

For both Harvey and de Certeau, the urban place can be interpreted as a palimpsest because of the relationship between forms and processes, between physical spaces and social and historical practices.

A second aim of my thesis was to explore how local people relate to and experience forms and processes of industrial ruination in their daily lives, through analysis of multiple legacies of industrial ruination. But can one also read legacies as palimpsest? Legacies are by definition enduring features of the past within the present. The legacies of industrial ruination are not only material, in the form of ruins, contamination, or job losses, but they are also social, psychological and cultural, embodied in lived experience. However, a palimpsest (at least in the actual vs. metaphorical sense) is a material object, with hidden layers of writing submerged underneath the surface. I argue here that landscapes represent palimpsests – material layers reflective of the processes which produced them – but legacies also represent metaphorical palimpsests, as traces of the material and symbolic past. Legacies have a more diffuse, dynamic and temporal dimension than landscapes. As I have shown throughout the three case studies, legacies of industrial ruination are manifested in a multitude of forms: as memories, perceptions, attachments and identities; as socioeconomic deprivation, community cohesion, and toxic contamination; and as forms of contestation, resignation or consent embedded in local politics. Legacies of industrial ruination do not represent simple nostalgia or straightforward effects of deindustrialisation, but rather legacies can be read as the dynamic, temporal dimension of landscapes; in other words, as palimpsests. I will now highlight conceptual insights of each thematic legacy analysed within this thesis in turn.

Legacies of industrial ruination emerged in the context of place memory. Place memory was a significant theme in my analysis of people's lived experiences with processes of industrial decline and renewal. My research showed that place memory is not just about nostalgia, or about living in the past; memory is about what endures in

the present. In all three cases, the places were caught in a spatio-temporal moment in between the industrial and the alleged post-industrial, between destruction and creation, regeneration, or the post-industrial dream. Zukin's notion of an 'inner landscape of creative destruction' (1991: 29), an interior world of rupture and 'liminality' reflected through 'individual perceptions of structural displacement', is relevant in theorising how people's interior worlds relate to the socioeconomic context of 'wasted spaces'. Themes of uncertainty, and tensions between new and old, past and present, relate to both inner and outer landscapes. In all three cases, people's lived experiences include a profound sense of uncertainty, disruption, and tension.

I use the term 'living memory', building on theories of Nora (1989) and Samuel (1994) who focus on unofficial social memory as present within practices and spaces. My doctoral research offers an additional insight into studies of memory through the particular context of 'liminal' spaces. Because the industrial past has yet to be left behind in the transition to an undefined post-industrial future, and in the absence of official or unofficial memorialisation – in the form of monuments, museums, or commemorative gestures— the *primary* 'site' of place memory is within people's stories, as 'living memory'. Legacies of industrial ruination were embodied in the living memories of local people, and they often emerged in unexpected, indirect or diffuse forms: in notions of community cohesion (Walker; Highland) and politics of struggle (Walker, Glenview-Silvertown); as traumatic memories of abrupt change (Ivanovo: the end of the Soviet Union; Niagara Falls: Love Canal); and as ambivalent and bittersweet (Niagara Falls).

Legacies of industrial ruination also emerged in socioeconomic and health effects. In some ways, these were the most 'obvious' legacies that I could trace, as much of the deindustrialisation and economic restructuring literature focuses on these issues. However, tracing these legacies proved more problematic than I first thought. There was a range of quantitative data which could support claims about socioeconomic and health legacies of various forms of industrial decline. However, my primary research was qualitative, and in trying to connect qualitative with quantitative data, I realised that socioeconomic and health issues are quite different matters in terms of 'hard evidence'. Exploring the issue of health through qualitative inquiries without the foundation of epidemiological studies to support any claims, proved extremely difficult compared with exploring socioeconomic issues qualitatively. Much of the socioeconomic data that exists for these case studies is not particularly controversial: it seems perfectly acceptable to

