Transindustrialisation: art, regeneration and cultural inequalities

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Abstract

Art of all forms is inherently political, even if it does not pursue an explicitly political agenda. Who is and who is not depicted and what is commemorated and what is not can reflect power and representational relations within a society. Similarly, the accessibility of art, and how art can transform landscapes such as urban environments is the result of political decisions. Drawing on work highlighting how some post-industrial cities have been transformed through art installations we consider, drawing on explorative walking in deindustrialised city spaces, the neighbouring communities where art is devoid of context. Spaces where there is a lack of art and so a failing to transform landscapes or to commemorate and memorialize their industrial heritage. We focus on the socio-cultural significance of such art in – or, notably, without – context in deindustrialised spaces and propose a critical reading of these as sites of "meaning". We ask how the art that is and is not contributes to senses of exclusion and marginalization when urban environments fail to move into a trans-industrial phase.

Keywords

Art, urban landscapes, regeneration, post-industrial communities, left behind communities

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Introduction: Art and the working-class

Art has long been used to commemorate great men, and occasional women, and moments of historical significance. The heroism of the ruling classes informs – in particularly gendered and racialised forms – the trends in contemporary art culture (Cheles, 2023; Edensor, 2005). Depictions of ordinary people and their lives are found less frequently. Whereas older monuments depict the ordinary person genuflecting to their ruler or loyally bearing arms or focused on the gorier sides of ordinary life, such as Hogarth's depictions of the evils of working-class drinking culture in the 18th century (Muldoon, 2005), recent years have seen a shift in memorialisation of ordinary people. L. S. Lowry is among a small number of artists celebrated for their sympathetic depictions of working-class environments in the UK: the mill and factory workers and their families may have been reduced to matchstick figures but they remain vibrant portrayals of his native Stockport and the close by city of Manchester (Waters, 1999). While working-class experience and industrial landscapes featured in literature, from Dafoe to Dickens and beyond (Vicinus, 2024), they were rarely the subject matter to be displayed in the great galleries. There are works which offer a romantic image of industrial landscapes, some works of John Constable or JMW Turner for example (Daniels, 2013), with little concern for the people living and working in these environments. Where depicted, working class lives are frequently commemorated through the depiction of groups of people (e.g., Liverpool Street Kindertransport statues; Deal Porters statue at Surrey Quays or the Wigan Heritage and Mining Monument), subordinating the individual to the depiction of a group, community, and class. Against this backdrop, this paper seeks to address artistic interventions in public spaces or working-class environments, specifically deindustrialised communities. It asks how such artistic interventions invade former industrialised space from the outside, how they can emerge in dialogue with them, commemorate loss and re-present the semi-visible history of industrial sites as well as "the people who managed them, worked in them, and inhabited them" (Edensor 2005: 842) but are no longer there.

The decline of heavy industry, the coal mines, cotton mills, steelworks and shipyards, spurred grassroots movements to emerge to reclaim spaces vacated by the contracting sites of mass employment. Combining reimaginations of spaces with commemorations of what they had previously represented breathed new life, as well as textures and colours, into once industrial spaces. Gee (2017) particularly highlights the conversions of industrial sites into galleries such as the Tate Liverpool. The way this changed some urban landscapes while others were left neglected is the contention explored in this paper, considering the potential effects of revitalisation in one space on residents of neighbouring communities where abandoned industrial sites are left to decay or are wiped from existence with no commemoration. The argument is developed using Gee's 2017 study of art movements across the north of England from the 1980s through to the turn of the millennium. The study traces the movements and pioneers of art grounded in working-class experiences and sites of labour; it addresses the challenges and politics of art while also focusing on how wider socio-economic changes shaped the nature and connotations of the installations. It proposes that these artworks can be viewed as contemporary examples of 'committed art by mistake'. That is, art that has – not least through its publicness – political connotations both within and beyond a specific site (Papadopoulou & Veneti, 2005), even if designed without a political agenda in mind. It is this significance that is of interest when considering the diverse post-industrial, or in Gee's term

transindustrial, landscapes where art has become interwoven with industrial sites to reconfigure human experiences of their environments and seemingly depoliticise the political economy to which they bear witness.

