Redevelopment through rehabilitation

The role of historic preservation in revitalizing deindustrialized cities:

Lessons from the United States and Sweden

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Redevelopment through rehabilitation. The role of historic preservation in revitalizing deindustrialized cities: Lessons from the United States and Sweden

Summary

The rehabilitation of urban environments by giving old buildings new functions is an old practice, but policies meant for encouraging rehabilitation trace their American origins back to the 1960s with the growing criticism of urban renewal plans and the rise of historic preservation values. In the U.S., historic rehabilitation has proven to be a way of revitalizing cities which have faced deindustrialization, disinvestment and shrinking tax revenues. Built heritage is especially vulnerable in these places because of the willingness of city governors to attract investment and development at any costs.

This willingness of local authorities to let developers run amock in their cities might prove to be a bad strategy in the long run, even though it can bring capital back into the city fairly quick. In a climate of toughening regional and global competition over tourism and the location of business headquarters, the images and cultures of cities have gained an increasing importance. Careful and well planned redevelopment of the built environment has an crucial role to play in the re-imaging of industrial cities. Not including the new jobs and other direct economic benefits of rehabilitation, historic structures carry a large part of a city’s character and identity, ingredients desperately sought after when cities need to get an edge and show why they are worth visiting or relocating to.

This paper has argued that successful rehabilitation not only makes use of the historic built environment, but also that it has the potential of renegotiating and redefining the history of a city (or at least parts of it). In this way rehabilitation can prove to have great public benefits in making new spaces available for public access and civic intercourse. City governors should not just look at quick economic benefits. A city where the urban fabric has been destroyed through profit-oriented and shortsighted development runs the
risk of having gone into a dead end. A more prosperous future for the population, not just
the developers, might instead be found in democratically planned and financially scaled
down solutions in which the built environment is systematically reused.

American developers and cities have proven to be successful in making rehabilitation
financially successful for the property owner. Considerably less interest have been shown
for the public benefits of these projects, often making them into isolated enclaves lacking
legitimacy among the public and causing conflicts within the neighborhood. Developers
are repeatedly accused of gentrification, displacement and for ignoring the public need
for affordable housing. Despite the unclear public benefits these projects are often
heavily subsidized on federal, state as well as city level.

After having dealt with the growing general importance of cultural policies for cities,
U.S. policies on historic rehabilitation are discussed and two large redevelopment
projects in Baltimore and Durham presented. After that a Swedish case of inner city
redevelopment through rehabilitation is presented, showing a contrast in both national
policy and local practice. Swedish redevelopment has not been subsidized in the same
generous manner as in many states of the U.S., and it has been more integrated into urban
planning. In the Swedish case the city governors were not interested in preserving the
built environment, but due to disinvestment new construction did not occur. In the 1970s,
there was a consensus between leading politicians and local developers that preservation
values would not be allowed to stand in the way of development. Until the early 1980s
there was also a lack of local public support for preserving industrial buildings, as in
many deindustrialized cities where industry has come to symbolize unemployment and
stigmatization.

The unique environment of the Industrial Landscape was finally preserved not through
the actions of local government, but of architectural historians and curators representing
government authority. Development of the historic district needed close monitoring at a
national level since the developer had a very strong influence on local politics. In
Swedish preservation policies local authorities have the possibility to landmark and
protect environments much in the same way as in many U.S. cities with preservation
commissions. If an urban plan seems to interfere with preservation goals, however,
national authorities have the possibility of intervening in a similar way to that of state preservation offices in the U.S. In the 1990s development within the Industrial Landscape went into a more mature and democratically influenced phase in which goals of public access and attractiveness became increasingly important.

The lesson from Sweden shows that redevelopment through rehabilitation can be affordable and that it does not need a whole lot of public subsidy. It also shows that the historical and aesthetic values need to be stressed in order for the development project to win the public support that is needed in a democratically lead community. The political leadership in this city, paralyzed by economic crisis, was heavily influenced by the developer, who was a large property owner in the city. But through monitoring, academic research and participation in public debate by preservation professionals, the table was turned and the preservation of the Industrial Landscape gained more and more support from the city in the 1980s.

Instead of giving subsidies to the developer, the government located a national museum of labor to the district at a time in which economic support was badly needed. This showed that successful rehabilitation was possible here and that it would have considerable public benefits. Finally, it is also argued that the historical experiences of the national preservation movements have influenced the way rehabilitation is carried out. In Sweden, historic preservation has largely been a task for national government, whereas in the U.S. it has to a large extent been organized through national and local non-profit organizations buying up properties and lobbying for preservation causes. In this way historic preservation has been more integrated in Swedish urban politics, whereas in the U.S. preservationists have been identified as just one interest among others.

**Purpose**

This paper is the result of a fellowship at Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies, cofunded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond in Sweden, allowing the author to compare policies and practices of historic preservation in the U.S. and Sweden. The other cofunder was Culture Studies at Linköping University. One purpose was to compare the
preservation and rehabilitation of an industrial district in the city of Norrköping with interesting counterparts located in the U.S. It was natural to pick one case from Baltimore with its traumatizing experiences of deindustrialization and disinvestment. Baltimore could also represent historic preservation in the North. Another case would be picked in order to represent the South. The choice fell on Durham, a considerably smaller town than Baltimore but of a size and character that was comparable to Norrköping. Except for looking at these cities, the author has also visited Raleigh, Richmond, Wilmington, Philadelphia, New York and Providence.

Surveying and comparing national policies is one part of the purpose but not the dominating one. That could easily have been done without visiting the U.S. Instead, one basic idea with the paper is that national policy only influences rehabilitation projects to a certain degree. The local practices of city and state governors, planners and developers are more important for the results and consequences of redevelopment. Rehabilitation of the built environment in cities has to be studied primarily at the local level in order to be fully understood.

Rehabilitation is approached as a cultural phenomenon here, instead of being seen as mainly an economic phenomenon. This means that the very concepts of rehabilitation, reuse, preservation and heritage are looked at, but also they way in which these concepts acquire meaning through public discourse. The perceptions of adaptive reuse are not universal but have national origins and have been formed by national cultures. Practices, on the other hand, have found national, regional as well as local expressions.

The re-evaluation of a built environment is taking place not just as a consequence of economic factors but also within a cultural process. This means that the structures are actively given new meanings through redevelopment. Blighted properties become symbols of culture, creativity and regeneration. The past of the built environment is interpreted and used in order to make it attractive again. What this means to cities which are trying to profile themselves as creative hubs or as commercial centers will be elaborated below.

The paper is divided into five parts. Part I is largely a discussion of previous research on urban redevelopment with historic profiles. The traditional Marxist approach of
criticizing developers and city governors for going into unholy coalitions and creating alienated and privatized spaces is met with demands of the need to recognize the relative independence of the spectator. Urban space is interpreted not only by developers and planners but also by citizens and organizations, and in this view the dominating part of Anglo-Saxon research has been too deterministic. American preservation policies and views on reuse are treated in Part II, highlighting the local case of Baltimore. The historic shift from emphasizing new construction to preserving urban fabrics is traced and explained.

In Part III, the two American case are described and analyzed. Emphasis is on the interpretation of the site’s history and how it affects the reuse. Lack of public accessibility and support are taken as evidence that redevelopment in the U.S. is focused on the interests of the property owner. Part IV is a more detailed study of the Swedish case and especially the concern with creating public spaces. In Part V, finally, the comparison between the U.S. and Sweden is carried through, first discussing differences in policies and then going into how practices result in different design and accessibility solutions.
PART I – HISTORIC DESIGN IN THE POSTINDUSTRIAL CITY

Re-imaging cities: from industry to culture

With the move from the industrial, managerial city to the post industrial, entrepreneurial city described by David Harvey and others, large cities have become more focused on channeling capital flows than on redistribution of income and of maintaining a high level of welfare. This has been the development both in American and West European cities, even though the processes have had significant local differences. One notable difference is that American cities have been forced to create so called growth coalitions with business leaders due to fiscal weakness, while in the U.K. and other European countries the local state has not to been “captured” by coalitions of private capital.

Together with this new perception of how cities should be managed rather than governed, the image of urban landscape has become more important to manage. Simply put, it is deemed of crucial importance how a city is perceived by outsiders such as tourists, creative professionals and business leaders. This is especially the case in industrial cities wishing to make the transition to a postindustrial economy.

Studies have shown that the most important factor when deciding where a company should be relocated is the lifestyle and interests of the managers and employees of a company. When trying to make the city look more attractive, urban governors look increasingly to the identity of a rising creative class of well educated, high income urban

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dwellers. This is one part of an explanation of why transitional cities have become more and more obsessed with their cultural identity in the last twenty years.

Culture and heritage, widely defined in a way so that both high and low culture are included, can be seen as the core of the urban experience. Historically, artists and culture have thrived in larger cities, but they have seldom been supported by city government. In later years, however, culture has become a growing sector which authorities and associations seek to manage, guide and exploit.\(^4\) Coalitions between arts associations, business and civic leaders have become piecemeal in larger cities.\(^5\) Culture is at the heart of the future of cities in the post industrial age when services have become a more important sector of the economy than manufacturing. Cities which used to have an industrial character have made great strides to instead become known as cultural centers. Examples of such cities are Glasgow, Manchester, Barcelona and Baltimore.

This change from an industrial to a cultural “profile” has been accompanied by extensive downtown development projects. Instead of just marketing the image of a city, urban leaders are increasingly trying to create environments which will attract tourists and by itself give the city a good reputation. Marketing through logos and brochures are relatively cheap, but is not seen as enough when cities are facing escalating regional and global competition. In Baltimore there was the Inner Harbor project begun in 1962, dominating downtown development in the 1970s and 1980s. David Harvey points to 1978 as a transition-point in Baltimore development, when public-private partnership policies became accepted with a decision to build Harborplace.\(^6\) Development is still very rapid around the Inner Harbor, especially the building of luxury condos.

In Baltimore there was a growth coalition between developers and the city where the goal was to make the inner city attractive for living and consumption again, following serious race riots in the late 1960s that accelerated the white middle class exodus to the


\(^5\) Whitt, pp. 18–19.

\(^6\) David Harvey, ”From managerialism to entrepeneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism”, *Geografiska Annaler*, vol. 71 B (1989), no. 1, p. 7.
suburbs. This emigration of the middle class was reinforced by blockbusting activities as black workers increasingly moved in from the South, causing a long term housing shortage in the inner parts of the city. Since then, Baltimore has deindustrialized to a great extent while tourism has risen to become the third largest industry in the city.

Civic pride is reinforced through flagship regeneration projects such as the Inner Harbor project in Baltimore, or the downtown renaissance in Providence of the 1990s. This kind of spectacular, large-scale and high-risk projects, such as London’s Docklands, Canary Wharf or Spitalfields Market, or South Street Seaport in New York, have been criticized for “deflecting debates surrounding the actual desirability of redevelopment”. In this way urban design is intimately associated with the politics of place-marketing and is used to make entrepreneurial forms of governance appear legitimate.

According to Harvey, one purpose of the trend from uniform architectural styles to eclectic and unique postmodern styles of urban design is an attempt by city governors to assert an individual identity needed to fight competition from other, similar cities. This new landscape of consumption represents both a revitalized economy and increased civic pride, reducing the local people’s feelings of alienation and exclusion caused by globalization.

Well before Harvey commented on development in downtown Baltimore, Marc V. Levine wrote a very critical piece on the dualism caused by partnerships between the city and developers:

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8 Francis J. Leazes & Mark T. Motte, Providence, the Renaissance city, Boston 2004.
10 Harvey, The condition of postmodernity.
Baltimore has become “two cities”: a city of developers, suburban professionals, and “back-to-the-city” gentry who have ridden the downtown revival to handsome profits, good jobs, and conspicuous consumption; and a city of impoverished blacks and displaced manufacturing workers, who continue to suffer from shrinking economic opportunities, declining public services, and neighborhood distress.  

This dualism – caused by uneven development in many American cities – was somewhat later described by Mollenkopf and Castells, who explored the effects of increased polarization and a deepening of the dual nature of urban labor market. A growing number of people are employed for catering low-paid services to an elite of high-paid people engaged in the creative economy of postindustrial cities.

Urban redevelopment: spectacle or cultural revitalization?

A critique of the Marxist approach

Closely attached to the remaking of the urban economy is the remodeling of the urban landscape. A number of scholars have argued that it is of crucial importance that cities making the conceptual and empirical transition from an industrial to a service economy, also must reimage themselves and provide themselves with a new iconography displaying messages of attractiveness and success.

Wansborough and Mageean speak about the “new cultural intermediaries”, meaning that the idea that culture and the arts were important for the image of the city originated in the United State but also that the idea was promoted by artists, media professionals and

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intellectuals. One reason for this is that consumption is at the forefront when remaking the city into a place of culture, arts and creativity. If we look for explanations offered to why cities have become more concerned with heritage and culture, the transformation of place into a commodity where money is being spent on experiences becomes central:

The place is packaged and sold as commodity. Its multiple social and cultural meanings are selectively appropriated and repackaged to create a more attractive place image in which any problems are played down.

This is a way of criticizing the new cultural policies of cities by using a Marxist perspective, implying that city governors have complete control over messages sent out to the public. It also implies that the public and potential investors will interpret these messages in ways that have been forecasted within public administration and marketing. In reality, place-making and place-marketing messages will sometimes be ignored or even interpreted in entirely different ways than anticipated. This paper will try to show that images of redevelopment are frequently challenged and reinterpreted by interests which do not necessarily share the same views of development.

This why it is worth pausing somewhat to reflect on the dominant views of prior research on place-making. The dominating view in anglosaxon social and cultural studies is the Marxist one, in which city governors and developers often are seen as manipulating the mind of the public in order to make unnecessary development immune to criticism. Belonging to this view, broadly speaking, are both David Harvey’s already mentioned critique of the entrepreneurialist mode, or Sharon Zukin’s view that culture functions as a tool by which capitalist social and economic relations are recreated. In her ground


17 In an earlier work Harvey says that gentrification includes the appropriation of history; David Harvey, “Flexible accumulation through urbanisation: reflections on ‘post-modernism’ in the American city”, Antipode, vol. 19 (1987), pp. 275–27.
breaking work on gentrification in New York, Zukin has stated that the rebuilding of “the inner city in a theatrical image of the urban past demands both a reduction and a romanticising of the city’s industrial workforce”. Developers and governors are thus seen as forming coalitions with the intention of making an urban of private or semi-private spaces made for easy consumption.

Architectural historian M. Christine Boyer aligns herself with a similar view as Zukin when she states that the aim with recreating historical environments in cities is “theatrical”. Boyer is rightly critical of the historical representations of renovated buildings, but she implies that an authentic historical truth could be easily determined. This is in fact not the case. Determining authenticity in redevelopment projects is an ongoing problem without an easy solution, as will be shown in this paper. Authenticity is a notion created through a negotiation between developers, architects, preservationists and property owners. It does not lie buried somewhere, waiting to be discovered – rather, it is actively constructed by interest groups engaged in the re-creation of a particular site.

