

▶ HOW DOES A FACTORY CHIMNEY EVOLVE INTO A MONUMENT?

THE RESISTANT INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE COMMUNITIES

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The entirety of industrial heritage is socially constructed on the basis of some selected, valued and conserved, tangible or intangible remnants or the leftovers of industrial culture. This industrial heritage may or may not be officially listed. Regardless of whether industrial heritage is listed or not, it demands the social action of remembering the past in order to construct and maintain it. It thus demands a *heritage community*,¹ elaborating the identities of its members around their shared heritage. The process of industrial heritage is actually a process of elaborating collective and individual identities with different histories, industrial monuments and participatory experiences.² Without an active functioning heritage community, there is no cultural heritage, only remnants or leftovers of past civilizations.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE FACTORY CHIMNEYS?

The operative chimneys of the 19th and early 20th century industrial buildings, such as textile mills, factories, sawmills and power plants, used to mark the workplace and source of income in the industrial landscape. In 1990s, these high brick buildings began, to an increasing extent, to reach the end of their life-cycle. Many of them had not been used for decades, but they had been preserved because of their visual importance as urban and industrial landmarks, as landscape. Since the 1990s there have been several public discussions concerning the fate or future of a particular industrial chimney. The local nature of these discussions hides the change in the general patterns of social action.

A preserved chimney inspires three questions: Why is it such an important piece of landscape? How does a chimney transform into a monument? Who wants to preserve an inoperative industrial chimney?

In 2005, the high chimney of the preserved Barker textile factory, located in the city of Turku, was in danger of collapsing and the owner of the building petitioned for permission to tear down the dangerous chimney. Permission was rejected by the municipalities of Turku. The chimney continued to fill the task of industrial heritage in the historical townscape.³

Jyväskylä, another university town like Turku, is identified as a city of high chimneys. According to a local newspaper, the new metal chimneys are not an embellishment of the townscape, but the old red brick chimneys tell their own story about the long industrial history and that's why the chimney of the former factory of Kangas had to be preserved when it was at risk of being demolished.⁴

In the small industrial town of Kuusankoski, the municipalities allowed the demolition of the factory chimney of Voik-

kaa paper mill, despite the fact that it was regarded as worth preserving because of its historical value. The chimney was then demolished with explosives. Soon after the demolition of the chimney, the factory was closed. The demolition process of the chimney became a historical symbol of the de-industrialization of Voikkaa.⁵

In Hamina, in 2014, the 136-meter-high brick-chimney of the former paper mill of Summa had been unused several years. The bricks were weathered and had begun to crumble and the whole chimney was at risk of collapsing. The newly built Google data-centre, located in the area of the former paper mill, was in danger of being demolished by a collapsing chimney and the chimney was thus demolished for safety reasons, although it had earlier been listed as industrial heritage. According to a researcher from the regional museum, the chimney had been a well-known symbol of work and industry in the region of Kymenlaakso. It had also been remarkable element of the landscape and of historical importance. Yet, it was not preserved.⁶ In Tampere, the most important industrial heritage city in Finland, an 80-meter-high chimney was not completely demolished in 2005, but only lowered, for safety reasons. The latest addition to the chimney height, built in the 1970s, was removed, however, and the older parts were preserved.⁷

In 2015, the locals of Viiala, Akaa, intensively discussed the factory chimney in national newspapers. Viiala is a small factory town, known as 'the village of three chimneys', one of which was threatened. The head of *Viiala-seura*, a local historical society, publicly defended the 60-year-old chimney of the local plywood mill. Its preservation was defended on the basis of two main arguments. Firstly, the chimney was a symbol of local industrial heritage, and secondly, it was important to the local identity. The locals demanded the chimney be

preserved, even if the factory around it had to be demolished. The local municipalities did not grant the factory owner permission to demolish the chimney.⁸

