

Industrial Heritage in Urban Imaginaries and City Images

A Comparison between Dortmund and Glasgow

Ralph Richter

ABSTRACT: Both the German city of Dortmund and the Scottish metropolis of Glasgow were powerhouses of the industrial era. Yet today the cities deal with their industrial legacies in completely different ways. Whereas Dortmund highlights its industrial history in official representations and preserves significant industrial relics, Glasgow omits the industrial past in its branding strategy and has removed almost all industrial remnants. I argue that each city's presentation of its industrial history corresponds with the inhabitants' attitudes towards this past rather than being merely dictated by political elites or marketing experts. In Dortmund, the embrace of industrial heritage is an expression of its significance for the city's collective identity and proof of authenticity, whereas in Glasgow industrial legacies are perceived as a social stigma.

KEY WORDS: industrial heritage, city branding, urban imaginary, physical legacies, Dortmund, Glasgow

The Scottish metropolis of Glasgow and the city of Dortmund, located in the Ruhr area in Germany, both have significant industrial pasts. They both meet the three criteria the historian Clemens Zimmermann synthesized from scholarly literature as central characteristics of industrial cities: industrialization and social modernization, urbanization and growth, and a highly negative public image of dirt, insecurity, and poor living conditions that changed into a more positive one only in the course of the twentieth century.¹ In Glasgow, industrialization was based on effective transport routes and the discovery of coal beds that gave rise to the development of the iron and steel industry as well as on heavy engineering and its famous shipbuilding industry.² Glasgow was the destination of working-class immigrants from the Scottish Highlands and Ireland, who made Glasgow

¹ Clemens Zimmermann, "Introduction," in *Industrial Cities: History and Future*, ed. Zimmermann (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2013), 12–13.

² Thorsten Enge, *Cluster im Strukturwandel alter Industrieregionen: Das Ruhrgebiet und Glasgow im Vergleich* (Marburg: Schüren Verlag, 2005), 48–59.

a metropolis in the course of the nineteenth century but also faced its bad living conditions, dirt, and violence and contributed to its reputation as the “Red Clydeside” due to its strong labor movement.³ As in Glasgow, the rise of Dortmund was based on the exploitation of coalfields, on access to water routes and railways, and on the immigration of workers from the countryside. Dortmund became a center of steel plants, coal mines, and the brewing industry and grew from a country town to a large city.⁴ Hard work, smog, and a powerful labor movement characterized industrialized Dortmund and resulted in its corresponding image.⁵ Furthermore, in the second half of the twentieth century both cities faced long-standing deindustrialization, economic and physical decline, and population loss.

In spite of these similarities, the industrial past is far more present in official representations of Dortmund than in the promoted image of Glasgow. In Dortmund, industrial history serves as a point of reference for the narrative the city tells about itself. In descriptive texts as well as in visual media Dortmund portrays itself as a hub of new technologies that is proud of its industrial roots. In contrast, Glasgow presents itself as a distinguished middle-class city, full of style and culture. The industrial era remains a blind spot in the official branding strategy implemented by the Glasgow City Marketing Bureau.

These observations lead to the question of why the two cities refer to their pasts in such different ways. One explanation might be the logic of city marketing. Marketing experts avoid discussing industrial heritage if it does not contribute to selling the city. For geographers Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo, city marketing is a professional practice that promotes cities by using “cultural-historical packages” that are largely independent of what residents perceive as being significant in their urban history.⁶ This goes hand in hand with the concept of “Authorized Heritage Discourse” (AHD), which assumes that official heritage policy is dominated by elites and expert groups who avoid considering dissonant parts of the past such

3 Michael Pacione, *Glasgow: The Socio-spatial Development of the City* (West Sussex: John Wiley, 1995), 84–88, 239–44.

4 Gustav Luntowski, Günther Högl, Thomas Schilp, and Norbert Reimann, *Geschichte der Stadt Dortmund* (Dortmund: Harenberg Verlag, 1994); Wolfgang Köllmann, “Die Bevölkerung Dortmunds im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Dortmund: 1100 Jahre Stadtgeschichte*, ed. Gustav Luntowski (Dortmund: Ruhfus, 1982), 231–48.

5 Jochen Guckes, *Konstruktionen bürgerlicher Identität: Städtische Selbstbilder in Freiburg, Dresden und Dortmund 1900–1960* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2011), 489–526. Unlike in Glasgow, in Dortmund the image of the industrial city is not merely negative. Although attributes like smog, dirt, and hard work (“Maloche”) might characterize how outsiders view the city, its view of itself includes a future-oriented perspective on industrial production and pride that Dortmund has become a modern metropolis. The current perspective on Dortmund in the industrial era seems to range between the grimy nineteenth-century coke town and the optimistic industrial city of the twentieth century. See Simon Gunn, “Beyond Coketown: The Industrial City and the Twentieth Century,” in Zimmermann, *Industrial Cities*, 29–30.