In a later work, Boyer argues for a postmodern return to history that becomes important when trying to explain why historic images were co-opted by politics in European and American cities in the 1970s and 1980s. Boyer suggests that political leaders in the United States were more or less traumatized by suffering experiences of the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War and the dissolution of family values. Modernism became the target for different kinds of accusations, not least for rejecting the stability and traditions of the past:

A past connected to the present across the gaping maw of modernism, visual memories sweetened and mystified by the haze of time and codified as fashionable styles and images – these could be manipulated to release the tensions that social change and political protests, uneven economic and urban development

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had wrought, and instead these styles and images could be used to recapture a mood of grandeur, importance, heroism, and action that appeared to have been lost forever.20

One problem with seeing culture, or the arts, as something that detracts attention from the social problems of cities is that it is viewed solely as consumption. In Boyer’s perspective, historical urban design is only intended for “pleasure and spectacle”.21 This gives the notion that arts and culture in the city are just waiting to be used for capitalist purposes. But arts and culture, of course, have to be produced in order to be consumed.

Even though it had a profound influence on urban studies in the 1980s, the Marxist interpretation is today a too deterministic way of interpreting how cultural policies work in postindustrial cities. Culture, defined broadly, should not be seen as just exploited by capital in order to maximize profit, but instead we should perceive culture and cultural policy as a dynamic force created and manipulated by different interest groups such as developers, city governors or neighborhood associations.22

Seeing historical architecture in cities as mere “theater” is to disqualify the potential of the viewer to make his or her own interpretations. Recent Swedish research has stressed the need to take into account the views of groups often given a marginal importance in urban development politics, such as youth or ethnic minorities. In an ethnographic study of the Industrial Landscape in Norrköping, the graffiti painting activities of teenagers within this space were studied, showing that spaces officially intended for leisure and consumption are used in ways not anticipated by planners and developers.23

This is a way of acknowledging that not only the developers’ or planners’ experiences of the urban landscape should count in redevelopment projects. As Bo Öhrström has pointed out, brownfields redevelopment tends to give developers a lot of say because the

sites most often are abandoned. This is a democratic problem because the new users’ views of the place become dominant if the community is not involved in a dialogue from the beginning.\textsuperscript{24}

Swedish research has begun to emphasize more the need to take into account a diversity of users – such as youth, artists, small entrepreneurs – when planning for redevelopment, playing down the importance of spectacular architecture or very costly flagship projects.\textsuperscript{25} Bo Öhrström, for example, has stressed that rehabilitation of industrial sites should be planned step by step, listening to a plurality of local interests rather than just seeking to maximize property values: “successful regeneration has to go step by step, fulfilling the needs of local people”.\textsuperscript{26}

The views in which cultural representations of development are seen as entirely driven by capital and profit interest can be said to have dominated research on urban redevelopment, regardless whether we look to American, British or Australian academic works. In Australia, a scholar such as Wendy Shaw has been critical of the postmodern architectural trend called “facadism”, meaning that the historical context of a building or site is conciously obliterated, leaving just a “prettied up” place suitable for instant gentrification.\textsuperscript{27} Also other Australian scholars on gentrification have promoted the notion that only those kinds of heritage which can easily be consumed will survive. Alternative stories from the artifactual past tend to become lost.\textsuperscript{28}


\textsuperscript{28} Gordon Waitt & Pauline M. McGuirk, “Marking Time: tourism and heritage representations at Millers Point, Sydney”, \textit{Australian Geographer} vol. 27 (1996), no. 1; Roy Jones, “Sacred sites or profane
According to Shaw’s view, developers focus on the products previously manufactured at the site when manipulating its images, downplaying the fact that this used to be a place of labor and other human relations. Examples of this can be found in Baltimore: an ongoing redevelopment on Eastern Avenue where luxury condos costing at least $400,000 are proposed, goes under the name “The Shoe Factory”, and a complex of former brewery buildings redeveloped a couple of years is called “Brewers Hill” and marketed with the help of the logo of a renowned but long gone beer brand, National Bohemian.

A similar dystopian view is evident in cultural studies of redevelopment in British cities\(^\text{29}\), even though the opposite – an inherently positive and uncritical view of redevelopment – has also been evident in the U.K. From the later perspective, the reconstruction of a site is viewed solely as a practical problem – how to make it feasible – and not one of conflicting representations or interests.\(^\text{30}\) The overall critical stance towards issues of authenticity, however, is something I sympathize with deeply and will elaborate below.\(^\text{31}\)

**Issues of authenticity in rehabilitation**

Instead of seeing the past of a place as something objectively existing, waiting to be unveiled and discovered, we should see interpretations of the past as a process of negotiation. Contrary to what Shaw says about the hegemonic power of capitalism and consumerism to determine the way we look at the past, it would be preferable to say that

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interpretations of a place’s past are not determined by a collection of artefacts. Instead the past is interpreted through an ongoing discourse between participants with differing intentions and perspectives.  

In a previous work I have shown how the developer’s representation of a mill redevelopment in Baltimore can be weighed against preservation officers’ or a neighborhood group’s view, without coming to the conclusion that one of these groups have the right answer and that the others are wrong. They all use the past and interpret it according to their own preferences and interests. The historical artifacts available for interpretation did not decide the outcome. Instead it was a coalition between preservationist and planning officers and the developer against the neighborhood group that decided the questions of authenticity. The result was a high density, postmodern designed development largely cut off from the rest of the local community.

Like John Montgomery, I would like to go beyond the view “that culture is for élites, or that cities are now only places for consumption instead of production”. Culture should not be seen as a theatre or facade only meant for cloaking the actual intentions of urban development and for increasing luxury consumption. Culture could rather be interpreted as a framework directing the decisions made by developers, architects, planners and investors on issues of architectural representations, such as how historical authenticity should be handled in specific projects. Dealing with the pasts in a redevelopment is a process of uneven negotiations between officials, developers and property owners, but as Harvey K. Newman has pointed out, historic preservation policies can succeed in balancing the interests of developers, property owners, and preservation advocates.

This choice does not mean just selecting agency over structure when looking for a theoretical perspective. Rather, much like Anthony Giddens I want to assign the “ideas and values people hold about what they should build” the same importance as economic resources available for development or the politico-juridical rules limiting development.\textsuperscript{36}

PART II – U.S. POLICIES OF REUSE AND REHABILITATION

Notions of adaptive reuse and rehabilitation

Adaptive reuse has been defined as “the process of converting a building to a use other than that for which it was designed”. Reuse can be problematized from a number of perspectives. It can be seen from a developer’s point of view, an architect’s or a city planner’s, just to name the most obvious actors involved in reuse and rehabilitation. From an intellectual point of view, the term “reuse” itself is actually not very helpful if one wants to gain a deeper understanding for what happens when an old structure is adapted and given new functions. As we saw in the definition above it is simply a description of an act, and does not give us any understanding of why this act would be important to carry out, nor what the consequences would be for the built environment and society in general.

Neither does the term “rehabilitation”, as used by the National Park Service, help us much in efforts to understand: it is “the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural or architectural values”. The difference from the definition of “reuse” above is basically that the new use is also supposed to be “compatible” with the old one.

Problems of reuse

Despite this brief description of the concepts of reuse and rehabilitation, we have still not delved very deeply into the needs of reuse or its consequences. Has not reuse always been around? Why has reuse increasingly come into focus for preservationists? Reuse as a

phenomenon described in the definition given above is an old practice, and lacks novelty. Ever since the industrial revolution, industrial buildings have been reused for other purposes than they were built. 39

Developers are furthermore interested in making profit, and preserving a building may not always seem economically feasible. Historically, developers have often been pitted against preservationists because of differing views of development and new construction. This is an uneven fight since developers are financially strong while preservationists often are represented by nonprofit organizations with very limited resources. Preservationists have traditionally had to rely on advocacy and legislation to reach their goal of nourishing a social climate where preservation of the built environment is valued highly. The biggest fights between developers and preservationist have been fought over downtown development project where plans call for historic buildings to be replaced by highrise buildings or highways.

In textbooks students of preservationism are often asked to take a cynical stance toward development instead of trying to find common ground. 40 In reality, however, planning departments and state historic preservation officers are most grateful for developers who wish to take on development in blighted neighborhoods. 41 Industrial areas with vacant warehouses and factories, perhaps located in the geographical periphery of a city, might from be a much more attractive site for developers than an old office building or theatre downtown, where costs are much higher and resistance from preservationists is likely to be strong.

Today developers can make use of different government programs when redeveloping brownfields. Brownfields are “unused or abandoned properties that are either polluted or perceived to be polluted as a result of past commercial or industrial use and are not

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41 Interview with Bill Pencek, Baltimore Heritage Area, February 21, 2007.
attrACTIVE to the current real estate market”. If the buildings have been marked as historically interesting, there might be funding for preserving exterior or interior parts of them. There might also be funding for cleaning up pollution.

**Restoring brownfields**

The rehabilitation of these often very unattractive and low valued sites, called “brownfields”, has become an important task for U.S. environmental policy. As a result of global economic transformation, the number of vacant industrial sites is growing all the time. The Environmental Protection Agency has estimated the number of brownfield sites in the United States to somewhere between 450,000 and 500,000. This number is not yet decreasing. Industrial society has thus created, and continues to contribute, with heavily polluted and unusable locations often located inside or close to larger cities where population density is very high and where land use needs to become more efficient.

This is why rehabilitating historic brownfield sites in urban areas is becoming an increasingly important task for postindustrial society. A basic problem is that these sites are no longer, or rarely, useful for industrial purposes. As the economy in most parts of the Western world transforms from manufacturing to services, these buildings need to be transformed, and that is where the task becomes difficult. This is not a problem unique to the United States in any way but is a growing issue also in Sweden and elsewhere. Most often, governments do not have the funding to finance the adaptation and reuse of brownfields. Instead all or at least most of the investment has to come from the for-profit sector, but in order to make these sites attractive for investors, governments often need to provide incentives and support in different forms.

A brownfield can be restored in a number of ways. First the site is cleaned of contamination according to zoning requirements, and this is often very costly for the property owner. In many cases it is not possible to evaluate the needed investment for cleaning before the work has started. If the site is to become a residential area, requirements are higher than if it is going to be used for other purposes. The reason is that

children are going to play there and therefore it should not be dangerous to consume the soil. Office, retail or light manufacturing naturally puts lower requirements on cleaning.

There are basically three purposes\textsuperscript{43} in restoring a brownfield, but only one of them will be dealt with here. That is the purpose of reusing the existing structures for new functions in order to raise property values and make the site economically feasible once again. Sometimes this means adding some new construction as well, and tearing down some of the existing. This is also the purpose generally associated with adaptive reuse.\textsuperscript{44}

A second purpose can be to fund the preservation of the building, for example by turning it into a house museum. This is quite an exclusive purpose and only a few structures are so historically interesting that they can be turned into museums. The third purpose is to clean the land in order to make it possible for development again, thereby razing existing structures and raising completely new ones. This paper is concerned with historic preservation issues and will not deal with this third purpose.

Literature on historic preservation and rehabilitation rarely, if ever, discusses the new functions of adapted sites or their consequences for environment and society. Preservationists generally first become interested in a site when it has become the target of redevelopment, and their interest diminishes quickly when the building has been treated in compliance with preservation standards. Most often they are concerned only with the architectural qualities of the building, sometimes even only the qualities of exteriors, leaving the interior to be designed according to the developer’s wishes. Sometimes the compatibility of the new function can pose a problem for rehabilitation, especially when industrial buildings are turned into apartments and the developer wants to add exterior details that will increase the attractions of the building, such as balconies or walkways.

One problem that never is discussed in books on preservation is the fact that industrial buildings rarely are interesting from an architectural point of view. Historic preservation on the other hand is obsessed with the idea of historical epochs of architecture. Only a

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{43}Olshammar, pp. 104–105.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{44}Allan Mallach, \textit{Bringing Buildings Back. From Abandoned Properties to Community Assets}, Montclair & New Jersey 2006.}
few of them have been drawn by prominent architects or can be identified as belonging to an epoch recognized by architectural historians. How an old industrial building can be evaluated as an historic object is a preservation issue, but finding ways of adapting it in a compatible way might be even harder. Warehouses, workshops and factories often have in common with churches and theatres very large interior spaces that are not easily reused. Achieving continuity in the use of a building is often complicated, since developers rarely want to use industrial buildings for industrial production or storage.

**Attitudes toward adaptive reuse**

The practice of reuse was not discussed publicly in the United States before the 1960s when urban planning was increasingly criticized and the American economy was going through profound transformations. Even though reuse had been carried out for a long time, it had not been identified and analyzed as a specific form of development earlier. A discourse on adaptive reuse was born through the “discovery” of a number of successful development projects in the 1960s and 1970s. In preservationist discourse, the success story which has been retold most often is probably the reuse of two 19th century market places in Boston during the 1970s, Faneuil Hall and Quincy Market, and Baltimore’s Inner Harbor which was redeveloped beginning in 1962. Neither Boston, Baltimore or Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco were remarkable as projects of historic preservation, but were instead inscribed as great successes in the history of redevelopment and reuse because of the economic “wonders” they created.

**Changing views in the 1970s**

Attitudes to reuse changed in government departments and in public discourse during the 1970s. One reason was that flagship projects in several cities had proven to be

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45 Murtagh, p. 120.

46 Murtagh, p. 121, mentions Faneuil Hall, and Tyler, p. 170, mentions Quincy Market.
commercial successes, increasing cultural tourism and general interest for the city. In 1979 the director of the Chicago Department of Planning declared that:

Attitudes toward the importance of adaptive reuse have made a 180-degree turn. Government clearly feels an obligation to protect the historic heritage of people by preserving historic buildings […] ⁴⁷

That same year Smithsonian opened a large travelling exhibition called “Buildings Reborn: new uses, old places” which told the story of buildings in cities finding new uses that were of benefit to the public. The architectural historian Barbaralee Diamonstein published a book with the same title and she was also the one who designed the exhibition. ⁴⁸ It was basically a list of good examples of reuse found throughout the country, with pictures and descriptions of the history and reuse of the sites. The exhibit “Buildings Reborn” was from the beginning planned to be exhibited in 22 cities during a three-year period, visiting cities like New York City, Providence, Washington, D.C. and Chicago (where it first opened), but the last exhibit in the U.S. ended as late as October 1985. ⁴⁹ Then the exhibit apparently went abroad to Canada. Judging by the records kept in the Smithsonian Institution Archives, then, the exhibition must be said to have been a huge success. It is reasonable to assume that the exhibit must have had at least some impact on the public discourse on adaptive reuse in the United States. At the least, the exhibit reflected an increased public interest in adaptive reuse.

Besides the fact that it was shown in cities throughout the country, the exhibit was accompanied by programs of guided city walks, public seminars and symposiums. An example of this was an all-day symposium organized by the Smithsonian Resident Associate Program in Washington, D.C. on April 5, 1979, the same day that the exhibit was opened in the Renwick Gallery. Panels and lectures were held by prominent officials and politicians on topics like “The Economics of Reuse”, “Public Policy on Adaptive Reuse”, “The...”