In Tampere, there was a case of a low chimney of a metal surface treatment workshop in 2007. In this case, the process passed quietly, without much public discussion or complaints. The chimney had been, due to some mistakes made in the mapping of local cultural heritages, listed as an important landmark of the townscape of Northern Tampere, but actually, the listed building should have been another chimney, standing nearby. The municipalities granted permission to demolish the chimney in this case. The building was, however, documented properly before demolition. Permission to demolish the chimney was granted in agreement with the regional museum. According to the regional museum, the chimney was in too bad of shape to be preserved.⁹

In Kouvola, the town municipalities denied the demolition of the old chimney at the Kymintehdas steam power plant. The buildings were not yet preserved. The municipalities argued for the mapping of the valuable industrial heritages of the area, before any decisions could be made. According to the representatives of Kouvola municipalities and the neighbours of the building, the factory, especially the chimney, were important symbols of the industry of Kouvola and valuable representations of both cultural and industrial history of the region.¹⁰

In 2017, UPM¹¹ was granted permission to demolish the 70-meter-high chimney from power plant building of the former Laitakari sawmill in Martinniemi, Oulu. According to a representative of the owner of the site, the buildings were unfortunately in too bad of shape to be preserved and the area was needed for current industrial use. In 2013, the sawmill buildings had been preserved because of their local im-

portance, however, their preservation was dismissed by the Supreme Administrative Court in 2016. The permission to demolish the buildings was granted despite local resistance. After the case was closed in the Supreme Administrative Court, the local community's resistance to the decision continued in a regional newspaper. The village community also publicly demanded the preservation of the sawmill chimney in an internet campaign that had 500 participants.¹²

The Finnish industrial heritage communities actively took part in the public discussions on the fate of the historical industrial chimneys. It seems that the chimney was, in many cases, an important element of industrial landscape and was connected to the identity of a place.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF INDUSTRIAL CULTURE AND THE EMERGENCE OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

Since the 1960s, many industrial cities and regions in Europe, the Americas and Australia, have experienced a period of steady de-industrialization. Fewer Industrial Heritage Sites than ever produce anything. These sites have lost their original purpose and function, and now act only as monuments. In the UK, for example, the mining activity at the World Heritage Listed Mining Landscapes has ended. At other industrial World Heritage sites, such as the textile centres, obsolete technology and global competition have led to the closure of many mills.¹³ Industrial heritage emerged later in the countries, where the process of de-industrialization came later on. For example, in Spain and Portugal, the awareness of industrial remnants awoke later than in other European countries, because de-industrialization started no earlier than the 1980s.¹⁴

Since the 1980s, because of the accelerating de-industrialization of Europe, the reserve of potential industrial heritage sites has increased. Industrial heritages are listed globally by UNESCO, while national, regional and local public lists are maintained by official or semi-official heritage authorities. In 2008, there were 41 industrial heritage sites on the UNESCO list of world heritage¹⁵ and by January 2018, there were a total of 91. When factories, ports and mines close, they do not transform into industrial heritage overnight, rather it involves a process. Heritagization, in short, is the practice of transforming outdated cultural leftovers from useless waste into historical monuments, in an inclusive process of cultural heritage.¹⁶ Since the 1990s, the municipalities in Nordic countries have treated tangible and intangible industrial heritages as resources, however, most of the locally, regionally or nationally listed sites never enter the UNESCO World Heritage list.¹⁷

The complexity of the huge remnants of industrial culture and the problems that hazardous leftovers may cause to their ecological surroundings, have awoken new questions regarding future re-use politics.¹⁸ Not all historical mining landscapes can be preserved and the conservation of industrial heritage will in future be conducted in terms of regional or local regeneration plans.¹⁹ As Swensen and Berg (2017) have pointed out, the re-use of wide and complex industrial landscapes must be planned not only from the museum perspective, but in an 'adaptive' way.²⁰

During the 2000s, the regeneration of former industrial sites, particularly for tourism, has become one of the strategies of economic and social improvement for de-industrialized regions and communities. According to Swensen and Berg (2012), for a site to be a valuable resource in urban planning, an industrial building must not be a listed or designated cultural heritage

site. The successful Norwegian cases they studied were, however, on the municipal level, treated as valuable assets in urban development.²¹

