Master's thesis

Finding the Phoenix Factor

An analysis of re-purposed industrial heritage sites in marginalised remote communities in Iceland

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Declaration

I hereby confirm that I am the sole author of this thesis and it is a product of my own academic research.

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Abstract

Icelandic coastal communities have been experiencing a growing risk to their socio-economic and demographic stability as a result of the continued decline of traditional fishing and agricultural sectors. Such post-industrialised communities are increasingly looking to establish alternative activities within a diversified economic landscape. Across Europe industrial heritage sites have become important drivers of regional development and renewal, yet their role as catalysts in structural change in Iceland has been underestimated to date. The research analyses re-purposed industrial heritage sites in Iceland with a focus on their impact in driving economic, social and cultural change. While Reykjavik is a well-known cultural centre, little is known or written about the importance of such sites in rural settlements and their role in contributing to regeneration and economic viability. It appears to be a subject that is rarely considered to have had significant economic weight or purpose hitherto - hence a notable knowledge gap can be identified between urban, over-researched projects and somewhat under-researched rural projects. Examples of conservation treatments and interpretation are analysed, comprising 16 industrial heritage sites in Iceland at various levels of adaptive re-use. A total of 50 interviews were undertaken in two stages between September 2019 and January 2021. The research identifies key elements attributable to successfully adapted heritage sites, drawing linkages and commonalities to better understand how heritage conservation priorities could be incorporated into future regional development, tourism and local planning policy. The thesis highlights a need for a more robust protection framework in order to avoid further loss of remaining important sites and offers policy recommendations including the establishment of initiatives to support 20th century heritage.

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Útdráttur

Félagslegur, efnahagslegur og lýðfræðilegur stöðugleiki íslenskra sjávarbyggða hefur átt undir högg að sækja vegna stöðugs samdráttar í hefðbundnum atvinnugreinum á borð við fiskveiðar og landbúnað. Þessi samfélög horfa í auknum mæli til þess að koma á fót nýjum tækifærum í fjölbreyttara efnahagslandslagi samtímans. Um alla Evrópu hafa iðnminjar orðið mikilvægur þáttur í byggðaþróun og endurnýjun atvinnulífs. Engu að síður hefur þáttur þeirra í breytingum á Íslandi verið vanmetinn fram að þessu. Í þessari rannsókn eru endurnýttar iðnminjar á Íslandi skoðaðar og sérstök áhersla lögð á að kanna áhrif þeirra á efnahagslegar, félagslegar og menningarlegar breytingar. Reykjavík er vel þekkt sem miðstöð menningar á Íslandi, en lítið hefur verið skrifað um mikilvægi endurnýttra iðnminja á landsbyggðinni og vægi þeirra í viðspyrnu og efnahagslegri afkomu staðanna. Hingað til virðist sem þetta viðfangsefni sé sjaldan álitið hafa umtalsvert efnahagslegt vægi eða tilgang. Þar af leiðandi er umtalsverður þekkingarmunur á vel rannsökuðum verkefnum í borginni og vanrannsökuðum verkefnum á landsbyggðinni. Sextán minjastaðir á Íslandi eru skoðaðir, sem allir eru á ólíku stigi aðlagaðrar endurnotkunar, meðal annars með tilliti til varðveislu og túlkunar. Viðtöl voru tekin við 50 aðila í tveimur lotum frá september 2019 til janúar 2021. Í rannsókninni eru greind lykilatriði sem stuðla að árangursríkri aðlögun minjastaða, tengsl og sameiginlega eiginleika þeirra til að skilja betur hvernig megi aðlaga og forgangsraða þessari minjavernd þegar kemur að byggðaþróun, framþróun ferðamennsku og skipulagsmálum. Ritgerðin beinir athygli að þörf fyrir skýrari varðveislustefnu til að unnt sé að koma í veg fyrir að mikilvægar minjar glatist. Einnig er lögð fram tillaga að stefnumótunum sem inniheldur aðgerðir til að styðja við varðveislu tuttugustualdar minja, einkum bygginga.

Preface

'The greenest building is the one that already exists'
(Carl Elefante, President, American Institute of Architects, 2007)

'In the case of the destruction of built heritage, demolition often also results in significant socio-cultural and historical damage'
(UNESCO, 2011)

'The economic value of cultural heritage can be defined as the amount of welfare that heritage generates for society.'
(Ruijgrok, 2006)

'Heritage is our common wealth…. an irreplaceable repository of knowledge'
(European Commission, 2014)

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Acronyms

CE	Council of Europe
ECoC	European Capitals of Culture
EHL	European Heritage Label
ERIH	European Route of Industrial Heritage
ITQ	Individual Transferable Quota
TAC	Total Allowable Catch
TICCIH	The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN SDG	United Nations Sustainable Development Goals

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Thanks to my amazing wife **Nishani** and to my wonderful sons **Ben** and **Sam** for supporting me on my latest adventure, to my dear friends **Alan Deverell** and **Jean Larson** for their encouragement and enthusiasm, and to my grandfather **Ludevit** who showed me that adaptation is the key to survival and resilience.