⁴⁷ Quoted in the article "Buildings Reborn" in The Guarantor, March–April 1979, p. 3.
Reuse” and “Aesthetic Attitudes toward Reuse”. Symposia like this one show that the exhibit was not only intended to be a celebration of adaptive reuse, but also to spur serious debate about this phenomenon.

Pamphlets with maps showing successful examples of adaptive reuse in at least the cities of New York, Chicago and Washington, D.C. were handed out to visitors. The exhibit toured to no less than 21 sites only in New York State. The exhibit was also advertised and reviewed in a large number of newspapers and journals, and, as already mentioned, a book by a well known architectural historian was published simultaneously.

The book, published during the Carter administration when new efforts were made to formulate efficient environmental policies, was prefaced by the prominent Democratic legislator John Brademas, who defined this book as a support for Carter’s politics on historic preservation and environment.

Exactly what was new with the reuse of historic buildings according to Diamonstein? As mentioned above, the history of adaptive reuse in one way goes all the way back to the Industrial Revolution. None the less it was seen as a novelty by writers in the United States of the 1970s. Why was that? To begin with, Diamonstein said that as recently as the early 1960s “preservation was an esoteric concern, the subject of low-key letter-writing campaigns, polite protest meetings, and little more.”

Diamonstein went on to describe how the preservation movement grew in the following years, coming to the conclusion that “preservation has increased nationally in large measure by way of recycling – a practical means of preservation available to the smallest town, the most modest commercial enterprise”. Reuse did not just have consequences for architecture and preservation but represented a part of a “widespread social revolution

50 Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 465, Renwick Gallery, Office of the Director, Records, 1967–1988, Box 8 of 17, Folder 1, pamphlet titled “Buildings Reborn: New Uses, Old Places”.


52 Diamonstein, p. 13.
One new side of adaptive reuse, then, was its sheer quantity – that it quickly was becoming more common and was done on more conscious grounds. But there were also other novelties with reuse.

One important aspect was without doubt the rejection of modernism. Diamonstein had interviewed urban designer Jonathan Barnett, later the author of a number of books on planning and design, who said that the movement of adaptive reuse could be interpreted as a way of architectural criticism. Rejecting modern design in favor of historical ones represented a change in popular tastes, a trend that soon would become known as postmodernism.

More and more, people seem to prefer what the past had to offer in the way of handcrafts, custom design of hardware and moldings, attention to details (newness still prevails, though, when it comes to choosing appliances.)

As the author implies in this quote, the rejection of modern design only applied to architecture, and mostly often only the exteriors, and not to the inventories and appliances in buildings. On the outside, reused buildings would reflect the past, but on the inside they were preferred to be very modern in order to make life for its inhabitants as convenient as possible. The rejection of modernist design, then, was only partial.

When Diamonstein tried to explain why adaptive reuse had evolved into a movement, she stressed six factors. Interestingly, they were all reactions to prior developments in the 1950s and 60s, which means that adaptive reuse largely was defined as a way of rejecting and resisting a course that society had taken after World War II. One of these factors was of course the urban renewal programs that razed many inner cities in the United States, often ignoring the historic values of buildings. Urban renewal represented white flight, decaying downtowns, growing crime and alienation but also a loss of sense of place and

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55 Diamonstein, p. 15.
neighborhood character. Urban renewal was soon resisted in many cities by activists who fought for the preservation of their neighborhood or for the environment.

Remarkably but perhaps symptomatically, Diamonstein never mentioned the New York activist Jane Jacobs once in her introduction. In a European book on the same subject, Jacob’s bestseller *Death and Life of Great American Cities* from 1961 would surely have been cited at least once. Diamonstein’s reluctance to grant Jacobs any importance might be seen as support for a statement that has been suggested earlier, meaning that Jacobs’ standing in the United States was very low. Her unofficial biographer Alexiou Alice Sparberg said that Jacobs, going against influential urban planners without having any formal higher education, was criticized for being a feminist radical defying American housewife virtues.\(^{56}\) By the time Diamonstein wrote her book, Jacobs was long gone from New York and the United States, having emigrated and settled in Toronto.

A third factor was that Americans were becoming more educated and had started to travel more. The knowledge society was giving its members new awareness of their history. Two other factors were the skittish economy of the 1960s and the early 1970s with rising unemployment rates, followed by the energy crisis beginning in 1973. Historic preservation was reconsidered as a way of giving new employment in the construction section, lowering building cost and saving energy. The last factor was the decline of modernist architecture and the rise of postmodernism, although Diamonstein did not mention this explicitly.

Both the book and the exhibit put focus most on the architecture and aesthetics of reused buildings, rather than discussing their history or economics or the policies of reuse. This might in part be explained by Diamonstein’s professional background as an architectural historian. Among other things she discussed the risks of making the preserved environments too pretty. Gentrification was another issue she discussed in her introduction but exclusively from an aesthetic point of view, for example the overuse of exposed brick which she pointed out was not historically authentic.\(^{57}\) The wider

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57 Diamonstein, p. 24.
implications of reused buildings – such as local economy or neighborhood change – were left out.

**Adaptive reuse as a symptom of social change**

“Buildings Reborn” can be seen as a first attempt to write a history of a growing cultural activity in the United States, establishing a historical origin of this activity and trying to make sense of it by pointing to greater changes in contemporary society: the texts accompanying the before and after pictures of rehabilitated buildings told stories of deindustrialization, the coming of the knowledge society and the rise of postmodernism. An origin of the reuse phenomenon was placed in the mid-1960s, describing how the old Ghirardelli chocolate factory in San Francisco was saved from demolition in 1962, or how Faneuil Hall Marketplace was saved in 1973 after “supermarkets and trucks had dated the market” by the 1950s. Before and after pictures were efficient aesthetic tools for showing the values of reuse: who could be critical of adaptive reuse when seeing how a run-down, previously attractive building was again turned into something beautiful and useful?

The main text panel introducing the exhibit explained the wider phenomenon of reuse that could not be explained by a single one of the 53 cases exhibited:

Adaptive re-use can only be explained as part of a more general social re-evaluation occurring in the United States. This includes an awareness of our historic past, a realization that new need not mean better, a reconsideration of the meaning of progress, a respect for conservation, an appreciation of the handmade object, a susceptibility to nostalgia, the political and economic sophistication to make these values into forces of reform in many aspects of our lives.  

58 Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 465, Renwick Gallery, c. 1967–1988, Box 8 of 17, text for panels on Ghirardelli Square and Faneuil Hall Marketplace.

59 Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 465, Renwick Gallery, c. 1967–1988, Box 8 of 17, main text panel.
The exhibit obviously managed to revitalize the public discourse on the subject of adaptive reuse. A number of articles from the late 1970s have been found that discussed the subject. Apparently, staff at the Smithsonian collected paper clippings from a collection of journals and magazines that published articles on the subject. Probably only a part of all relevant articles has been traced, but the selection might be seen as representative of the discourse at the time of the exhibit. Most publications just reproduced slightly edited versions of the press release, but a few went further and published their own pieces on the exhibit. These articles reinforced the message of the exhibit when saying that recent years had shown that old buildings did not have to be either destroyed or turned into landmarks, but that there was a third option – adaptive reuse – that could revitalize whole neighborhoods.60

Diamonstein’s ultimate goal with her book and the exhibit – to lay the foundations for a national policy on the recycling of old buildings – were at least in part reached with the initiation of the Main Street Program in 1980. More important, however, was the fact that the preservation movement – much as the environmental one – experienced a serious backlash during the Reagan administration of the 1980s.

Policies of reuse from 1976

By the late 1970s adaptive reuse, then, had been widely accepted both by authorities and by developers in the United States. One important reason was the creation of a federal historic tax credit program in 1976 as part of the Tax Reform Act, and strengthened in the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. Owners of historically designated buildings could apply for up to 25 percent rehabilitation tax credit depending on the building’s age and listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Preservation policy subsequently suffered during the Reagan administration, when the tax credit was cut to 20 percent in 1986, and a couple of other limits were put on the amount available.61 A cap allowing

60 Such as “Buildings Reborn’ at Renwick Gallery”, Inquirer (Philadelphia, PA.), April 12, 1979, p. 8, or Elisabeth Stevens, “New ways are being found to use old buildings”, Baltimore Sun, June 17, 1979.
only $7,000 of credits to be used per year gutted the credit incentive considerably, and
development in cities evidently decreased as a result of these limitations.

State and local governments have tried to compensate for the changes in the federal tax
credit from 1986. In 1992, there were 37 states that offered some kind of tax relief to
owners of historic properties. According to Maya Morris, there are three types of
property tax relief of which one is the tax credit. The two others are property tax
abatement that decreases or delays the property tax for a given time, and a property tax
freeze which holds the property value at the prerehabilitation level. Of these, the tax
credit seems to be the most common and important one.

Since 1986, state and city governments have evaluated their historic tax credit
programs. In the 1980s and early 1990s critical voices meant that preservation was not
economically sound and that it was of less public benefit than new construction.
Nowadays there is however a broad agreement that the benefits outweigh the costs.
Beginning in the 1990s, evaluations from places like Philadelphia (1991), Rhode Island
(1994), New Jersey (1998) and New York City (2003) have shown that local historic
districts raised property values. In 1998, a report from the Fannie May Foundation
showed that preservation has advantageous multiplier effects, meaning that money spent
on preservation rebounded through the local and state economy. Similar results come
from Florida where a survey states that every dollar generated in preservation grants
returned two dollars in direct revenues. A study from Maryland (2003) said one dollar

The Maryland program, however, was soon exposed to criticism due to its generosity,
and a cap was put on the use of credits for commercial properties. From 1997 to 2001,

62 Morris, p. 4.
Institution 2005, p. 7; Edward F. Sanderson, “Economic Effects of Historic Preservation in Rhode Island”,
65 Mason, p. 9.
Baltimore City properties received between 85 and 99 percent of applied credits for commercial properties.\(^{67}\) In 2002, that number drastically decreased to 55 percent due not only to the cap on the amount available for commercial projects ($3,000,000 per project) but also to a geographical cap limiting Baltimore City of using more than 50 percent of a year’s credits (Figure 1). Naturally, these two caps have had a cooling effect on historic rehabilitation in Baltimore city since 2002.

Historic rehabilitation credits have been seen as a temporary experiment in Maryland and was about to end in 2004. Due to successful lobbying from the nonprofit preservation organization on state level, however, it will survive at least until 2009.

Figure 1. Historic Tax Credit Applications, Baltimore City, Commercial Properties (Rehab Costs), percentage of the whole state 1997–2002.


In other states where the historic tax credit programs have not been as generous as in Maryland, such as in North Carolina or Rhode Island, there is no cap for commercial projects. The state of North Carolina, for example, divides a project’s tax credits over 5 or 10 years in order to decrease the immediate fiscal effects.\(^{68}\) It seems as if Maryland’s


\(^{68}\) Interview with Tim E. Simmons, the North Carolina SHPO, and J. Myrick Howard, Preservation North Carolina, March 20, 2007.
initial willingness to use preservation policy as a development tool struck back on itself, “the state basically gave away money to developers for rehabilitating historic structures”\textsuperscript{69}, causing the legislative assembly to retreat on this issue, and since 2002 no further changes have been made to the policy.

**Historic preservation as a tool for urban development**

In the last three decades the *adaptive* reuse of former industrial buildings has become a recognized way of revitalizing industrial cities in economic and social crisis in the United States. Alexander J. Reichl says that the potential of historic preservation as a strategy for commercial revitalization became apparent in the course of the 1970s. Studies done by the federal government stimulated the use of preservation policy as a strategy for raising property values in inner cities and thereby increasing the local tax base. Using historic preservation for “cloaking” urban development was also seen as a way of decreasing the risk of political conflicts and creating consensus around downtown development, even if cultural development projects themselves might appear illegitimate in some cases.\textsuperscript{70}

Preservation laws led to the introduction of a new commodity: transferable development rights, allowing owners of landmarks to sell unused development rights to owners of adjacent lots, making it possible for them to construct higher buildings.\textsuperscript{71}

Reuse has become a way of not just renewing local economy but also become a way for crucial parts of the urban historic fabric to be preserved from demolition. Adaptation of industrial buildings is as old as the Industrial Revolution itself, but the discourse on adaptive reuse has taken a different turn since the 1960s. Contemporary discourse of reuse rests on the assumption that buildings are turned from industrial to postindustrial uses. The purpose is no longer just to create new jobs and to increase property values but also to enhance aesthetic qualities of the urban fabric.

\textsuperscript{69} Quoted from interview with J. Myrick Howard, March 20, 2007.


Within this context the enhanced importance of historic preservation activities carried out in many American cities in recent years becomes understandable. Preservation policies can serve the need of the postindustrial city to create unique locations and boost the sense of place. They have been consciously utilized by city governors to fight disinvestment in inner city areas and to produce more attractive environments through restoration and rehabilitation. According to Wansborough and Magee, this is actually the essence of postmodernism: it is all about concern for the continuity of traditions and “a sense of place, the local and particular”.72

The most obvious expression in urban planning of this trend is the creation of cultural quarters or districts in cities, such as Temple Bar in Dublin or the Northern Quarter in Manchester.73 Cultural quarters tend to grow in historically preserved districts or neighborhoods, where gentrification has not yet kicked in. None the less, cultural quarters need careful planning and support in order to flourish. In the U.K., this way of nurturing the planning of cultural districts a bit at a time has sometimes been called urban stewardship, which is a “process of looking after and respecting a place, and helping it to help itself”.74 In the U.S., however, this kind of integrated cultural planning is expressed in other ways and is usually weaker.

Developers have realized that brownfields, abandoned or underdeveloped ex-industrial sites, represent economic and cultural values. At the same time, local and state governments have initiated a large number of different incentive programs to support reuse of different kinds. The rise of environmental politics has further encouraged the cleaning and restoration of polluted sites, allowing them to be reused in new ways. From an environmental or green perspective, reuse is a way to hamper urban sprawl, decrease pollution from traffic, save open spaces, decrease demolition masses, and also to preserve historic urban cores and thus increase the quality of life in cities.

72 Wansborough & Magee, p. 187.
73 The Northern Quarter is dealt with by Wansborough & Magee; about the creation of Temple Bar, see Montgomery.
74 Montgomery, p. 137.
Today developers can make use of various government programs when redeveloping brownfields. If the buildings have been marked as historically interesting, there might be funding for preserving exterior or interior parts of them. There might also be funding for cleaning up pollution. In the state of Maryland, there is a voluntary clean-up program which protects a participating property owner from future federal and state litigations. In this way, redevelopment can be interpreted as a way of making cities greener (by supporting sustainability through cleaning up pollution and reducing transportation) and more “liveable” by preserving important heritage and at the same time making attractive residential and commercial space. New jobs are created within city limits and in time tax revenues hopefully will increase.

Public discontent is another risk connected to redevelopment. When the city engages in the cofunding of a project, there might not be a limit set from the beginning of how much the city will invest. A project that fails to attract tenants and investors might become a burden to the city. Furthermore, critics say that the public benefits that come out of these redevelopment (new jobs, more taxes, attractive and accessible public spaces) do not justify the often huge investments made.