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claim that the job losses resulting from the devastation of an industry might have effects on rates of unemployment, poverty and even generalised 'socioeconomic deprivation'. By contrast, the precise connections between illness and residential proximity to toxic sites remains controversial even within the epidemiological literature. In the case of Niagara Falls, my qualitative investigations pointed towards serious health impacts on residents. However, instead of engaging in what seemed to be a falsely constructed dichotomy between hard science and what could easily be dismissed as anecdotal or circumstantial evidence, I have taken care not make any claims about the 'true' health impacts of these sites. Instead, I have used my investigations to draw attention to the social impacts of fear, uncertainty and stress – in combinations with health problems that people believe to be related to toxic exposure— surrounding both the real and perceived health threats of living in proximity to contaminated sites. Indeed, both socioeconomic and health impacts of decline and industrial ruination can be framed sociologically, and connected back to memory and perceptions in the context of uncertainty, disruption and precariousness.

Local politics of community and development also represented legacies of ruination. Two core legacies of industrial ruination emerged across the case studies: politics of contestation, and politics of indifference or weak political voice. Both related to the different capabilities of local residents for action, based on the particular political legacies associated with processes of industrial decline. Politics of contestation were evident in Walker; these politics were based on community solidarity, but they also represented a legacy of a strong labour voice long connected with the old industrial area. Politics of contestation in Niagara Falls, Ontario represented a different legacy; the legacy of toxic contamination. Some of the residents who remembered the 'Cyanamid Dust' did not want the city, the government, or the company to forget it. Local politics of indifference and weak political voice emerged in Ivanovo. On the one hand, this seemed at odds with the 1905 spirit of Ivanovo as a city of revolutionary spirit; but on the other hand, it represented a legacy of long years of Soviet bureaucracy and oppression of dissident voices, which had accompanied both the years of industrial growth and decline in Ivanovo. In Highland, local political voices were also relatively weak; there was a sense of distrust and injustice about the racially segregated community's location next to toxic brownfield sites, but this was muted by the sheer poverty and dereliction both in the community and within the city of Niagara Falls as a

whole. In both Ivanovo and Highland, the strongest voices of contestation came from more militant and conservative groups: the national youth movement 'Nashi' in Ivanovo and the mafia-like 'Local 91' trade union for construction workers. A reading of local politics as legacies emphasises that the politics of space, place and community are situated in historical, socioeconomic processes.

The deindustrialisation literature (cf. Bluestone, et al. 1981; Cowie 1999; Cowie and Heathcott 2003; High 2003) has focused both on immediate socioeconomic and health impacts of deindustrialisation, and on the longer term legacies of industrial decline, in the form of acts of commemoration and attempts to move 'beyond the ruins' (Cowie and Heathcott 2003). This research has deepened an analysis of the complexity of legacies raised within the deindustrialisation literature. Legacies form links between past and present, and can be interpreted as palimpsests, in which one can read processes of social, cultural and economic change, and the myriad meanings embodied in the people's lived experiences through these processes. These three case studies of industrial ruination offer conceptual insights as places which are caught between the dichotomies of destruction and creation, waste and production, devastation and consumption, in which the legacies of industrial ruination are fraught, contradictory, and uncertain. However, despite many negative legacies of industrial decline, many people nonetheless remain attached to their homes and communities in landscapes of industrial ruination, which is the next key theme to be explored.

10.2   Devastation, Yes, But Also Home

Zukin (1991) argues that there are sharp divisions between landscapes of consumption and landscapes. Harvey (1999; 2000), Smith (1984) and other critical geographers argue that the uneven geography of capitalism produces winners and losers in the wake of creative destruction. In my research, I found that all three cases, if painted with broad brushstrokes, represented landscapes of 'devastation', the 'losers' in an uneven geography. After all, 'decline' was one of my criteria for selection of the cases. However, I found through my research that the political economy approach failed to take into account the complexities of lived experience. Although each case represented a landscape of devastation from the broader perspective of uneven capitalist development, the variety of lived experience in each of the three cases revealed that these places were

also deeply meaningful to people. Local people expressed strong place attachment to landscapes of industrial ruination: these were their homes and communities.

