

Representing industrial heritage in official marketing documents of the Ruhr and the recognition of these narratives by inhabitants

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Abstract

Contemporarily, postindustrial regions often turn to industrial heritage for regional development purposes. The success of these strategies relies on the recognition of the marketed identities by inhabitants. This research aimed to gain insight in the alignment of institutional and public views on industrial heritage of the Ruhr region by conducting a thematic analysis of official marketing documents uncovering common storylines used. Following, a survey was planned to assess the recognition of these narratives amongst inhabitants. However, due to restrictions following the COVID-19 pandemic this stage was suspended. Instead, the analysis was extended by including heritage functions and an analysis of the imagery. It was found that industrial heritage sites contribute to legitimizing the Ruhr as a distinct region by providing a history that is (i) strongly connected to the industry, (ii) presented as universal by focusing on historical facts, and (iii) is framed in a positive way, thereby lacking contesting or negative interpretations. In effect, the presented history is applicable to all inhabitants of the Ruhr. Additionally, these industrial heritage sites relate past and present using a dualistic framing of time and uses juxtapositioning to highlight differences. Future work could continue to research the alignment of institutional and public narrations of industrial heritage by using this paper as a reference point. Moreover, understanding of how heritage relates past and present could be broadened, as this research argues that these can be more complex than previously known.

1. Introduction

During the 20th century, heavy industry declined in Western Europe and Northern America (Raines, 2011). This deindustrialization can be attributed to changing demand, increasing labor productivity, outsourcing of production (Kollmeyer, 2009), and a raised public awareness of environmental and health issues forthcoming this industry (Brüggemeier, 1994). The closing of former industrial sites caused major unemployment in these former industrial regions (Brüggemeier, 1994; Raines, 2011). Deindustrialization led in some cases to questioning the meaning of place, as narratives constitutive to the regional identities of inhabitants, previously rooted in the industry sector, became less convincing and less 'natural' (Linkon & Russo, 2002; Wray, 2012). Contemporarily, post-industrial regions often make use of their industrial heritage to promote an identity to pursue regional development (Hospers, 2002). Marketing documents

commonly play an important role in the promotion of a regional identity (Paasi, 2011; Ploner, 2009). These documents both arise from and are part of the broader discourse constitutive to a regional identity (Simon, Huigen & Groote, 2010). Although these marketing efforts are primarily aimed at an external audience, they also reach and affect inhabitants of the promoted region (Jeuring, 2015; Ray, 1998).

The success of regional development depends on the recognition of the marketed identities by inhabitants. Internally, a mismatch of the marketed narratives can lead to alienation of residents from heritage that previously was a pillar to their regional identity (Zhang & Lenzer Jr., 2019), possibly leading to questioning the dominant meaning of place and a lost sense of belonging (Linkon & Russo, 2002; Meier, 2016; Waterton, 2005). As a result, alienation from marketed heritage and connected narratives by residents undermines its effectiveness for external promotion of the region (Braun, Kavartzis & Zenker, 2013; Del Pozo & González, 2012; Waterton, 2005). Both insensitivity of authorities to inhabitants' interpretations of heritage (Zhang & Lenzer Jr., 2019) and generalization of meanings of heritage (Waterton & Smith, 2010) have been argued to possibly cause such a mismatch.

Two gaps in the literature have been identified. First, it is commonly unknown if residents recognize and support the marketed narratives connected to a region (Meier, 2016; Ploner, 2009). Specifically for the Ruhr region - one of the major post-industrial regions in Europe - no research has been done on the recognition of marketed narratives connected to sites of industrial heritage by inhabitants. Moreover, some authors suggest that industrial heritage provides identification to inhabitants of the Ruhr (e.g. Gruehn, 2017), while other authors have suggested that identification with industrial heritage is rather weak (e.g. Dietmar & Ganser, 1999). Second, research on the importance of industrial heritage to local people is scarce (Del Pozo & González, 2012). Region wide studies could advance this field of research by moving beyond individual case studies and enabling comparison between regions that use industrial heritage for identification (Berger, 2019b). This paper adds to existing literature by gaining insight in the regional identity of the Ruhr based on industrial heritage, that is promoted to an external audience by authorities and initially aimed to survey for the recognition of these narratives among inhabitants.

To guide the research process, the following research questions were developed:

- *What narratives connected to major industrial heritage sites are used in official marketing documents to promote the Ruhr region?*
- *What heritage functions do these heritage sites and connected narratives fulfil?*

These questions guided the analysis of official marketing documents for two major industrial heritage sites in the Ruhr. By analyzing narratives connected and functions ascribed to industrial heritage, it provides an understanding of the regional identity of the Ruhr that is marketed by institutions. Moreover, answering these questions provides a basis to explore the recognition and alignment of these narratives with regional identities of inhabitants in the intended second part of this research.

Initially, an additional research question was developed to guide the intended second phase: *'Do inhabitants of the Ruhr recognize these narratives as part of their regional identities and what personal factors can explain this recognition?'* It was intended to develop a questionnaire to survey the recognition of these narratives connected to industrial heritage by residents of the Ruhr region, thereby gaining insight in the alignment of the promoted identity and the regional identities of inhabitants. However, due to restrictions following the COVID-19 pandemic, the survey had to be suspended. In exchange, the document analysis was conducted more extensively by including an analysis of the imagery and a focus on heritage functions.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Heritage

Although a relatively recent phenomenon (Lowenthal, 2005, 2015), heritage is currently omnipresent in our daily life (Lowenthal, 1998). Heritage is the selection “of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes [...] and choose to bequeath to a future” (Ashworth & Graham, 2005, p. 7). Despite often presented as a physical unit, heritage is more about the intangible, as it are stories that constitute heritage and its significance (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Lowenthal, 1998). Therefore, heritage is a dynamic social construct to which meaning is ascribed by narratives, and these narratives are shaped and negotiated through discourse (Ginzarly, Farah & Teller, 2019; Smith, 2006). The meaning of heritage fluctuates over time, people and place (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Lowenthal, 2005), and as meanings are continuously transforming, previous narratives and interpretations become obsolete (Lowenthal, 2015).

Heritage can fulfil multiple functions to people or social groups. One function of heritage is connecting past, present and future (Lowenthal, 2015). First, it can provide an understanding of history itself. The presented stories are always partial representations of the past, as “the actual past is beyond retrieval; all we have left are much-eroded traces and partial records” (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 106). Moreover, this presented history is not necessarily about a factual past, rather it is a simplified and altered version of the past, that is made comprehensible and suitable for present day use (Lowenthal, 1998).