There might also be other concerns to take into consideration when redeveloping. It seems that these projects often aggravate local residents and merchants. There can be several reasons for such local resistance against redevelopment projects. People might be concerned over increased traffic, that the constitution of the population will change (i.e. rich people will be moving in and less well-to-do locals will have to move out) – a process called gentrification – that the environment will be damaged, or that the history and heritage of the place will be lost. This resistance is to be taken seriously and not belittled.

However, there do not have to be conflicts between developers and the community. Development can, at least potentially, be seen as bringing values of different kinds to the local community: increased security and safety, improved infrastructure, more jobs and commercial facilities, but also the preservation of a threatened and perhaps even

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dangerous heritage, such as decaying buildings. Both developer and community have great responsibilities in creating dialogue and an atmosphere of cooperation.

In this way, values can be said to represent identities and collective memories. Locals may be attached to a place because of nostalgic memories and stories which are told about it, public officials and developers might instead see a bright future of prosperity in it, designers and architects want to express their genius and at the same time respect the integrity of the building, and so forth.

**Saving the past and revitalizing the economy: conflicting goals?**

**Private initiative, public subsidy**

Historic preservation and rehabilitation have increasingly become tools for urban revitalization, instruments to boost the economy in areas hit hard by deindustrialization and social crisis. Since preservation is part of several incentive programs on the federal, state and city level, it might be justified to ask how it might contribute to not just saving jobs and raising property values but also the character and qualities of a community? Are historic preservation policies only a cover-up for subsidizing construction and renovation? This has to do with how the past of a place is used in development. To begin with, the past is subjected to interpretations – at a certain point in time it is not given how the past of a building will be interpreted. We need only to look at the history of adaptive reuse to understand that buildings that at one moment were considered useless and destined for demolition, not much later would be reevaluated as having value by way of their history. A reinterpretation of their past suddenly prolonged their life and gave them a future.

It is important to ask questions of how this reevaluation of buildings occurs. How does a building go from being seen as a blight on the neighborhood to instead being seen as a cultural and economic resource? This is a question seldom, if ever, asked by preservationists or developers in the United States. “What is the relationship between
economic development and historic preservation?”, as the editors of a recent anthology on historic preservation in the United States ask.\(^\text{76}\)

Preservation of the built environment has traditionally been a task for the private sector in the United States. Among important early preservation activities initiated privately are most often mentioned George Washington’s birthplace Mount Vernon in Virginia, and Independence Hall in Philadelphia. Before 1966, the federal authority National Park Service (NPS) only looked to the preservation of natural environments. NPS was established in 1916 to administer areas too large to be preserved privately, but it was not until after World War II with the federal programs for urban renewal that the government began to perceive it as a responsibility to preserve buildings and whole districts, first through the establishment of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1949.\(^\text{77}\)

**Local power over preservation**

It is important to remember that federal government has very little regulatory power over properties in the U.S.. The real power over preservation issues has stayed on the local level, which has primary responsibility for land use regulation. The federal role has primarily been to fund activities, set out an overall superstructure for these and to ensure that the states approach preservation in a consistent way.

On federal level, several acts have had a major influence on historic preservation in American cities since the 1960s. In 1966 the National Historic Preservation Act formalized relationships between levels of government and provided incentives for local governments to form commissions protecting historic resources.\(^\text{78}\) The first preservation ordinance in the United States was adopted by the city of Charleston in 1931.\(^\text{79}\)


\(^{77}\) Tyler, p. 42.

\(^{78}\) Newman, p. 72.

\(^{79}\) Murtagh, p. 37.
With the act of 1966, state governments became more active. Earlier state policies had typically included operation of state-administered museums, historic sites and infrastructural programs. In many states, State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) were established in order to make federal funding available in the state. In Maryland the SHPO is the Maryland Historical Trust. SHPOs process nominations to the National Register of Historic Places, they administer grants, they advise and assist local agencies but without a mandate to regulate. States can vest local governments with so called “enabling power”, but these agencies do not necessarily have to accept these powers. It is their freedom not to get involved in preservation issues. The SHPO also reviews applications for federal historic tax credits and makes recommendations to the NPS.\textsuperscript{80}

Baltimore’s Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHAP) dates back to 1964, two years before the national preservation act. Local commissions like CHAP are following an ordinance which regulates the review process and the possibilities of protecting structures. CHAP was granted the authority to designate landmarks in 1967 (Ord. 67-939). In recent years the commission has been integrated with the Department of Planning, giving it closer ties to the city planning process but also subjugating it to the power of the Planning Commission.

Non-profit organizations working with public awareness and increase of knowledge about preservation issues is Baltimore Heritage that mainly works with advocacy and grant administration, Jubilee Baltimore that gives technical advice and training to homeowners, and Preservation Maryland which is the state advocacy group for historic preservation. A fourth non-profit organization, Downtown Partnership, is also involved in advocacy of historic preservation but exclusively in the downtown area.

Beginning in 1980, it became possible for local governments to become certified by the state to make them eligible for federal and state funding. Certification can be given if the government has established a historic preservation commission with the power to review, if its system of surveying historic properties is tied to SHPO procedures, and if it accepts and is able to exercise state and local preservation ordinances. In other words, through certification the local level becomes more tied to the state government.

\textsuperscript{80} Tyler, p. 53.
As mentioned above, preservation in the United States is absolutely most important on a local level. That is where the real power is vested. Processes of designating structures and districts are initiated on the local level, where approvals or disapprovals of changes to structures also are given. Historic preservation has traditionally been and continues to some extent to be a grassroots movement in the United States. It is however safe to say that property owners, initially because of the federal tax credits, have become more important in the designation of new objects.

Very little, next to nothing, can be done without the consent of affected property owners. If preservation policies are to succeed they have to appear legitimate and just, not to neighborhoods or developers in the first place, but to the individual property owners. Accordingly, if preservation policies seriously conflict with property rights, they are most likely to fail. Preservation officers often have to walk a tightrope when trying to spread their message and carry out policies on the local level, while advocates in the private sector have the opportunity to be more polemic and less balanced in their views.

**From landmarking to districting**

There were not only changes in the legislation in the 1960s. The understanding and meanings of historic preservation also changed. There was a move from aged national landmarks towards giving more attention to whole environments or districts. More recent buildings were recognized as historically important, and there was also a shift from a museum view of environment to a view that would allow buildings to be used in new ways. As already mentioned, in the 1970s adaptive reuse and rehabilitation became important ways of preserving structures that enabled them to continue having an economically vital function. Former schools, hospitals, police stations, warehouses and factories were increasingly converted into new uses but with the historic exteriors more or less kept intact.

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The largest federal program of adaptive reuse has been The Main Street Program, established in 1980. Preservation through reuse and rehabilitation became an important way of renewing blighted downtowns by bringing back some of their retail.\(^{82}\) This corresponded well with Barbaralee Diamonstein’s goals for a coordinated national policy on reuse. The Main Street program represented a policy move from basically maintaining museum functions towards preservation having a role of economic revitalization, thereby paving the way for making government support for historic preservation more legitimate. Another change that took place was that the environmental movement of the late 1960s joined forces with the growing preservation movement. Preservation was a more “green” and environmentally sound way of building than new construction.

**The case of Baltimore city**

One expression of preservation strategies in cities has been the creation of a distinct cultural or historic district in downtown. In Baltimore the official cultural district since the 1970s is Mount Vernon with its cultural institutions such as the main public library, a large arts museum (and another one nearby) and the nation’s oldest basilica. More gentrified historic districts can however be found around the Inner Harbor, such as Federal Hill, Fells Point and Canton in which preservation policies have been used most extensively by developers and homeowners.

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\(^{82}\) Tyler, p. 51.
In more recent years, the city has tried to make use of these policies in more distressed neighborhoods as well. New historic districts have been established in blighted neighborhoods through mitigations with developers wanting to raze buildings in these places. These districts are located outside of the downtown area. CHAP cooperates with several local non-profit organizations to increase public awareness about economic incentives available for homeowners. One result can be seen in Figure 2, which implies that historic preservation was given a new role in development at the end of the 1990s. In the 5-year period of 1999–2003, almost as many local historic districts were designated as in the preceding 15 years.

Figure 3. Designation of national historic districts in Baltimore city 1966–2005.


This development becomes even clearer when looking at the designation of national historic districts in Baltimore city, as shown in Figure 3. The first years of the new millenium experienced a sharp rise in the use of this kind of districting, that does not protect the buildings (except from federally funded building projects) but makes them eligible for historic tax credits. About as many (26) national districts were designating in the 5 years of 2001–2005 as in the 35 years before that (28). The purpose is to spur redevelopment in large areas of the city consisting of residential neighborhoods with high concentrations of vacant properties.83

A prime example of this new development-driven preservation policy is the Old West Baltimore district which was designated in 2004, “primarily a row house neighborhood of approximately 175 city blocks directly northwest of downtown Baltimore”.84 From a preservationist view this is an enormous area to monitor. The single purpose with it is to give incentives for new homeowners to buy a property in the district and use tax credits to renovate it:

83 Interview with Kathleen G. Kotarba, Commission for Architectural and Historical Preservation (CHAP), March 15, 2007.
The West Side is thriving, historic buildings have new life, current and committed projects exceed $1 billion, and Baltimore can boast the largest redevelopment effort of its kind in the nation.  

Another example is Baltimore East, an economically depressed neighborhood designated in 2002, consisting of approximately 110 blocks of “low-scale two and three-story rowhouses”. This rise in designation of national districts was caused by the Historic Communities Investment Fund, which was a partnership between the nonprofit preservation organization on state level – Preservation Maryland, the SHPO Maryland Historical Trust and The Abell Foundation. Grants of $176,105 went to neighborhoods in Baltimore city, resulting in 16 new national districts. Nonprofit organizations and state government has with the consent of city government played a large role in the new preservation strategies of Baltimore.

Figure 4. Designation of local landmarks in Baltimore city 1964–2003.


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Local landmarking in Baltimore is not used primarily as a tool for development but for protecting individual buildings that are deemed important from an architectural or historical perspective. The designation of landmarks practically stopped in 1987 after a breakdown in communications between CHAP and downtown developers, who mistrusted the preservationist intentions. In the year before, CHAP had landmarked a large number of buildings without the owners’ consent. Some owners protested and their properties were taken off the list.

After this incident, no landmarking was done in Baltimore city without owner consent, which became much harder to get because of the icy relationship between CHAP and downtown developers. A consequence of this conflict was that only 3 buildings were landmarked in the period 1988–1997 (Figure 4). In more recent years CHAP has again become more proactive in landmarking, even if focus has been on designating new districts in order to attract investments into blighted neighborhoods.
PART III – BALTIMORE AND DURHAM

Clipper Mill in Baltimore: A self-contained community

The historical background

In the part of the Jones Falls Valley that runs into Baltimore city, there are many old mills, workshops and plants along the stream. In the late 19th century, 80 per cent of all cotton duck in the United States was manufactured here. Parts of the valley, such as the neighborhood of Woodberry in Baltimore city, became company towns where workers lived in housing owned or at least built by the company. In these towns workshops, mills, warehouses and housing were mixed and located right next to each other.

The textile mills took their last breath, more or less, during World War II when war production temporarily increased demand and cotton duck was shipped in for dyeing and waterproofing. After the war synthetic materials revolutionized the textile industry and much of the production moved to the southern states where labor was more flexible and cheaper. The last of the remaining mills, Meadow Mill, ceased its textile production in 1956.

Originally called the Poole and Hunt Foundry and Machine Shops and located in Woodberry, the development site discussed here was first built in 1853 to hold a machine-manufacturing and metal-casting plant. Besides furnishing nearby cotton mills with machinery, the shops also manufactured railroad cars. Robert Poole pioneered in

89 Maryland Historical Trust, National Register of Historic Places, B-1353 (Woodberry), Section 8. The year 1956 is actually stated in the records as the end of the period of significance.
the design and manufacture of looms for weaving cotton duck and of machinery for textile, grist, flour and saw mills. German Hunt was the one handling the firm’s financial affairs. Around the foundry, workers lived in company housing, or housing associated with the mill owners, in a paternalistic relationship to the company management. This was originally a complex of fieldstone and brick buildings, periodically enlarged as the need arose. There is no record of an architect or exact building dates. The shops are mostly known for making the iron columns supporting the dome of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., a historical anecdote that is reproduced in the exhibitions at the Baltimore Museum of Industry and which also was quoted by the developer when first commenting on the acquisition of the site in early 2003. There are in fact similar iron columns left in place at the site today.

By the 1890s, the village of Woodberry had become one of the characteristic company towns characteristic of New England where the plant and the housing together formed a social community and an architectural whole. Woodberry remained socially homogenous for a long time, even after the last mills closed in the aftermath of World War II. The architectural design of the area has not changed much since the 1940s, with the exception of a local TV-station established there in the 1950s, and later a low-rise apartment building.

In a description of the Poole and Hunt Foundry from 1980, it says that “much of the plant is abandoned”. Some buildings were used as storage by a bottling company but most of it seems to have been abandoned: “Plans for the future use of the entire property

93 Jamie Stehm, “Mill slated to become a home for artists; Struever aims to rebuild site destroyed in fatal fire”, Baltimore Sun January 30, 2003. The original reference to the columns is given in the nomination form of the National Register of Historic Places, B-1007 (Poole and Hunt Company Buildings).
are unknown.” In the early 1990s the buildings hosted a number of artists who appreciated the open spaces and low rent. There was also a rock climbing gym and a furniture repair shop.

The redevelopment
In 1995 parts of the site were ravaged by fire. For a few years, the charred remains of 17-acre Clipper Mill attracted film crews “seeking a picturesque backdrop”. One reason why redevelopment of the site did not take place initially was suspicion that the ground might be contaminated, a common problem connected with brownfields in the United States. Responsibility for cleaning up pollution would have fallen on the property owner.

In late 2002, Struever Bros, Eccles & Rouse bought the premises and proposed a $50 million project (currently increased to $70 million) that would turn the Poole and Hunt Foundry into “a residential community and a cooperative hub for Baltimore artists”. Two years earlier, the development company had redeveloped another factory downstream along the Jones Falls – the Stieff Silver building, which formerly made fine silverware, is now office space but has kept its old name. Earlier, in the mid-80s he had also acquired and redeveloped a mill complex nearby now called the Mill Center, housing artists and other small entrepreneurs.

