Locality, Memory, Reconstruction

Locality, Memory, Reconstruction: The Cultural Challenges and Possibilities of Former Single-Industry Communities

Edited by

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: CHANGING SINGLE-INDUSTRY COMMUNITIES AS EXAMPLES OF IDENTITY FORMATION

SIMO HÄYRYNEN AND JOPI NYMAN

This book deals with the cultural aspects of single-industry communities facing transitional changes in their late or post-productive phases. The main objective of this collection is to study and compare local culturally dependent communities from various parts of the world: these are communities which seek to cope with closures in main industries, reductions in especially working age population, and declines in public finance. The focus of the study is on the public strategies and individual place attachments utilized when facing great turning points, and on the connections of these aspects with the construction and reconstruction of local collective identities and cultural images.

The idea of the book arises from the rapid economic, ecological, social, and cultural changes that have lately been common phenomena in traditionally industrialized areas of the world. Owing to the deindustrialisation that has swept over industrial areas during the past decades, some of the most traditional landscapes of the industrialised world – mining, port, and other industrial areas – have changed permanently. The changes have been particularly visible in those communities which have depended solely on one mine, one plant, one fishery, or another form of basic industry.

In addition to concrete, physical environments, a change affects the intangible and emotional spheres of local environments. Isolated single-industry communities have often formed virtual enclaves in local regions. The expression "knowledge-based industries" as a contrast to resource-based industries is a misleading one because the latter are similarly important distributors of knowledge and innovations in their surroundings, as "outposts" of not only technological development but also representing

civilized society in a much more profound sense. Many single-industry communities have recently lost their previous status in the national and world-wide economic structures, simultaneously experiencing the ordeals of the new international division of labour. As can be seen in many important fields of industry, such as Finnish forestry, the phenomenon remains topical and will probably become even more crucial in the near future due to global-scale environmental, economic, and political changes. The trend does not only challenge some of the most visible elements of, for example, European identity but it also challenges the conventional form of community structuration.

This collection argues that transitional single-industry communities provide us with excellent opportunities to study the permanence and variation of local traditions and collective identities that depend heavily on one source of livelihood. On one hand, such a community is usually based on a strict social order backed by a strong and institutionalised tradition. On the other hand, although the harmonizing factors may be forceful and persistent, even the most homogeneous cultural systems are socially diversified – between genders, classes, generations, nationalities, and ethnicities – producing multiple and also unpredictable reactions to the collective changes. The articles in this book address this fast-growing and politically intractable problematic by recognizing its cultural varieties and consequences.

The project behind this collection of studies consists of eleven sub-projects and thirteen cases seeking to reveal cultural diversities and cultural options in previously mono-structured social orders. Five cases deal with Finnish sites and five with post-socialist Eastern Europe: Russia, Estonia, Slovenia, and Lithuania. The remaining cases come from the different edges of Europe and its orbits: New Zealand, Norway, and Germany. The comparison takes into account the different cultural backgrounds of the communities and it pays particular attention to the features of traditional self-sufficient industrial communities in provincial Finland and the culturally more differentiated industrial communities in Russia and New Zealand. Furthermore, the comparison addresses post-welfare and post-socialist transitions as different backgrounds for cultural transformation in single-industry communities. Cultural aspects are understood here to range from artistic activities and heritage issues to the symbolic structures and human rights issues of local communities. These cultural aspects are regarded as symbolic tools for regulating collective changes.

One clear outcome of this collection is that it reveals the narrow dividing line between cultural variation and cultural similarities in

reactions to changing single-industry communities in different regions and countries. In the studies presented in this volume we have utilized several approaches to measure such cultural outcomes: these include discussions of the cultural determinants of migration, the selectivity of the ways of dealing with and reformulating the pasts of the localities, the concrete changes in landscapes, and the number, options, obstacles, and attraction of cultural activities and people's participation in them. Cultural variation and/or similarity manifests itself in experiences of not only the "best practices", as required by modern development projects, but also in the "worst practices" such as the use of too similar ideas in creating images of originality for a locality. As a result it is important to ask how the elements of change affect different age groups, ethnicities, professions, genders, and classes.

Links to Previous Research

International, national, and local concern for the social consequences of the marginalisation of and in post-productive industrial communities has increased recently. In the social sciences these problems are usually approached from the socio-economic or political point of view (see Rannikko & Määttä 2010). There is a huge number of studies dealing with the indicators and options of local economies or the local labour market in the post-industrial phase of such communities (e.g. Barnes, Hayter & Hay 2001; Rautio & Tykkyläinen 2008). However, public interest in the survival of declining single-industry communities has lately been linked with cultural issues. Cultural themes are closely related to larger discussions concerning the destiny of local culture facing so-called globalization. Many public agencies at the local, national, and international level have attempted to save communities that have lost their main industry, at least partially, by investing in public support to the declining areas, and by creating reuses of abandoned industrial facilities to serve the needs of tourism, artistic activities, and small companies – among the bigger ones, as is the case of the closed pulp factory in Summa, Finland, now the site of a Google data centre. Consequently, most of the cultural research focussing on declining industrial communities targets the respective areas collecting (and saving) various forms of heritage or evaluating the success of conversions of industrial facilities (see e.g. McIntosh 1999; Moore & Whelan 2007; Vargas-Sanchez et al. 2009).