Second, heritage provides an understanding of the present by relating it to a past (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Smith, 2006). One possible way in which heritage can make this connection is by displaying continuity and progression (Lowenthal, 2015). In this way the present is seen as similar to the past and is argued to be the result of accumulating developments over time. By showing a clear development over time, heritage legitimizes the present (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Lowenthal, 1998). This framing of time can be described as ‘linear time’ (Oakley, 2018). By presenting the present as an obvious result of the past, similarities between past and present are highlighted. As a result, current cultural structures and values are presented as timeless, while they are actually very time dependent (Ashworth & Graham, 2005). Empowered groups and authorities commonly use this framed timelessness to legitimize and naturalize their existence (Lowenthal, 1998). Another way heritage can relate us to the past is by providing a clear distinction between past and present. By presenting a lost past, it can help defining what we once were, but are not anymore (Lowenthal, 2015). In this respect heritage are relics of the past that is left behind. This framing of time can be termed ‘dualistic time’, often connected to a drastic change, for example a crisis (Oakley, 2018).

Third, heritage is not only about the past and present, rather it is very much future oriented. By selecting elements of a past to be passed on for future use, heritage assumes that there will be a future (Lowenthal, 2015). Moreover, heritage can be passed on to the future as a resource, both as a source of identity (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Lowenthal, 2005) and a commodity (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Lončar, 2016).

Another function of heritage is its use as a resource and reflection of identity (Lowenthal, 2015; Smith, 2006). Both for individual and collective identity it can provide a history that contributes to defining who we are (Lowenthal, 2005, 2015). Heritage sites, as a physical embodiment of narratives, can connect and legitimize people to their surrounding by reflecting identities and social groups in place (Cenci, 2018; Lončar, 2016; Paasi, 2011). The importance for heritage

for representing identities and legitimizing people in place inevitably makes the act of selecting and maintaining heritage political. The presented stories reflect empowered individuals' or groups' visions on history, and in this way reinforce the 'mainstreaming' of these visions (Lowenthal, 1998; Smith, 2006). Also the absence of narratives can be political, as this absence possibly renders opposing interpretations and groups invisible (Goulding, Saren & Pressey, 2018). These political implications are strengthened by its 'zero-sum characteristic', whereby claiming ownership of heritage by one group inevitably leads to denial of ownership of another group (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Lowenthal, 1998).

Heritage can be important for the experience and legitimization of a region, as it provides narratives constitutive to a regional identity. A 'regional identity' consists of a collection of narratives that define the image that people have of a region. The concept is best understood as an ongoing social process of defining a 'region' (Paasi, 2002). The constitution and legitimization of imagined entities, such as nation states or other regions, relies on a regional identity that allows such a distinction (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Smith, 2006), and a shared identity can foster a sense of coherence (Stoffelen & Vanneste, 2018). Similar to the selection of narratives for personal and collective identities, selecting or generating narratives constitutive to a regional identity reflects power relations (Paasi, 2002, 2011). Regions or nation states and their affiliated authorities, commonly create, alter or maintain heritage that legitimizes their existence and helps to maintain their status (Lowenthal, 1998, 2015; Smith, 2006).

This process wherein authorities make use of heritage to naturalize their existence is conceptualized as 'Authorized heritage Discourse' (AHD) by Smith (2006). According to Smith, AHD commonly (i) produces a set of a hegemonized, sterilized and simplified set of narratives, free of contesting interpretations, (ii) exhibits a strong focus on 'expert view' and 'expert uses' of heritage, wherein the non-expert is dedicated to the role of passive observer, and (iii) promotes heritage as it is interpreted and experienced by social upper-class. Overall, AHD views heritage as intrinsically valuable and argues that it should be taken care of to ensure its persistence for the future (Smith, 2006).

2.2. Industrial heritage

Within the realm of heritage, industrial heritage describes the inheritances of former industry and its associated culture. It is more than only a collection of physical sites, as it includes "attitudes, skills, practices and cultures" (Eklund, 2018, p. 231). Although it is recognized that industrial heritage can both refer to physical sites as well as non-material constructs, this paper will focus on physical industrial heritage sites and the connected stories.

As a specific type of heritage, industrial heritage echoes general characteristics of heritage. First, industrial heritage helps understanding a past that is generally fairly recent. It memorizes a relatively recent past by referring to work of fathers and grandfathers (Raines, 2011). Additionally, it memorizes deindustrialization (Oakley, 2018). By providing knowledge of the past, it can help making sense of deindustrialization (Nettleingham, 2019) and the current postindustrial society (Wray, 2012). Second, industrial heritage can function as a source of identity for the present and the future. Memorizing the industrial past can be important to both "the one who lived it and the one who grew up in a different context but lives with the memory of it" (García, 2018, p. 58). Specifically, for former workers and for associated communities, it can be important to take pride in the industrial past (Berger, 2019b). By drawing on local history, industrial heritage can help filling the identification gap that was left after the closure of industry (Cenci, 2018; García, 2018; Hospers, 2002). Lastly, industrial heritage sites are commonly used as a commodity or as a symbol to promote a region externally. This marketing

is commonly aimed to attract tourists (Hospers, 2002; Jelen & Kučera, 2017), companies and possible residents (Hospers, 2002).

However, the relation between (former) industrial communities and industrial heritage can be complex in multiple ways. First, industrial heritage can represent an unwanted inheritance. As relics of former industry, it inevitably refers to an industrial past that is no longer there and can foster an undesirable sense of loss (Oakley, 2018). Moreover, both the industrial past, described as harsh and contaminant (Van Veldhoven, 2015), as well as the following deindustrialization, leading to social and economic impoverishment (Linkon & Russo, 2002; Walkerdine, 2010; Wray, 2012), are sometimes seen as times that are better to be left in the past or forgotten (Linkon & Russo, 2002). Contrary, remembrance can also help processing this traumatic past and be able to move on (Linkon & Russo, 2002), and industrial heritage can provide embodiment to narratives that help digesting this past (Van Veldhoven, 2015).

Second, communities that previously identified with industrial heritage are commonly alienated from 'their' heritage, as they lose a sense of ownership due to alterations of the connected narratives. Although industrial heritage is argued to be heritage of the working-class and can reflect narratives of labor (Linkon & Russo, 2002), it is often an act of the empowered high-class to select, interpret and alter these heritage sites (Berger, 2019b; Fontaine, 2018; Wray, 2012). As a result, industrial heritage can become an outsiders' views on industry, thereby changing its meaning and possibly leading to a loss of sense of ownership by individuals and communities that previously identified with this industry (Wray, 2012).