In August 2003 the city provided Tax Increment Funding (TIF) for $7.8 million in bonds for publicly owned road, sewer and water pipe construction in the Clipper Mill

95 Maryland Historical Trust, Inventory Form for State Historic Site Survey, B-1007 (Poole & Hunt Foundry), Section 7.
96 Timothy B. Wheeler, "Brownfields help sought in Annapolis; Fenced-off sites could be useful if not contaminated; A look at Clipper Mill", Baltimore Sun February 20, 2000.
98 Jamie Stehm, "Mill slated to become a home for artists; Struever aims to rebuild site destroyed in fatal fire", Baltimore Sun January 30, 2003.
area.\textsuperscript{100} Underground phone and broadband lines, however, are not covered by TIFs in Maryland because they are owned by the phone companies. The TIF bonds were to be repaid through increased real estate tax collections on the property. Later that fall the TIF, which pledged expected additional property tax revenues from the project to pay off the debt, was lowered to $5.5 million. This was actually a new and innovative way for the city to subsidize development, introduced by the state of Maryland in 2001. If the project would fail, the TIF would be financed through an extra tax on property owners in the district.\textsuperscript{101}

Further, the Poole and Hunt property began its journey through the Maryland voluntary cleanup program, a brownfields program which basically limits the property owner’s future liability. After having been certified, the property cannot be litigated by federal or state government for previous contamination. This is a way for the state to make brownfields more attractive for redevelopment.\textsuperscript{102} Like many brownfields, the site proved to be contaminated with oil in the soil and lead paint in the interiors, and there had also been illegal dumping in later years. The costs for remediating this contamination has been estimated to $1,200,000. All but c. $160,000 of that was covered by three different grants from the brownfields program.\textsuperscript{103}

More important for the developer than the brownfields program was the historic tax credits available on the federal and state level. The property is planned to receive the maximum of $3,000, 000 in state credits (thereby reaching the state cap) and is currently up to $9,000,000 in federal credits. The developer can also utilize a reduction of the property taxes from the city, after having proved through a statement from the former property owner that at least 75 percent of the site had been vacant for at least three years.\textsuperscript{104} In return the developer must follow the standards for historic rehabilitation set

\textsuperscript{100} Tom Pelton, ”City Council approves parking amnesty bill”, \textit{Baltimore Sun} December 12, 2003.
\textsuperscript{101} Eric Siegel, ”City’s new subsidy of choices”, \textit{Baltimore Sun} November 13, 2003.
\textsuperscript{102} Maryland Department of the Environment, “Voluntary Cleanup and Brownfields Program” (fact sheet collected in March 2007).
\textsuperscript{103} Interview with Tim Pula, Struever Bros., Eccles & Rouse, March 14, 2007.
\textsuperscript{104} Email to the author from Brigitte Fessenden, Baltimore City Department of Planning, January 26, 2007.
by the National Parks Service (NPS). For this purpose Struever Bros., Eccles and Rouse – a developer reknown for its niche in historical rehabilitations – frequently hires historic advisors to find appropriate solutions for preservation issues. In this case two advisors were recruited, both working out of Washington, D.C.: Betty Bird & Assoc. and Macrostie Historic Advisors, both of them very experienced in commercial rehabilitation projects.

Betty Bird was given the task of preparing the necessary documentation of the site in the fall of 2002, including photographs and descriptions. Macrostie was then contacted to prepare a proposed historic rehabilitation which was presented to NPS and Maryland Historical Trust (MHT). In all of these negotiations the role of the architect is very much subordinate. The advisor was only in contact with the developer, who then gave directions to the architect firm Cho Benn Holback.\(^{105}\) Therefore it is not necessary to view the architect as an influential actor in this “game of preservation”.

By using the documentation found in the historic tax credit application file kept by MHT, it becomes possible to follow the negotiation process between the developer/advisor and the preservation officers. The NPS official has said that this was the most complicated case she has ever worked with, which caused the file to become extremely extensive. What made this a complicated case was the sheer size of the site – a 20-acre complex with an array of buildings – and the severe damage done to it by fire, fueled by decades of oil leakages.\(^{106}\)

Due to the fire one large building (where the Millrace building now stands) had been completely destroyed and an adjacent one (now called the Assembly building, erected 1890) had been seriously damaged. A third building called the Tractor building (1916), connected to the Assembly, was undamaged by the fire but in serious need of repair. Another large building, the Foundry which was erected in 1870, was in relatively good shape. There is also a stable in fieldstone from 1890, an office building from 1905 and a newer one from 1956, the most recent addition to the complex. Rail tracks ran between

\(^{105}\) Interview with Jennifer Hembree, Macrostie Historic Advisors LLC, March 1, 2007.

\(^{106}\) Interview with Jo Ellen Hensley, National Park Services, March 1, 2007.
the main buildings, but were torn up in the beginning of the redevelopment. There is also a millrace running along the south side of the site that was cleaned up.

The developer wanted to use historic tax credits to fund the rehabilitation of the historic structures, but he also wanted to erect new structures in the yards. Two problems arose here. First, since the new construction would be within the historic site as described in the National Register of Historic Places, the developer would have to find a solution that would not diminish the integrity of the historic part. Second, the industrial character of the rehabilitated buildings would have to be kept despite the fact that they would be turned into new uses.

“Industrial character” however is not easy to define, and can be interpreted in different ways. Keeping the industrial character in a rehabilitation is not so much about preserving the actual historic appearance of the building but more about maintaining an idea of industrial design, giving the observer a sense that manufacturing and industrial production was once going on here. Architecturally it can be about preserving open spaces where that is possible, not lowering the ceiling or covering vents. Rough, less finished materials should be chosen and exterior ornamentation avoided. In line with these thoughts, the NPS minimized or abolished the use of corrugated steel siding, wooden decks, balconies, railings, and demanded the reuse of window frames, doors, shutters and other details. The interpretation of the site’s historical authenticity can be seen as a discourse in which different interests are negotiated and played out. The preservationist has a set of norms to follow but the developer will at times suggest and argue for other solutions.

The developer wanted to adapt the Clipper Mill site into a mixed use space where condos, rental apartments, office space and artist studios would be combined. The new Millrace building was planned for apartments and the partially ruined Assembly building for condos and office. The previous office buildings would remain offices. The lofty Tractor building was planned for parking and some apartments. The Foundry would be turned mainly into space for artists. The intact stable building was originally thought

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107 Interview with Jo Ellen Hensley, NPS, March 1, 2007.
suitable for residential units, but that was soon changed to office space. To be constructed was also a number of duplex and single family homes.

**The nostalgia of industrial production**

There is a discrepancy in the way the developer described the project before the actual development began, and how it is described when trying to promote the location. The following description was given in the form for applying for historic tax credits from the city (May 2003) when asked how the project would “revitalize the neighborhood”:

The project site is a blight on the communities. The redevelopment will save 5 historical bldgs integral to the historic character of Woodberry. Portions of Woodberry adjacent to the site suffer from drug use and crime. This redevelopment will help to negate these factors, strengthen the neighborhood, and stabilize or improve property values. The project will construct a portion of the Jones Falls Valley greenway through the property and if funding is sufficient, all the way through Druid Hill Park. Environmental contamination on the site will be cleaned up, thus improving the overall environmental health of the community. The stream bisecting the property will be improved through the removal of a suspended sanitary line which runs in the stream and is known to leak.¹⁰⁸

Obviously, there is no hint of romance or pastoral idyll in this document which was only intended for communication between city officials and the development company. Blight, drugs, crime and environmental hazards are mentioned. When publicly marketing this development, however, a completely different rhetoric is used by the developer. Struever Bros., Eccles & Rouse makes use of the historic aesthetic when marketing the site. An advertisement hints at the place’s industrial history but without giving any contextual information, mobilizing the romantic potential that ruins in the right place carries:

The Assembly Apartments at Clipper Mill are between Hampden & Woodberry, right next to the [Druid Hill] park. You’re also close to fun shops & restaurants, your favorite hangouts, Light Rail & I-83. Walk

¹⁰⁸ City of Baltimore, Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, Clipper mill file: Preliminary Application for Baltimore City Real Estate Property Tax Credits, May 1, 2003. The author’s italics.
inside and you’d never know this place used to make large machinery (“Assembly”, get it?). Picture 2-story lofts with arched windows and lots of natural light. There’s a pool that flows through some stone ruins. And yes, even a stream running through the basement.\textsuperscript{109}

Blight and crime are gone here, and the stream which was described as a source of pollution has now become a cool feature. It is the aesthetics rather than the history of the Assembly Building that is used in advertising the apartments. Advertisements feature the exposed brick, balconies, lofts, large windows looking out over woods, and the pool. In the beginning of the twenty-first century, the architecture of late nineteenth century mills is considered highly attractive not only as housing and office space, but also as studios for artists and craftsmen.\textsuperscript{110}

The authenticity of industrial character

The developer and the preservation officials had different views of what constituted “industrial character” to begin with. Inside the burnt shell of the Assembly, a new apartment building would be erected. Beginning in late winter 2003 there was an abundance of correspondence between the historic advisor and the NPS, in which the preservation official denied a number of proposals from the developer.\textsuperscript{111} Despite these continuing adjustments and repeated conflicts over authenticity issues, the preservation side and the developer seem to have shared a spirit of cooperation and dialogue, even though the project manager repeatedly challenged the NPS regarding choice of materials and methods. It is the project manager’s task to keep costs down and to find more

\textsuperscript{109} Ahh, the peace and quiet of city life, advertisement produced for Assembly Apartments, collected in November 2006. See also their website www.assemblyapartments.com. The real estate company is owned by the developer.


\textsuperscript{111} Maryland Historical Trust, State historic tax credit applications, Clipper Mill, letters from February 21, 2003, to November 3, 2003.
affordable constructions methods. The preservationist’s task, on the other hand, has very little to do with costs and everything to do with the choice of authentic materials and architectural styles.

After summer 2003 the development moved forward more swiftly. The main issues proved not to be about the historical part of the property, since the standards were more or less clear on what alterations were compatible with the historic structure. The most difficult question regarding the historic part was what to do with the Tractor building, which in itself was intact but with huge windows that needed repair. This building was still in March 2007 largely unrepaired and only used as a garage.

Instead the lingering issues centered on the compatibility of new constructions adjacent to the historic buildings, and in spring 2007 some of them were still unresolved. One troubling issue at the outset was the duplex homes, which the developer soon abandoned and sold the development rights to Ryland Homes, a company known for suburban homes built using affordable methods. This type of house became common in Maryland suburbs in the 1990s. The final solution was considered compatible because of the choice

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112 As the project manager explained in an interview, they would continuously be pushing the limits, suggesting cheaper materials than the ones suggested by NPS. One successful example is the slated roof that finally was put on the stable; Tim Pula, December 1, 2006.
of brick and formstone (which has a look similar to the fieldstone used in the historic buildings). This solution was criticized by a neighborhood association for being too dense, bringing too much people and traffic into an area where access was very limited.

Another issue was the height of the Millrace building, which neighbors on the overlooking Brick Hill resisted. This building is much higher than the original building, blocking the earlier view from the houses on the hill. A small part of the destroyed workshop that stood there before the fire has been preserved as a symbolic gate to the campus area, a ruin carrying the sign “Clipper Mill”.

A more troubling issue was the landscaping and construction of a wooded area just south of the stable, Tractor and Assembly buildings. The area is wedged between the old shops and the Druid Hill Park which is a wooded recreational area. The wood on the spot was razed and two new streets built for single family homes with a postmodern look, using glass and steel. These homes were not considered compatible, but the developer did not adjust his proposal in a significant manner. By spring 2007 Struever Bros., Eccles and Rouse was already marketing these new homes without having resolved the issue with NPS. When marketing these houses, the importance of life style was added to the role of location: “It’s not just about where you live. It’s about how you live.” The environmental or “green” aspects of these homes are stressed in this advertisement.

The postmodern park homes planned for Clipper Mill

113 Interview with Dan Sams, Maryland Historical Trust, … 2006.
This idea was also utilized when transforming part of the basement of the Tractor building into a pool surrounded by steel columns and a couple of ruined walls. The columns are in the same place as before the development, but have been refinished and turned into torches. At night the burners glow and cast light over the pool. In night pictures of this environment, young people – all Caucasian – are gathered around a romantic fire on the roof of the Foundry building. This is a magical and romantic but also safe place – there is no issue of mixed races here despite the fact that 70 percent of the population in Baltimore is Afro-American.115

The pool, complete with ruin and column shaped torches

The developer looks at Clipper Mill as a “campus”. It is going to be “a new community” (according to a January 2007 advertisement), with parties and other social occasions which naturally will exclude other existing Woodberry residents. The pool area is fenced in and designated only for residents in the Assembly and Millrace buildings, although residents in Woodberry earlier had been promised that they would be able to gain access to it. The developer does not seem to have a plan for integrating the campus into the already existing community. Instead he chooses to make a new one which he can “re-image” when necessary. Security guards are patrolling the premises during dark hours,

protecting residents and businesses within the limits of the site. The relationship between the developer and the surrounding neighborhood is dealt with in another paper where the conflict following a breakdown in communications between the two is explored.  

Who is attracted to Clipper Mill?

In March 2007 there were 300 tenants at Clipper Mill. Their composition was completely different from the American Tobacco Historic District, even though the emphasis on creative economy was even stronger here. Twelve of the tenants described themselves as artists, seven fell into the category of design, landscaping, architecture and development, and then there were a number of miscellaneous businesses: two in publishing, two in marketing, two in health, and finally one museum/gallery, one restaurant, one law firm, one high-tech company and also one within financing. Interestingly, the editorial board of the city magazine *Urbanite* in which the development has been advertised is located here.

The idea of Clipper Mill working as a hub for artists and designers seems more focused than the community of American Tobacco, where focus is on high technology, law and financing but also on entertainment. At Clipper Mill there was but one restaurant, and that had not even opened in April 2007. None the less, the intentions of the developers in both of these cases are to create so called “24/7 communities“, but their methods differ.

What are the benefits for artists to live and work in this environment? Most of them were already active at this site before the redevelopment. Some of them may have been squatting, others had leases. Their rents were lower, so what have they gained from the development? A project manager working with the adaptation of a plant into an artist hub in Providence, said that development made the site safer and more secure but also that the studios were updated with modern amenities. One could further argue that more security and amenities makes the location attractive for art consumers to visit, making it

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117 Based on a list given at http://www.clippermill.net/tenants.html

possible for artists to combine their studios with shops and galleries. Right next to the Clipper Mill property, however, there is a large factory building which houses affordable studio space. Close by there are also other vacant mill and warehouse buildings which could be turned into affordable studios or galleries.\footnote{119} To conclude: From an artist’s perspective Clipper Mill was hardly wanted or needed, but the developer had a vision of a mixed working and living community that he chose to fulfill.

**The American Tobacco Historic District in Durham: A destination for visitors**

The future looks bright for downtown Durham, where old tobacco warehouses are being converted into apartments, offices, specialty shops and restaurants.

*Guide to Durham published in 1999.*\footnote{120}

**Background: state policy and history**

Durham, with a population of 187,000 in year 2000, used to be a town dominated by the tobacco industry. The memories of this industry still live among its older inhabitants, and many of its structures are still standing. Today Durham is part of the “Research Triangle”, the other two points of the triangle being Raleigh and Chapel Hill. Local economy is dominated by the presence of Duke University (23,000 employees in 1999), once founded with capital accumulated in the tobacco industry. The second largest employer in 1999 was IBM with 14,000 employees.\footnote{121}

The expansion of the university and the attraction of new companies within creative economy – paired with large economic incentives – obviously makes rehabilitation of the

\footnote{119} Interview with local photographer Tracey Brown, December 18, 2006.