Despite this focus, the paper does not aim to appraise cultural policy or advocate for specific forms of artistic production in deindustrialised communities but considers their potential function within these spaces. Thus, we discuss the role of specific artworks and installations in the context of the deindustrialised cityscape, addressing them as “sites of meaning” (Mitchell, 1994: Russmann & Veneti, 2022) within this study. We propose a critical and interpretative reading of these “sites of meaning” and analyse them in their socio-cultural significance as artworks “found” in context through a practice of immersive walking – and aimless wandering. Much like Benjamin’s flaneur (1982/1999), we adopt a practice of embodied, emplaced walking through city spaces to explore the relics of industrial pressures and their artistic memorialisation and root them in an understanding and experiencing of place (Lasczik et al., 2021). In line with this approach of ethnographic immersion, this paper focusses on art which is widely visible as well as unexpectedly found in these deindustrialized contexts and treats these as an expression of and in tension with the community to which it belongs – or has been made to belong. The art itself is understood as a form of everyday iconography, the capturing and immortalising of sites and the lived experiences of those who once worked in them (Andremann & Rowe, 2005). The paper addresses the memorialisation of former industrial sites through art by first discussing the historical and socio-economic context of deindustrialisation in the English north, before critically investigating examples of art works and installations – not in large, once again thriving cities but in the “left-behind” Yorkshire town of Rotherham.

England’s North: towards a transindustrial era

The North of England was a heartland of heavy industry. Natural resources led to the formation of industrial centres towards which people migrated for well-paid secure jobs from the seventeenth century onwards. Towns and cities grew to accommodate the industrial workforce and became centres of prosperity which flourished well into the postwar period. During the 1970s the security of heavy industries, and the communities they sustained, faced severe challenges. The 1973 oil crisis was part of a global economic crisis, but the impact was greatest on Britain. Industry had not needed to rebuild and undergo central planning in the late 1940s and 1950s as had been the case in much of Western Europe or Japan (Minford, 2006). The combination of high wages and outmoded production processes meant Britain’s industries were not competitive within a global marketplace (Crafts, 2012). The punk chant of ‘no future’ was prescient beyond inner city areas, even if at that time it did not resonate within communities sustained by heavy industry. Trade Unions fought to maintain wage standards as well as fighting closures of plants and mines. A question running through various governments from the election of Heath’s Conservatives in 1970, through the years of Labour under Wilson (1974-76) and Callaghan (1976-79) was ‘who runs the country’: the government or organised workers (King, 1975). Thatcher’s election success in 1979 marked the sea change. Keynesian economics, protecting employment and welfare through planning and public-private cohabitation, was abandoned. Inspired by Hayek, neo-liberalism submitted the success of the economy to market forces (Ledger, 2017). Industry was placed into private ownership and public spending was drastically reduced. All measures were aimed at tackling inflation, the suppression of wages and prices, which would hit heavy industry – and those working in it – significantly. It was also an attempt to change the culture from one reliant on

large employers to individual entrepreneurship; a culture that can thrive where the political environment is fertile (Da Costa Vieira, 2023). The once ‘modern’ industrial town was “confronted with departing businesses and rising unemployment; it was facing an economic transition without a safety net (Giordano & Twomey, 2002: 52). It would also leave a sense of loss within communities, a void where the unity and solidarity of a mass, unionised workforce was at the heart of the community (Holgate, 2021) – a loss that is only partially memorialised in art installations.