THE SHAPING OF THE CONCEPT AND ACADEMIC APPROACHES

The idea of cultural heritage consisting of monuments²² has dominated the understanding of industrial heritage from the beginning. The concept of industrial heritage emerged relatively late, although the early heritagization of industrial remnants can be found in the US and Europe from as early as the 19th century.²³ In the 1960s and 1970s, national cultural heritage movements were seen throughout Europe, in the United States and other parts of the world. The long discussion on the authenticity of acceptable change of heritage sites dominated the field of cultural heritage, including industrial heritage, from the 1980s. This dialogue reached its apex in 1994 with ‘the Nara document on authenticity’.²⁴ Further, the theme is somehow represented in almost every study on cultural heritage and cannot be overlooked.

The major developments in the academic study of industrial heritage have taken place within the discussions on industrial archaeology and cultural heritage in general. They are concerned with the politics and concepts of heritage²⁵, integrity and authenticity of industrial heritage²⁶, Industrial

The chimney of Porin Puuvillatehdas, is no longer operational as it was in the 1920s. Today the chimney is a part of the industrial landscape and one of the symbols of the industrial past of Pori. Picture: Satakunnan museo.

world heritages of UNESCO²⁷, participatory practices of industrial heritage communities²⁸, and recently, virtual heritages. Industrial heritage issues have recently been related to the re-use²⁹, especially touristic re-use of industrial sites³⁰, identities and resilience of heritage communities and the sustainability³¹ of Industrial Heritage sites in particular.³²

The practice of industrial archaeology is rooted in 1950s Great Britain. The concept of industrial heritage has come a long way over the last 50-plus years. The first International Conference on the Conservation of Industrial Monuments was held in England at Ironbridge, Shropshire in 1971. The subject matter of the conference was, in the 1970’s, mostly understood in the terms and with the concepts of industrial archaeology. The concepts and research tradition of industrial archaeology is still present in the field of industrial heritage research, especially when it comes to tangible remnants of industry.³³

The conceptual and methodological approach of industrial archaeology has, like the concept of cultural heritage in general, been around since the 1960s and expanded with the ideas of memory, identity, landscape, and the emphasis on the cultu-



ral, social and economic uses and re-uses of heritage. In Sweden, Marie Nisser and Gunnar Sillén started the discussion of *industrial memories (industriminne)* as early as 1968,³⁴ and during the 1970s, the new concept spread to the other Nordic countries, especially to Norway and Finland. *The Third International Conference on the Conservation of Industrial Monuments*³⁵, held in Sweden in 1978, replaced the notion of *Industrial Archaeology*³⁶, that had previously dominated the discussion, with the different, broader concept of 'Industrial Heritage'. Over the long term, this appears to be a turning point in the conceptual history of the remnants of industrial history. In the same conference *The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage* was officially established. The institutionalization of industrial heritage was carried further by the establishment of many national subdivisions of TICCIH during the 1980s and the 1990s.³⁷

In the early 1970s, practically only the material remnants of the early and extinct branches of industry were considered historically meaningful monuments. During the 1980s, however, more and more intangible items, traditions, oral histories and other immaterial remnants of industrial culture, became valued as industrial heritages. Since the late 1970s, industrial heritage has been understood merely in terms of cultural history, milieu and landscape, rather than isolated factory buildings or machines.³⁸

The idea of industrial heritage has changed since the 1950s. Today, the notion no longer refers simply to an individual old industrial building or other tangible object. Since the 1980s, machines, buildings and infrastructures, industrial traditions and other cultural remnants have been included in industrial heritage, and industrial heritage currently consists of both tangible and intangible evidence of past industrial cultures. The notion of industrial heritage in the

2000s covers the complex historical, social, cultural and economic process, conducted by a network of various official and unofficial actors, and the continuously changing identities and memories of the heritage community.

It is worth mentioning that the research traditions of industrial and other cultural heritages vary according to different languages.³⁹ There seems to be a stronger emphasis on the national identities in the European countries using the key concept of 'Patrimoine' or 'Kulturarv', than in English-speaking countries, using the key concept of 'Heritage'. These language-related differences demand further research of the various national research traditions.