6 Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo, “Culture, History, Capital: A Critical Introduction to the Selling of Places,” in *Selling Place: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, ed. Chris Philo and Gerry Kearns (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1993), 22.

as working-class history.⁷ Whether one fully agrees or not with these ideas, they do not explain the differences between Dortmund and Glasgow in dealing with their respective industrial heritages. This article argues that the relevance of industrial history for city public images also results from the significance the industrial era has in the *urban imaginary* and in the urban fabric of both cities.⁸ In other words, references to industrial heritage in official representations are likely to correspond with a high relevance residents award industrial history in the “cumulative texture” of their city rather than being simply dictated by political elites and marketing strategies.⁹

This article begins by describing the official representations of Dortmund and Glasgow as well as by discerning the messages within texts and visualizations published by city marketing agencies and local authorities such as brochures, image movies, image campaigns, and websites.¹⁰ It moves to analyzing the role the industrial past plays for people in Dortmund today. Qualitative interviews with city marketers and journalists in Dortmund show that this part of their history is an important aspect of the urban imaginary and has led to considerable efforts to preserve the physical legacies of the industrial age.¹¹ Further, the high significance of the industrial past in Dortmund corresponds with a strong belief in authenticity. In contrast, many Glaswegians put less emphasis on the memory of the industrial

7 Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), 234; Laurajane Smith, Paul A. Shackel, and Gary Campbell, eds., *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).

8 This article presents the results of a research project in which I was involved at the Technical University of Darmstadt between 2011 and 2014. Under the title “City Marketing and the Intrinsic Logic of Cities,” our research team investigated professional image production by city marketing agencies in order to reconstruct city-specific patterns of social order, meanings, and beliefs. While the focus of the research was on the “Eigenlogik of Cities” (see Helmuth Berking, “The Distinctiveness of Cities: Outline of a Research Program,” *Urban Research & Practice* 5, no. 3 [2012]: 316–24), the different ways of dealing with industrial history in these cities attracted our attention. With Sharon Zukin et al., I understand urban imaginary as “a set of meanings about cities that arise in a specific time and cultural space.” See Sharon Zukin et al., “From Coney Island to Las Vegas in the Urban Imaginary: Discursive Practices of Growth and Decline,” *Urban Affairs Review* 5, no. 33 (1998): 627–54.

9 I understand cultural heritage as a discourse and practice of valorization and making the industrial past accessible for the present. It signals appropriation and ownership by a social group or society of its industrial history. See Lara Rutherford-Morrison, “Playing Victorian: Heritage, Authenticity, and Make-Believe in Blists Hill Victorian Town, the Ironbridge Gorge,” *The Public Historian* 37, no. 3 (August 2015): 77–80; Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 17–19; Gerald D. Suttle, “The Cumulative Texture of Local Urban Culture,” *American Journal of Sociology* 90, no. 2 (September 1984): 283–304.

10 In Dortmund, we analyzed thirty-four marketing products such as brochures, official websites, Facebook pages, magazines, and films that promoted the city of Dortmund between 2011 and 2013. In Glasgow the corpus consisted of twenty-six products, among them websites, brochures, magazines, and films.

11 Between 2011 and 2013 we conducted semistructured qualitative interviews with eleven city marketers and three journalists in Dortmund. The selection of the interview partners served to capture both the perspective of those who are involved in authorized marketing strategies and of those who usually take a critical distance from official representations. Although we did not conduct interviews with workers, we expect journalists to have a deep understanding of what ordinary people associate with Dortmund and how they feel attached to their city and its people.



Figure 1: Wirtschaftsförderung (business development agency) Dortmund, 2011.

era than do their counterparts in Dortmund.¹² Industrial Glasgow brings memories of dirt, poverty, and violence rather than of the glory of the shipbuilding industry or the labor movement. I conclude by comparing the efforts undertaken to preserve industrial artifacts in Dortmund and Glasgow and by discussing the relation between tangible and intangible legacies.

Point of Reference: The Industrial Past in Official Representations of Dortmund

City marketing campaigns present Dortmund as a metropolis that has successfully tackled structural transformation. “New Dortmund”—as the city branded itself during our period of investigation—is characterized by new technologies, many green

¹² In Glasgow we conducted semistructured interviews with five city marketing experts and four independent experts, among them one journalist, one urbanist, one blogger about topics in Glasgow, and one author. As in Dortmund, we selected independent experts in order to capture a critical perspective on marketing strategies and to gain an understanding of what ordinary Glaswegians think of their city.



Figure 2: Official Facebook site of the City of Dortmund.

spaces, numerous leisure facilities, attractive housing areas, and manifold cultural offerings. Of overall importance is the preservation of its industrial legacies because “without its past new Dortmund is unimaginable,” as one promotional piece states.¹³ Although Dortmund presents itself as a contemporary city, the industrial era and its working-class culture remain the points of reference for the self-description of the city. It seems that new Dortmund cannot be presented without highlighting the industrial past: “Dortmund is the biggest city of the Ruhr district and the economic and trade center of the region. Today, the former industrial location is a center for service industries and future-oriented technologies.”¹⁴ Even though city marketers declare the industrial era a thing of the past, remarkably, they frequently refer to it. This historic period serves as a point of departure for sketching continuity between old and new technologies. Although the type of technology has changed, highlighting the dominant economic sector of the city is constant. Dortmund remains a city of productive work, not just of consumption and a friendly atmosphere. The referential function of the industrial era also becomes apparent in the frequent use of the term “structural change.” By characterizing Dortmund as a city that tackles structural change, promoters intend to convey something about the ongoing transformation

¹³ DORTMUNDtourismus, *Dortmund RUHR.2010* (2010).

¹⁴ City of Dortmund website, http://www.dortmund.de/de/leben_in_dortmund/stadtportraet/start_sp/index.html (translated by the author).