There is no doubt about the significance of the cultural approaches mentioned above. However, they do not cover the whole problematic of socio-cultural transformation in post-productive industrial communities. In

addition to essential categories, culture is also perceived as a pattern of dynamic collective action that binds together certain groups of people and evolves in constant interaction with other aspects of social development. Structural changes mean enormous pressure on the dynamics of local collective identities. Recent cultural studies have paid less attention to the reconstruction of collective identities and local cultural images in localities suffering transitional changes – although exceptions are available such as Günter Warsewa's (2006) EU-project that audited the transformation of twelve middle-sized European port-cities, and more traditional mining community research in Britain and Canada (see Pattison 1998; Dicks 2008). Such cultural aspects are important for the future development of all communities; not necessarily in the sense that they are able to locate themselves in a predetermined social order following major changes but are able to recognise and face forthcoming prospects and challenges. Collective reactions to these pressures can be called the "symbolic governance" of changes in the community.

Main Themes

The main objective of this collection of studies is to emphasise, identify, and discuss the principles of the contextually dependent cultural dynamic of global change. The authors of the following chapters deal with the impact of the cultural particularities of single-industry communities in comparison with communities with more diverse industrial bases.

Transforming a Single-industry Community

There is no strict definition available for a single-industry community (see e.g. Bradbury 1984). It can be stated that a single-industry community is a group of people that inhabits a certain location and depends economically and socially on one industrial sector or one particular industrial plant. Some scholars would argue that the minimum requirement for a community to be considered a single-industry community is that 25% of its total local labour force is employed by a single industrial plant. A single-industry community can, for instance, be a mining town or a fishing village, or basically any place where other industrial sectors are subordinated to the needs of its main industry. However, a single-industry community may also be dependent on a highly dominant sector such as a dock-area in a harbour city, or forestry in a remote province, even if it does not cover the largest part of the labour force or production in that area.

In any case, changes and turning points provide deviation from the standard development of single-industry communities. This book concentrates on the cultural consequences of changes and ruptures in single-industry communities. A large variety of reasons may lead to these changes. These may include decline in raw material sources, a dying demand for main products, immigration, political crisis, and new industrial innovations. The success or failure of a collective adaptation to such changes depends on a multitude of communal variables including location, size, nature of existing economic base, transportation links, availability of government help, corporate dynamics, entrepreneurial abilities, and advanced planning. Another important variable is the past collective identity of the locality, regardless of whether it is initially something to be proud or ashamed of. In times of radical change a collective identity loses one of its unifying elements and has to be reconstructed.

Some of the national differences between such communities lie in the question of whether there are institutional arrangements which can be utilized in the pre-crisis stage to assist either the community or the individual to cope with the impending reduction in employment, or whether there are only ad hoc programs to assist crisis-induced adjustments (Neil & Tykkyläinen 1992, 10). Since the 1980s, closures have been far better handled by industry, governments, and workers owing in part to an increased sense of social welfare responsibility on the part of all players; these mechanisms include, for example, mobility assistance, retraining assistance, unemployment insurance, and infrastructure maintenance (Keyes 1992, 35-38).

The following articles deal especially with individuals who must re-assess their role in a world facing community transition. As will be seen in the following chapters, there are variations in the sense of loyalty and commitment to collectivity within the communities. Some people decide or are obliged to leave for better working opportunities, thus causing the "geographical expansion" of a community. It may mean that a historical locality exists symbolically not only in its original location but elsewhere as well, producing interesting articulations of collective identities. Some people, respectively, decide or are obliged to stay and face thus the danger of becoming multiply marginalised. In a declining single-industry community social downturns are rarely "invisible". This may lead to increasing solidarity but also to a deeper socio-economic division among the population.

A single-industry community is perceived as culturally more protected and uniform than communities with a diversified industrial base. Thus, it is fair to say that single-industry communities provide a narrower space

for individual interpretations of culture than communities with many equal subcultures. However, in contrast to a socially closed and self-confirming past, more than one cultural reorientation process takes place in the case of drastic changes, and a hidden cultural diversity may collide with an unanimous core identity. The restructuration of a changing single-industry community can be significantly influenced by the social composition of different communities. Thus the communities studied in this volume reveal different diversities and mechanisms of cultural categorisation.