SHIFTING THE FOCUS FROM INDUSTRIAL MONUMENTS TO INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES

In the late 1980s and 1990s there was a trend in Europe and in the US towards *Industrial Landscapes*. According to Ingold (1993), human life is a process that involves the passage of time, and the life process is also a process of the formation of the landscape in which people have lived.⁴⁰ Considering industrial heritage mainly as landscapes and cultural environments is still, in the late 2010s, a widely accepted approach. The industrial landscape has become a complex problem, which urban planning must solve.⁴¹

The landscape has not totally replaced an individual remnant or monument. The landscape has, however, become an inevitable context of the heritagization of industrial buildings. Recently, there has been a trend towards more and more abstract conceptualizations of industrial heritages as socio-cultural resources of the local, regional and virtual communities. One of the up-and coming industrial heritage discus-

sions is concerned with local community engagement and the relationship between local and official authorities' understanding of heritage. The scale of the research in the 2000s moved away from the national mappings, and shifted to regional and local case-studies.⁴² In the first decade of the 2000s the phenomenon of industrial heritage was analysed from the viewpoint of the regional and local economy, heritage management, decision-making processes and the sustainable practices of local reuse.⁴³ Another new trend is the decrease of the World Heritage related research and a turn towards more local, unofficial framing processes, as well as to communities of industrial heritage. As Christine Landorf (2009) emphasizes, the focus of the World Heritage Sites management process is restricted to a relatively narrow view of heritage value and conservation practice.⁴⁴ The locally highly regarded industrial monuments are loaded with economic and cultural potential. However, according to Landorf (2011), industrial heritage cannot be only a contributor to the immediate local or regional regeneration, it also needs to be a vehicle for long-term sustainable development.⁴⁵ One of the new issues in the field of industrial and all the other types of cultural heritages is, how does an active heritage community add to *cultural and social resilience* in the face of the challenges presented by the global environmental and climate changes.⁴⁶

RESISTANT LOCAL AND REGIONAL IDENTITIES

The preservation of cultural heritage is often carried out by voluntary workers in local communities, especially if the objects are not of major national interest, non-listed and not preserved by heritage authorities. The motivation for local preservation, and for spending time and money on objects

belonging to the community, is not primarily to preserve cultural heritage objects for the future, but rather to establish and maintain common social institutions in the local society, institutions, that are of vital importance to local identity.⁴⁷ It is important to note that the industrial heritages on the UNESCO List of World Heritage are only the tip of the iceberg. A majority of industrial heritages are listed or archived on the national, regional or local basis, and there are many potential sites and cultural remnants without any official status, yet still hold a remarkable place in contemporary collective memory. The process of industrial heritages is a process of continuous negotiations and compromises.

The recent national mapping of Spanish industrial heritage brings to light the current tensions in European industrial heritage. Policies concerning industrial sites shifted from destruction towards preservation, rehabilitation and enhancement. Industrial heritage enhancement projects became widespread in the country in the 2000s. However, a mismatch arose between institutional and academic initiatives and local communities, which exhibited widespread disinterest in or even rejection of industrial remains. According to del Pozo and González (2012), the problems are related to the utilization of industrial heritage as an economic resource without paying enough attention to the importance of industrial heritages in the movements of local memories and identities.⁴⁸ In the case of Finnish factory chimneys, the resistance of the local community becomes visible.

Tim Ingold added an important perspective to the concept of landscape in 1993, when he introduced the perspective of *dwelling*: 'For both the archaeologist and the native dweller, the landscape tells or rather is a story'.⁴⁹ When Ingold claimed that 'the practice of archaeology is itself a form of dwelling'⁵⁰, he included the insti-

tutional actors and researchers of cultural heritage along with the other dwellers of the landscape. According to Del Pozo & González (2012): ‘Projects that focus on the territorial value of industrial remains might offer a potential way out of the vicious circle. They provide a more open approach to place identity and partially overcome contentious issues by encouraging local participation and by working as an umbrella under which a wide array of socioeconomic projects can thrive’.⁵¹

HERITAGE COMMUNITIES AND THE DWELLERS OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