Commodification for tourism purposes is one major incentive for alienation from industrial heritage (Berger & Pickering, 2018; Zhang & Lenzer Jr., 2019). The transformation of industrial heritage into sites of entertainment can result in 'de-historicized' heritage, as the presented narratives are selected, altered or created to suit entertainment goals (Berger, Golombek & Wicke, 2018). This process of sanitizing narratives about the former industry is conceptualized as 'deindustrialization of narratives' (Nettleingham, 2019). Additionally, transformation for tourism and commodification purposes commonly involves a focus on aesthetics (Berger & Pickering, 2018), where industrial heritage is presented at its 'Sunday best' (Nettleingham, 2019). Additionally, it is often the historical 'facts', the numbers that are presented, thereby leaving out for example stories of hard labor and class struggle (Berger, 2019b). It is argued that these alterations of the narratives connected to industrial heritage can divert attention away from other stories. This could ultimately lead to 'hollow' heritage and possible alienation of communities that previously identified with this heritage evaporate (Berger & Pickering, 2018). By presenting industrial heritage sanitized of 'dirty' memories of the industrial past, communities that associated with this heritage can lose a sense of ownership (Berger, Wicke & Golombek, 2017).

3. Methodology

3.1. The Ruhr region and its industrial heritage

This research comprises a case study of two major industrial heritage sites of the Ruhr region: Zollverein UNESCO World Heritage (Zollverein) and Landscape Park Duisburg-Nord (Duisburg-Nord). The Ruhr region ('the Ruhr' in short) is commonly recognized as a best practice example of a post-industrial region that successfully turned its industrial past in to a resource for regional development (e.g. Cenci, 2018; Eiringhaus, 2020; Gruehn, 2017; Hospers, 2004). The industrial heritage sites Zollverein and Duisburg-Nord were chosen as specific cases because of their significance in the marketing of the Ruhr. Duisburg-Nord is commonly described as a 'flagship project' of industrial heritage in the Ruhr (Eiringhaus, 2020) and has

attracted academic attention (e.g. Berger et al., 2017; Hemmings & Kagel, 2010). Zollverein is enlisted as a UNESCO world heritage site since 2001 (UNESCO, n.d.). Both sites are included as 'anchor points' in the tourism-promotion project 'route of industrial culture' (RVR, n.d.) of the Regionalverband Ruhr (RVR), an inter-municipal organization involved in the marketing of the Ruhr region (Berger et al., 2017). Moreover, both Zollverein and Duisburg-Nord host a visitors center, are freely accessible as a park and have a variety of available marketing documents, including flyers, booklets and websites. Combined, the abovementioned aspects indicate that these sites are actively used to market the Ruhr region.

For the Ruhr, the industrial narrative has been constitutive to the regional identity, both in the past and the present. Before the rise of the industry in this region during the 19th century, the Ruhr was not lived and experienced as a distinct region. It was the industry that provided a narrative that constituted the existence of the Ruhr as a region (Berger et al., 2017). Moreover, it was an important source of identity for residents of the Ruhr, even though the associated living and working conditions can be described as harsh (Gruehn, 2017). Starting from the second half of the 20th century, the coal and steel industry in the Ruhr gradually disappeared, causing unemployment, economic and social deprivation (Brüggemeier, 1994; Raines, 2011). Ultimately, deindustrialization also threatened the Ruhr's legitimacy as a region, as industrial narratives, on which the regional identity of the Ruhr was primarily constituted, lost validity (Berger et al., 2017; Gruehn, 2017).

Industrial heritage was used to fill this identification gap by providing symbols of the past that foster identification of inhabitants of the Ruhr (Berger et al., 2017; Eiringhaus, 2020; Wicke, 2018). Additionally, the industrial heritage of the Ruhr is commonly used to market the region to an external audience (Berger et al., 2018). Industrial heritage in the Ruhr was first initiated bottom-up (Raines, 2011), mostly advocated by former workers and academics (Berger et al., 2017). Over time, however, industrial heritage was also recognized by authorities as important heritage to this region, and multiple official initiatives were started to preserve and utilize this heritage (Berger et al., 2017). One major regional development program utilizing industrial heritage was the International Building Exhibition (Internationale Bauausstellung, IBA), running from 1989 until 1999. Its objectives included economic restructuring and boosting the image of the region, both internally and externally (Cenci, 2018; Hospers, 2004; Raines, 2011) and is recognized as a groundbreaking project for industrial heritage (Berger et al., 2017; Gruehn, 2017). Starting with the IBA, industrial relics were commonly transformed in monuments of a lost past that is worth memorizing (Berger et al., 2017) and combined with 'nature', commonly referred to as industrial nature (*Industrienatur* in German) (Berger, 2019b; Gruehn, 2017).

Contemporarily industrial heritage is an important source for identity of the Ruhr. It frames the Ruhr as green by drawing on new interpretations of industrial history and nature. Overall, industrial heritage helps presenting the Ruhr as "future-proof while maintaining relevant elements of the industrial past significant for the formation of Ruhr identities" (Eiringhaus, 2020, p.270).

3.2. Analysis of marketing documents

This research comprised a thematic analysis of 15 marketing documents surrounding Duisburg-Nord and Zollverein, including flyers, booklets and websites. All analyzed documents are published by institutions and organizations involved in the marketing of the Ruhr region, such as the RVR, managing foundations of the heritage sites, and municipalities. Further selection for the documents was based on the availability of English versions and a focus on the industrial heritage sites as a whole. Therefore, documents concerning (temporal) exhibitions or specific or paid sections of the heritage sites were excluded from the analysis. Some documents cover

multiple heritage sites. In these cases, only the sections relevant to Duisburg-Nord and/or Zollverein were used. An overview of the documents, the connected authority and the heritage site of interest can be seen in table 1.

A thematic analysis was conducted to uncover what narratives and themes are used throughout the official marketing discourse. Tourism-marketing documents, as the product of social processes, reflect visions, expectations and preconceptions held by institutions involved in creating these documents (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Waterton, 2009). A thematic analysis can be utilized to “make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences” (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 57), and is therefore useful to uncover shared vision held by authorities involved in tourism-marketing. Moreover, following a hermeneutics perspective, all meaning is constructed individually, yet an agreed reality can take shape through discourse (Schwandt, 2000). Therefore, a thematic analysis of official documents concerning industrial heritage sites can foster an understanding the ‘ideal’ identity that is constructed throughout the marketing discourse of the Ruhr.