It is a common belief that one becomes aware of his/her local culture/identity only in opposition to other – external – cultures and identities. Collective identity is set up by the combination of economic and power resources with access to some relatively "exclusive order" – such as membership in a collectivity, a social centre or a cultural order, and the major types of information central to participation in these respective settings (Eisenstadt 1998, 231-32). All social groups do not have equal access to the institutions and institutional fora that allow certain interpretations of "us" or "others" to become common sense. The promulgation of cultural categorizations is closely connected with the processes of the contestation of power over the control of resources and the regulation of entry of different actors (individuals as well as groups) into the major economic, political, and cultural arenas.

Individual distance from an optimal core identity is a result of different social, economic, and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, it is crucial to ask how people posit themselves within the community and relate to outsiders during drastic changes. Similarly, the following questions may be addressed: who are "the others" of changing mono-structured localities? How are people fostered to be genuine members who share a collective identity in such circumstances? Subsequently there are clearly two aspects that should be addressed in a study focussing on cultural change in single-industry communities. These are the spatial factor, meaning a particular mix of international, national, and local trends in each case, and the tradition factor that indicates the permanent as well as changing forms of traditional ways of life and other cultural manifestations in local communities.

The Spatial Factor

How do different territories and their inhabitants adapt to global-scale changes? What is the cultural resilience of a local community undergoing major global changes? Post-productive industrial communities vary widely from prison camps to former industrial model towns, from distant

peripheries to the international centres of transportation, and from totally destroyed ecological environments to good and enjoyable living environments.

Local identity depends on the spatial role that a locality holds in various centre/periphery-relations based on the networks and alliances of, for example, commerce, production, religion, and the arts. A non-spatial analysis may not really be able to reach local variations between the effects of social, gender, and ethnic situations. An important point of view here is, thus, that of locality as a framework for cultural formations.

Traditionally places and localities have been seen as bounded, with their internally generated authenticities, and defined by their differences from other places which lay outside, beyond their borders. There is a considerable consensus among the academic community that as the local context is becoming a less significant source of social identity than before, the salience of specifically local cultures is expected to decline. This tendency is reinforced by creative imitation, a common method of reforming the symbols of a local identity following fundamental changes. One needs only to look at imported "urban centres" with their pedestrian streets and bazaars throughout the world (see also Moore 2007, 99-106).

According to some locality researchers, the tendency is not that simple (e.g. Paasi 2002). Of course, numerous factors, usually under the umbrella concept of globalisation, make the sources of local identities less diverse than before. However, many researchers find cultural variety from seemingly identical institutions in different regions (Keating, Loughlin & Deschouwer 2004), and these varieties are vivid in our research as well. Similar single-industry communities in, for example, EU Finland and post-socialist Russia react differently to the same global phenomena. Doreen Massey believes (2005, 59, 64) that conceptualizing space as open, multiple and relational, unfinished, and always becoming, is a prerequisite for history to be open to interpretation and thus a prerequisite, too, for the possibility of politics.

The difficult task is to separate the general and particular elements of local transformation from each other. It is fairly justified to say that the global financial crisis and the other megatrends of social development belong to the general elements. Similarly, the particularities of local development include, for example, a traditional paternalist community structure in Finnish industrial communities (Koivuniemi 2000), and the specific mixes of nationalities caused by migrant workers in industrial communities in the former Soviet Union (Rautio & Tykkyläinen 2008). Such particularities demonstrate typical examples of cultural deviation that generate differences between local transformations. In fact, the question

concerns the changing cultural responsibilities of localities in the globalised world.

The mix of international, national, and local trends is sometimes called "glocalisation". Yet, the more appropriate description is to see the variation in reactions to global phenomena from the local perspective. The spatial factor is not very informative without analyzing the moves of a locality along the various commercial, political, and cultural centre/periphery axes. The idea of "centre" and "periphery" in spatial organization seems universal. People tend to structure the space-geographical and the cosmological so that they are themselves in the centre, surrounded with concentric zones (Tuan 1990, 27). In European societies in particular the interaction between the periphery and various subcentres has been strong. The potential for centre-periphery interaction is rooted in Europe's structural and cultural pluralism. Traditionally the centre permeated the periphery in order to mobilize support for its policies; and the periphery impinged on the centre in order to influence the shaping of its contours (Eisenstadt 1998, 240-41). Today the centres penetrate the peripheries in ways not seen before through media, transportation, tourism, immigration, environmental challenges, and the internationalisation of companies and public affairs.

In addition to the relational nature of localities, the national and local variety of reacting to global challenges is a factor of uneven geographical development. Uneven geographical development is interpreted as the product of a differentiated diffusion process that leaves behind residuals from preceding eras (Harvey 2006, 71-75). Differences are easily taken for "lags" and "behindnesses" (Massey 2005, 5). Nevertheless, centres and peripheries are not in a permanent dichotomy with each other. A locality can lose its position and/or gain a new one in the changing world order. For example, the cultural configuration between the "developed West" and "developing countries", thus far perceived as permanent and indefinite, has become fuzzier as the economic and political rise of the so-called BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China) illustrates.