Place identity is important in considering the notions of 'home' and 'community'. The concept of place identity has been taken upon within the field of human geography to discuss a range of issues around people's attachments and identities surrounding place (Cresswell 1996; Gustafson 2001; Massey 1994; McDowell 1999; Relph 1976; Tuan 1977). Tuan (1977) was among the first theorists to discuss the affective bond between people and place; he termed this 'topophilia'. Cresswell (2004) argues that for many, the idea of home is the most familiar example of place and its significance to people, and he connects the centrality of home in humanistic and phenomenological approaches to place with Heidegger's focus on 'dwelling' as the ideal kind of 'authentic existence'. Feminist geographers such as Gillian Rose (1993) have criticised romantic notions of home as an ideal place: '...[Tuan's] enthusiasm for home and for what is associated with the domestic, in the context of the erasure of women from humanistic studies, suggests to me that humanistic geographers are working with a masculinist notion of home/place' (Rose 1993: 53). However, relatively little attention has been paid within the geographical literature to the phenomenon of place attachment in areas of industrial decline.

The phenomenon of place attachment has been studied mainly within the field of environmental psychology, and it has been researched in the environmental psychology literature within two main contexts. The first context relates to the psychological effects of residential mobility, particularly focused on cases of forced relocation. In a classic study of a working-class area in the West End of Boston, Fried (1963) argued that residents had a strong place attachment to their community despite the poor quality of residential housing. He showed that there is not necessarily a decrease in place attachment in areas of urban decline. Moreover, he argued that the psychological affects of relocation were disruptive for the West End residents' sense of continuity in life, and the residents continued to feel place attachment even after relocation. Other scholars have also argued that there are negative psychological effects associated with residential mobility, including a sense of 'rootlessness', 'placelessness', and a lack of continuity and social cohesion (Altman and Low 1992; Relph 1976; Tuan 1977).

However, recent scholars have contested the negative psychological effects of mobility. They argue that there can be positive effects of both mobility ('routes') and

place attachment ('roots') which are not necessarily opposed but 'intertwined' (Clifford 1997; Gilroy 1993; Gustafson 2001). The second context in which place attachment has been studied is related more directly to community studies and community development in areas of urban decline. Fried (2000: 193) has extended his analysis of place attachment in poor communities to make a more general claim: 'Attachment to place is a characteristic feature of life in many poor, ethnic, immigrant communities. The development of a sense of spatial identity is a critical component of attachment experiences in such local areas.' Some scholars have argued that place attachment in depressed neighbourhoods could function as a form of social and community cohesion that could be used as a policy tool in neighbourhood revitalisation. (Brown, et al. 2003)

My research relates more broadly to the context of how people experience socioeconomic change in relation to specific material sites. Perhaps this broader focus is related to the fact that I did not seek to study place attachment in my research directly, but rather place attachment emerged as a significant theme in my larger research project into areas of industrial decline. As Fried has suggested, this phenomenon is neither surprising nor novel in itself. However, it is relevant for my own research for understanding a different set of issues, specifically the socioeconomic and cultural meanings people invest in the materiality of home and community in areas of industrial decline, and how these specific relationships between people and space are reflective of lived experiences of deindustrialisation and post-industrial change.

The conceptual theme of *devastation, yes, but also home* is situated in terms of a sociological material culture literature on the complex social relationships between people and artefacts, including landscapes (cf. Buchli 2002; Hawkins and Muecke 2003; cf. Lucas 2002). Local residents' place attachment to home and community in areas of industrial decline proved to be remarkably strong all three case studies, but particularly in Walker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Highland, Niagara Falls, New York. In Walker, place attachment to home and community was at odds with both the physical and socioeconomic deprivation which affected the landscape of the neighbourhood, and the tensions and fissures existing within the idealised social fabric of 'community cohesion'. In Highland, local residents attached great importance to both home and community, continuing to build new homes within the area or to add improvements to their existing homes despite low property value and health risks associated with proximity to contaminated old chemical factories. Their homes represented a sense of family and

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community achievement, yet they were imbued with a sense of nostalgia for lost social structures of family and work and with the long-term experience of spatial, social and racial exclusion. Local residents in Ivanovo expressed a strong sense of place attachment to their city as a whole, rather than to particular communities.