‘To perceive the landscape is therefore to carry out an act of remembrance’.⁵²

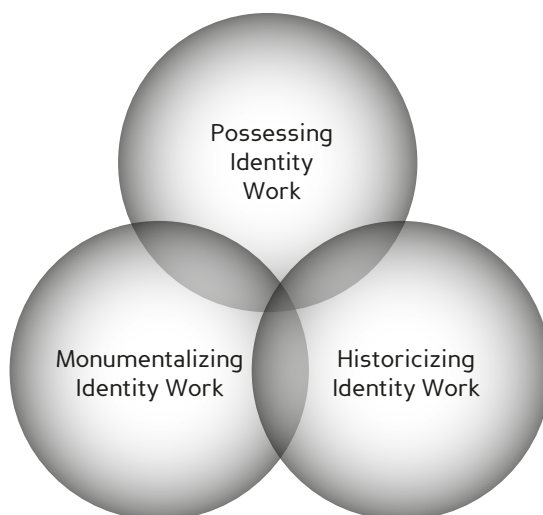
An industrial heritage community considers the remnant of former industrial activity as a trace of their own past. Instead of receiving the authorized message of an official monument,⁵³ an active heritage community actively maintains the *process of cultural heritage*. The cultural heritage community *monumentalizes* a certain remnant by attaching it, as a piece of evidence, to an inclusive history, shared by and among the members of the heritage community. The shared histories act as a *frame story* of the monument. This active *historicizing* enables the collective experience of participation in the *possessing* of the monument.⁵⁴ In other words, the heritage community is using and producing the industrial heritage in a *possessing, monumentalizing and historicizing identity work*.⁵⁵

Despite the triumph of the more abstract concept of industrial landscape, people still think in terms of individual, tangible monuments. Monuments, as artefacts, have a surplus potential to take on a life on their own.⁵⁶ The tangible remnants

of a factory are transformed to cultural heritage *in situ* by the heritage communities. The community is not necessarily local, but it is definitely attached to a certain place and, locally or translocally participates in the place-making.

To avoid conflict, there is a need for the active inclusion of the academic and institutional actors in heritage communities. After all, the members of the board of antiquities, municipalities and academics are dwelling, side by side, with the ordinary locals within inherited items. They share histories, interpret and explain the traces of the past, and search for the sense of belonging in the social time and space, together with the other members of the active local and translocal cultural heritage communities.

In conclusion, what happened to the factory chimneys? The chimneys transformed into industrial heritage during the process of de-industrialization. They then became tangible evidence of industrial past,

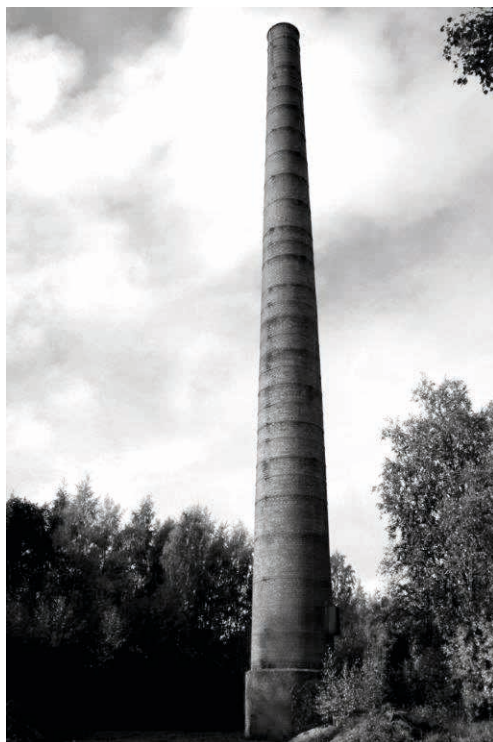


The three types of the identity work are interrelated in the action of a cultural heritage community.