The spatial factor also indicates the relative dependence of people on their local context. In other words, different people have different trajectories and attachments to place. These differences in individual place attachments have important implications for the response of both individuals and communities faced with cultural changes (Neil & Tykkyläinen 1992, 5-6). Some people are more attached to their home place, or their daily lives are located in a narrower area than those of people with more contacts with the outside world through their profession or personal origin. In single-industry communities individual place

attachments depend on the single-industrial nature of collective identifications. The single-industrial cohesion can make a locality a more important factor of collective mentality than is the case of communities with alternative sources of livelihood. The spatial role of the changing single-industry communities and their prospects will greatly affect their willingness to be in touch with the past tradition.

The Tradition Factor

What is the role of culture in significant social or communal transitions? Stein Roar Mathisen believes that "large economic, social and cultural changes often bring about a demand for a cultural heritage, a sort of basic foundation in society that may eventually serve as point of departure for future actions" (2004, 142). As for the post-productive industrial communities, it is strongly justified to ask what forms of collective conditioning the rhythm of working hours and the paternalist control of everyday life have caused for the members of a community? Is the history of collective motivation something that can be transferred to a new collective aim in the post-productive phase of a community?

It seems to be tradition that usually replaces the lost common factor in a former single-industry community. To be more precise, it is someone's interpretation of that tradition rather than the "tradition" itself. The contents of local collective identity depend upon the extent to which people are attached to the local tradition, how they approve, deny, and interpret the traditions that are provided for them in face-to-face meetings, at schools, and in local histories. It is also important who or what determines the contents of these sources of cultural traditions.

Contrary to Mathisen's "cohesive" ideal, some researchers imply that culture, as a conventional way of thinking, directs our attention away from present problems and prevents necessary reforms (e.g. Harrison & Huntington 2000). For the purposes of analysing the culture factor in drastic changes it would be absurd to predefine culture as either a progressive or regressive factor in forthcoming collective actions. Industrial traditions carry positive connotations such as special abilities, class solidarity, and sense of pride for being part or a descendant of something that is an important part of the national industrial history as in the cases of the forestry-based communities in Finland or the meat-packing communities of New Zealand. Equally, however, traditions can contain negative memories or reminders of the past, traces of difficult working conditions, authoritarianism, and destroyed areas. Both aspects affect people's strategic choices even today.

More important than deciding whether a tradition is positive or negative is asking what happens to the traditional social structures of a community when the basic foundation of the single-industrial culture vanishes and either turns into a pleasant or rejected history. Are there any characteristics that determine which parts of traditional industrial community structures last and which are flexible (or vulnerable) when facing such powerful global tendencies as commercialism, individualism, and the fact that contemporary industrialised communities operate more on a short-term and ad hoc basis than before (see also Salomon, Katz & Lovel 2007)?

As Raymond Williams suggests (1981, 187), a tradition, as an active source of social action, can be selected and planned. A new culture does not come out of the blue; old elements and layers are reorganised for new expectations in close contact with the other aspects of a society. Shmuel Eisenstadt suggests (1998, 235) that many primordial components of collective identity, seemingly natural and given, have been continually reconstituted in different historical contexts and under the impact of intersocietal forces. Images of the past commonly legitimate the present social order. Since collective identity is possible only to the extent that individuals share values and norms, the role of those who want to maintain social cohesion is to persuade the others of the validity of a common value system by inducing both social remembering of certain events in specific ways and social forgetting of other events. The traditional port-city of Glasgow is an example of a development strategy that has sought to bury away any aspect of the past which has become inconvenient for the city's new, sanitized, and marketable image (see e.g. Moore 2007, 106).

Cultural traditions and their links to shared memories are central parts of any collective identity. Collective memory, also referred to as social, communal, communicative, cultural, or collected memory (Halbwachs 1992; Connerton 1989; Assmann 2006), is an important factor behind people's sense of collective identity. The common denominator for all these concepts is that memory grows out of interaction between people. Memory is collective and plural, but also individual. Since the ability of memory to restore a lost unity after great changes is emphasized, Jan Assmann calls it connective memory (2006, 11).

Collective memories face new challenges in today's fragmented and pluralistic society. Face-to-face relations through which gestures, attitudes, and know-how were transferred from one generation to the next on a local basis now compete with external influences and the media in particular (Claval 2007, 86-87). In such situations society is obliged to attach itself to new values and become dependent upon traditions that are better related

to its needs and present tendencies (Connerton 1989, 3, 38). These external influences often involve new political, economic, and social connections with the tradition. What, then, are the new elements that are incorporated into the industrial traditions of post-industrial localities? In other words, what have been the forms of capitalizing on single-industrial traditions?