Figure 3: Ruhr.Tourismus promotional pamphlet, 2010.

from the once emblematic coal, steel, and brewing industries to cleaner micro-, information-, and biotechnologies.¹⁵ However, since the term is often used for former industrial cities, it draws attention—more or less intentionally—to the industrial past.

¹⁵ Once, Dortmund's dominant industrial sectors were coal, steel, and brewing, and coal, steel, and beer remain important elements of the city's self-perception today. See Guckes, *Konstruktionen bürgerlicher Identität*, 400.

Visually, the continuity between the industrial past and new Dortmund is symbolized by omnipresent photographs of the so-called “U-Tower.” Marketing media such as brochures, the official Facebook site of the city, and leaflets are dominated by pictures of the U-Tower (see figures 1-3). Constructed in the 1920s for the well-known Union Brewery, today the iconic building serves as a center for arts, creativity, and new technologies. The retro chic of the “U” brand logo and the red brick façade of the U-Tower represent old Dortmund whereas the artistic video projections under the rooftop represent the contemporary city (as in figure 2). While the building’s former function as a brewery reminds us of the once-important brewing industry, its new role as a location for creative industry and new technologies represents new Dortmund.

A Dark Spot: The Industrial Past in Glasgow’s Official Image Production

The official image of Glasgow differs considerably from the representation of Dortmund.¹⁶ Under the slogan “Glasgow: Scotland with Style,” the biggest city of Scotland presents itself as a stylish and sophisticated metropolis rich with culture and atmosphere. As proof of the Glasgow style, the city’s marketers refer to the fashion consciousness of the Glaswegians and to the splendid Victorian architecture that gives the cityscape its distinctive look (see figure 4). They point to the Glasgow Art Nouveau movement and to a number of signature buildings, constructed by famous architects along the River Clyde. Whereas portrayals of Dortmund seem to serve documentary purposes, the visual representations of Glasgow aim more at creating atmospheric impressions.¹⁷ Photographs of historic sandstone buildings, the nocturnal cityscape, and lively street cafés address emotions rather than rational thinking. In this way, the message about style also refers to the promise of the pleasant lifestyle that visitors and residents might enjoy in Glasgow. Descriptive texts underline the promise of a city with an attractive lifestyle: “Glasgow, Scotland’s biggest city is brimming with style and culture, thanks to its irresistible blend of internationally acclaimed museums and galleries, stunning architecture, vibrant nightlife, fabulous shopping and superlative wining and dining.”¹⁸ As in the case of visual representations, city marketers in Glasgow emphasize the emotional appeal of a pleasant lifestyle, highlighting generic places that stand for appealing activities such as shopping, viewing art, eating, and amusement. The few specific attractions mentioned are historical and cultural sites such as “the magnificent Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum” and “the unique Burrell Collection and Mackintosh’s stunning Glasgow School of Art.”¹⁹

Noticeable are the selective references to Glasgow’s history. Although the prestigious architecture of the Victorian era and Charles Rennie Mackintosh’s Art

16 Applying Erving Goffman’s concept of self-image, I understand the image of a city as a conscious self-representation in terms of approved social attributes. See Erving Goffman, *Interaction Rituals: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967), 5.

17 Ralph Richter, “Differenzierung inszenieren: Der Fall Stadtmarketing,” in *Städte unterscheiden lernen*, ed. Sybille Frank et al. (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2014), 257.

18 Visit Scotland website, <https://traveltrade.visitscotland.org/page/getting-around-scotland/>.

19 “This Is Glasgow,” a pamphlet that promotes the city of Glasgow (2010).



Figure 4: Glasgow City Marketing Bureau, branding image campaign, date unknown.

Nouveau movement are ubiquitous, industrial heritage plays a marginal role. The lack of attention given to a heavy-duty crane, one of the last relicts of the once highly industrialized riverside of the Clyde, is emblematic of the apparently low significance afforded to industrial heritage. A closer look is needed to identify the dark crane next to the bright bridge (see figure 5). Whereas new buildings and the bridge are illuminated with colorful lights, the crane remains a dark spot on the nocturnal skyline of the city. Unlike in Dortmund, in official representations almost nothing reminds us of Glasgow's industrial and working-class history. On the contrary, the "Glasgow: Scotland with Style" brand communicates the image of a sophisticated middle-class city that is proud of its cultural and architectural legacies. Industrial traditions are largely excluded from the official image. Why, then, do the two cities refer to their industrial pasts in such different manners? An exploration of the urban imaginary, for example the set of meanings and ideas the residents have about their cities today, can point to answers.

The Urban Imaginary of Dortmund: Commitment to the Industrial Heritage as a Proof of Authenticity

When residents of Dortmund speak about their city, the industrial past seems to be omnipresent, both directly as they address the industrial era as a point of



Figure 5: Glasgow City Marketing Bureau, branding image campaign, date unknown.

reference, as well as indirectly, in the form of beliefs that were shaped by industrial life.²⁰ Some of the most frequent ascriptions—provided by both groups of interviewees, city marketers as well as journalists—are the change and the transformation of the city. Typically, narratives begin with the industrial era in order to demonstrate the change that has happened since then: “Once Dortmund was the city of steel, coal, and beer. . . . And the city was always seen as a working-class city. However, that’s not true anymore since a couple of years ago. . . . It is rather a modern and mobile city, a city that is diverse as well.”²¹ Even though Dortmund is no longer a city of heavy industries many people still relate industrial work with it and it serves as a point of departure for the perception of the city.

