

INDUSTRIAL HERITAGES REVISITED: THE TRANS-LOCAL IDENTITIES BEHIND RESISTANT LOCALITIES

Industrial heritage sites are, like any other sites, local. Every now and then, the local nature of tangible industrial monuments leads to misunderstanding about the social activity behind the meaning and significance of industrial heritages. The *heritage community* behind the significance and meaning of an industrial heritage site, is seldom only local. For current societies and communities bound together by interest in the industrial histories and the history of technology, the local industrial heritages are shared by several groups and thus they are valued by trans-local heritage communities.

The Power of Identity (1997) as introduced by Manuel Castells, was published twenty years ago. In the 90's, Castells drew attention to the increasing power of identity and the new kinds of practices of belonging. In this work, Castells distinguishes between three different types of collective identities. According to Castells, the three types of identities are legitimizing identity, resistance identity and project identity. The legitimizing identity forms the foundation for civil society. Legitimizing identity is 'introduced by the dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalize their domination *vis a vis* social actors'. The resistance identity, for its turn, is 'generated by those actors that are in positions/conditions devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination'. It generates communes or communities. There is then the project identity, constructed by the social actors, when they 'on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them, build

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a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure' - producing subjects, i.e. collective social actors.¹ The subject, according to Castells, is no longer built on civil society but instead on communal resistance.²

I had these three types of identity defined by Castells in mind when I began to outline an idea of the identity working communities behind the industrial heritage more than ten years ago. The identity of an industrial heritage community is a combination of all three types. There is a certain family resemblance with the *legitimizing identity*: The industrial heritage is selected, valued and preserved, top to down, by institutions of society, such as the National Board of Antiquities. There are also strong features of the resisting identity, because heritagization cannot be totally conducted from a top down type. The process always includes, if not an initiative, at least negotiations or feedback from the grass root level of the heritage community. The consistence of the heritage community is complex. The heritage community brings together more or less local social actors, such as local historical societies, citizen groups and active individuals. Last, but not least, there is a strong presence of a project identity of a group or other social actors constructing the meaning and significance of its own history, heritage and sense of belonging to a place and time.

Neither individual nor group identity is permanent. Both are socially constructed. As Lill Rastad Bjørst and Robert C. Thomsen noted in their introduction to the collection *Heritage and Change in the Arctic*: an 'identity is not an essence which defines a person or a people once and for all'.³

Our group identities, as well as our individual identities, are continuously molded by the tales and histories we tell about who we are. These tales and histories are



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Artikkelien sisällöstä ja niissä esiintyvistä mielipiteistä vastaa kirjoittaja. Artikkelit tarkastetaan vertaisarviontienetelmällä. Kuvamateriaalin luovuttaja vastaa kuivien julkaisujoikeudesta. Yksityiskohtaiset kirjoitus- ja aineisto-ohjeet löytyvät Tekniikan Historian Seuran kotisivulta <http://www.ths.fi/fi/tekniikan-waiheita/kirjoita>.

used as *frame stories* in the process of identity work in which the remnants of the past are turned into heritages. Identities are sustained by the narratives we are attached to. The values of industrial heritages are constantly negotiated in a social process of either individual or collective identity work. The industrial heritage community, which is a community of identity workers, can consist of anything from a local, endemic group of indigenous villagers to a globally scattered, but actively networking group of enthusiastic experts of the history of the technology the heritage site represents and is a historical example of.

I open this volume of *Tekniikan Waiheita* with an article concerning the identity work that industrial heritage communities have done with the factory chimneys. Maarit Grahn continues with a case study of a local sawmill. Mikko Aho introduces occupational safety in the oral histories of Rauma shipbuilders and Riina Haanpää highlights industrial heritage in relation to its environment and its effects on people's experiences and perceptions of their surroundings. Finally, Anni Ruohomäki creates a frame story for the heritagization of police forces' technical equipment of the 1920s.

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¹ Castells 1997, 8–10.

² Castells 1997, 7–11.

³ Rastad Bjørst & Thomsen 2017, 7.

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