Another question is whether the economic, political, and social impacts that traditions have on the communities are really analyzable and observable? These questions constantly arise in the chapters of this book. Günter Warsewa (2006, 40-41) has identified three different types or patterns of development of communal culture in changing port-cities which are relatively simple to apply to other single-industry communities as well: 1. "change of path" means a new identity but with traditional maritime basis. Maritime history and port-related elements are transformed in such a way that addresses not only "nostalgic" historical and educational goals but seeks to create something new; 2. "balanced mixture" refers to the search for new identity and maritime location without a maritime identity. The main aim is to readjust the port-city relationship to diversify the economic structure and to engrave these changes on the local identity; 3. "modernizing existing structure" means diversification and recalling the past. The pattern describes the development of peripheral port-cities, which in recent decades have had only limited opportunities to generate new means.

To accept that former single-industry communities are socially diversified opens up a less discussed field of questions for the cultural researchers of great transformations. Rather than aiming at the institutionalisation of culture, it seeks the recognition of its socially dynamic nature. As Belle Dicks puts it (2008, 449), today's post-productive single-industry communities are sandwiched between two realities, one past, one present, neither of which is conducive to the achievement of personal goals. Along with the official and institutionalised local traditions, there seem to be numerous informal modes of traditions, identity formations, and narratives. Whether these interpretations are progressive or repressive, positive or negative, depends on from whose point of view the interpretation is made. In practice, it means that the most challenging political task is not to develop one overall survival strategy for transforming communities. Rather, the most crucial task is to provide access to the development of communal strategies to all members of a community (as well as those considered outsiders) with their various views of the collective future. Thus the question of who actually has gained an ability to speak for the whole community will also be addressed in the following chapters.

Similarities and Differences

This volume consists of four thematic parts. In the first part, Symbolic Governance of Change, the emphasis is on coping with change and the use of culture as a resource in negotiating a new identity for the locality. The first essay by Günter Warsewa, "Adaptation and Individuality: The Re-Invention of the Port-City", focuses, rather than on a single community, on the reactions of port-cities, cities with a strong maritime and international identity, to discontinued port-operations and the loss of their economic viability in the era of globalization. What Warsewa argues is that while the port is now a thing in the past, the maritime identity is increasingly present as the part of local tradition contributing to the port-city's distinguished identity. Similarly, Simo Häyrynen addresses in "Cultural Continuity: The Former Mining Community of Outokumpu as an Intermediary of Symbolic Capital", an essay on Outokumpu, a former eastern Finnish mining community, the fact that culture and cultural production have not only become major forms of livelihood and income in the town but that they are also central parts in its renewed identity and economy. Häyrynen argues that this new interest rests on – and reconstructs – the town's former identity as a mining town. Finally, Ilkka Ratinen's essay "Different Cultural Values and Rural Development: The Case of Kustavi" discusses the crisis of diminishing fish-farming in a community attracting an increasing number of holiday-makers, a potential source of new conflicts. The essay addresses the transformation from a production economy to a post-production economy in a local community.

The second part of the volume, Tradition as Capital, examines the use of cultural tradition as a new resource. In his essay "Decline and Transformation: Cultural Reconstruction in a Small New Zealand Community", Michael Volkerling addresses the use of the local Maori tradition as a new source of identity and livelihood in a community formerly known as an agricultural producer. Music in particular emerges as a new provider and source of cultural identity. In their essay on the Slovenian mining town of Idrija, "Idrija: A Local Player on the Global Market", Mimi Urbanc, Janez Nared, and David Bole show that a former producer of mercury has become a global actor as the home of international high-tech companies. The essay also considers attention to the role of local traditions, lace-making in particular, as a means of using the local tradition as a source of identity. The third essay in this part, Maarit Grahn's "The Noormarkku Ironworks: Places of Memory and Capital", deals with the particular case of the Finnish company A. Ahlström Corporation: while the company no longer produces at its

Noormarkku Ironworks, it houses its headquarters and has created a company museum. This is an interesting case of using the local origins of an international company as a marker of business identity. What is important is the role of cultural and collective memory as a means of creating company identity.

The third part of the volume is entitled Narratives as Collective Memories. It provides two readings of the various meanings given to the local in areas and communities facing the loss of their major industry. Anne Logrén's essay deals with the attachment to place in the self-conceptions of eastern Finnish artists: while working in a deprived region facing the end of its major forest industry, these artists' interviews show not only how they transform the economic periphery into a source of empowerment but also the role of culture in such a situation. The second article, by geographer Samu Pehkonen, while ostensibly addressing the narratives by former miners in northern Norway, is a far-reaching critical and conversation-analytical contribution which examines the contradictions in the knowledge of "local" insiders and "foreign" outsiders through its focus on the act of storytelling. What emerges as a result is a finding suggesting that the "moving parts", varying forms of community identity, are not closed but open to various and changing interpretations, problematizing the entire possibility of a unified community.