²⁰ Following Sharon Zukin’s definition of the urban imaginary as “a set of meanings about cities that arise in a specific time and cultural space,” we strove to detect the meanings the people of Dortmund attribute to their city today. For this purpose, we conducted qualitative interviews with fourteen persons, among them city marketers as well as journalists from Dortmund. While city marketers deal with city-related meanings in a more strategic manner, journalists stand in place of the ordinary people and their view on Dortmund. The independent and critical view of the journalists enables us to scrutinize the perceptions of the city marketers. In the interviews we identified city-related ascriptions, first, by asking the interviewees to characterize their city and, second, by asking them to tell us about their work. Since city marketers as well as journalists deal with the city as a whole, such work-related narratives are promising sources for city-related meanings. See Zukin et al., “From Coney Island to Las Vegas in the Urban Imaginary.”

²¹ City marketer 1, interviewed and translated by the author, Dortmund, March 15, 2012.

The high significance of the industrial past for the urban imaginary of Dortmund is evident in our interviews with city marketing experts. It becomes clear that the production of the official image of the city is at least partly guided by what the marketers perceive as expectations of ordinary people. The statement of one marketer made this obvious: “Industrial heritage—that is what we are characterized by, that is what makes the eyes of ordinary people of Dortmund shine, watching at a blast furnace plant. . . . Of course, it remains a challenge for the future, keeping up the tradition while making a jump to the future or to the present in order to say: ‘This is what we are. But not exclusively anymore.’”²² The statement shows that city marketers perceive the industrial heritage as a positively attributed shared meaning for city residents. They take this perception into account even if reminders of the past can be a burden for the implementation of new meanings about the city.

This thoughtfulness towards the industrial past and working-class culture was evident in other interviews as well. As one of the five major destinations of the Ruhr.2010 (the name given to the region when designated as a European Capital of Culture that year), Dortmund was branded “Creative RUHR.” Expressing her skepticism with this brand, a marketing expert doubted that creative industry and high culture represent the self-perception of the city. Rather, she believed, residents identified more with football fandom as a part of the former working-class culture:²³ “We were not able to convince the responsible persons of the Ruhr.2010 GmbH [limited company] of the importance of the black-yellow [Borussia Dortmund football club] culture in Dortmund. . . . This image [Creative RUHR] is extremely high culture biased. This does not fit Dortmund. This cannot be the unique selling proposition. It would make the people of Dortmund take to the barricades.”²⁴ As in the case of industrial heritage, football enthusiasm is seen as an essential part of the urban imaginary of Dortmund. City marketing experts feel compelled to respond to the expectations of the people of Dortmund. In other words, they strive to create image propositions or brands in accordance with collectively shared meanings of the city that compose the urban imaginary.

Other legacies might unintentionally affect branding strategies. In Dortmund, image work is also directed by strong beliefs in authenticity grounded in the legacy of the industrial era and in experiences of estrangement in postindustrial societies. The idea of authenticity is based on the assumption of originality and uniqueness and is related to representations of a subject or object. Being authentic, then, is understood as an expression of being true to oneself or of coming close to the

22 City marketer 2, interviewed and translated by the author, Dortmund, March 13, 2012.

23 For years the city’s first football team, Borussia Dortmund, has played successfully in the German Bundesliga as well as in the European Champions League. Football enthusiasm is a central attribute of the people of Dortmund. It goes hand in hand with other working-class cultural preferences such as drinking beer, eating barbecued food, embracing physical work, and being down-to-earth, as interviewees characterize the people of Dortmund. See Helmuth Berking et al., “Städte als Sozialfiguren,” in Frank, *Städte unterscheiden lernen*, 337–62.

24 City marketer 3, interviewed and translated by the author, Dortmund, April 3, 2012.

original and essential.²⁵ Furthermore, it can be a form of nonconformity that is expressed in the disclosure not only of desired but also of undesired (personal) attributes.²⁶

In Dortmund, the belief in authenticity might have two causes related to the industrial past. First, it might be a legacy of a working-class culture that values things that are perceived to be honest and real, such as physical work and tangible products like coal, steel, and beer. Second, it might result from feelings of estrangement and a loss of identity in the course of postindustrial transformation. The perceived loss gives rise to the “desire for immediacy, originality, genuineness and truthfulness and not least for realness.”²⁷

In Dortmund the struggle for authenticity becomes apparent in the attempt to represent both attributes of the city, the desired *and* the undesired, as one of the interviewed city marketer states: “If I tell them [the visitors] ‘Dortmund is beautiful’ and I keep quiet about all other things, this is not authentic. Particularly in this time of the social web people are miffed if we tell them a lie.”²⁸ A desire to act in accordance with the belief in authenticity is obvious here. The interviewee feels obligated to represent Dortmund in both its positive and negative facets, just as she experienced it herself. At the end of the statement the interviewee compared hiding the undesired with telling a lie. This underlines the high significance she ascribes to the struggle for authenticity.

Authenticity directs the work not only of city marketers but also of journalists in Dortmund. One complained about the attempt of politicians to locate creative industries in Dortmund. In this attempt, he stated, “the classical gap . . . between desire and reality faced by local politicians” becomes evident. In fact, he continued, the economic effects of the creative industry are “marginal” compared with pump- or microchip-producing companies.²⁹ What counts here are existent businesses with their tangible products and not aspirational new industries with intangible services. From the journalist’s point of view, promoting the creative industry in Dortmund is inauthentic because it has not been proven by “reality.”