In addition to the analysis of texts, the thematic analysis was extended with an interpretation of the visuals. As visuals are embedded in, as well as part of a broader discourse (Rose, 2001), making sense of visuals can foster understanding of the marketing efforts as a whole (Walters, 2016). Analysis of imagery can enrich understandings of how heritage is constructed, by uncovering what and who is represented, and how the depicted persons relate to the depicted heritage (Waterton, 2009). The analysis of the visuals focused on what Rose (2001) names the ‘2nd site of production: ‘the image’, focusing on interpretation of what is depicted and how this is framed. This approach is useful for interpreting the depicted and how this can acquire meaning. Visual material was interpreted and coded subsequently in the final codebook for the textual analysis, so no new inductive codes were derived from the visuals.

The full analysis was done in Atlast.ti and combined inductive and deductive codes. This approach allows analysis of broader conceptual themes forthcoming the theoretical framework (functions of heritage for this research), as well as themes specific for a case (the ‘storylines’ for this research) (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

For the intended second stage, a questionnaire was planned to survey inhabitants of the Ruhr for their recognition of the storylines and function ascribed to industrial heritage in official marketing discourse. Questions would have been constructed to let participants evaluate the importance of selected industrial heritage sites and the connected narratives using a five-point Likert-scale. A photo of the site of industrial heritage along with the narratives connected to these sites, extracted from marketing documents in the first stage, will be presented. This phase would have provided insight in the alignment of the official marketed regional identity using these heritage sites and the regional identity perceived by inhabitants. However, due to restrictions to fight the Covid-19 pandemic, the survey could not be conducted. Instead it was chosen to fully focus this research the document analysis and to expand this analysis by including heritage functions, analyzing visual material and extending the range of documents.

3.3. Research ethics

The document analysis is not considered to be ethically sensitive, as the analyzed documents are publicly available and do not comprise subjects that could inflict privacy concerns or harmful researcher-subject relationships.

<i>ID</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Organization</i>	<i>Year</i>
<i>Landscape Park Duisburg-Nord</i>			
D1	Duisburg-Nord information flyer	Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord/ Duisburg Kontor	n.d.
D2	Duisburg-Nord press release Landschaftspark	Hallenmanagement Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord/ Duisburg Kontor	n.d.
D3	Website Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord	Hallenmanagement Duisburg Kontor	n.d.
D4	Website NRW Tourism: Landscape park Duisburg-Nord	NRW Tourism	n.d.
D5	Website Ruhr Tourismus: Duisburg-Nord Landscape Park	Ruhrgebiet Tourismus	n.d.
D6	Website Visit Duisburg: Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord	Tourist Information Duisburg	n.d.
<i>Zollverein</i>			
Z1	Website NRW Tourism: Zollverein	NRW Tourism	n.d.
Z2	Website Ruhr Tourismus: Zollverein	Ruhrgebiet Tourismus	n.d.
Z3	Website Visit Essen: Industrial Heritage	Essen Marketing	n.d.
Z4	Website Zollverein	Zollverein Foundation	n.d.
Z5	Zollverein press release	Zollverein Foundation	n.d.
Z6	Zollverein tourism flyer	Zollverein Foundation	2019
Z7	Zollverein World Heritage flyer	Zollverein Foundation	2018
<i>Mixed</i>			
M1	Discovery pass industrial heritage trail	Regionalverband Ruhr	2019
M2	Emscher landscape park visitor's guide	Regionalverband Ruhr	2013

Table 1. List of analyzed documents

4. Document analysis

The following section will present the results of the thematic analysis of the marketing documents of Zollverein and Landscape Park Duisburg-Nord, focusing on what past is represented through industrial heritage, how the present is framed and what heritage functions are ascribed to these sites. Following the analysis, two overarching themes were found: '*legitimizing the Ruhr*' and '*connecting past and present*'. Within these themes, several storylines and heritage functions will be discussed. Table 2 provides an overview of identified heritage functions and storylines.

<i>Heritage functions</i>
- Narrating the past
- Legitimizing the Ruhr as a distinct region
- Present resource of identity
- Present commodity
- Relating past and present (dualistic time)
<i>Storylines</i>
- Industrial history
- Deindustrialization
- Leisure, sports and events

Table 2. List of heritage functions and storylines

4.1. Legitimizing the Ruhr: narrating a hegemonic industrial history

Both Duisburg-Nord and Zollverein are framed as representative for all of the Ruhr area and its history. Zollverein is commonly seen as a "heritage for the entire region" (M1) and the "cultural heart of the Ruhr area" (Z4), emphasizing that it echoes the identity of the Ruhr. The World

Heritage status strengthens the recognition of Zollverein as a universally important heritage site by providing UNESCO as an authority that recognizes its importance. The 'World Heritage' label is intensively used throughout the marketing documents, both in text and imagery. Additionally, the mining shaft of Zollverein has reached a cult status and is claimed to be "the most famous emblem of the Ruhr district" (Z1), metaphorical described as "the Eiffel Tower of the Ruhrgebiet" (M2). The imagery supports this claim by presenting the mining shaft as big, impressive and aesthetically appealing, and by placing it central in the marketing efforts. Similarly, for Duisburg-Nord it is stated that "nowhere is the history of the Ruhr District as present as in the Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord" (D1). By drawing on a shared history and connecting major public institutions, the existence of these heritage sites as important relics of the Ruhr is legitimized.

The history of the Ruhr echoed by these industrial heritage sites is almost exclusively a history of industry. Throughout the document this is made clear by referring to industrial heritage as "monuments of industrial culture" (Z5) and "a symbol for the industrial heritage of an entire region" (Z1). Organized tours mainly focus on the industrial past as well, by offering "authentic guided tours of the coal mine and coking plant [that] fascinate young and old alike" (Z6), and through which the "industrial history can be experienced" (Z6). Additionally, more subtle references to the industrial past are omnipresent, for example by referring to former industrial functions of parts of these heritage sites.

Besides narrating the industrial past, the regression of the coal and steel industry during the 20th century is frequently described. This period of deindustrialization is important to understand the current economic and social situation of the Ruhr. As a result of the declining industry, inhabitants of the Ruhr had to look for other economic and social systems, and this period is described as 'structural change' (*Strukturwandel* in German). The industrial relics of Landscape Park Duisburg-Nord and Zollverein are seen as representative for these changes throughout the Ruhr region:

[Zollverein] symbolizes the structural change in the Ruhr metropolis like no other (Z1)

Not only seeing, but immersing yourself completely in the history of the old works which has been witness to so many changes. This is what makes the Landschaftspark one of the most extraordinary attractions in the Ruhr District and represents structural change at its most beautiful (D1)

The quotes above exemplify how the relics of the manufacturing industry that have been subsequently abandoned, were transformed and currently fulfill a new function. It is this transition that is presented as exemplary for structural changes throughout the Ruhr. By explaining how the Ruhr adapted to radical changes in the past, it can be argued that industrial heritage helps relating the past with the present and thereby provides an understanding of the current situation. Moreover, as Linkon and Russo (2002) argue, memorizing the industrial decline can help moving beyond a traumatic period of deindustrialization.