My research relates to the literature on the psychological impacts of residential mobility in the case of Walker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in that residents faced threat of dislocation from their homes. However, the Walker case shows that the dynamics of residential mobility are more complicated, for the residents were to be relocated from their homes but not from their community. In the case of Highland, Niagara Falls, residents were not faced with relocation but rather faced negative health and socioeconomic effects by remaining in their community. In Ivanovo, residents in dilapidated traditional Russian houses were also reported to have possessed strong attachment to their homes, in the face of Moscow developers and threat of demolition (Interview, Roman, 12 Sep 2006; Interview, Nikolas, 14 Sep 2006). The Ivanovo case resembled the dynamics of Walker; the difference being that the many of the homes slated for demolition in Walker were of solid construction; whereas many of the homes in Ivanovo were falling apart and had no heat or running water.

The importance of home and community for residents in landscapes of industrial ruination was related to the concepts of family, partly as a form of kinship and ties as in Young and Willmott's (1957) study, but also as a form of nostalgia, a way of trying to hold onto a structure that was fading— yet without anything stable and new to take its place. This connects back to the theme of living memory in areas caught between creative and destructive social and economics processes. The concept of place attachment in areas of industrial decline raises some key questions. In the economic context of low employment opportunities, physical dereliction, and trends of depopulation, why do people still attach great value to their homes and communities? What is the value of place attachment to individuals, families and communities? What is the work that place attachment actually does, and thus why should we be interested and concerned about it? What is lost when people have to be mobile?

My research into concept of *devastation, but also home* suggests that something is lost not so much through either mobility or fixity, but when people have limited choice, based both on economic structures and on conflicted feelings of place attachment and despair over economic realities of description. In the case of Walker, people's

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attachment to their homes stood as a barrier to proposed neighbourhood regeneration, and in the case of Highland, the existing negative environmental and economic factors in the area (close proximity to heavily contaminated abandoned industrial sites) represented strong barriers to community redevelopment, regardless of people's attachment to their homes and community. My investigation of place attachment in areas of industrial decline draws attention to the social impacts of uncertainty, disruption and stress. The research also highlights the difficulties experienced amongst people trying to grapple with place attachment to landscapes with severe socioeconomic and environmental problems.

10.3   Divided Imaginings of Past and Present Place

Research across all three case studies revealed that people living in landscapes of industrial ruination have divided imaginings of past and present place – positive, negative or ambivalent – with differences across place, gender, race, age, and class. This played out in the varied forms of living memory which I discussed in relation to the first theme, but more broadly to forms of place identity attached to cities and communities. These were located in people's narratives about the places where they lived, both in the past and in the present, and how both were characterised. This points towards a conflict which was suggested in relation to the theme of *devastation, yes, but also home*: that people's perceptions and material conditions are linked, but in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. In other words, there is a difference, reflected across social groups and across different eras, between the way that places are perceived, the way that they are experienced, and the social and economic realities of living in those places.

Benedict Anderson (1991: 6) coined the term 'imagined communities' in defining the nation as 'an imagined political community [that is] imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their family members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.' Imagined communities are mental images of nation that each person holds separately, yet everyone is united through this common affiliation. Many authors have also written about imagination, imagining and re-imagining in relation to place (cf. Amin and Thrift 2002; cf. Donald 1999; Gaffikin and Morrissey 1999; Webster 1998; Westwood and Williams 1997). The imagined place as distinct from place by itself is an important concept, not

least because of its positive potential for change. In *Spaces of Hope* (2000), Harvey argues for re-imagining places through his emphasis on the importance of utopian thought in an era where utopian theories have fallen out of favour. First he provides a history of the failures of utopian and dystopian movements, and then he outlines a new kind of utopian thought called 'dialectical utopianism' which posits a vision of a more equitable world of work and of nature which is sensitised to the dialectical dynamics of change. My concern with the imagined place relates more to contradictory and ambivalent place identity, which emerged in this context in people's narratives about particular images and symbols.