The building of the Reposaari sawmill (1872–1974) were destroyed by fire in 1995 and the ruins of the former sawmill were demolished in 2000, however, the surviving chimney stands alone upon the contaminated soil and marks the former industrial landscape. Picture: Anna Sivula 2017

and the industrial heritage community valued them as monuments and used them as places of memory. The industrial past found its representations in the public and private histories, and the remnants of the industrial era became signified by oral and written shared histories. During the shift from industrial monuments to industrial landscapes, which in Finland seems to have taken place in early 2000's, these results of the *compromising negotiations of heritage* began to appear as landmarks of industrial heritage. This kind of partial industrial landmarks is an emergent type of cultural heritage of the 2000s. These kinds of landmarks are preserved as long as the members of the industrial heritage community share their participant experiences and perform the possessing identity work on the site.

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¹ On heritage communities, Waterton and Watson 2011; Watson and Waterton, 2010, 71, 84–97; Harvey 2001, 319–338; Waterton and Smith 2010, 4–16.

² Sivula 2010, 21–37; Sivula 2013, 161–165.

³ Barkerin tehtaan piippu jää pystyyn. Turun Sanomat 15.7.2005: <http://www.ts.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/1074056271/Barkerin+tehtaan+piippu+jaa+pystyyn>

⁴ Kankaan pitkä piippu pysyy pystyssä – ainakin toistaiseksi. YLE 21.4.2010. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-5548608>

⁵ Tehtaan piippu räjäytetään Voikkaalla. Turun Sanomat 6.6.2005 <http://www.ts.fi/uutiset/kotimaa/1074049718/Tehtaan+piippu+rajaytetaan+Voikkaalla; Rytsä, Paavo: Voikkaan paperitehdas. YLE, 10.9.2008.https://yle.fi/aihe/artikkeli/2008/09/10/voikkaan-paperitehdas>

⁶ Vanha tehtaan piippu uhkasi murentua Google-väen niskaan – sai purkutuomion. YLE 16.10.2014 <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-7528658>.

⁷ Sortumisvaara – lähes 80-metristä piippua lyhennettävä pikaisesti. Tamperelainen 11.9.2015. <https://www.tamperelainen.fi/artikkeli/317498-sortumisvaara-lahes-80-metrista-savupiippua-lyhennettavapikaisesti>.