Noticeably, by presenting the history of the Ruhr exclusively as the industrial history and the following deindustrialization, it is suggested that the Ruhr's history does not extend beyond the industrial age. This was also argued by Berger et al. (2017) and Gruehn (2017), who explain that the initial recognition of the Ruhr as a distinct region was due to its industry. Therefore, industrial heritage, as relics of the industrial history, plays an important role in the legitimization of the Ruhr, as it provides embodiment of narrates of the industrial past constitutive to the existence of the region.

Throughout both storylines 'industrial history' and 'deindustrialization' it is remarkable that the presented history is relatively selective and trivial, as the narratives are relatively short and focused on facts and numbers. First, although the industrial history of the Ruhr area is commonly mentioned, the amount of text spent to the industrial history is rather brief. One of the more detailed descriptions of the industrial history can be found in the 2019 discovery pass of the industrial heritage trail:

In 1901 August Thyssen had the ironworks erected at a strategically favorable location in the coal fields of the Gewerkschaft Deutscher Kaiser Colliery. After an eventful history including the almost complete demolition in 1944, the Meiderich works was closed down during the steel crisis in 1985 (M1)

This quote exemplifies how even a more extended description of the industrial past is relatively brief. More generally, the code 'industrial history' - marking all sections that narrate the industrial past - only makes up for 3,0% of the total amount of codes connected to the text. This is relatively few for a code marking quite a broad range of possible narratives, especially when compared to the codes signifying present-day uses, such as sports (3,4%), art (3,4%) and recreation (3,5%). In the imagery as well, historical uses or states are underrepresented. The only historical photograph that can be found in the Zollverein World Heritage flyer (Z7), is depicted rather small, suggesting that it is minor to other images. Both the low amount of text spent on the industrial history, as well as the absence in imagery, indicate that the industrial history is rather a small part of the story that is presently told through these industrial heritage sites.

Second, when the industrial history is extended on, descriptions mainly focus on 'hard facts', such as dates or numbers:

until 1985 blast furnaces still burned and pig iron would begin the process of being turned into steel (D1)

a length of 150 metres stretches along the coking ovens, in which coal was once turned into coke at 1,000 degrees Celsius (Z7)

As becomes clear from the quotes above, the industrial history is touched upon, but narratives of what this history comprised are mostly general and fact oriented. What meaning was given to the former industry by the inhabitants of the Ruhr, or what social changes deindustrialization set in motion is left unnoticed. It is noticeable that the presented past is rather harmonious and sanitized. The codes 'outsider's view industrial past', 'overcoming traumatic past' and 'unwanted inheritance' remained unused, suggesting that the framing of the industrial past through industrial heritage is rather positive and one-sided. The history presented is rather abstract, as it lacks stories of former workers and associated communities.

The thin and select presentation of the industrial history in these documents connects to previous findings by several authors. It is argued that "the vision of the area's mining past presented [...] is largely simplified and idealized" (Fontaine, 2018, p. 102), and Berger (2019b) similarly recognized a focus on scientific and factual narratives. These simplified representations and the focus on facts provide for a relatively 'safe' representation of the past, both because it is seen as 'objective', as well as it passes by on more obscure narratives of the past, possibly including environmental pollution or health concerns amongst workers. This selective presentation of history, resulting in 'de-historicized' and clean narratives connected to industrial heritage sites has been recognized by various authors (e.g. Berger et al., 2018; Eiringhaus, 2020; Nettleingham, 2019).

The storylines identified above, 'industrial history' and 'deindustrialization', fulfill multiple functions to the Ruhr and its inhabitants. First, industrial heritage, as bearer of the history of the Ruhr, becomes a tool to legitimize the existence of the Ruhr as a region. It provides an easy to grasp version of the industrial history and connects it to the Ruhr region. Specifically for this area, as a low institutionalized region, it has been argued that a shared history is important for the experience of this region as a legitimate distinct unit (Berger et al., 2017). Here, the thin and factual presentation of the industrial history, contributes to an inclusive and universal history of the Ruhr. While absence of certain narratives in heritage is commonly understood as political by denying ownership of heritage (Goulding et al., 2018) and legitimization in place (Lončar, 2016; Paasi, 2011), the absence of certain interpretations for these industrial heritage sites of the Ruhr seems to strive the opposite. By simplifying narratives and omitting interpretation, both negative and positive, similarities are highlighted, and the industrial past can be interpreted alike. As a result, the zero-sum characteristic of heritage, as described by Ashworth & Graham (2005), is partly avoided, and these industrial heritage sites are framed as representative of all inhabitants of the Ruhr. In this way, the select and fact-oriented display of industrial history contributes to hegemonizing of the Ruhr area by focusing on a very general, but shared history that "fit us all with the same distorting lenses" (Lowenthal, 2015, P.575).

Second, industrial heritage fosters a sense of pride in the past. The narrated history is accompanied with a sense of pride, most present in the documents concerning Zollverein:

Among experts Shaft XII is considered a technical masterpiece: with a daily output of 12,000 net tons of pure hard coal, the facility produces the three- to fourfold quantity of an average colliery in the Ruhr Area (Z7)

The coal mine with its largely automated workflows was considered to be the largest and most efficient one in the world (Z5)

As exemplified by the quotes above, descriptions of the industrial past generally focus on the scale and state-of-the-art technique and foster a sense of pride of these technical achievements. Additionally, for Zollverein, pride is also expressed by the descriptions of industrial architecture. The industrial history as an expression of pride and identity of former workers is made explicit in document M1, stating that "two years after its closure already the first guided tours were organized by former miners who wanted to present their unique workplace to the world". That former workers now took action to memorize and actively educate 'their' industrial past, argues for the importance this past has to these people. The pride fostered with the Ruhr's industrial heritage was also recognized by Berger et al. (2017). Being proud of the industrial past and willing to present it as an important part of the history of the Ruhr can be important to communities that identify with the industrial history, for example former workers (Berger, 2019b; García, 2018). Moreover, it contributes to legitimization of these social groups as legitimate inhabitants of the Ruhr area, as this showcases what history is important to the region.