The lack of commemoration and memorialisation is perhaps due to many of these communities being the losers in a battle between Thatcherism and the strongholds of socialism and unionism (Nunn, 2014). Challenges from the unions were planned for by the Thatcher government and ultimately crushed (Vinen, 2019). The result was the rapid deindustrialisation of large swathes of the north of England and beyond. The divide between the Labour voting north, which suffered de-investment and the Conservative voting south where a new class of entrepreneurs were encouraged, led to the emergence of a northern consciousness (Jewell, 1994). One which sought to assert a particular local character through artistic impression. The post-industrial northern consciousness was increasingly antagonistic to the south and the Thatcherite ideology and remained inseparably committed to its industrial economic history and infrastructure. The art projects Gee (2017) writes of exemplify the creation of an identity rooted firmly in the industrial age. But the emergent northern consciousness was also rooted in history: the influences of Vikings, Romans and the original Angle-English versus the Normans, the Wars of the Roses (the House of Lancaster with its stronghold in the south and the House of York in the north), and the role of northern workers in many of the battles for rights from Dick Turpin, to the Pentrich rebels and the victim of the Peterloo massacre (Horspool, 2009). The men and women who manned the picket lines and their support networks during the 1983-84 miners’ strike would join this pantheon of folk heroes, independent of the myths that underpinned their hero status, as defenders of the values and culture of the north (Kelliher, 2015). As Horspool notes, the battle over who ran Britian was played out in fights against various institutions of the north. Leftist municipal bastions of Sheffield, Liverpool and Manchester evoked this northern rebellious spirit, so becoming targets for reform to nullify their challenge to the Westminster government and their influence within the region (Stewart, 2013). That battle would also rage over the identities that would emerge within the spaces where heavy industry had dominated.

The victories of Thatcherism over trade unions and municipal socialism and the reforms to the British economy led to sweeping disenchantment mirroring to an extent the Thatcher notion of there being ‘no such thing as society’ (Hobsbawn, 1996, see also Gee, 2017: 24). Divisiveness and polarisation have separated north and south along ideological lines leading to the apparent formation of different cultural expressions. In the north, these were, according to Gee, expressions of a ‘transindustrial’ identity: the old industrial landscape and the post-industrial gave the region an interstitial, in-between nature. Elegant Victorian facades intersperse with brutalist factories and tower blocks while creative, service and craft industries cohabit in urban spaces. Former industrial sides were either abandoned and left to decay in plain sight or accumulated a new “chic” as edgy hubs of resurgent energy and creativity. Gee (2017: 67) notes this led to a surge in demand for autonomous spaces to be created to allow this identity to be reflected. Industrial sites were converted into spaces for art that curated the past by reimagining it for the present representing in the words of one artist “the social and cultural aspects of a sudden stop of life and start again” (Phillips, 1990). Artworks were created

that were deliberately socio-political: representing the socialist values of unity and solidarity enjoyed within the heavy industries: Clarke's *The Cloth Cap and the Red Glove* is overtly political whereas Gormley's *Angel of the North* has multiple political, social and artistic connotations. Other works simply exposed industrial sites to the public eye, making the once functional iconic and in some cases commemorative: hence eliding with the notion of committed art by mistake. The conversion of steelworks into science adventure exhibitions or museums exposing visitors to the experiences of miners can play various representational functions within communities.

Collectively, across many northern cities and towns, art was used to challenge the changing society and politics of Britain, a way of representing a post-industrial northern consciousness. In designing the content of exhibitions one designer took inspiration from the notion of third spaces in art (see Greenwood, 2001). That designer, Bryan Biggs, used the expression 'democratic promenade' "as a metaphor for the modern city – a place where ideas and people can come together freely" (in Hookey, 2015: 210). Such idealism is at the heart of many art installation projects deliberately designed to give a transindustrial character to once industrial communities, which are "now bypassed by the flows of money, energy, people, and traffic within which they were once enfolded" (Edensor 2005: 829). The regeneration of factories, reimagining of industrial landscapes, even photographic exhibitions of life across different eras captures the historical intersections of the distant and recent past, the current age and potential futures (Gee, 2017: 197). Gee explores a range of works which he argues are "emblematic of the shifting social landscape in the North in the deindustrialisation context, and the issues it [deindustrialisation] could pose to an aesthetic reflection aiming to negotiate changing social identities" (Gee, 2017: 149). To an extent, Gee hints, such projects enabled or eased the changing identities through the merging of the past with the present. But these projects also reinforced the notion of 'otherness' and a separate 'collective identity' that captured the essence of the north as well as the specific cultural histories of its communities and their industrial heritage (Gee, 2017: 154). It reflects sentiments rooted in political decision-making and a growing sense that the north and its industrial importance and subsequent decline have been forgotten by the ruling classes in the south. Rotherham, a town in South Yorkshire, epitomises such places that have been classified as 'left behind' communities.