The struggle for authenticity appeared also in the parlance of our interview partners. More than one city marketing expert and journalist used slang words that translate as “cool,” “not so sparkling,” “boar ey,” “or ey”—the last two, expressions of astonishment—“cut the crap,” “mommy, don’t prate,” “get off my case,”

25 Achim Saupe, “Authenticity,” in *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, http://docupedia.de/zg/Authenticity_english_version.

26 Sven Reichardt, “Authentizität und Gemeinschaft. Linksalternatives Leben in den siebziger und frühen achtziger Jahren,” *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen* 21, no. 3 (2008), 118–30; Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

27 Susanne Knaller and Harro Müller, “Einleitung: Authentizität und kein Ende,” in *Authentizität. Diskussion eines ästhetischen Begriffs*, ed. Susanne Knaller and Harro Müller (Paderborn: Fink, 2006), 8.

28 City marketer 3, interviewed and translated by the author, Dortmund, April 3, 2012.

29 Journalist 1, interviewed and translated by the author, Dortmund, December 4, 2012.

“fucked up as well,” “fuck knows,” or “totally bananas.”³⁰ At the same time they downplayed their expertise by avoiding professional terms or sophisticated explanations. For example, when we asked about the message the current image strategy strives to deliver, we received the capricious answer “We just try ‘modern.’”³¹ The demonstrative use of slang words functions as a way of making us—external researchers—believe that city marketers and journalists are still connected with the formative working-class culture, a culture in which people speak straight ahead without excessive social etiquette. Some of those we interviewed come from working-class families and were the first in their families to attend university. Using working-class slang, then, is a personal expression of authenticity. It signifies remaining part of one’s class of origin, irrespective of individual career advancements.³²

The imperative to “be authentic” in Dortmund in ordinary and professional practices is powerful. In the eyes of both city marketers and journalists, the city of Dortmund cannot be represented solely as a city of new technologies without harming its authenticity. Telling something new about Dortmund is only credible if it refers to history. The statement above about the city’s industrial heritage gives an example of the struggle to integrate its industrial roots into a marketing strategy that refers to both tradition and the future.

Glasgow: Industrial Heritage as a Social Stigma

As in Dortmund, in Glasgow we strove to reconstruct the urban imaginary by uncovering the meanings Glaswegians associate with their city.³³ Again, those we interviewed—five city marketers and four independent city experts (one journalist, one urbanist, one blogger, and one author)—deal with the city and city-related ascriptions professionally. We expected these city experts to be in a position to reflect not only their own perception of the city but also the views of ordinary Glaswegians.³⁴

According to our interview partners, two considerations are essential for understanding Glasgow: the mentality of its people, characterized by friendliness, humor, and self-confidence,³⁵ and the socioeconomic transformation of the city. They describe Glasgow as a city with “a working-class industrial backbone”³⁶ that has

30 City marketers 2 and 3 and journalists 1 and 2, interviewed and translated by the author, Dortmund, March 13, 2012, April 3, 2012, and December 4, 2012.

31 City marketer 2, interviewed and translated by the author, Dortmund, March 13, 2012.

32 Rolf Lindner, “Die Idee des Authentischen,” *kuckuck. Notizen zur Alltagskultur* 1 (1998): 58–61.

33 We deduced city-related meanings partly from obvious characterizations of Glasgow, partly from more implicit ascriptions and beliefs.

34 For this purpose, we asked them also about their perceptions of what ordinary Glaswegians think about their industrial history and heritage. The independent city experts serve to scrutinize the answers of the city marketers in order to avoid the possible bias resulting from their work with city-related attributes in city marketing.

35 Self-confidence is a rough translation of the local slang word “gallus.” It means “toughness, cheek, self-assurance and boldness.” See Michael Munro, *The Complete Patter* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006), 62.

36 Urbanist, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, January 21, 2013.

experienced an “enormous amount of change.”³⁷ This would seem to parallel Dortmund’s experience with structural change and its importance to urban identity. However, in Glasgow industrial history has a different meaning. While in Dortmund the industrial past is seen as an essential and sometimes even glorified part of the city’s history, in Glasgow the industrial era is perceived as a period that has passed and that has lost its significance to most people. Asked about the importance of the area’s industrial history, one interview partner stated, “It’s the past, it’s thought of as the past.”³⁸ Another interviewee even claimed, “You have to not look back” when we brought up the topic.³⁹

In Glasgow, to speak of transformation does not entail remembering the industrial past but rather highlighting the postindustrial present and the work accomplished since deindustrialization. This is true not only for city marketers but also for our independent experts. The interviewed urbanist described transformation as a change “from a very old decaying industrial city to a modern postindustrial and I think quite attractive city.”⁴⁰ The journalist added: “I guess it has changed its image from that of heavy engineering to that of a more stylish, more sophisticated almost cosmopolitan in some ways city.”⁴¹ By attributing critical characteristics to industrial Glasgow (“very old,” “decaying”) and affirmative characteristics to the present city (“quite attractive,” “more stylish, more sophisticated”) our interviewees sketch a linear success story. The industrial city is more or less limited to the role of a negative contrasting case in order to make the present city shine brighter. Interview partners repeatedly associate the city of the industrial era with unfavorable characteristics like poverty (“Glasgow has been perceived in the past as a relatively poor city, a city of heavy industry and shipbuilding in particular”),⁴² pollution (“grimy industry, smoky”),⁴³ as well as with violence and insecurity (“it is dirty and violent, it is industrial and it is not safe”).⁴⁴