Post-Soviet Transition in Comparison, the final section of the volume, consists of four studies dealing with post-Soviet societies (Estonia, Lithuania, and Russia). The first article in this section by the Estonian researchers Anu Printsmann, Mait Sepp, and Aarne Lund deals with the legacy of oil-shale mining in Kohtla-Järve, in eastern Estonia. The analysis addresses the transforming landscape and the often contradictory ways of relating to an industrial past. Veli-Matti Salminen's "Socially Differentiated Networks and Attachment to Locality: A Study of the Inhabitants of Lievestuore and Pabrade" is a comparative study of the ways in which people in two peripheral single-industry communities, one in post-Soviet Lithuania and one in post-industrial Finland, relate to their home place and the meanings attached to the locality by various social classes. An assessment of participation in local networks shows that social stratification is linked with participation and networking in different ways in the two countries. Kari Synberg's analysis of the mobility and migration patterns in the single-industry towns of Nelidovo and Kirovsk-Apatity in Russia, based on Russian statistics and a survey, suggests that even though local communities are becoming increasingly dependent on global business networks, national and transnational decision-making, and the processes of restructuring, individual responses may vary and constitute a complex mix

of decision-making and perceptions. As a consequence of the history of industrial expansion, a large number of people living in Kirovsk-Apatity and Nelidovo were born outside the region, but this background does not seem to influence migration. Rather, many people are waiting for new opportunities, either in their current home area or elsewhere. This part of the volume closes with Markku Tykkyläinen's reflective methodological account of the possibilities of examining the dynamics and evolution of community development constrained by institutions and the rules of markets. The proposed approach combines the concepts and findings of new economic geography and evolutionary economic geography in explaining the evolution of communities and the formation of economic landscapes in remote areas. In Tykkyläinen's view evolutionary processes in communities are dependent on glocal actors and various human and physical constraints. He shows how actor-based development is dependent on two types of conditions: necessary relations, which are independent of a specific geographical context, and contingent relations, which are operational under specific (geographical) circumstances. The chapter concludes by suggesting that resource communities are constantly transforming, and an in-depth study of them demands that cultural, socioeconomic, and spatial elements are all taken into account.

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PART I:

SYMBOLIC GOVERNANCE OF CHANGE

CHAPTER TWO

ADAPTATION AND INDIVIDUALITY: THE RE-INVENTION OF THE PORT-CITY[1]

GÜNTER WARSEWA

Structural Change and the Role of Local Culture

Since the 1970s the twin forces of globalisation on the one hand and technological change on the other have forced port-cities across the industrialised world to reinvent themselves. The more distinctive the port-city, the more exclusive and specialised the profile, culture, and character acquired from a historic legacy of centuries of maritime-trading, seafaring, shipbuilding, and all their related productive and service capacities, the greater the difficulty of responding to the challenges of this upheaval.

Port-cities were forced to reinvent themselves because the typical development path that had once guaranteed wealth and prestige appeared to be leading to a dead-end. In many cases port operations had ceased, the port itself had been relocated, and traditional maritime industries had been lost or reduced to a mere shadow of their former self. Numerous other activities had lost their economic viability, job numbers and tax incomes had decreased dramatically, and whole districts had fallen into decline. At the same time port-cities themselves had lost a significant part of their former significance to the country as a whole, no longer the sole major gateway between the national economy and international markets or the source of economic and marine military power (Warsewa 2006).

Likewise traditional institutional arrangements (for example, specific administrative structures and political powers, location for specialist institutions such as port authorities, harbour police, customs offices and their functions, and facilities for developing skills and training in the

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marine industries), which had previously contributed to building and underpinning the port-cities' specialist niche, had been progressively eroded and made partially redundant; in any case their transformation and modernisation had become essential.

While undergoing these processes, port-cities were seized by a deep sense of uncertainty about their own identity and a loss of collective self-confidence, both of which had grown out of centuries of tradition and local culture. Since there was a lack of clear alternatives to the former specialist maritime industrial structure and the options for further development were extremely unclear, it was difficult to reach an understanding or make a decision as to which elements and areas of local culture and tradition could be relied upon to help build a new future and which would be obstructive to future development. However, the crisis of the 1980s and 1990s exposed a fundamental reality which had not previously been recognised: the close linkage existing between the various institutions, local economic and social structures, and local cultures. These elements mutually support and reinforce one other in a way that leads to, not only the typical specialisation of the port-city, but they also produce a highly stable and durable development path. In this regard the characteristically stable development of most port-cities over the centuries is not simply a function of economic potential and appropriate institutional arrangements, but in historic reality the special character of the port-city is based on the coherence of its economic and institutional structures and the particular local ensemble of "culture, informal rules and history" (Hall & Soskice 2001, 12-13).

"Local culture" in this sense represents the ensemble of common practices, attitudes, symbols, and the use of language and meanings, which express and collectively reproduce shared expectations, norms, and conventions. Hence local culture covers a wide range of material artefacts – such as, for instance, typical arts, objects, buildings or clothing – as well as collective values and shared basic assumptions, which are reflected in typical daily routines, particular customs or manners (Schein 1984, 1992, 16ff; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck 1961). In this way, local culture works as a steering and coordinating mechanism which forms a commonly accepted and locally defined framework for decision-making and shapes the actions of both individual and collective players. Being embedded in this framework means that:

- a sense of affiliation is established and this leads to reciprocal trust and reliability,
- cooperation can build on shared orientations and conventions, and

- individual decisions on economically or politically relevant alternatives are generally taken in a collectively accepted framework.