Artless communities: remaining in a pre-post-industrial phase

Academics have long talked of communities that are left behind: where the people are marginalized and share a feeling of exclusion from the broader national community (see for example Morrison, 2022). These are not foregrounded by Gee or other works on art and culture in the post-industrial north as they are not part of that story. Rather, their focus is the cities where culture was not a "mere ornament of old, which affirmed the wealth and distinction of its possessor: it has become an agent of economic development" (Gee, 2017: 116). But what of the left behind: those places where this transformation has not been witnessed? It is clear from Gee's work that this cultural regeneration centred on major city spaces like Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle, Leeds and Sheffield. The towns and villages built up around coal and steel, and proud of their industrial pasts, became satellites to these new creative urban centres which received large regeneration funds. Subsidiary identities formed; identities rooted in the past due to a lack of any form of redevelopment to pave their transformation into a true post-industrial space. Rather discussions of the regeneration of the urban fabric, and injections of capital and cultural investment across the 1980s and 1990s,

highlight there were mixed outcomes dependent on the areas and the local politics (see Cecar, 2007).

The neo-liberal framework offered opportunities for some – in particular National Lottery funding for projects meeting 'pride of place' objectives (Arts Council, 2002). But funding was only given to viable projects backed by private investment that formed connections across cities and communities, hence it involved significant planning and organisation. Some former industrial spaces were converted into vast shopping malls (Meadowhall on the Sheffield/Rotherham border, Trafford in Stretford near Manchester etc.), replacing the mills and factories. Reflecting on these developments, and art which challenged how creativity was being replaced by or reduced to consumerism, Gee comments: "The urban fabric is producing a new skin, which will be made of cultural consumption: a sight to behold rather than to live in, an apt ode to the new age" (Gee, 2017: 200). Other industrial sites were flattened to make way for housing, out of town shopping or leisure complexes, even new football grounds: these developments transformed industrial spaces but consigned town centres to being empty shells without consumers or outlets. Northern communities thus became tapestries of old and new within and between themselves with some languishing only with the crumbling past surrounding the institutions of daily life. The competition within the funding and investment frameworks led to winners and losers with all communities "interconnected within a global game in which they no longer play a deciding role" (Gee, 2017: 172). Indeed, in towns where only historical buildings nod to an affluent past, the creation of art works relies largely on funding from elsewhere, injected from outside sources rather than from within.

For some communities, however, small-scale, group initiatives involving graffiti, music, and guerilla installations provide expressions of organic creativity even if they might not be recognised as such by the art world (Jones & Wilks-Heeg, 2007). Where investment was won there were also conflicts between the creative forces of innovation and the long-term residents. Existing populations could find their communities unrecognisable and alien spaces and so become displaced by incursions designed to make a space more inhabitable (Edge, 1995). Such moves are often associated with urban regeneration and gentrification which lead to working class or poorer community spaces, both the housing and the social spaces, being torn down to make way for more modern, higher tariff residences (Zukin, 1987). These run the risk of deepening a sense of being left behind, where local residents feel unheard and misunderstood not just by political elites but by artists who explain to them their heritage and identity. Some communities once sustained by heavy industry and 'deeply affected by its decline' only saw their plight catalogued in images and plaques often as part of centralised sites of interest or regional exhibitions that did little to assuage the marginalisation of those communities (Vall, 2018). Indeed, processes of commemoration – or style-driven regeneration – largely finds that, in the words of Edensor (2005: 831) "developers and experts remember space *for* middle-class inhabitants, businesses, shoppers, and tourists" and rarely serves – or commemorates – the working-class communities which co-produced industrial history. Artist Graeme Rigby captured the problem: "take away the big industries that gave the communities their identities and there is a hole in the culture… Take away the marks of identity, and you end up documenting the effects that this hole then has on those communities…" (in Gee, 2017: 195). The problem is particularly visible in mono-industrial communities. Nothing has been created to replace heavy industry or to truly memorialise its presence. Instead, the remnants of industry remain as constant reminders, like huge gravestones dominating landscapes within these satellite towns and villages that have escaped modernisation. Commemoration then

runs the risk of being confined to derelict sites; artistic expressions of these are purely decorative.