\footnote{121} Herget & Mancuso, p. 77.
centrally located tobacco buildings interesting. The buildings of the old tobacco industries have been rehabilitated since the early 1980s, when Brightleaf Square was opened featuring upscale retail and restaurants. Brightleaf Square was recently (2004) renovated as a “Main Street” kind of response to the growing malls outside of town.

The state of North Carolina is currently experimenting with a mill rehabilitation tax credit for the reuse of former industrial buildings. In July 2006, the “mills bill” as it is commonly called was prompted by the closure of many textile, tobacco and furniture plants in the past decade. It is a tiered credit, meaning that the credit will vary depending on which county a mill is redeveloped in (there are five tiers). This is quite a sophisticated way for the state authorities to direct redevelopment to the areas that are most distressed and need most investment. The mill credit has also been adapted to the regional character of industry, meaning that not only former tobacco manufacturing plants are eligible for the credit but also the warehouses in which raw tobacco used to be sold (these would otherwise be seen as agricultural buildings).

The primary purpose here, as in other places, is not to save historically interesting buildings but to incentivize development. However, in order to receive the credit a developer must follow the same standards as when performing any other historic rehabilitation. A large number of mills have so far been turned into office or residential space in North Carolina, recently the Edenton Peanut Mill (office), the Piedmont Leaf Lofts and the Edenton Cotton Mill Condominiums (both luxury residential), and even more rehabilitation is expected following the introduction of the “mills bill”.

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122 For general information about the credit see North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, State Historic Preservation Office, “State Mill Rehabilitation Tax Credits” (brochure collected in March 2007). For the “mills bill” see General Assembly of North Carolina, Session 2005, Session Law 2006-40, House Bill 474, “An act to provide a tax credit for revitalization of historic mill facilities…”

Using the historic identity of the tobacco industry

In the former industrial town Durham there is a tobacco manufacturing plant that nowadays is called The American Tobacco Historic District. Since 2005 it has housed offices and restaurants, and in the future there will be residential units, the latter a project handled by the Baltimore developer Struever Bros., Eccles & Rouse. There are also plans for a performing arts center which will reinforce the presence of culture and entertainment in the area. The developer says this will become a mixed “live-work-play” area, but currently it is mostly “work”. Since then, less central parts of Durham have also become interesting for redevelopment. Early in 2007 a local developer commented on the redevelopment: “Investors who have come in […] have seen the phenomenal success of American Tobacco […] and realized that [this] is an area that has really lain fallow.”

The facades of the American Tobacco Historic District have been restored to look much as they did newly constructed at the end of the 19th century. An old water tank rising over the roofs carries the name “Lucky Strike” and functions as a beacon, drawing attention and giving identity to the district together with a damaged smokestack that was repaired. Obviously, developers working with rehabilitation are interested in making use of the historical identity that ties a building to the rest of the community. In a newsletter designed for the property, the developer described the meaning of this rehabilitation as an act of American boosterism, strengthening local pride and identity:

[…] an historic landmark was saved from a soon to be final hour and revived to an icon of local vibrancy. In a few months, the Lucky Strike Smokestack will stand proudly above Downtown Durham showing everyone, once and for all, that the great City of Durham has arrived!

124 http://www.americantobacchistoricdistrict.com/newsletters/issue01.asp
126 The newsletter is found at http://www.americantobacchistoricdistrict.com/newsletters/issue01.asp
Inside the complex a mix of historic and postmodern design features can be seen. Among the most eye-catching attributes is a canal constructed by the developer, Capitol Broadcasting Company, running through the whole complex and forming a pool around the water tank. The canal was built in 2004 to create an aura of attraction that the industrial buildings themselves were not believed to carry. The developer has put a lot of effort into making the stream look historic. The concrete of the sides of the canal have been chipped and sand blasted to give it a worn-down look, which does not correspond to the preservation norms of National Park Service which say that additions must not be made to look old.

Constructing the canal at American Tobacco.

If one follows the water upstream, however, the observer soon reaches the source: a large fountain splashing water in front of one of the original brick buildings. The long yard between the two rows of buildings has thus been completely landscaped and redone (with the exception of the water tower, now located on a tiny island), even with lawns planted but with the intention of giving the viewer a feeling of history and authenticity.

Why this mixed message of old industrial buildings in a postindustrial landscape?

127 For photos of the construction work in see http://www.americantobacchistoricdistrict.com/photo_archives_2004.asp
By using the past of the site the developer has attempted to create a kind of community of tenants at this campus. An expression of these efforts is the work of local writer and photographer Ben Casey, who was given the task of documenting the development process from 2003 to 2005. Obviously, a lot of these photos were not meant primarily for documentation exclusively but also to be seen as art. Is this history or is it art? Casey’s photos have been hung on the walls inside the common areas of the buildings. During this time, his images and stories were continually published on the development’s website, contributing to a mix of contemporary art (many of his photos are more art than documents) and historical features.

Going into the Strickland building the visitor is greeted by glass walls, marble stairs and bright lights, but also by exposed brick. An array of features giving the message that this after all is an historic site is given through old black and white photographs, and old shoe shining chair, wooden beams and tobacco stains in the floor. But exactly what is so historic about this, and why was it deemed important not to make this building look entirely new? And exactly what features from the industrial days are stressed: is it the actual labor, is it the products, or just the design itself?

Moving through the American Tobacco Historic District with these spectacles on, one soon gets the feeling of moving in a borderland where nothing is what it first appeared. The common areas are actually packed with art, much of it in the form of photographs of old blueprints and from before the rehabilitation. In fact, the images shown prove to be a highly selective choice. These photographs actually act as peepholes into three distinct transition periods in the history of the place: (1) the time when the plant was planned and built around the turn of the 20th century, (2) the glorious heyday of the tobacco industry of Durham in the 1930-40s, and (3) the time immediately preceding the redevelopment in the beginning of the 21st century. Missing from this “documentation” is the latter half of the 20th century, the period of accelerating decay and deindustrialization in Durham.

It could be said that these images give a nostalgic view of the tobacco industry and its surroundings, highlighting the success of the cigarette brands Lucky Strike and Durham Bull, but also reveling in the romantic ruins of industrialization. For example, in none of the documentation of the site mentions the crippling health effects of smoking discovered
in the last decades. Neither are the legal processes against the tobacco industry, nor their outcome, mentioned in any way. Here the famous cigarette brands still carry an aura of distinction and success, not least since they laid the foundations for the community (Duke University was founded with tobacco money).

![The new courtyard inside American Tobacco.](image)

Within the American Tobacco Historic District is also the DBAP, Durham Ball Athletic Park, a city owned 10,000-seat baseball stadium hosting the immensely popular minor league team Durham Bulls since 1994. The park represents important parts of local identity but is in need of renovation. In the most recent years the renovation plans have been the subject of some heated debate. The neighborhood has feared that the DAP will be privatized and cease its youth activities. There are close historical connections between the DAP and the tobacco industry, not least through the name and symbol of Durham Bull, which originated as a tobacco brand. Currently the city is investing $4 million in order to get the park renovated.

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Who is attracted to American Tobacco?

Who are the tenants attracted to a development such as American Tobacco? In spring 2007 there were 38 tenants. Ten of the tenants can be categorized as high-tech, biotech or medicine, nine as working within law or financing, six are restaurants, four are to be found in publishing or broadcasting, four within design and marketing, three within higher education (all related to Duke University), and two are nonprofit organizations. Judging by the table below, most (31) of the tenants are active within what is usually called “the creative economy”. In fact, only the restaurants and one non-profit organization (YMCA) can be counted out, and both directly serve the “creative class”.

This last observation just hints that there is a connection between this kind of urban design and creative economy. It would carry too far to suggest that the tenants moved here just because of design solutions, and it has been outside the scope of this study to closer analyze the motives of the tenants for locating their business to the DAP district. For future studies, however, it could be interesting to look closer at the design preferences of the creative class.

In what ways has Durham become “a great city” through this development? This is definitely considered a flagship project relative to the size of Durham. These kinds of high profile and creative redevelopment projects have a tendency to draw attention away from the more problematic parts of a city, which in Durham are the unattractive downtown area and the black Hayti neighborhood south of downtown, very close to the DBAP. A part of the black community was razed to make way for the Durham freeway. This is the poorest and socially most stigmatized part of Durham, and recently a spokesman for the Hayti neighborhood commented on the ongoing development projects nearby: “We’ve seen what happens. … They just come in and bulldoze the community down, and we don’t want that to happen to us.” The poor neighborhoods lying next to

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130 Based on a map of tenants at the project website:

the athletic park will most certainly not get a boost from the development. Instead, in the next few years displacement and further development is to be expected in this area.
PART IV – NORRKÖPING\textsuperscript{132}

Discussing Swedish national policy on rehabilitation of industrial buildings is outside the scope of this study. The case treated here should not be seen as representative of Swedish policy and practice regarding projects of reuse and rehabilitation.

Deindustrialization and urban renewal in Norrköping, 1945-65

Norrköping is a mid-size Swedish town (population c. 120,000) located 120 miles south of Stockholm, known for its old textile industry which was closed down four to five decades ago. The textile industry bloomed around the late 1800s and the early 1900s, but due to growing international competition it gradually deteriorated after World War II. Immediately after the war, Norrköping became the target for the new national housing policy which replaced old tenements in mixed use neighborhoods with modern apartment buildings in exclusively residential neighborhoods.

A housing survey from 1945 listed Norrköping as one of the cities in Sweden where there was the most urgent need to provide new housing. Only about 20 percent of all households in Norrköping had individual water closets, and this was a very low share compared to other municipalities. Fiftyseven percent of the households shared a toilet with three or more households, and that was exceptional for Swedish standards. There was also a very high share of small apartments.\textsuperscript{133} At about the same time as it became the responsibility of the municipalities to plan for their housing, industries began closing in Norrköping and industrial structures located centrally in the town became vacant.\textsuperscript{134}

In 1955 a new general plan was established after three years of work, but then nothing happened for some years. The promised subsidies from the state did not come through as

\textsuperscript{132} Note that the results presented here mostly are based on previous research and that the conclusions made are preliminary.


\textsuperscript{134} Schönbeck, \textit{Stad i förvandling}, p. 174.
planned and there was growing division among the political leadership about which course to take. One party wanted to build more affordable rental apartments, and another party wanted instead to build condos. It is still unclear today how this division affected downtown development, but as a result the future renewal would be hampered and not carried through in a systematical manner.

The demolition of downtown began in 1959. In Norrköping the razing was scrupulously planned. Those who had been children in 1915, when Norrköping had had the worst housing stock in the country, had grown up and wanted to see the old workers’ tenements torn down and replaced. People should not have to live next to workshops, warehouses and stores, they argued, and children should not have to play on streets where there was a lot of traffic. Apartments in the inner city were demolished and new ones built up just outside the inner city. In the period 1958–71, 7,000 apartments were torn down and historic neighborhoods near the inner city core were struck hard. Very little was being built downtown, which meant that demolished or partly demolished properties stood vacant and deserted for many years. Downtown remained a desolate, partly demolished landscape for many years due to lack of planning and investment. The city core became a slum and was to a great degree abandoned. Another issue that complicated downtown development was traffic: there was no political consensus about how traffic was to be directed and what bridges over the river were to be built.

In 1962 the renowned textile mill Tuppen (The Rooster) ceased production, and the buildings were demolished in 1969. About ten years later housing was built on the property, but for a decade it was just an empty lot. The razing of this prominent riverfront structure gave people an idea of what soon could be happening to other historic mills and workshops in the area, but there was no organized resistance against further demolition. In the eyes of many people in the city, the buildings were useless once they had stopped production. Furthermore, they were associated with memories of poverty and hard and often dangerous work. The historic value was rated very low locally.

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Discovering and establishing the Industrial Landscape, 1965-85

How do environments get re-evaluated from being considered ugly and useless to receive the status as “flagships” or “beacons” in the urban landscape? One example from Sweden could be the working class neighborhood of Haga in Gothenburg. The past of Haga has gone from being a burden to the city to become both a cultural and an economic resource. When places change profoundly the identity and sensibilities of the inhabitants also change.

The interest in the workings of industrial society is old. Already in the early 20th century industrial technology was displayed and conserved in a conscious manner. In the mid-19th century, tourists were going to the coal fields of Pennsylvania. The interest in built environments and their social contexts, however, does not go further back than to the late 1960s.

The mills along Motala river in Norrköping were rediscovered by a couple of architectural historians at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, influenced by the new discipline of industrial archaeology in the U.K. During the 1970s, the symbolic value of the district gradually changed and more voices were raised in defense of the historic mill buildings. A notion of the Industrial Landscape as a historic district which had something important to tell about Norrköping and Swedish industrial society began to evolve. A breakthrough in this regard was when the National Museum of Labor opened in 1981 in the spectacular building called Strykjärnet (The Iron). It became evident that these buildings could be adapted for important new purposes. Simultaneously the City Museum opened next door to the national museum and was assigned the task of presenting the industrial history of Norrköping to the public.

The wave of demolitions in the 1960s met with weak resistance, however, and were allowed to be carried out. By 1971, when they more or less stopped, 55 blocks had been razed. New development in these blocks was slow to catch on because of lacking investments. Eight years later only 14 of them had been redeveloped. In 2000, there was

136 Ingrid Martins Holmberg, På stadens yta. Om historiseringen av Haga, Gothenburg 2006.
137 About this process of the 1950–70s see Annika Alzén, Fabriken som kulturarv. Frågan om industrilandskapets bevarande i Norrköping 1950–1986, Stockholm 1996.
still 11 demolished blocks left, mostly being used for parking.\textsuperscript{138} They still bear witness to the 1970s and 1980s when large parts of inner city Norrköping lay in ruins, as if a devastating war had been fought there. A whole generation grew up and got used to seeing a demolished urban landscape.

At this time, Norrköping relied on national government to compensate it for the loss of jobs in the industry. Government offices were relocated from Stockholm to cities with more than 100,000 population in order to make urban revitalization possible. Norrköping received several departments. The first one to move was the Swedish Maritime Administration which arrived in 1975. This administration was offered vacant industrial structures downtown but declined, and instead it built a modern complex just north of downtown. There was also the development of a regional hospital in Norrköping at this time.\textsuperscript{139} One reason why Norrköping’s population did not flounder as Baltimore’s did was that employment in the service sector rose. In 1980 the share of employees working in industry was half (27 percent) of what it had been in 1920.\textsuperscript{140}

The city decided to survey the structures in the district in the late 1970s. It had been motivated by a professor of architecture at the Royal Institute of Technology, Göran Lindahl, who had become known as an advocate for the preservation of urban historic structures. In the early 1970s Lindahl had written an article about the mills of Norrköping, in which he wondered what would happen to the area after the abandonment of the last great company, the Holmen paper mill. A passage in Lindahl’s article in the journal \textit{Arkitektur} from 1970 has been widely quoted since then:

\begin{quotation}
Norrköping’s structure of old vacant industrial buildings, collected in the center of the city, amasses one of the most complicated planning problems that any Swedish town has had to face. What will happen to this area, still growing, when the Holmen paper mill in a near future breaks up from its jam packed property? […] What kind of ruined landscape can Norrköping expect to get? Or is there any possibility of reuse in this, from several aspects, technically genuine mass of structures. The problem is worth
\end{quotation}

\textsuperscript{139} Schönbeck, \textit{Stad i förvandling}, p. 177.
\textsuperscript{140} Ann-Christin Cederborg, Björn-Ola Linnér, Roger Qvarsell, \textit{Campus Norrköping. En studie i universitetspolitik}, Linköping 2005, p. 27.
contemplation also from a standpoint of cultural history: even in the old English mill towns should it be difficult to find such a concentrated and well preserved environment from the breakthrough period of industrialism.\textsuperscript{141}

Note that the term “industrial landscape” was not yet established when Lindahl wrote his article. The name began to be used by academics involved in the conservation work in the late 1970s, but it seems that it was not used systematically by the city to identify and market the district until around 1990.