To be really effective, such a steering and co-ordinating mechanism must make a clear distinction between inclusion and exclusion. This explains why at the same time local culture is also a major distinction to anything "outside" or "non-affiliated". The particular character of local culture therefore is also the basis and the expression of a particular collective identification and local identity.

From the 1960s (in the USA) and 1970s (in Europe) this pattern no longer reproduced itself. As it became less possible to influence economic decisions locally, local institutions lost their drive and regulatory efficiency and an increasing number of local elites identified more with a global culture rather than with a commitment to the framework of local rules and norms. At exactly the same rate, the former coherence and stability of the traditional development path also disappeared. In this situation, a change of direction, or at least a serious deviation from the traditional pattern of development, not only became possible but proved to be inevitable because the social and economic costs of maintaining coherence and continuity would far exceed the anticipated benefits (North 2002).

For this reason port-cities across the western world sought to diversify their economic structure. Depending on their individual local circumstances, modern service industries, such as culture, leisure, history or creative industries, special consumer attractions for cruise and ferry passengers or other tourists, institutions for maritime education or marine sciences, were developed and in many port-cities innovative structures for material production (e.g. offshore or wind-power technologies) as well as related facilities for information, research, and development emerged – all of which in various ways perpetuated former structures and traditions.

During this process of reinvention the stabilizing and homogenising function of the framework of locally shared norms and conventions was to a certain extent replaced by a "regime of difference" (P. Hall), in which the distinct cultural codes of different social milieus and classes seemed increasingly to diverge and lose their former common point of convergence. Across the world this adaptation to a global culture generates urgently needed new ideas and impulses, but it also tends to create a uniform lifestyle and culture for certain social milieus and this leads to an increasing gap in social and cultural distances within the local framework. As a result, since local culture partially reproduces global trends while also

promoting the adaptation to those trends, its effects are doubly contradictory: firstly, the traditional elements of local culture and identity work as a conservative force for permanence, supporting the location's resistance to change and protecting its specialisation and traditional character against those global and unifying forces of acculturation. But, at the same time the local culture undergoes a process of self-change while undergoing modernisation and diversification, acting as a carrier of future-orientated trends. Secondly, culture and identity are not only a creative force affecting social and economic development; at the same time they are a socially created force, which can itself be shaped, modified, and modernised, taking on an important and occasionally innovative role in the process. This role and the interdependencies of local culture and local development have until recently received only scant consideration in scientific analyses of local or regional transformation processes.

So, while local culture, common values and collective identity are increasingly (i) released from the ties that bind them to the existing institutional system and traditional economic forms and are (ii) disaggregated by the loss of the framework that held the various forms of cultural production and reproduction in different social milieus together, local culture becomes an independent dimension of local or regional development processes. And therefore – depending on specific local conditions – local culture can work as a barrier against the thoughtless adaptive modernisation of urban structures while also enhancing its adaptation and a far-reaching change of orientation (Beatty 2002). In this way the impact of local culture can either lead to an erosion of the specific type of "port-city" or contribute to its renewal and stabilization. Both tendencies are combined in the reality of the revitalisation and reinvention of this particular type of European City and contribute to the mix of patterns we are able to identify empirically in different port cities.

The following reflections therefore will expose those typical characteristics of local culture which are inseparably tied up with the history and tradition of the port-city, and which, in spite of being individually embedded in national cultures and systems, can be identified in every port-city across Europe. The question will be asked how this specific type of local culture itself changed in the course of the far-reaching upheavals that have taken place over previous decades. Finally the discussion will focus on how and to what extent under these conditions local culture still contributes to the concrete development and re-invention of the port-city today.

Local Culture as Factor of Stability and Driver of Transformation

As long as the dominant expectations, norms, and conventions remained coherent with the local economic and institutional conditions of seafaring and long-distance trade, they were expressions of a collective identity, which in its entirety was able to bridge the different interests of class and milieu. Such different cultural codes represented the obvious social distinction between the "aristocracy of merchants", dock-workers and shipbuilders, seafarers, port authority officials and administrators, customs bureaucracies etc. or local politicians, and likewise it can be assumed that the essential components of local cultures were dominated by the interests of these local elites and ruling milieus. Nevertheless, those differences were generally embedded in a framework, where the system of coordinates was built on a common interest in its autonomous capacity to act and the maintenance of maritime functions. This common and overarching framework established the foundations for a common identification – both in the local self-image as well as how this was viewed from outside: the residents of the north German Hanseatic cities are still seen today as "Hanseatics" – even if neither they nor anyone else can precisely define a Hanseatic personality (Wegener 2008); the inhabitants of Liverpool are called "Scousers" after their seafarers dish and "*Scouse* is everything that constitutes a Liverpudlian soul, in no matter which corner of the world its origins lie. *Scouse* is the barely understandable dialect, the merciless sarcastic humour or the deliberate refusal of London's dominance – all widely distributed across the motley population of Liverpool" (Eine Stadt 2011).