Although the shipbuilding industry, with its “Clyde Built” quality label, gives some reason to be proud of the industrial history, the years of postindustrial decline and other legacies eclipse the achievements of the industrial era.⁴⁵ This becomes apparent when interview partners speak about the role of the River Clyde for Glasgow. By providing access to the Atlantic Ocean the Clyde played a critical role in the industrialization of the city, particularly for overseas trade and the shipbuilding industry. However, today the Clyde is more often associated with economic decline and the regeneration that followed than with the industrial era: “[The

37 Journalist 3, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, January 22, 2013.

38 Writer and blogger, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, January 23, 2013.

39 City marketer 4, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, March 26, 2012.

40 Urbanist, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, January 21, 2013.

41 Journalist 3, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, January 22, 2013.

42 Ibid.

43 Urbanist, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, January 21, 2013.

44 City marketer 5, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, March 21, 2012.

45 Rebecca Madgin, “A Town without Memory? Inferring the Industrial Past: Clydebank Rebuilt, 1941–2013,” in Zimmermann, *Industrial Cities*, 289.

Clyde] is really the artery of Glasgow's heart. . . . So part of that economic decline at the end of the twentieth century [of the Clyde] has actually prompted a sort of rejuvenation."⁴⁶

Social inequality, unhealthy nutrition habits, and alcohol abuse also are unwelcome relics of the industrial past. Today these legacies remain among the worst problems Glasgow faces:

Unfortunately it is a city that is terribly divided, in so many ways it is divided: rich and poor; the East End of Glasgow where life expectancy can be as low as sixty and life expectancy less than five miles away in the West End can be seventy-five to eighty, so it is a divided city that way. . . . To be honest, of some cause, Glaswegians drink too much, there is no doubt about it, and that is an issue. And it is not just a health issue, it is a crime issue, antisocial behavior issue and it is parceled with a lifestyle that goes with poverty.⁴⁷

This interviewee associates social and health inequalities with certain districts of the city. Whereas the East End stands for low life expectancy and poverty, the West End houses a more affluent population with higher life expectancy. It is not surprising that the East End is a traditional working-class quarter, while the West End is a popular middle-class district.⁴⁸ The self-critical description must be read in the light of reports that repeatedly attest to Glasgow's high degrees of social inequality, violence, and poor health. A report by the World Health Organization that found that Calton, a district in Glasgow's East End, had, at fifty-four years, the lowest life expectancy in the whole of Europe, evoked much attention. Several media outlets picked up this finding. International newspapers like *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and *Die Welt* published long articles about drunkenness, drug abuse, and huge social inequality.⁴⁹ A new edition of the Thomas Cook travel guide described the unhealthy lifestyle in Glasgow's deprived suburbs.⁵⁰ Scott Taylor, the former CEO of the Glasgow City Marketing Bureau, was not amused. In a BBC interview he called the media's reporting "awful," "smug," and "unbalanced" and invited the journalists to come to Glasgow in order to give them a more balanced picture of the city.⁵¹

46 City marketer 6, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, March 22, 2012.

47 Journalist 3, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, January 22, 2013.

48 For a detailed description of the socio-spatial segregation in the industrial era, see Pacione, *Glasgow*, 76–88.

49 "Glasgow's Two Nations," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, September 2010, <http://mondediplo.com/2010/09/13glasgow>; "Wo das Nichts regiert," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, August 14/15, 2010; "In Glasgow kommt der Tod schon mit 53," *Die Welt*, September 9, 2009, <http://www.welt.de/vermishtes/article4494015/In-Glasgow-kommt-der-Tod-schon-mit-53.html>.

50 *The Herald*, September 19, 2010, quoted the Thomas Cook guide with the following words: "Drug and alcohol abuse and violent crime remain an issue in Glasgow's deprived suburbs even today. The traditional Glasgow lifestyle, with its high consumption of alcohol, tobacco, fried food, sugar and salt, is notoriously the least healthy in Europe."

51 BBC, "Glasgow Tourist Chiefs Hit Out Over Guide," September 18, 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-11356250>; Glasgow City Marketing Bureau, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors," October 5, 2010.

The reports, articles, and, in particular, the reactions to them make clear that inequality, poor health, and violence are still relevant and are sources of concern for Glaswegians. Because these issues are understood as legacies of the industrial era, the consternation about them contributes to the devaluation of the industrial past.

Finally, the industrial era is perceived as a constant burden on the city, due to the negative external image originating from those days but still shaping the image of the city. The interviewed city marketers view the image of “violence, drunkenness, and football tribalism”⁵² in particular as a challenge for their work: “Glaswegians are constantly being told implicitly, not explicitly, ‘you shouldn’t really be proud of that’ or ‘why would you be proud of that.’ And so what I want to do is give Glaswegians permission to be proud of where they live.”⁵³ The interviewed city marketer perceived that Glaswegians are confronted by contempt from others. He feels that a social stigma heavily weighs on Glasgow and that the city is categorized in a discrediting manner.⁵⁴ In his eyes, the stereotypes refer to the depressing “No Mean City” image of the industrial era that has nothing to do with the present city.⁵⁵ The tenacious stereotypes ignore the “enormous amount of change” and therefore are perceived as unjustified and violating.⁵⁶ Taking the industrial past as the origin of the stigma has led to a lack of appreciation by many Glaswegians for this part of their history.⁵⁷ In Glasgow, mentioning the industrial era does not evoke nostalgic feelings but associations with economic decline, social inequality, unhealthy habits, and a violating stigma.⁵⁸ Therefore the absence of the industrial history in official representations of Glasgow is a consequence of the social stigma that relates to the city’s industrial past.⁵⁹

52 Blogger, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, January 23, 2013.

53 City marketer 4, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, March 26, 2012.

54 Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963), 2.