4.2. Using the past in the present: 'A region that [...] carries its history into the future'

Most commonly the industrial past of the Ruhr is drawn upon and altered to suit present-day uses, making the Ruhr "a region that does not deny its past, but carries its history into the future" (Z7). In some instances, the connection between industrial heritage, local history and its use as a resource for identity in the present is made explicit. For example, it is stated that "Zollverein stands for an identity-creating culture of remembrance in the Ruhr area" (Z5). More general, as explained earlier, the industrial history echoed by these heritage sites can help shaping personal and regional identities.

More commonly, these industrial heritage sites are presented as a commodity or utility for the present. For example, Zollverein has become “an attractive location for culture and leisure, education and business” (Z5) and offers “1,000 possibilities” (Z7). It argues for the variety of options that it has to offer and connects these to the industrial past. The adaptation of industrial heritage to suit contemporary needs is done in multiple ways. One category of prominent new functions are leisure activities, including doing sports, visiting events or just enjoying the tranquility:

The Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord (Landscape Park Duisburg-Nord) is all about leisure, recreation, sport and culture. There is a circular industry trail with information on the past and present. [...] Children and young people see the Landschaftspark as one huge adventure playground (D6)

Zollverein offers industrial culture at its best: art, concerts, festivals and sporting opportunities set against an impressive backdrop (Z1)

Guided tours, concerts, exhibitions, theatre and festivals, award-winning design in the Red Dot Design centre, summer fun in the works' swimming pool, winter pleasure on the most unusual ice rink in the world (M2)

Leisure activities are commonly referred to in the text, as well as in the imagery. In total, the codes covering sports, recreation and events already make up 9,5% of the total code-repertoire, arguing for the importance of these narratives. There is major attention to sports (3,4% of the total amount of codes) and art (3,5% of the codes). Sports is commonly named as an important aspect, and the pallet of sports varies from biking or running, to climbing and diving. Some major marketed attractions include the swimming pool and the ice rink at Zollverein, and the climbing wall and diving facility at Duisburg-Nord.

Consumption of art can be done on both sites and in various ways. Both Zollverein and Duisburg-Nord houses accessible public art in the form of lighting of buildings. This storyline is depicted throughout the documents, as exemplified by tables 3 and 4. The ‘art’ narrative is most prominent for Duisburg-Nord, where the lighting is omnipresent in both the text and imagery. The logo of Duisburg-Nord also makes use of a colorful spectrum referring to the lighting of the industrial relics (see figure 1), and this theme can also be recognized in the formatting of document D1.



Figure 1. Logo Landscape Park Duisburg-Nord



Table 3. Details of Z7 (A) and D1 (B)

Additionally, these industrial heritage sites currently function as event locations. Duisburg-Nord hosts “numerous events, such as thematic or torchlit guided tours, make the park a “hub for art and culture in the Ruhr Metropolis” (M2). This becomes evident throughout the documents by the attention on listings and descriptions of upcoming events. Moreover, events are commonly depicted, as exemplified in table 4. The hosted events commonly focus on local themes and exhibit local culture.

Collectively, the focus on uses of heritage by ‘ordinary’ people is noteworthy, as it contrasts findings of Waterton (2009), who indicated that depictions of heritage are commonly ‘people less’ or depicted with experts or passive observers. Also within an AHD, there commonly is a focus on expert views and uses of heritage (Smith, 2006). For the industrial heritage sites in this study however, the uses of these heritage sites for ‘ordinary’ people, non-experts, are very much highlighted. The framing of these heritage sites as offering a variety of commodities and utilities relevant to a very broad audience underlines these heritage sites as universally relevant for the Ruhr, its inhabitants and visitors.

As an exception, however, the Marketing of Zollverein contains elements that are in-line with an AHD, as it refers to cultural activities intended for a higher class. For instance, for Zollverein there is a focus on the “high-profile art projects” (Z3). These are “award-winning design” (M2), known events and avantgarde artists that settle at this location. Moreover, the food at Zollverein is presented as “cuisine”, “culinary art” (Z7) and “creative top cuisine” (Z6), arguing for the focus on the ‘high’ arts. Noticeably, specifically for Zollverein there is attention for creation as well, as this location is currently “buzzing with life once more; full of art, culture and creative activities” (M2) and “some artists have even moved to Zollverein with their own studio” (Z6). Moreover, this location is portrayed as an “innovative business location” (Z5). Overall, Zollverein is more portrayed as a location for a higher class. However, these nuances are only made as side notes, and do not make up a mayor part of the marketing efforts.

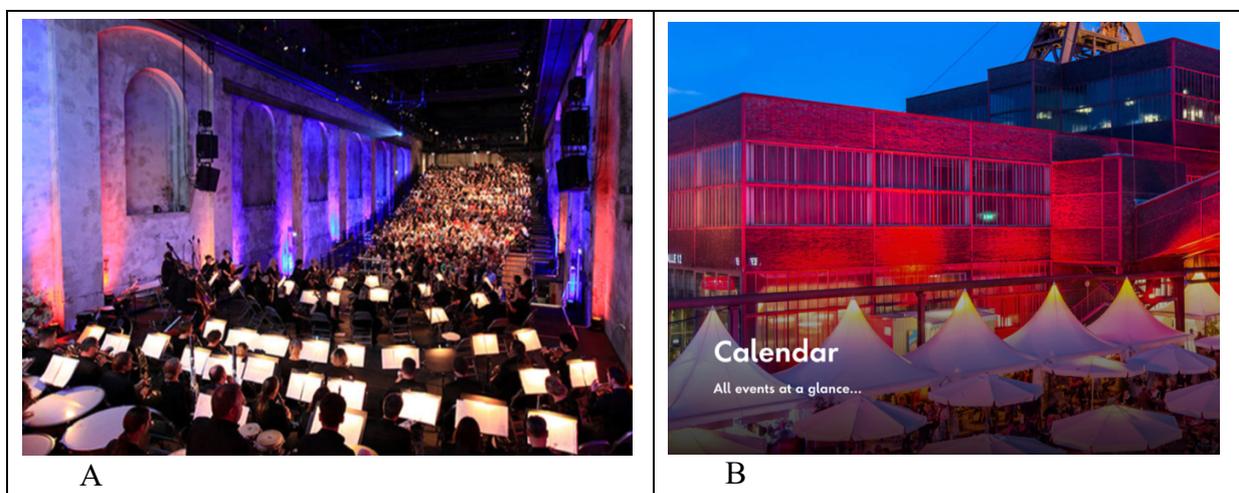


Table 4. Details of websites D5 (A) and Z4 (B)