The city’s survey was completed in 1984. One conclusion that the committee came to was that the district was too large to become a museum in itself. Other ways of adaptive reuse had to be found as well. Furthermore, it was necessary to make compatible infill in order for the district to stay architecturally unique.

Beginning in 1977, the Holmen paper mill operations began relocating from Norrköping which increasingly was seen as a bad location for the company. It was no longer feasible or practical to have a large paper mill located in an urban center. It was also a problem from an urban planning perspective. In 1986 the mill finally closed and the large property, filled with buildings of different size, age and quality, became vacant.

Now the city had the opportunity to buy the property, but (probably due to limited public finances) it chose not to. The property was instead bought by the influential local development company Lundbergs AB, which had plans to reuse some of the buildings and to tear the rest of them down. The fate of a large part of the Industrial Landscape along Motala river was still unclear in 1986.

The reuse of the Industrial Landscape, 1986-2006

[...] Norrköping is a small big city with all of the contrasts, excitement and dynamism one associates with a city. The centre of all this power is the Industrial Landscape and its cultural memorials.\textsuperscript{142}

\textsuperscript{141} Quoted in \textit{Industrilandskapet i Norrköping (västra delen), Utredningskommitténs förslag 1980, Norrköping 1981,} p. 6. (My translation)

\textsuperscript{142} \textit{Norrköping’s Industrial Landscape,} internet brochure published by Norrköping municipality.
The quote above is taken from an advertising brochure recently published by the city of Norrköping. It can be said to represent the official image that the city wants to advertise and show a national and international audience. When presenting this image, the municipality can be said to fall back on a narrative of the industrial landscape which has been thoroughly constructed over the last two decades.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the inner city of Norrköping went through a kind of “renaissance” similar to the one Providence, Rhode Island, was experiencing almost simultaneously. The waterways were rediscovered and there was a broad consensus in Norrköping in favor of the preservation of the Industrial Landscape. This opinion had been very weak still in the 1970s, but in the following decade more local people became aware of what was happening to the district. A conflict about the use of the river by the paper mill in the early 1980s increased citizen involvement. The paper mill wanted to cut off most of the water flow in order to get more energy for its production, but after a prolonged investigation the Environmental Court (Miljödomstolen) finally ruled in 1986 that the seasonal flows would be preserved. The reasons were environmental as well as aesthetic, as the river was becoming an increasingly important image in the city.

In 1995 the city of Norrköping received a prestigious award from the Urban Environment Council (Stadsmiljörådet) for its successful reuse of the Industrial Landscape. So what had happened in a few years that gave Norrköping a more or less completely new image and cityscape?

The former city architect Leif Sjögren says that 1996 was a dividing year in the history of the Industrial Landscape. In that year, a program for the establishment of a university campus was established in the form of a partnership between the city and Linköping university in a neighboring city.143 The university would become a major tenant in the district. In accordance with Sjögren’s view, Svante Beckman says that the Industrial Landscape in the last decade has become a “reservation for the arts” and the face that the

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city of Norrköping wants to show. Advertisement images feature the landscape at night with yellow light coming out of the windows of the mills and the street lights and reflecting in the dead calm river. Much like Hammarby Sjöstad in Stockholm, this is one of the new cool waterfronts in Sweden where creative people and businesses are said to have a prosperous future.

Nowadays the remaining mill buildings together form a unique urban landscape in the middle of the town along the river, constituting a riverfront environment of stone houses, several of them architect designed, and many of them about five stories high.

This environment, about 40 hectares large, has been designated as a riksintresse, i.e. a heritage considered to be of national importance. Lagen om kulturminnen, the national heritage law from 1988, made it possible to designate these areas of national interest. The designation can protect the area from a cultural, environmental as well as an economic point of view. The cultural national interest is designated by the National Heritage Board and reflects the broadening of the concept of culture in national politics which has been taking place since the 1970s.

In the centre of this area is located the national museum of labor, Arbetets museum, opened in 1981. The museum was the first new major establishment in the industrial landscape after the closing of the mills and showed the public that the reuse of these mill buildings could be made attractive and feasible. Adjacent to this museum is the city museum, which documents and presents the building and social history of the industrial landscape. The city museum was relocated here in order to better represent the history of this district and to encourage further reuse.

The area was however too large to be completely turned into museums. Other functions had to be sought that were compatible with the cultural uses of museums. After the early 1980s, the city looked for other development projects. Ideas flourished and included a congress hall with hotel amenities, a science center and the establishment of a local university. Sadly, the science center, a proposal called “Heaven and sea” as described in a

145 http://www.hammarbysjostad.se/
brochure from 1995, was never realized.\textsuperscript{146} The committee that worked with the project actually visited the Maryland Science Center in Baltimore to get ideas. The Holmen paper mill, however, was turned into a combined conference and symphony hall in the early 1990s (without the hotel however) which was perceived as a major development project for the city.

**New images of Norrköping**

Thirty years ago, a prominent local historian wrote that there was a dominant narrative of Norrköping. It sounded something like this: Once upon a time there was a town where there lived a lot of workers who stayed in small and dirty apartments. Early in the morning they all went to factories located at a stream. They worked all day long among machines producing beautiful textiles. The workers themselves were poorly dressed. After 100 years the machines stopped and the workers had to go home, because workers in other parts of the world labored for lower wages. The city was deserted. End of story.\textsuperscript{147}

This story – the reader has to determine for himself if it has a sad or a good ending – might have been the narrative of Norrköping in the 1970’s, but since then the municipality has been engaged in actively changing the self image and identity of the city. Nowadays the unemployment following the loss of textile industry is presented as just a parenthesis in the history of Norrköping. In the official narrative of the early 21st century, the 1970’s is seen as a decade when the foundation of Norrköping’s bright future was laid:

When, in the sixties and the seventies, other cities were gripped by demolition fever, Norrköping made a decision about its future.

The Industrial Landscape would not be demolished. Instead it would be filled with life.\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{146} *Himmel och hav – ett Science Center i Norrköping*, Norrköping 1995.


\textsuperscript{148} *Norrköping’s Industrial Landscape*, Norrköping 1992.
This interpretation makes it look like it was a “decision” made by the community collectively to “save” the environment. A probably much stronger reason why more buildings were not razed in the 1960s was the lack of funds and investors.

Looking back from the year 2007, we can see that Norrköping has used the Industrial Landscape along Motala river to tell a success story of a town coming out of a long period of social decay and economic stagnation, facing a bright future of small business entrepreneurship, higher education facilities and knowledge based industry. In a recently published history of 20th century Norrköping, a similar success story is retold:

Norrköping is now changing its identity. That process is today the result of a planned strategy. The city by the stream is today a place where the university, hi-tech industry and cultural institutions of different sorts meet.\footnote{Hans Nilsson (ed), \textit{Norrköpings historia. 1900-talet}, Linköping 2000, p 536. My translation.}

Public art situated in the environment plays a role when interpreting the Industrial Landscape. A sculpture at \textit{Skvellertorget}, Pye Engström’s “The flag of our unity” (\textit{Vår enighets fana}), commemorates radical women textile workers.\footnote{For an image of the sculpture, see http://www.norrkoping.se/kultur-fritid/museer/konstmuseum/offentlig/enighet/enighet.jpg} At the Old Square nearby, Louis De Geer, “the father of Swedish industry” is commemorated\footnote{http://www.norrkoping.se/kultur-fritid/museer/konstmuseum/offentlig/degeer/degeer.jpg} (i.e. a representative of capitalism as portrayed in Engström’s sculpture). The concert and congress hall built inside the old paper mill also bears De Geer’s name.

There are other examples of public art commemorating the industrial age in different ways. “The fifth chimney” from 1999, a sculpture raised in the water, caused a heated debate on the functions and responsibilities of public art. It was not clear whether this fake chimney was supposed to rise out of the water (symbolizing Norrköping’s renewal) or sinking into the water, representing the end of industrial society and its social implications for Norrköping.
About at the same time, Linköping University located a new campus in Norrköping. It was placed right in the heart of the industrial landscape, following a political process that had been both confusing and stressed. Today we cannot know for sure if the university will stay inside the industrial landscape, since there is not enough space for it to expand within the limits. What is certain, however, is that much of the development and status of the area depends on the university staying there. If the university relocates much of its research and educations, the area will become less attractive for IT companies and other businesses that are part of the creative economy.

In another part of the heritage area which is called Norrköping Science Park there is an incubator, ProNova, which hopes to be greatly expanding its business in the coming years. Norrköping Science Park is located in a neighborhood that is still to be redeveloped and which still contains run down buildings, parking lots and alleys. Both the city and several development companies want to convert the area into luxury apartments, a shopping and office gallery, and a visualization center run by the university. But then there is the county administration that protects the environment, setting limits for the creativity of architects and developers. The curators of the city museum are opposed to the building of more residential units within the Industrial Landscape. They argue that it has been exclusively a work space and not a space meant
for living. Changing the use in such a drastic way will mean that the environment has to be made attractive to live in.

**Using industrial history to build a vision for the future**

At the same time that The Industrial Landscape is destined to become a hub for creative and cultural uses, it is a conserved environment intended to represent the industrial glory days of Norrköping. It is a symbol of a great period in Swedish national economy that many want to see repeated again, in the same spot. Along the highway E4 leading into Norrköping the motorist is greeted by a large sign with a picture of a musician playing in front of the new concert and congress hall (previously the Holmen paper mill). This image carries the message that Norrköping has become a city of culture where beauty, arts and knowledge are valued highly. The stamp of a working man’s city dominated by dirty, low paid and low skilled work is to be washed away and replaced by a new identity.

Or maybe not? The Louis De Geer Concert and Congress is located within the Industrial Landscape which has, it is often said, a unique European environment of century old industrial buildings. Obviously the history of industry and labor is emphasized in certain contexts but consciously pushed back and denied in others. The textile factories have been turned into educational factories with a university campus and other knowledge based functions. It is the coming of information society that has triggered and motivated a national agenda of conserving and researching the history of industrial society.

How should we understand this process of remaking? To begin with, we must bear in mind that municipalities, not only in Sweden but worldwide, have been promoting themselves in an increasing degree for the last two or three decades. Information, advertising and imaging have become important tools in the efforts of cities to make themselves attractive for new inhabitants and companies.¹⁵²

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Not insignificantly, it is often said that the postindustrial age poses new demands on industrial cities to reshape their image.\textsuperscript{153} With the big exhibition NU64, Norrköping tried to do just this already in the mid-60’s, but the city was then in the middle of the textile industry crisis and could not (according to one scholar) really present a believable vision of a dynamic and prosperous future.\textsuperscript{154} Interestingly, in the exhibition the municipality tried to ignore the decaying city centre, instead focusing on the regional area of Norrköping. Today, all effort in the image making is instead focused on the area along the Motala stream. Norrköping undoubtedly tries to be part of what has been called a European renaissance of the city.\textsuperscript{155}

Second, there are architectural concerns which have been affecting image making. Far from all industrial buildings that have been deserted are considered worthy of being preserved. But if they represent aesthetic ideals that appeal to urban planners, local politicians and preservationists, they might be saved and reused. In the case of Norrköping, a large portion of the industrial landscape stems from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century and is beautifully situated along a wide stream in the middle of town, an environment that was not at all appreciated forty years ago.\textsuperscript{156} Many of the buildings now occupied by business and housing were deserted into the 1990’s, although a few of them had already converted into accommodation in the preceding decade.

Today, the combination of streaming water with walks and multistoried stone buildings are symbols of urbanity and dynamic city life. This particular notion of urbanity might be seen as a postindustrial and postmodern reaction to functionalism, representing a move

away from totality, great visions and rational planning. It would be interesting to look at how changes in architectural and aesthetic ideals affect viewers’ and users’ perception of urban space.

Third, the industrial landscape is associated with a mixed history of labor, everyday history and entrepreneurship. Perhaps this history could be called a “collective memory”. This history is partially written, partially remembered in the minds of the people (mostly women) who used to work in the factories, but it is also presented in the buildings and in public spaces of the environment.

In Swedish urban planning, ideas of how to create concentration, dynamics and attraction have been central at least since the early 1990s. The contrasting image is of course the thoroughly planned city of the 1950s and 1960s, where functions were separated from each other, and where architects did not pay respect to local history and environment. One of the great critics of urban renewal in Sweden of this period is architect Bengt O.H. Johansson, who in 1997 called the program a “cultural genocide” because of all the historic structures that were demolished by urban renewal.

In the plan for the district from 2005, the Industrial Landscape is portrayed as a historic urban core with very limited car traffic, a lot of different activities going on (mixed uses) and with narrow streets lined by large buildings, thus creating an exciting and very urban streetscape. On street level there will be shops, offices and university departments. On upper floors there could be residential apartments. By applying well thought-through planning the Industrial Landscape will become an asset for the population and give them a stronger sense of what it means living in the city.

How the wanted diversity is to be reached remains unclear. This is however a growing issue in public debate on cultural heritage in Sweden: how can cultural heritage become

157 For a discussion on the use of history through monuments and collective memory see Peter Aronsson, Historiebruk – att använda det förflutna, Lund 2005, p 192ff
160 Fördjupad översiktsplan för industrilandskapet i Norrköping, Norrköping 2005, Figure 10.
more democratic and involve more people in a society that is growing more and more diverse? The city’s plan says that it is a diversity of experiences and meeting places that makes the place attractive for education and commerce. This is an idea embraced by a global community of architects and planners today, and there is nothing unique with the ideas of the plan. Among important questions for future research to ask might be: how can ideas that have been moving about in the U.S. and in Western Europe for two decades give the Industrial Landscape more of a sense of identity and place? What are the functions and consequences of historic rehabilitation when carrying out a plan like this?

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PART V – A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Comparing policies

Differing concepts and terminologies

What can a comparison between cases of reuse between two countries tell us? What kind of new knowledge might a comparative approach bring? Since they are based on legislation, national policies can always be compared. The local contexts and practices through which policies are carried out are more or less unique and, consequently, harder to compare over national or even regional boundaries. As an example of regional complexity, the tradition in the U.S. of seeing historic preservation as divided between the industrialized and more progressive North and the more traditional South can be mentioned. Consequently, there are not only national differences between Swedish and American policies, then, but also regional discrepancies within the U.S to consider when comparing, say, Baltimore and Durham.