55 “No Mean City” refers to the title of a novel by Alexander McArthur and Kingsley Long (1935) that takes its name from a quotation in the Acts of the Apostles in which St. Paul calls his hometown, Tartus, “no mean city.” In McArthur and Long’s novel, “No Mean City” refers to the gang rivalry, poor living conditions, and political radicalism that once dominated life in the slums of Glasgow. In subsequent years “No Mean City” became a byword of Glasgow that stands for the undesired legacies of its industrial history. See Richter, “Differenzierung inszenieren,” 246–82.

56 Journalist 3, interviewed by the author, Glasgow, January 22, 2013.

57 To be more precise, Glasgow’s negative image and reputation as “No Mean City” dates from the interwar period. The historian Irene Maver notes, “The confidence that characterized Glasgow prior to 1914 was seriously eroded by the war, especially as the city’s industrial base manifested such unsettling signs of weakness by the early 1920s. While problems of overcrowding and deprivation had a long pedigree, a negative image of the city began to overwhelm the popular consciousness during this time.” Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 252.

58 Certainly, it is true that in Glasgow also exist places and initiatives that cultivate the memory of industrial and working-class history. The People’s Palace museum makes visitors familiar with the living conditions of working-class families in the past and Clyde Waterfront partners offer trips to former industrial sites along the River Clyde. However, compared to the preservation of the Victorian architecture, the maintenance of art collections, and the marketing of the Art Nouveau movement, the industrial heritage is significantly underrepresented.

59 Alternatively, one might argue that the branding strategy of a city depends less on perceptions of its people and more on functional criteria and on expectations of external target groups. However,

Preservation of Physical Legacies as an Expression and Pillar of Industrial Heritage

The different significance of the industrial past both in official representations and in the urban imaginary of Dortmund and Glasgow go hand in hand with the dissimilarity in how the two cities deal with the physical remnants of the industrial era. In Glasgow, those who walk along the River Clyde encounter almost nothing reminding them of the docklands, workshops, and warehouses that once framed the riverside and shaped the cityscape. Significant relics of the industrial era such as the locomotive factory in Springburn, the world's largest Singer factory, the clock tower in Clydebank, and the huge Meadowside Granary Complex were demolished. Where shipyards and docklands once dominated the scene, today office complexes, housing estates, and wasteland prevail. Among the few survivors of the industrial epoch are the above-mentioned heavy-duty cranes (figures 6-7).

Researchers have repeatedly noted the ruthless removal of industrial artifacts in Glasgow and Scotland. Ian Johnson remembers that of the 1,100 industrial buildings documented in 1974 in Glasgow, only 300 had survived in 1983.⁶⁰ Rebecca Madgin speaks of an "architectural amnesia," and Achim Prosek supposes with respect to the clearances that the "[Glasgow] city council wanted to draw a line under the past in order to overcome the old image."⁶¹

It would be an exaggeration to say that in Dortmund every corner reminds us of its industrial past. However, significant plants, buildings, and machineries are preserved and reused as museums, office buildings, or event locations. Among them are the U-Tower at the edge of the city center, the Zollern Colliery ("Zeche Zollern"), the Hansa Coking Plant ("Kokerei Hansa"), the Westfalen Mill ("Westfalenhütte"), and the Phoenix Blast Furnace ("Hochofenwerk Phoenix"), (see figures 8 and 9).⁶²

Indeed, Dortmund is only one of many cities in the Ruhr area that works to preserve its industrial heritage. By transforming industrial sites into landscape parks, artificial landmarks, and tourist attractions along the Industrial Heritage Trail, regional developers, planners, and heritage experts have strengthened the awareness of the industrial history in the Ruhr area. The Emscher Park International Building Exhibition (IBA), which took place between 1990 and 1999, played a crucial role in the evolution of the industrial heritage. Before this event tangible

even though city brands and image propositions address target groups apart from the local population, their success still depends on the latter because residents are seen as important ambassadors of those campaigns.

60 Ian Johnson, "The Identification of Industrial Heritage Sites in Scotland: Towards a National Strategy," *Built Environment* 19, no. 2 (1993): 111-12.

61 Madgin, "Town without Memory?," 290; Achim Prosek, "Bilder des Ruhrgebiets—Vom Gestalten und Nutzen des (symbolischen) Kapitals: Erfahrungen mit Glasgows Image-Kommunikation," in *Regionalmarketing für das Ruhrgebiet*, ed. Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet (Essen, 1999), 50.

62 All in all, the Industrial Heritage Trail in the Ruhr area lists fifty-one industrial heritage sites in Dortmund; <http://www.route-industriekultur.ruhr/themenrouten/06-dortmund-dreiklang-kohle-stahl-bier.html>.