A notable example of a community left behind by first the industries and then by regeneration is Rotherham. Rotherham is described as a ‘market town’, situated in South Yorkshire at the confluence of the Rivers Rother and Don. It evolved from combining traditional industries of farming, glass making and flour milling to becoming known for coal mining and its steel industry during the Industrial Revolution. The town centre is nine miles from that of Sheffield, although travelling from one to the other the transition is imperceptible. The former ‘steel’ corridor of Templeborough connected the cutlery industry of Sheffield to the steel rolling plants fired by the coal of Rotherham Main, Kiveton Park and Wales, Manvers, Orgreave and Treeton mines to name just five of the twenty-four pits. Gee charts various art projects and installations that would regenerate Sheffield; the symbolism of a stainless steel encased waterfall in the square facing the main railway station symbolises Sheffield’s transindustrial character. Rotherham, meanwhile, beyond its imposing Minster and modernist New York football stadium, has a crumbling town centre losing out to Sheffield’s Meadowhall shopping centre and its own out of town Parkgate complex. Town centre developments on Forge Island remain underdeveloped and lacking footfall. Indeed, these efforts seem to target a middle-class – or affluent working class – lifestyle as described by Edensor (2005) which ignores the reality of those populating the town centre. The crumbling hulk of the Guest and Chrimes factory, once world renowned for making brass taps, stands in stark contrast adjacent to the New York stadium on the skyline (images 1 & 2).

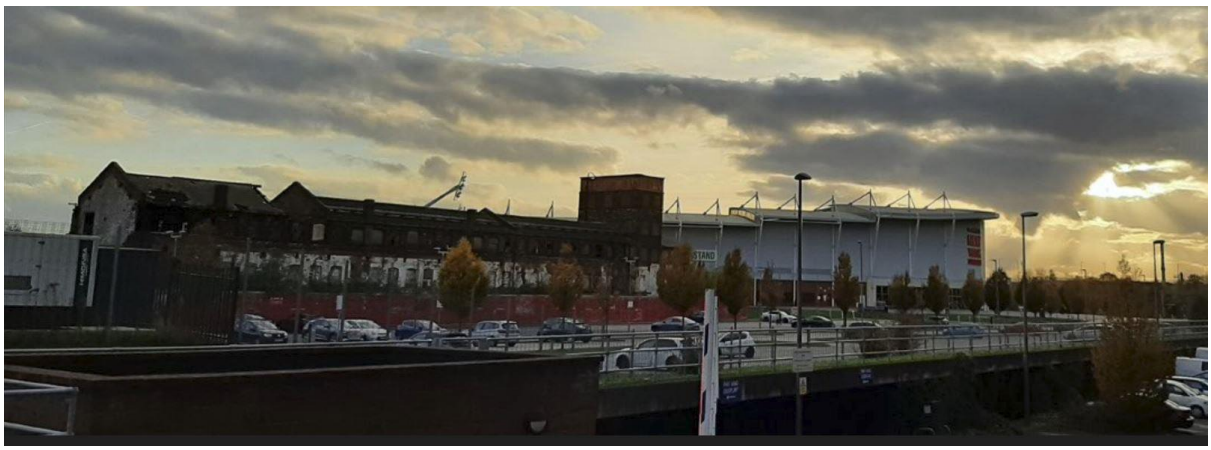

Image 1: The derelict Guest & Chrimes factory stands next to the Modern New York stadium, the one place pride in the past and the present are synchronous (photos by M. Dinger)

Image 2: The derelict Guest & Chrimes factory from street level (photos by M. Dinger)