Besides different policies and practices there is also considerable differences in terminology between countries. The terminology affects policies because it has a major influence on the definition of issues. In the U.S., historic preservation is still focused very much on “brick and mortar” projects, concentrating on saving buildings. In Sweden the equivalent of historic preservation, kulturmiljövård, has transformed from a complete focus on artefacts and built environments until the 1970s, to incorporate also non-material expressions of culture as well. The official definition of cultural heritage was changed in 1998 to reflect this shift in cultural policies. The new definition also emphasizes that cultural heritage belongs to everyone in society and not exclude any

Heritage in the U.S., due to its different ethnic composition, stresses more the multicultural character of contemporary society and that not only ethnic but also other group formations have their own heritage which do not need to be integrated into a national culture.

It is interesting that in the U.S., the term “historic preservation” has been the same since the 19th century, while *kulturmiljövård* in Sweden still is a fairly recent invention. It was preceded by the term *kulturminnesvård – kulturminne* having much the same meaning as the German *Denkmal*, that is a site of remembrance and reflection – that had a focus on the conservation of important national landmarks rather than complete environments or non-material cultural heritage.

In Sweden there is also a growing interest in preserving industrial buildings and environments. This interest in designating industrial landmarks, reflected by the term *industriminnen*, has grown considerably from the 1980s. During the 1990s, 92 industriminnen were designated, whereas the number for the preceding decade was only half of that. Making the problem of preserving industrial landmarks visual in this way seems to be a trademark for Sweden and other parts of Northern Europe, whereas industry in the U.S. has not yet been the target of preservation in the same systematical manner. Another difference is that the laws of landmarking, in Sweden called *q-märkning*, are entirely regulated by local authorities in the U.S., whereas landmarking in Sweden is controlled through national legislation.

Differences in culture, policies and terminology should not in any way discourage from making comparisons. Instead, they are to be integrated into comparative studies and be treated as a legitimate part of the investigation.

### The treatment of industrial sites

A systematic comparison of national policies will have to be a future task. The author has not been successful in acquiring all the necessary Swedish reports and research in the

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short time that was available. However, it can be said that Swedish policies have not had the same focus toward preservation and cleaning as the U.S. ones have had.\(^{164}\) For a long time, Swedish brownfields (the term was however not used) policies fell under the term *sanering*, which basically means “clearing” followed by new construction. There was not a focus on reusing existing buildings since they were seen as a both a social and an environmental blight.

In Sweden reuse developed more or less independently of what was happening in the U.S. during the 1970s. In the U.K., cities repeatedly looked past the Atlantic to see how Americans were dealing with urban problems in deindustrializing cities.\(^ {165}\) This discourse changed in favor of reuse around 1980. Swedish surveyors of the early 1980s primarily saw to that land use could be seen as rational and that earlier infrastructure investments were used, without primarily looking at commercial feasibility.\(^ {166}\) At about the same time, government surveyors of conservation policies discussed the possibility of preserving some former sites with the intention to represent important parts of Swedish industrial society, highlighting the ongoing work with the Industrial Landscape.\(^ {167}\)

We should expect to find differences in how the two countries have chosen to approach the problem of adaptive reuse and historic rehabilitation. A difference going far back in time is that the preservation movements have evolved differently: in Sweden, as in much of Europe, the government took control of conservation fairly early (in a more systematic manner from the late 19\(^ \text{th} \) century), but in the U.S. preservation developed from the bottom and up through the formation of local societies and individual initiatives.\(^ {168}\) These differences continue to affect rehabilitation in contemporary society.

\[\text{References}\]


A common trait, however, is that the preservation movements evolved as a reaction to the growing effects of industry on society. Urbanization, mechanization and the breakdown of traditions were regarded as threats to the stability of society, and that is one reason why industrial buildings gained attention from preservationists fairly late. Industrialization represented modernity and change while agrarian society stood for traditionalism and authenticity. Today the reverse can be said to be true. Industrial society has come to be perceived as more authentic, historical and locally rooted than postindustrial society. The latter is represented by globalization, loss of sense of place and uprootedness. The increasing interest in preserving industrial buildings is one expression of a need to reflect upon great changes in the organization and everyday life of contemporary society.

Issues of urban planning

Another difference in national development to consider is the urban renewal projects following World War II. They had a wide effect in both the U.S. and Sweden, but Swedish cities never experienced the so called “doughnut” effect when white middle class fled the inner cities and settled in the suburbs, reinforcing the social and economic crisis of deindustrializing cities in the 1960–70s. Consequently, the abandonment of inner city properties never occurred in a similar way to what happened in cities such as Baltimore. That largely explains why historic preservation never became an incentivizing tool for urban development in Sweden. Up to the 1970s, the government sponsored new construction in or adjacent to the city cores.

One conclusion to draw from these differing national experiences is that later reuse of industrial sites in Sweden has focused on improving the environment in order to make it a place for rich experiences, whether these experiences are of an educational, recreational, aesthetic or economic character. This has also been the local government’s official view of the Industrial Landscape, even though it has become evident that the environment also

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169 Alzén, Fabriken som kulturarv, p. 121.
is used with promotional intentions. It is however arguable whether these promotional campaigns have any public benefits for the city.

Swedish reuse has not been planned from the aspects of commercial or property value. Tax on property value is very low compared to income taxes in Sweden, and goes directly to the national government. In the U.S., property values are taxed locally and are significant in comparison with income taxes, which are much lower than in Swedish municipalities. This is one explanation why a city like Baltimore wants more high-profile development and gives subsidies to these projects. The city needs to find ways to level the difference in taxes between the city and the county, thus making it favorable for developers to go into the city instead of continue building in the suburbs.\(^{170}\) Also, almost all of the historic structures are located within the city which forces developers to invest in the city if they want to utilize historic tax credits.

Depending on the real estate market, new luxury condos, offices and retail property values will make property values rise and in that way increase the local tax base over time. One problem with these incentives, however, is that the city provides developers with different kinds of property tax subsidies in order to attract investment, constantly pushing forward the date when property tax revenues eventually – and hopefully – will increase.

Even though developers keep pushing the limits, demanding more subsidies in order to make redevelopment even more feasible, it must be said that rehabilitation projects in cities such as Baltimore and Durham are very attractive for commercial purposes. In the last ten years it has been proved time and again that there are considerable benefits for the public as well, but it could also be argued that city and state governments should be more regulatory and demanding regarding the new functions of these sites and how the local community will gain from development. Baltimore and Durham have more or less surrendered to developers in order to make themselves attractive to investors, just placing a minimum of regulation on these redevelopment projects but providing them with an abundance of federal, state and city incentives. Incentives are to be met with at least an

equal level of regulation, but instead the developer just has to follow laws and regulations regarding cleaning and aesthetics.\footnote{There are of course a number of other planning codes regarding fire, safety, accessibility etcetera, but they are not tied to incentives.}

Tax-based subsidies such as historic tax credits can be seen as one of three ways of encouraging redevelopment through policy. The other two are public-private partnerships (PPPs) which became popular in American and British cities in the 1980s, and the creation of development corporations working for the public to establish a local climate attractive for entrepreneurs and investors.\footnote{Öhrström 2006, p. 82.} Both of the later forms have been used in Baltimore since the late 1970s, preparing the ground for developers. The Baltimore Development Corporation wants to see more mixed use redevelopments such as Clipper Mill along the Jones Falls Valley corridor.\footnote{Interview with Mikael Pokorny, Baltimore Development Corporation, November 29, 2006.}

The city of Baltimore has some 40,000 vacant properties which are continually decaying and encouraging social ills like drug abuse and gang violence. The infrastructure and maintenance of these areas are expensive for the city since the property taxes trickling in from them are minimal. Baltimore is an extreme case of vacancy and abandonment, and there is not a similar situation in cities like Durham or Providence. The disuse of complete neighborhoods is a unique historical circumstance that has to be considered when contemplating why development policies look the way they do in Baltimore.

David Harvey has argued convincingly that the flagship projects of the 1970s and 1980s in Baltimore were a conscious way for city governors to cover up and conceal the city’s staggering social problems and conflicts.\footnote{Harvey, \textit{The condition of postmodernity}, pp. 88–92.} In this way, architecture and design are used as theatres or spectacles to boost a certain civic identity and to push down more negative images of the city. After having reviewed comparative policies, focus will now be shifted to a comparison of the aesthetic representations.
The politics of design

The privatization of urban space

The most eyecatching differences between the two American cases and the Swedish one is that the Industrial Landscape was a typical “flagship project”, reshaping the identity and image of Norrköping, while Clipper Mill in northern Baltimore is – despite the huge investment made and the large area that it comprises – will at most have an impact on adjacent neighborhoods. Clipper Mill would likely have had a more profound impact on people’s imagination had it been located downtown. American Tobacco, on the other hand, resembles more of a flagship project to Durham, since it is located within or immediately adjacent to the downtown area and already has had a part in giving the city a new “face”.

The tradition of development projects with spectacular design goes back to the “festival marketplaces” of the late 1960s in Boston, Baltimore and San Francisco, as described earlier in this paper. The festival marketplace was a way to revitalize downtown areas by creating environments attractive for consumption. In some cases, the historic features of the buildings were used to enhance the attraction. These marketplaces had in common that they originally used heritage, often in the form of locally produced commodities, in order to become unique places of consumption. As property owners wanted more profit, however, the rents went up, the local stores had to leave and were replaced by national chain stores. In a sense, the festival marketplaces restored semi-public spaces in downtown areas, but users were not greeted as citizens of the city but as visiting consumers.

The urban spectacle turned tourists and citizens into equals, and tended to their consumption habits. The same pattern was repeated when the malls became popular in the 1960s. An important purpose with commercial design since then has been to make the consumer want to stay and spend more money, as opposed to creating spaces which treated the visitor as a citizen. Common areas in galleries and malls and exteriors between buildings in these development projects have a tendency to look as if they are
public when they really are private. As Sharon Zukin has noted, these areas are often closely monitored by cameras and security guards controlling the behavior of the visitors by a set of rules set by the property owner.\textsuperscript{175} For example, the author this paper was quickly questioned by the property owner’s security when strolling around in the semi-private entertainment area at American Tobacco, taking some photos of the buildings. When asked why this could be a problem, the guard replied that “management likes to know who’s taking pictures”. The new spaces created through redevelopment are not meant for civic discourse but for leisure, entertainment and consumerism.

But behavior is controlled in much more subtle ways as well. Through design the visitor’s movements are carefully directed along the sides of the buildings in order to make him or her want to observe the amenities available more closely. Promenades guiding the walker have been constructed, with lawns and flowing water keeping him or her from taking a self-guided tour and breaking obvious rules of conduct. Visitors are not encouraged to sit down or stay in this area but to move on into a restaurant or an office.

Behavior at Clipper Mill is controlled in similar ways. Parking, for example, is scarce and only meant for residents and workers in the area. There is no parking for visitors to the Druid Hill Park, for the commuters taking the light rail from Woodberry, or for people visiting friends in the neighborhood. The reason is of course that the property owner can choose not to have these amenities available for anyone but those working or living within the property. Despite the fact that a public street passes through the property almost no parking is allowed on the street; visitors are encouraged to move on without stopping. This is not formally a closed or gated community, but by conciously choosing a design that is closed to outsiders it becomes very hard to visit this area. Unlike American Tobacco, Clipper Mill has been designed exclusively for those working and/or living there.

\textsuperscript{175} Sharon Zukin, \textit{The Cultures of Cities}, Cambridge, Mass, 1995, p. 32.
An effort to create public space

The Industrial Landscape was not accessible to outsiders before the 1980s, when it was a place for manufacturing, repairing and storing. This was exclusively an area for work, whereas it today is turning into a mixed “work, live and play” community. Here the primary idea with urban design has been to make the area more accessible to pedestrians and bicyclers. A reason is that this is seen as a way of creating consensus around the project and rallying public support of it. The integration of cultural facilities in high profile development projects is a deliberate way of making it more legitimate for public funding. Culture and the arts, seen as apolitical expressions, can thus serve the purpose of defusing a potential conflict around a development.176

A walk has been constructed along the river which previously was inaccessible, and some green areas for recreation have been established. These green areas have been a source of conflict since curators do not want the area to become too green, since that would diminish the industrial character of the district. Another issue around the river has been the construction of new walkways over the river, in order to improve communications within the district. The river has not been conserved in the way it looked during the industrial heydays, because back then there were a lot of different structures standing in the river and on the river banks. Most of these structures were cleared since they were not deemed attractive to the new riverfront, disturbing the image of a moving but reflecting and calm water surface.

Despite the differences in management and accessibility, the design of the cases dealt with here do have important features in common. Not only the differences should be observed. All the three areas use parts of their past to promote and justify development. The parts used are selected for their ability to attract tenants, investors and consuming visitors. This means that the past is adapted for future uses of the place. Rehabilitation is contradictory because it is supposed to preserve the industrial character of buildings, but at the same time it is acknowledged that the new functions demand adaptation. A negotiation process is played out between preservationist and property owner interest.

Concluding remarks

Urban redevelopment is not the natural process which is sometimes described by economists, development corporation officials or developers. Historic preservation does not only follow the waves of a laissez-faire real estate market or the life cycles of the buildings themselves.\textsuperscript{177} It is highly politicized and subsidized by national and local governments. Historic rehabilitation has however proved to be a way of making development less politically charged. Their design is often deemed attractive because of references made to the history of a place, a history that most often has nostalgic features and acts in a way that is designed to boost local identity. Rehabilitation can cover up or cloak issues of gentrification, displacement and the community’s need for redevelopment.

By making a development project part of a local legacy and tying it to past days of success and glory, the project is more easily accepted by the public. Historical references also have a way of making places more recognizable in a world where economic globalization tends to erase borders and cultural differences. However, the two American cases studied have not gone further than creating a mere illusion of contributing to community needs. Behind the curtains of historical references, there are only private spaces inhabited by consumers and producers rather than citizens. In order to make the public benefits of rehabilitation more obvious, commercial redevelopment projects should cooperate more closely with the local community. In the two cases studied, tending to the needs of the local community has been close to negligible.

The Swedish case should not pass without criticism. It still remains unclear how the goals of diversity and accessibility are to be reached within the Industrial Landscape. Planners consciously use a vague, uncontroversial and globally dispersed rhetoric to make the project immune to criticism for not tending to public needs. The Industrial Landscape is still in 2007 populated by people who can be said to belong to a creative elite of regional or even national origin: concert and museum attendants, students, scholars, designers, curators, and so on. Many of them, perhaps most, commute from

\textsuperscript{177} Boyer, \textit{The City}, p. 411.
other cities and have only a very fragmentary relation to Norrköping. Adjacent to the
district in the south are working class apartment buildings with a majority of immigrants
who never have a reason to visit the “cultural reservation”. They are just an example of
Norrköping’s citizens who may have a hard time seeing the benefits for the local
community of the Industrial Landscape.

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