In all three cases, people and places suffered from the stigma attached to cities and urban areas of industrial decline: social and economic deprivation in Walker, Soviet and industrial ruins throughout Ivanovo, and toxic contamination in Niagara Falls. The stigma was reinforced by narratives, many from people outside of the places, of crime, drugs, poverty, and other negative features. Negative images were also solidified by symbols, of Swan Hunter's, Soviet statues, and Love Canal. However, these symbols also carried more complex meanings. In each case, people attached symbolic rather than economic value to certain sites. For example, Swan Hunter's in Newcastle as the 'last shipyard of the Tyne' symbolised the pride of shipbuilding, textile factories in Ivanovo embodied the heart of the 'Russian Manchester', and Love Canal proved an icon of the devastating impacts of industrial contamination. The symbol represented in each case also tells one a great deal. The 'last shipyard of the Tyne' already conveys an expectation of future loss, indicative of holding onto something noble and proud, which stands alone, as its kin have disappeared. The embodiment of 'Russian Manchester' through a vast number of abandoned and semi-abandoned textile factories, tells one about the gap between image and reality in a depressed industrial city, stubbornly holding on to its industrial identity. Finally, Love Canal represents the devastating impacts of industrial decline and toxic contamination that have occurred throughout the region of Niagara Falls. The stigmatisation which Love Canal brought to Niagara Falls has brought silence around the issue of contamination in the area, and so the toxic legacies of multiple 'Love Canals' have by and large remained unexplored.

People also constructed their communities of the past and present in contradictory ways, reflecting differences across generations and social groups, but also differences across places . Many of these accounts were nostalgic; people spoke of the

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bustling days of commercial activity, tourism, and amply jobs in the heyday of Niagara Falls; people who had connections with shipbuilding in Walker spoke of the pride and camaraderie associated with making ships; and people spoke about the better days of a vibrant textile industry in Ivanovo. However, many of the accounts expressed continuity with the past, particularly those accounts which emphasised positive features of the present. In Walker, residents regarded the strength of their community as something which had endured through socioeconomic decline; it was something which they were proud of and would fight to preserve. At the same time, local people in Walker expressed deep awareness of the social and economic deprivation which faced their existing community. In Ivanovo, many residents and workers claimed that Ivanovo was still a vibrant textile city and that they were proud of this fact, while expressing awareness of the difficulties in the city in terms of its crumbling physical infrastructure. In Highland, as in Walker, continuity was expressed through the strength of community spirit, in the face of both contamination and socioeconomic decline. In Niagara Falls, Ontario, the glory days of the industrial past were remembered as positive by some, not remembered at all by others, and remembered as disastrous by those who had suffered the consequences of toxic contamination.

Despite the contradictions in place imaginings of past and present, each case also pointed towards positive potentialities of place. These built on particular identities and capabilities distinctive to each place: 1) the ability to resist and shape local politics around redevelopment and change, as in the 'Heart of Walker' case, and in the case of Cyanamid; 2) the ability to hold onto particular identities (economic and social) despite pressures to change, in creative and pragmatic ways, such as in the case of the tenacity of textiles in Ivanovo; and 3) the ability to work in partnership and to share knowledge, as in the case of community volunteer work with asylum seekers in Walker; and grass-roots community projects in Highland. The positive potentialities of place is a theme which I will return to in the last section, which addresses policy implications of this research.

10.4   Conceptual and Distinctive Themes and Implications for Theory

The three core conceptual themes of *landscapes and legacies as palimpsest*, *devastation, yes, but also home*; and *divided imaginings of past and present place* connect core themes which emerged in the fieldwork in the three case studies. The three themes share common features through their focus on 'industrial ruination as lived experience';

on how people in landscapes of industrial ruination experience related processes of deindustrialisation across different national, cultural and geographical contexts. The case studies also produced distinctive conceptual insights, and it is worth reflecting on what accounts for the differences across the cases.