⁸ Tehtaan piipusta sukeutui kuuma keskustelu

- Akaan Viialassa YLE 24.6.2015. <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-8101913>; UPM ei saanutkaan lupaa Viialan piipun purkamiseen.; Akaan kaupunkisuunnittelulautakunta eväsi UPM:ltä luvan piipun purkamiseen perjantaisessa kokouksessaan. YLE, 26.6.2015; <https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-8108821>
- ⁹ Tampereen kaupunki. Toimielimet. Yhdyskuntalautakunta. Kokous 12.12.2017. Poikkeamishakemus kiinteistölle 837-221-1008-9, Rantatie 9 (Kehäränpuisto), piipun purkaminen. [http://tampere.cloudnc.fi/fi-FI/Toimielimet/Yhdyskuntalautakunta/Kokous_12122017/Poikkeamishakemus_kiinteistolle_83722110\(42514\)](http://tampere.cloudnc.fi/fi-FI/Toimielimet/Yhdyskuntalautakunta/Kokous_12122017/Poikkeamishakemus_kiinteistolle_83722110(42514))
- ¹⁰ Kaupungin esitys: Kymntehtaan piippua ei saa purkaa. Kouvolan sanomat 5.1.2017. <https://kouvolansanomat.fi/uutiset/lahella/f37c4e22-6511-47e9-a262-3ddea87573e7>
- ¹¹ UPM is a Finnish paper mill company, and UPM-Kymmene Corporation is a Finnish forest industry company.
- ¹² KHO jätti Martinniemen saha-alueen ilman suojelua Kaleva 14.6.2016; Martinniemen saha-alueen loppu lähenee – piippu ja voimalaitos halutaan purkaa. Kaleva 13.7.2017. Joni Skiftesvik kiipesi lapsena Martinniemen sahan piippuun – ”Se on kulttuurihistoriallinen muistomerkki” Kaleva 2.8.2017. Martinniemen saha-alueen voimalaitokselle ja piipulle purkulupa – rakennuslautakunta äänesti 6–4 Kaleva 3.8.2017; Martinniemen kyläyhdistys vetoaa Oulun kaupunkiin: ”Ainakin Laitakarin piippu tulee säilyttää” Kaleva 19.7.2017.; UPM Kymmene on päättänyt purkaa Martinniemen Laitakarin saha-alueen voimalaitoksen ja piipun. Kaleva 11.8.2017. <http://www.kaleva.fi/uutiset/oulu/upm-purkaa-martinniemen-piipun-ja-voimalaitoksen-alue-halutaan-tyhjäksi-vuodenvaihteeseen-mennessa/767493/>
- ¹³ Landorf 2011.
- ¹⁴ del Pozo and González 2012, 449–450.
- ¹⁵ Landorf 2009.
- ¹⁶ On the process of (industrial) cultural heritage, see Suominen & Sivula 2016.
- ¹⁷ Sivula 2010.
- ¹⁸ Fagner 2012), 111.
- ¹⁹ Storm 2008; Preite 2012, 101–109.
- ²⁰ Swensen & Berg 2017, 1–7; Avery 2007: 151–155; Jones 2007; 143–150.
- ²¹ Swensen & Berg 2012.
- ²² Riegl, A. 1903, 69–83.
- ²³ Neaverson & Palmer 1998, 8–12.
- ²⁴ ICOMOS (1994), ”The Nara document on authenticity”, available at: whc.unesco.org/document/116018
- ²⁵ Taksa 2003, 65–88; Pardo Abad 2010, 239–243.
- ²⁶ Abel Duarte & Martin & O’Neill & Kyungmi 2010, 241–249.
- ²⁷ Cleere 1996, 227–233.
- ²⁸ Chao-Shiang Li 2017.
- ²⁹ Capel 1996, 19–20 and 45–47; Casanelles y Rahola 1998, 11–18.
- ³⁰ Firth 2011, 45–62; Landorf 2009.
- ³¹ Loures 2008, 687–696.
- ³² On general trends of the management of industrial heritages before the 1990’s, see Alfrey, Judith & Putnam, Tim (1992): *The Industrial Heritage: Managing Resources and Uses*. London Routledge.
- ³³ Douet 2012, 244; Borsi 1978; Reyes Téllez 2004, 83–99.
- ³⁴ Nisser 1979.
- ³⁵ TICCIM
- ³⁶ For example Hudson, K.(1967). *Industrial Archaeology: An Introduction*. London: J. Baker.
- ³⁷ Mattinen 1985, 4.
- ³⁸ Härö 1979.
- ³⁹ Rautenberg 2012, 513–520.
- ⁴⁰ Ingold 1993, 152.
- ⁴¹ Today, urban policy in Nordic countries, is result of negotiations between various participants—public as well as private. Fimreite & Medalen 2005; Mydske & Claes & Lie 2007.
- ⁴² Mydland & Grahn 2012, 585–586; Watson and Waterton 2010, 1–3.
- ⁴³ Jonsen-Verbeke 1999; Cole 2004.
- ⁴⁴ Landorf 2009.
- ⁴⁵ Landorf 2011.
- ⁴⁶ Beel & Wallace & Webster & Nguyen & Taite & Macleod & Mellish 2017, 459–465.
- ⁴⁷ Mydland & Grahn, 2009, 564.
- ⁴⁸ del Pozo and González 2012, 449–450.
- ⁴⁹ Ingold, 1993, 152.
- ⁵⁰ Ingold 152.
- ⁵¹ del Pozo and González 2012, 461.
- ⁵² Ingold 1993, 152.
- ⁵³ Koselleck 2002, 285–287.
- ⁵⁴ Sivula 2015, 56–69, 66.
- ⁵⁵ Identity work is a ‘from down to top’ variation of the *identity formation*, the intentional political top-down action of memorials. Koselleck 2002, 285–287 and 324.
- ⁵⁶ Koselleck, Reinhart (2002): *The Practice of Conceptual History. Timing History, Spacing Concepts*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 324.
- ⁵⁷ Network addresses are revised 24.1.2018.

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