Throughout these new narratives, there is a noticeable focus on aesthetics. This focus on aesthetics is not necessarily a separate storyline, rather it is merged in storylines of tourism and leisure, the light-art and photography. However, it represents a large share of the coding, as the code signaling attention to aesthetics makes up 5,3% of the total assigned codes. In the text the sites are mentioned as aesthetically appealing. For example, Duisburg-Nord is often referred to as a beautiful and appealing location, as it “represents structural change at its most beautiful.”(Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord information flyer, 2018) and has “been chosen one

of the most beautiful parks in the world by the British newspaper The Guardian” (D2). Additionally, Duisburg-Nord profiles as appealing to amateur and professional photographers and film makers, as it makes a “versatile photo and film backdrop” (D1) and “a popular photo motif” (M1). Also in the imagery photography is also commonly depicted. For Zollverein there is a similar attention to aesthetics, as it is named “the most beautiful coalmine in the world” (Z1, Z5 & Z6). In the imagery the focus on aesthetics is mainly represented by the focus on the lighting of the buildings, as discussed above and exemplified in table 3 and 4, where it can be seen that the sites are colorfully lighted.

The addition of these ‘new’ elements affects how industrial heritage relates past and present in two ways. First, the addition of these new narratives results in a dualistic framing of time (see Oakley, 2018). For these industrial heritage sites, there is a focus on the industrial Ruhr of the past, and the postindustrial Ruhr of the present. The period of deindustrialization is used to separate these two periods. By using relics of the past and adding new elements, such as the ‘nature’ contemporarily growing or the sport facilities in former industrial sites, the differences between the past and the present are highlighted. Deindustrialization is framed as the drastic turn that separate the industrial past from the postindustrial present. Throughout the documents, there is common attention for this period of deindustrialization, and differences between the industrial past and the postindustrial present are highlighted:

Once the most productive hard coal mine in Europe, today it is home to museums for dance, performance, theatre and design, as well as the most important venues of the ExtraSchicht, and welcomes around 1.5 million visitors from home and abroad every year (Z3)

Where workers once toiled, more than one million visitors every year now party, climb, dive and ramble. A disused ironworks has been transformed into a city oasis (D6)

Where once there was the smoke of chimney stacks, today it's a very different programme: industry and nature (D1)

As the quotes above exemplify, there is a focus on the industrial sites before and after the closure. In this way, by juxtapositioning past and present, differences are emphasized. This juxtapositioning of past and present is also visible in multiple other storylines, including ‘industrial nature’, and ‘sports and recreation’. Industrial nature, for example, describes the progression of nature within the industrial relics, both as a result of spontaneous development and deliberate planning. The juxtapositioning of the industrial past and the ‘green’ present is strengthened by the imagery, as these commonly depict the industrial relics surrounded by or overgrown with vegetation. Examples can be found in pictures A and B of table 5. Also for sports this juxtaposition is present, as visitors can go “alpine climbing [...] in the former ore storage bunkers” (D2) or “dive against a unique industrial backdrop” (Z2). Even the pipe slide in the playground for kids at Duisburg-Nord is not just an average slide, rather it is a “pipe slide leading down through two ore bunkers” (M2). Picture B of table 5 highlights how both industrial nature and recreational biking are positioned next to industrial relics.



Table 5. Details of M2 (A) and Z4 (B)

Second, the addition of these new narratives can ultimately lead to a loss of the connection with the industrial past, conceptualized as ‘deindustrialization of narratives’ (Nettleingham, 2019). As discussed in section 4.1, the history presented using these industrial heritage sites is rather selective and relies primarily on the presentation of numbers and dates. Simultaneously, as described above, what is represented are relatively sanitized narratives that describe these locations as aesthetically appealing places of sport and recreation. Collectively, this could draw away attention from a history that is still valued by some inhabitants of the Ruhr or other social groups. Ambiguous histories referring to for example a past of environmental pollution (e.g. Brüggemeier, 1994), struggles of class (Berger, 2019b) or broader social struggle (e.g. Berger, 2019a) are commonly lacking. Overall, the history presented through industrial heritage is in line with AHD objectives of presenting a hegemonized history that is framed to be perceived as unambiguous and positive.

However, this process of deindustrialization of narratives can ultimately lead to alienation of inhabitants from heritage that was previously constitutive to identities (Berger et al., 2017; Berger et al., 2018), and can possibly lead to alienation from a region (Waterton, 2005). Whereas on the one hand the industrial history is presented selective and fact-oriented, on the other hand the ‘new’ narratives that are highly present, thereby narrating these heritage sites as places for sports, leisure and arts. Overall, representations of a former working-class that worked at, and identified with these locations, are lacking. By excluding narratives that recognize and value working-class narrations and interpretations of industrial heritage, these identities are rendered less important and ownership could be denied (Goulding et al., 2018). What is represented throughout the official marketing discourse are mainly outsiders’ interpretations of industrial heritage and the industrial history. Specifically for Zollverein, some additional references to high culture are made, as exemplified earlier in this section. These new narratives could therefore further alienate people and communities that identify with these identities and previously identified with these heritage sites.

5. Conclusion

This research aimed to (i) gain insight in the alignment of institutional and public views on industrial heritage by conducting a thematic analysis of official marketing documents, and (ii) survey the recognition of narratives amongst inhabitants of the Ruhr. However, to adapt to the unprecedented and unforeseen circumstances of the COVID-19-pandemic, it was chosen to

focus on the document analysis only, and to extend this analysis by including heritage functions, an analysis of visual material and more documents. A thematic analysis focused on identifying common storylines and ascribed heritage functions throughout the official marketing discourse of two major industrial heritage sites of the Ruhr area in Germany.

It was found that multiple storylines throughout the documents focus on the industrial history, the following period of deindustrialization and present heritage sites as commodities and facilities for leisure purposes, including doing sports, enjoying arts and recreating in industrial nature. These storylines collectively fulfill multiple functions very much situated in the present. Industrial heritage provides a sense of the industrial past and the following deindustrialization. By narrating the industrial past and the following deindustrialization, industrial heritage helps to understand the postindustrial present. Moreover, industrial heritage relates past and present using a dualistic framing of time. By juxtapositioning relics of the past with new uses and interpretations, differences between these two times are highlighted. The period of deindustrialization is framed as a turning point that separates the industrial past from the postindustrial present.