A number of factors can account for some of the differences between the local specificities of the individual cases examined. Firstly, the cases represent different stages in processes of deindustrialisation and industrial ruination: recent and continuing (Ivanovo), long and lingering (Niagara Falls), and protracted yet facing regeneration (Walker, Newcastle). A second factor is the role of the state. In Walker, the role of the state was strongest, resulting in high levels of regulation. In Ivanovo, its role had suddenly changed from very strong to very weak, which was a factor in the sudden and devastating collapse of industry. In Niagara Falls, Ontario, the role of the state was relatively strong, and in Niagara Falls, New York, the role of the state was relatively weak, and this discrepancy accounted for differences in environmental law and regulations surrounding corporate accountability. Geographical scale also comes into play in the divergent geographies of ruination: the United Kingdom is small in comparison to North America and Russia, so it is not surprising (given the limited amount of space) that ruination in the UK is clustered in particular places and subjected to intensive regeneration plans, whereas in North America and Russia, ruination is spread across vast areas of land. Finally, the role of capital in shaping the landscapes has also produced different configurations of ruination. In Newcastle, companies have engaged in a number of roles: some have been subsidised, some have moved in search of more profitable locations, others have faced bankruptcy and closed, and still others have engaged in projects such as real estate development and offshore industries. The textile factories in Ivanovo have struggled to remain open and competitive with their introduction into the global market economy. Capital in Niagara Falls has produced a more 'classic' landscape of industrial abandonment, where social and environmental costs have devolved onto communities. Corporate accountability for remediation was different in Canada and the United States, with some level of accountability being levelled on Canadian companies and practically none in the United States context.

Indeed, the different roles of capital in shaping the uneven geography of ruination in each case are important in the context of this thesis. Harvey's 'spatio-temporal fix' (2003b) and Smith's (1984) logic of oppositional tendencies in capitalism,

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which shape and produce space, offer a useful starting point for understanding general patterns of capital development, capital flows, and capital abandonment. However, these logics tend to operate in closed systems where the unexpected patterns and relationships of society, culture and politics are somehow bracketed out. How can we understand the landscapes of ruination in post-socialist countries, where the relationship with capitalism is entirely different, yet the geography is remarkably similar? How can we account for the role of the state in mediating industrial losses and courting corporate investment? The geography of industrial abandonment looks rather more untidy, with more factors, complexities and contingencies, than the broad theories of political economy might suggest.

The concept of 'wasted places' connects to debates in the sociology of waste: the question of inevitability (Hawkins and Muecke 2003; Strasser 1999; Thompson 1979). Is waste inevitable in any system, capitalist or otherwise? Creation and destruction, production and waste, life and death— are these not fundamental aspects behind all living systems? Is there a particular violence to the creative destruction of capitalism, the 'frontier mentality' (Jackle and Wilson 1992) of the 'throwaway society' (Packard 1960)? As much of the literature on the sociology of waste and ruins suggests, there is a particular violence associated with the rapid 'wasting' of particular spaces and the prolonging of other spaces (Hawkins and Muecke 2003; Jackle and Wilson 1992; Thompson 1979). The violence has less to do with the spaces per se, and more to do with the people who inhabit them. 'Wasted lives' (Bauman 2004) is a much more difficult phenomenon to reconcile than simply 'wasted spaces', yet the two are deeply intertwined. I would suggest that while waste, destruction and death are inevitable in any system, wasted places and wasted people are not. Rather, the uneven geography of capitalism and the divisions between landscapes of creation and destruction are related not as much to the relationship between production and waste as to winners and losers; or, at least, to front-runners and those at the back of the pack.

While landscapes of ruination can indeed be framed as 'wasted spaces' or as 'devastation', the places are more appropriately located in the 'liminal spaces' between processes of 'destruction' and 'creation', as Zukin (1991) argues. This thesis has brought about challenges to theories of political economy (especially Harvey 1999; Smith 1984) and to Zukin's cultural landscapes of consumption and devastation: these accounts generalise economic processes into stark dichotomies, and neglect the distinctiveness of

dynamic and contingent local experience. For example, many local people in my research related to their 'devastated' landscapes with strong place attachment and positive place images, and much of the characterisation of 'devastation' is reinforced by stigmatic negative perspectives from 'outside'.