Fatalist graffiti reflects a mood of apathy echoing the no future message or the description of it as ‘this godforsaken town’ by the one homegrown band (The Reytons, 2017). One small section of the once sprawling steelworks remains as Magna Science Adventure Centre, the blast furnaces a ghost around which gangways take visitors to rooms where they can discover the power of the elements. A decontextualised Phoenix, representing the name of the original steelworks, stands on a roundabout. Hidden behind fast-food outlets, a modern eatery and a car showroom is Steel Henge in the Centenary Riverside Nature Park (image 3), an appropriation of a southern English monument without context or advertisement but embodying the industrial output of the once proud town. But, perhaps like a metaphor for the wider community it is obscured from view, lacking celebration or signposting, and appears largely forgotten. Therefore, in many ways the artworks – as much as the ruins of the industrial past and the empty shells of regeneration efforts – are “found” rather than chosen through embodied ethnographic walks through the deindustrialised city, in which walking itself becomes a “space of enunciation” (de Certeau, 1984: 98) and discursive analysis.

Image 3: Steel Henge, hidden and overlooked, a metaphor for the wider town (photo by D Lilleker)

In the shadow of the Minster stands the Heart of Steel, one of a few art installations decorating the town centre and commemorating its industrial past. Inscribed with the words Community, Identity, Pride and Past, Present, Future (image 4) it perhaps asks more questions than it answers. It commemorates a lost and increasingly forgotten past and, in a derelict town centre of closed shops and boarded up windows, the nods to the present and future offer little perspective. But it was not intended for Rotherham’s town centre. Its original purpose was to have names inscribed on it, the inscriptions to be sold to raise money for the British Heart Foundation. Its first location was Meadowhall’s shopping centre making it a second hand and repurposed monument. Placed in the “heart” of the town, its past nods to the commodified

present of the out-of-town shopping centres, while seemingly glossing over the absences of lively industry and shopping which neither the shopping centres nor the re-positioned installation can fill. The Steel Man structure, approved for development in 2012 to be sited

Image 4: The heart of steel: 'Community, Identity, Pride; Past, Present, Future', does it ask more questions than it answers? (photo by D Lilleker)

looking down through Templeborough close to the M1 motorway remains more imagination, in model form, than a reality.

The one piece of art in Rotherham designed to be futuristic is Anthony Donnelly's mural "By Industry and Honour". The street art installation is positioned on the canal bank at Ickles Lock and, as the title suggests, celebrates Rotherham's industrial past. Included among the text and industrial symbolism are "large scale portraits of a boy and girl in thoughtful poses looking to future" (Donnelly, 2023). The image is striking and, like most art, open to interpretation; however, its visibility is the problem. Parts can be viewed by walking along to the canal path. The closeness, however, affords little option for viewing it as a whole. With no opposite bank it cannot be viewed in full, but from the nearby road the full vista is hidden by trees. The obscuration of the full picture offers a further metaphor of how the past 'honour' may be in view but is out of focus while the future is uncertain, unclear and, crucially, like the mural needs to be found (images 5 & 6).

Images 5 & 6: the incomplete view of By Industry and Honour visible to the canal path walker (photo by M. Dinger)

Within the town there is no sense of being in a transindustrial phase. Rotherham has barely entered its post-industrial phase. Remains of the industry, as in image 1, remain on the skyline with little created to meaningfully replace them. Art installations, such as the eight-meter-tall Camellia flower made from two bespoke industrial scale grabbers (image 7), placed at a crossroads in the pedestrianised centre appears out of place – despite the involvement of local apprentices in its construction. The sculpture, by James Capper, is designed to represent the relationship between industry and the natural world. However, its placement appears like

a planning oversight rather than a celebration of the industrial life of the town and its people. Similarly, graffiti art commemorations of industrial heritage are sporadic offering no sense of context, there is no sense of what they commemorate or how they represent a transition to a new character and identity for the town. Like Steel Henge and the Heart of Steel, Camellia indicates a link to the past but appears decontextualised and lacking significance as a political or commemorative installation. Rotherham and Sheffield offer close juxtapositions of neglect and regeneration in direct proximity. The former appearing as an overlooked satellite, perhaps more industrial debris, a place where the sense of community, identity and pride can only be found in its past. The ramifications can be found in instances of anti-immigrant sentiments fuelling unrest in summer 2024 and its record of voting support for right-wing populist parties – signs of a community wrestling with its forgotten industrial power and voice but also struggling to find its place in the present or to find hope in the future.