Simultaneously, by presenting a common and hegemonized past, industrial heritage is used to legitimize the existence of the Ruhr as a distinct region. Overall, this function is very much in-line with the 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' (AHD), as conceptualized by Smith (2006). By narrating the industrial past and the following deindustrialization, these heritage sites embody the industrial history constitutive to the Ruhr as a region and presents this history as the core of the regional identity. The narrated history is simplified by making use of 'facts', such as dates and numbers, and is described rather brief, making up a relatively minor part of the marketing discourse. As a result, a sanitized past, free of contesting and negative memories is narrated. This contributes to the framing of history as universal and representative of all of the Ruhr and its inhabitants. It presents an inclusive history that legitimizes the Ruhr area as a region relevant for all its inhabitants. The select representation of the industrial past echoes elements of 'deindustrialization of narratives' (Nettleingham, 2019). Additionally, this thin presentation of the history is combined with a focus on industrial heritage sites as a commodity and facility for leisure, sports and culture. In this way, industrial heritage can become sanitized of memories that contest meanings presented by authorities involved in the marketing of these heritage sites. Ultimately, this could lead to alienation of inhabitants from these industrial heritage sites and subsequently from the region it represents.

Future research could investigate the alignment between institutional and public interpretations of industrial heritage of the Ruhr area by using this paper as a reference point. For regional development to be successful, both as social and economic development, this alignment is crucial. Additionally, it was found that the connection made between past and present can be more complex and does not fit previously known conceptualizations. Future research could therefore focus on broadening conceptualizations of past-present relations in order to foster understanding of how past-present relations are being shaped through heritage discourse.

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Appendix

A. Documents used for the analysis

All the documents and websites as used for the analysis can be downloaded in PDF-format following this link: https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1zo-7YsK64-cPAfDZxwftq_Z-6fFz1VH?usp=sharing

Please note: the author of this thesis does not own rights of these documents, as they belong to their original publisher

B. Full list of codes and quotations

A full list of all the codes and quotations per document can be downloaded from here: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1inxLpUGyQ2HIsNIDaVz-SIA6JEdDNBGv/view?usp=sharing>

C. Codebook

Deductive codes			
Code	Sub-code	Explanation	Source
<i>Functions of heritage - Making sense of the past, present and future</i>			
General making sense	Simplification	Selection and simplification of the past helps to present a comprehensible history suitable for present day use	Lowenthal, 1998
Linear time	Linear time	Clear and linear development over time. Present is a result from these past developments	Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Lowenthal, 1998; Oakley, 2018

	Highlighting similarities	The present is seen as similar to the past	Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Lowenthal, 1998
	Timelessness	Current cultural structures and values are presented as timeless	Ashworth & Graham, 2005
Dualistic time	Dualistic time	By presenting a lost past, it can help defining what we once were, but are not anymore	Lowenthal, 2015; Oakley, 2018
	Highlighting change	drastic change (e.g. a crisis)	Oakley, 2018
Future oriented	Identity for future		Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Lowenthal, 2005
	Commodity for future		Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Lončar, 2016
<i>Functions of heritage – Source and reflection of identity</i>			
Identity	Personal identity	An important source and reflection of identity	Lowenthal 2015; Smith, 2006
	Linking people to place	Linking identity and place, thereby legitimize people in place	Cenci, 2018; Lončar, 2016
Regional identity	Regional identity	Important narratives constitutive to regions or nation states	Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Paasi, 2002; Smith, 2006
	Connecting identities to a region	Specifically linking identity to a region	Lončar, 2016; Paasi, 2011
AHD (Authorized Heritage Discourse)	Hegemonized narrative	Clean and harmonious stories of the past	Smith, 2006
	Naturalize authority	Presenting spatial unit and associated authorities as natural and self-evident	Smith, 2006
<i>Industrial heritage specific functions</i>			
Connecting past/present	Recent history	Only one or two generations past since industry disappeared	García, 2018; Raines, 2011
	Deindustrialization	The withdrawal of industry as a major source of income	Nettleingham, 2019; Oakley, 2018
Present uses	Making sense of postindustrial society	Reasoning or providing stories of how the present became reality	Wray, 2012
	Pride industrial history	for former workers and for associated communities, it can be important to take pride in the industrial past	Berger, 2019b; Cenci, 2018; García, 2018; Hospers, 2002
	Marketing region	External marketing using industrial heritage sites	Hospers, 2002; Jelen & Kučera, 2017
	Overcoming traumatic past	Industrial heritage can provide embodiment to narratives that help digesting this past	Linkon & Russo, 2002; Van Veldhoven, 2015
Ambivalence	Unwanted inheritance	The past represented though industrial heritage is better to	Linkon & Russo, 2002; Van Veldhoven, 2015;

		be left in the past and has to be forgotten	Walkerdine, 2010; Wray, 2012
	Sense of loss	Refers to an industrial past that is no longer there	Oakley, 2018
Alienation	Outsiders view industrial past		Wray, 2012
	Touristification	Commodification and adaptation to make heritage suitable for leisure and tourism	Berger & Pickering, 2018; Zhang & Lenzer Jr., 2019
	De-historicized	Harsh industrial history is presented selectively or left out	Berger, Golombek & Wicke, 2018
	Focus on aesthetics	Industrial heritage is presented at its 'Sunday best'	Berger & Pickering, 2018; Nettleingham, 2019
Inductive codes			
Aesthetics	Photography		
	Lighting		
	Industrial architecture		
	History		
History	Industrial history		
	Social history		
	Ruhr history		
	Economic history		
	Steel crisis		
	Closure		
	IBA		
	New possibilities		
New uses	Art		
	Sports		
	Sports - Bike		
	Recreation		
	Business		
	Creative industry		
	Culture		
	Education		
	Events		
	Tourism		
	Music		
	Symbol for change		
	Identification	Important to public life Ruhr	
Landmark		Important object to region	
Symbol		Mentioning an object as symbolic for ...	
'Exploring with every sense'			
Hybridity / unusual	'Preservation through conservation'		
	Hybridity		

	Mixed functions	
	Monumental status	
	UNESCO status	
	Out of the Box	
	Uniqueness	
	Unusual	
	Industriekultur	
	Industrienatur	
	'Authentic experience'	
Experience	'Make you awe'	
	'Raw charm'	
	Comfort	
	Experience	
	Tranquility	
	Food	
Food	Restaurant	
	Large scale	
Scale	Companies	
	Visitors	
	Always open	
Other	Figures/facts	
	Kids	
	Landscape park	
	Media	
	Museum	