Aesthetic and cultural studies of industrial ruins have also proven insufficient for understanding the social and economic processes embedded within landscapes of industrial ruination. To treat industrial ruins purely as aesthetic objects is to ignore the social relations invested in them, to romanticise them and to strip them of their meaning and context. Thus, the key literatures of political economy, the sociology of waste, and industrial ruins share a common flaw, in their 'way of seeing' (Berger 1972) as one of distance and from outside rather than of lived experience. The distant and outsider perspectives are useful in tracing patterns and identifying analytical themes; but as Bourdieu (1977) has argued, the distant observer cannot understand 'practice' as anything other than spectacle. The deindustrialisation literature focuses more on the legacies of industrial ruination than the other perspectives: on the immediate and long-term impacts of plant shutdowns on jobs and communities, but it too works in stark dichotomies, between state and market, and between capital and community. Through conceptualising industrial ruination as a lived process, this thesis has attempted to bridge dichotomies of culture and economy, form and process, creation and destruction, and production and waste; and also to reconcile perspectives of distance and proximity, in considering the complex *relationship* between social and economic processes and distinctive landscapes and lived experiences.

10.5 Policy Implications

Walker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

There are several important policy insights which the Walker case offers for city and regional urban policy actors. Firstly, the case of Walker reveals that the 'post-industrial' strategy of housing-led regeneration of communities has limited potential for economic and community development. The issue of employment opportunities, skills retention, and skills training within the local community needs to be addressed in any scheme which would have real impacts for community redevelopment. Secondly, the prolonged nature both of industrial decline and of unsuccessful regeneration projects has

had a marked impact on the Walker community; local people have become sceptical about and resistant to change. Thus, more follow-through with proposed plans for change, more consultation with community members and less of a focus on housing redevelopment as a means for economic development could foster greater confidence and support for regeneration projects. Thirdly, recognition of local place identity during processes of socioeconomic transition is very important. For example, a museum of shipbuilding designed with input from the community, or a local monument to shipbuilding which local people could construct, would both represent community-based forms of commemorative collective action which could facilitate ease of transition by fostering a sense of local heritage based on commemoration rather than loss. Finally, policy makers could identify and develop ways in which place 'works' well in Walker in order to build upon the existing assets of the community. The 'Heart of Walker' regeneration campaign employs a discourse about building on the assets of the community, but it does not provide concrete examples. Examples of place working work could include not only the notion of 'community solidarity', which is rather abstract, but also: 1) organisational ability in resisting and shaping local politics around redevelopment; the six-year battle over regeneration plans demonstrated the resolve of the community around issues that were 'close to home'; and 2) willingness to adapt to new circumstances and to share knowledge, evident in the community and voluntary sector's proactive involvement in helping asylum seekers within Walker.

Ivanovo

In Ivanovo, the core policy lesson for regional and city policy actors is that the city should work towards a greater openness to a diversity of strategies, while building on capabilities and assets within the city and local people. Local economists expressed an openness to a diversity of strategies, including development of tourism and administrative features, but they explicitly rejected the western model of 'services' and 'knowledge' as inapplicable in the case of Ivanovo 'as industry should first be restored'. Drawing comparisons between Ivanovo and other old industrial cities could also offer valuable insights for Ivanovo. The fact that many people who I spoke with seemed unaware that Manchester had also undergone a period of severe industrial decline and subsequent (albeit uneven) regeneration, spoke to a lack of local knowledge of processes of deindustrialisation in other cities. 'Russian Manchester' was a positive comparative

epithet for Ivanovo, negative only in the sense that Ivanovo might be failing to live up with the Manchester ideal.