Figure 6: Riverside of the Clyde with the remaining Finnieston Crane. (Photo by the author)

and intangible industrial legacies were often perceived as a burden for structural transformation. The IBA Emscher Park gave rise to the revaluation of industrial history and strengthened the struggle for preservation of its legacies. The IBA transformed *industrial legacies* into *industrial heritage sites*, as the planning researcher Christa Reicher notes.⁶³ The social historian Klaus Tenfelde adds that the struggle for industrial heritage was a crucial identification space for the development of a bourgeois culture.⁶⁴ Traditionally dominated by the working class, the revaluation of industrial legacies paved the way for the anchoring of the middle class in the Ruhr area. Industrial heritage sites play a significant role for the collective identity of the people in the Ruhr area as well as in Dortmund.⁶⁵

63 Christa Reicher, “Industriekultur: Gespeicherte Erinnerung, kulturelles Potenzial und Chance für die Stadtentwicklung,” in *Zwischen Rhein-Ruhr und Maas: Pionierland der Industrialisierung, Werkstatt der Industriekultur*, ed. Walter Buschmann (Essen: Klartext, 2013), 17.

64 Klaus Tenfelde, “Ruhrstadt-Identität: Paradoxie der Geschichte, Versprechen der Zukunft,” in *Bericht aus der Zukunft des Ruhrgebiets. Das Jahr 2031*, ed. Dieter Bongert and Roland Kirchhoff (Bottrop: Pomp, 2013), 27.

65 One can argue that the making of industrial heritage goes hand in hand with a depoliticization of labor in favor of nostalgic attributions like “real” and “honest.” In fact, interviewees in Dortmund hardly mention critical aspects of industrial life such as health impairments from hard work and industrial and political conflicts (one exception is air pollution). However, this shift of meanings



Figure 7: Heavy-duty crane in industrial wasteland at Clydebank. (Photo by the author)

In Dortmund, the preservation of industrial relics corresponds with a great importance of the industrial past in the urban imaginary, while in Glasgow both tangible and intangible legacies are held in low esteem. The struggle to protect industrial relics is closely related to a high regard for industrial history in the urban imaginary as well as in official representations. On the one hand, industrial archaeology itself is an expression of the culture of memory. Industrial heritage sites are *lieux de mémoire* that provide meaning to the existence of a group or society. They provide a feeling of security, particularly in times of disorientation.⁶⁶ On the other hand, the preservation of industrial artifacts at original sites imparts feelings of authenticity.⁶⁷ Walking through a former industrial plant and experiencing the machineries provides a more direct experience of industrial life than reading a book

seems not to be dictated by dominant groups or elites as authorized heritage discourse theory might assume; see Smith, Shackel, and Campbell, eds., *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes*. Most of our interview partners have their roots in working-class families rather than in the middle class, and the depoliticization seems to result instead from the general disappearance of the traditional working class as the main group for antagonistic interests and attributions.

66 Stefan Berger, “Erinnerungsorte—ein Erfolgsrezept auf dem Prüfstand,” in *Erinnerungsorte: Chancen, Grenzen und Perspektiven eines Erfolgskonzeptes in den Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. Stefan Berger and Joana Seiffert (Essen: Klartext, 2014), 20.

67 Thomas E. Leary and Elizabeth C. Sholes, “Authenticity of Place and Voice: Examples of Industrial Heritage Preservation and Interpretation in the U.S. and Europe,” *The Public Historian* 22, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 53.



Figure 8: Phoenix Blast Furnace behind the central Westfalenpark. (Photo by the author)

about industrial history. Physical legacies impose on our perception, while documents and media can more easily be forgotten. Therefore, industrial artifacts are pillars of remembrance of industrial heritage. Regarding the relevance of the built environment for collective memory, Philip Hubbard writes, “the demolition of prominent social or public buildings can have a deep-seated effect on a community, as it effectively wipes out a significant chapter in the history of a place and erases memories of its heritage for the majority of its present and future inhabitants.”⁶⁸ As this suggests, the symbolic devaluation together with the loss of physical presence contribute to the low importance of industrial heritage in the urban imaginary of contemporary Glasgow. Both the embrace of industrial heritage as a proof of authenticity in Dortmund and the repression of industrial history in Glasgow are interwoven with how the two cities deal with their physical legacies. While preservation and reuse remind the people of Dortmund of an apparently glorious past, the disappearance of almost all physical evidence underpins the neglect of industrial history in Glasgow.

⁶⁸ Philip Hubbard, “The Value of Conservation: A Critical Review of Behavioral Research,” *Town Planning Review* 64, no. 4 (1993): 359–74.



Figure 9: U-Tower after reconstruction and reuse as a center for arts and creativity. (Photo by the author)

• • • • •

Ralph Richter studied sociology and communication and media studies at the University of Leipzig, Germany, and at the University Federico II in Naples, Italy, between 1996 and 2003. He was a scientific assistant at the Institute of Sociology at the University of Leipzig and at the Technical University Darmstadt. In Darmstadt he was involved in the DFG-funded research project “City Marketing and the Intrinsic Logic of Cities” (principal investigators Prof. Dr. Helmuth Berking and Prof. Dr. Sybille Frank). In July 2011 he completed his doctoral thesis on urban-related identity as endogenous resources in shrinking cities. Since June 2014 he is a senior researcher at the Leibniz Institute for Research on Society and Space (IRS) in Erkner, Germany.

The author would like to acknowledge Helmuth Berking, Sybille Frank, and Johannes Marent for their inspiring research and teamwork. Furthermore, his thanks go to the German Research Foundation (DFG) for funding the research project, to the anonymous reviewers for the valuable comments and advice, and to the editors for copyediting and language polishing.