Within the context of globalised relations this kind of expression is often seen as a folkloric remnant of local culture, without any influence on current social and economic processes and, moreover, doomed to steadily fade away (Hauck 2008). But this is only one side of the coin: as a direct result of increasing competition between regions and cities, local culture is being rediscovered and put on stage as an indicator of uniqueness in the course of regeneration strategies and image campaigns. Additionally, it is the nature of this framework of shared norms, values, attitudes, and meanings to consolidate itself over the centuries in collective identity and collective memory. Therefore the framework of local culture remains an active mechanism for driving, co-ordinating, and thus influencing the development of this subtype of European City in many different ways. As key characteristics of the particular local culture we can identify four typical qualities, which – in various shapes and forms – play an essential

role in the thinking and behaviour of port-cities and of relevant actors found there:

- Port-cities as a specialised system of functions: persistence despite diversification;
- Port-cities as risk communities: co-operation, public spirit, and maritime consensus;
- Port-cities as hubs of flows: foreignness as normality;
- Port-cities as centre and periphery: autonomy and self-confidence.

Port-cities as a Specialised System of Functions: Persistence despite Diversification

In each port-city many material objects and symbolic motifs related to seafaring and long-distance trade are to be found in the cityscape and in urban structures. As a visual expression of the emergence and consolidation of a maritime-oriented local culture, they are constantly shaping the face of the port-city and reflecting its specialist functions. In each historic period a typical picture was composed of architectural forms, technical features, circulatory infrastructure, etc. which until the present day can still be recognized and reconstructed:

> Storehouses were distributed across the entire area of Amsterdam, but for the most part they were concentrated on those artificial islands that were built in the late 16th and early 17th century at the quayside. They were (and to a certain degree remain today) a strange world in miniature, a mixture of warehouses, shipyards, timber storage-yards, tow-rope lanes and sheds for drying and smoking herring. (Girouard 1987, 158f)

Typically, directly adjacent to the port facilities we find the markets, warehouses, pubs, and nightclubs of the port district and also the quarters where dockers and shipyard workers lived; the structure of streets and traffic axes, and in particular the special railway infrastructure dictated by the port function. In many port-cities specialist buildings were developed to optimise the combination of housing with business and storage of certain kinds of goods. In this way spatial and socio-spatial structures are largely shaped by the functional requirements of the port-city. Finally this expression of a particular urban character is reinforced by a large number of different and widespread symbols – from all kinds of representations of ships and other maritime equipment to the architectural forms of storehouses and sheds or the typical skyline of funnels, cranes, and masts.

All these maritime motifs are used to design and decorate the public and private space – both the inside and the outside of merchants' and ship-owners' mansions or seafarers' houses as well as the gardens and backyards of fishermen or dock-workers.

Just as the Manuelinian Gothic Style at Lisbon provided an impressive and highly individualistic symbol of the rise of Portugal as a global seafaring and trading power, many of these cultural expressions of functional specialisation lost their original meaning with contemporary development – possibly due to the erosion of their economic base, or through the disappearance of certain social milieus with their supporting cultural practices or meanings, or possibly because of the destruction of the framework of shared expectations, conventions, and practices brought about by new cultural influences and dynamics. Indeed, there are many causes which seem to confirm the hypothesis of a more and more disembedded local culture. "Disembedding" in this sense means that the appearance and characteristics of local culture in the port-city lose their individuality through their dissolution from the social relationships in a given place in the course of globalisation (Giddens 1990). The global convergence of living conditions and lifestyles finds its expression in a steadily growing identity of material and functional elements in all cities as well as in the adaptation of social relations, communication, and cultural practices. In this way far distant townscapes and living areas develop a similar appearance.

This kind of adaptation is mainly brought about by the middle classes whose lifestyle and affections currently derive more from a global than a local and traditional cultural framework. At least, in those parts of towns and regions where their lifestyle and attitudes are dominant, international uniformity replaces traditional independent identity, locally shared conventions, language, norms, etc.; in short: replaces local culture. But, since these urban middle classes always form certain, mainly well-educated milieus, the worldwide emergence of a global culture results not only in local culture being disembedded, but also leads to its disintegration (for the connection between social integration and cultural differentiation; see Müller & Dröge 2005, 79ff). Affiliation to or identification with, a "global" kind of culture leads to increasing social distinction and thus to a steady expansion in the distance between the normally deployed and accepted cultural codes of differently "globalised" and "modernised" milieus (Robertson 1995; Featherstone 1997; Featherstone, Lash & Robertson 1995).

Both of these processes – disembedding and heterogenisation – result in a paradoxical situation: on the one hand, many of those images, symbols