In particular, city planners and officials would benefit from a comparison with recent developments in Łódź, the 'Polish Manchester'. Łódź is a city which has only just started to emerge from serious decline, and this provides an interesting point of contrast with Ivanovo. Walker (1993: 1065) painted a vivid portrait of industrial decline in Łódź just after the fall of the Soviet Union: 'The city of Łódź in the 'revolutionary' year of 1989 looked spent, dirty and dishevelled: an urban landscape of decaying textile mills and crumbling late 19th-century facades'. Walker remained sceptical about the possibility for Łódź to follow the path of services and new technologies given its low levels of capital accumulation. The economic situation in Łódź has remained difficult despite attempts to place-market the city and to adapt to the global economy (Kaczmarek and Young 1999; Liszewski, et al. 1997). However, since 2006, Łódź has been proclaimed by city marketers as an emergent city of transformation, with its status as the second largest city in Poland, and the recent introduction of cheap international flights. At the Global City Conference in Lyon, France in May 2007, Łódź was described as a triumph of place marketing, signified by the opening of a redeveloped factory site (Morrison 2007). Finally, positive imaginings of place in Ivanovo also provide clues as to the assets of Ivanovo: the creativity, pragmatism, and place attachment of people in adapting to processes of change, in transforming textile factories into new uses; and in persevering with work and life despite considerable socioeconomic hardships, are all qualities which could be built upon in strategies for urban renewal.

Niagara Falls

The key policy message for policy actors who are concerned about Niagara Falls is that the legacies of toxic contamination are neglected. The most critical step for tackling this issue would be to facilitate the clean-up of contaminated sites by whatever means possible: by pooling government, city and community resources; by seeking help from environmental agencies and actors; and by drawing public attention to the enduring toxic legacies of contamination rather than focusing on developing tourism and casinos and avoiding the stigma attached to vast swathes of contaminated land. In order for Niagara Falls to tackle deep and complex issues surrounding toxic legacies of industrial decline on both sides of the border, three issues must be addressed:

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accountability; reparations; and recognition. Accountability was the greatest factor influencing corporate and governmental claims regarding the question of the health impacts of living next to contaminated sites in Niagara Falls. In both cities of Niagara Falls, most residents ultimately failed to hold anyone legally accountable for their health problems, either through lack of trying, or through defeat in legal battles. Hooker Chemicals was held legally accountable in the case Love Canal, and Norton Abrasives was brought to justice over dumping in the Welland River in Chippewa. However, these represented flagship cases which involved tremendous local political struggles, and the vast majority of contamination cases have been left unresolved.

But residents of both communities were also battling – in the Cytec case through heated City Council politics, and in case of Highland through voicing tales of injustice – over *recognition*. Amidst the upheaval of their lives and their communities, they wanted their stories to be listened to and their difficulties acknowledged. At some level in between *accountability* and *recognition* – with the former representing a practical impossibility in most cases (as the financial costs of contamination are very difficult to quantify, and there are so many cases), and the latter representing a minimal gesture on the part of political authorities – lies the middle ground 'solution' of *reparations*. To address the sense of injustice felt by many people over the myriad health and socioeconomic effects of toxic legacies in Niagara Falls, some gesture beyond recognition but perhaps short of full economic accountability, might be a positive way forward. This could take the form of a monument or plaque marking the site of Love Canal as a space of trauma, rather than maintaining this space as fenced-off area still marked with a feeling of disaster thirty years after the event. That would be a first step in acknowledging the trauma of the past.

10.6   Questions for Further Research

Do differences between old industrial cities imply that there is a temporal trajectory of old industrial cities, where Ivanovo represents a recently deindustrialised city, with Łódź slightly further ahead and cities such as Newcastle, Glasgow and Manchester further still, representing regenerated cities? Or does the unevenness of spaces of creation and destruction, consumption and devastation, also increase with the pace of regeneration and development in cities— with relatively widespread deprivation in the city of Ivanovo as a whole, and deprivation clustered in particular areas in cities

such as Newcastle? And what of the enduring features of decline in certain areas of regenerated cities in the UK, or the more all-encompassing features of decline persistent in many cities of the North American Rust Belt? These questions are all of concern for all people concerned with the future of old industrial cities, in analysing diverse strategies of how to cope with processes of decline and possible renewal. One of the core insights revealed through this research is that the one-size-fits-all economic development model of transition from a manufactured-based economy to a post-industrial, knowledge-and-service-based economy, is insufficient as a remedy for all old manufacturing cities. Places have diverse challenges and strengths, and thus no single model of economic growth should form the basis for urban regeneration. All three cases show failures in the post-industrial vision to solve the problems of industrial decline. However, the diverse stories and perspectives from local people have significant implications for how we might tackle issues of industrial ruination and 'post-industrial' transformation.

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