Image 7: The Camellia: out of place and context (Photo by M. Dinger)

Concluding reflections

Memory and memorial, where supported, can become the focal point for identities where no pride in the present or hope for the future can be found. Nick Crowe, who spearheaded an art revolution in Salford, argues “The idea of the industrial North is a chimera”: a mythological representation, an imagined place and time, an alternative past and alternative reality within which it is easier to live than to face up to the present (in Goodall, 1998). Some areas have seen a transformation, or at least a transition from industrial to transindustrial, a paradox which involved compromise. Areas that have enjoyed investment had to adapt to the changing economic environment and compete nationally and globally for regeneration funding. To win, the communities also had to adhere to the prevailing neoliberal logic, at least within their funding applications and find representatives who know how to play this game. These practices confirm larger neoliberal pressure of governance – rather than cultural policy alone – to which deindustrialised communities seem to be subjected disproportionally due to their structural and economic position. This has meant a diminution of some aspects of that northern consciousness, a depoliticization of their self-representation. Perhaps the ‘committed art by mistake’ is actually by design: commentary on the industrial past is designed to avoid being overtly political, negating the political connotation of an in-/visible industrial past while wrestling with its memorialisation.

It has long been observed that humans are inherently political, and thus all human creativity contains some form of political expression. Even the simplest piece of graffiti is an expression of the power relations of its creator, every installation determines what it commemorates and who it celebrates (Mouffe et al, 2001). But art cannot be regenerative if created in a vacuum and without the support of those with economic power. Hence, conforming to the realities of neoliberal economics also meant adapting the industrial character of a community and sites for new uses and cultures: mines becoming parkland and recreation spaces with little fanfare or memorials for their past. Some claim the removal of the mines and their memory is deliberate, the defeated are seldom commemorated and their history is written by the victors (Memou, 2024). Similarly, factories have become stylish apartment blocks and studios, snapped up by developers that promise to replace urban blight with modernist prosperity: a concomitant is the gentrification of certain areas for the affluent middle-classes as well as the ghettoisation of peripheral estates (Hancock & Mooney, 2013). Cities and centres of culture, flagship building projects, waterside entertainment centres are all representative of the cultural and economic dynamism of the period of the 1980s through to the 2000s. Rotherham's Forge Island, including a cinema, budget hotel and shopping outlets is one recent example of such developments although currently lacking business and customers, remaining an empty promise of the planned and promised town centre revival.

Within many city centres industrial legacies are juxtaposed with modern flexible and variable forms of industriousness (think the micro-brewery, craft workshop, upcycling outlet). Some cities have managed to bring a northern aesthetic into glocalisation, adapting their legacies with an eye on the future. Talks of a Northern Powerhouse, TransPennine corridor or the nebulous Levelling Up agenda all see some areas winning investment and attracting new residents, businesses and cultures (Lee, 2017; Mackinnon, 2021). Yet there are others remaining undeveloped and trapped surrounded by the crumbling facades of a bygone industrial age adored with graffitied expressions of apathy. These seem locked into a pre-post-industrial phase of development. This can only have a negative impact upon the residents. Basically, if no-one appears to care enough about an area to award any funding for regeneration how can those who live in such 'godforsaken' or perhaps 'government neglected' towns feel any sense of pride in their present? Art is but one form of regeneration, and perhaps requires organic creative entrepreneurs, sympathetic political leaders, and spaces that could be converted to house art installations. The few art installations sprinkled around abandoned town centres and peripheral areas cannot fill the void of an abandoned industry, which was once the heart and centre of these communities. The differential experiences of regeneration are mirrored across all facets of the landscape of transition from the industrial phase of development. Gee's work celebrates those spaces that experienced art regeneration and change, we caution overlooking the spaces which have not had the transition to transindustrialisation supported.

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