When I began this research there was no talk of the virus that would become the defining experience of 2020, creating another world order from which a 'new normal' would emerge. For remote communities in Iceland the challenge to remain economically and socially viable is now even greater since the collapse of foreign tourism, although new opportunities are already appearing for those agile and open-minded enough to embrace them. I hope through my research to illustrate some constructive ways forward in this newly altered environment.

1. Introduction

1.1 Overview

The industrial environment reflects humanity's ingenuity - our capacity to improve the tools, machines and manufacturing techniques that have led to dramatic improvements in living standards and wealth. Industrial structures also reflect humanity's ability to inflict cruel and dangerous conditions on workforces, our seemingly limitless desire for resource extraction and our ability to cause significant environmental damage. As such, industrialisation represents both the engine room of economic prosperity and social change while simultaneously heralding the acceleration of the Anthropocene (sometimes more accurately called the Capitalocene) Era. Industrial heritage therefore serves as a physical representation of our adaptability as human beings on many levels - it embodies the experiences and narratives of the owners of capital who took risks and sought to improve production methods, the workers who adapted their skills from subsistence, agrarian lives to work with these new technologies and the consumers of new products and materials who found themselves adapting to new lifestyles. In a similar vein, TICCIH (2003, p.1) describes the history of humankind as 'defined by the archaeological evidence for fundamental changes in the ways in which people made objects', tracing the historical phenomenon of industrialisation and mechanisation to the Bronze and Neolithic Ages and to the ancient story of toolmaking which lies at the heart of human experience. The Industrial Revolution was thus central to the human experience - in Iceland as elsewhere in Europe - although its application and chronology was markedly different as a result of a unique geography, topography and demography.

The collapse of small fishing industries in Iceland over recent decades has resulted in the steady decline in function and purpose of much of the fish processing infrastructure as it has been gradually abandoned, negatively impacting revenues and social cohesion within remote communities. (Kokorsch et al., 2015; Chambers et al., 2017). In this post-industrial era statutory funding for the re-use or adaptation of derelict or disused industrial heritage is largely piecemeal and erratic - rarely does support offer the long-term assurances that enable

sound or strategic conservation planning (Edwards and i Coit, 1996; Tyas, 2016). As in many other countries the success of renewal projects is often the result of the determination and tenacity of certain visionary individuals and communities, the dedication of driven entrepreneurs, the fortunate synchronicity of circumstance and a good measure of belief and luck.

Iceland's built industrial heritage has been slow to be recognised on a national or statutory level as having significant cultural, economic or aesthetic importance and very few comparative studies have been made on the specific role of industrial heritage adaptation in Iceland, perhaps because the challenge of successful re-purposing occurs between 'multiple, often conflicting criteria' (Bottero et al., 2019). Yet to establish successful re-uses for derelict industrial buildings has the potential to reverse the symbolism represented by their closure as well as to re-contextualise the harsh working conditions and economic abandonment that in some cases they have come to represent, embracing the 'interplay of identity, landscape and socio-spatial changes' (Xie, 2015) and rebuilding the 'social mortar' (Antonova & Rieser, 2019) that was integral to remote communities.

1.2 Aims

The principle aim of the research is to consider whether the adaptive re-use of industrial heritage can serve as a social and economic driver of regeneration within remote communities in Iceland. The research was devised following analysis of the current literature, which identified a knowledge gap between urban, over-researched projects and somewhat under-researched rural projects. I seek to answer to what extent differing heritage projects can be viewed as successful, in which contexts that success can be defined and the lessons that can be drawn to inform and influence the future management and development of such sites. I attempt to identify the key factors attributable to successfully adapted industrial heritage sites, drawing linkages and commonalities between such projects to understand how these may be applied more generally.

The research considers the specific trajectory of Iceland's industrial experience, comprising its unique combination of resources and outcomes, with reference to the built environment around the fishing industry. I consider the overall historical context of industrial

development in Iceland and analyse national legislation and regulatory mechanisms for the statutory protection of significant buildings and assess how and why certain sites appear to have been successfully adapted while others are deteriorating or abandoned and still others are at risk of collapse or demolition. I identify the political and social context behind an apparent lack of strategic planning for twentieth century industrial heritage and draw conclusions regarding contemporary trends and attitudes. Over the course of 50 stakeholder interviews and the examination of 16 sites I analyse commonalities of experience and draw conclusions based on local impact and the capacity of re-use projects to survive in the medium to long-term. I research varying interpretive approaches to conservation, restoration and/or preservation adopted by owners and stakeholders and investigate examples of best practice. I seek to understand support for - as well as resistance to - the conservation of industrial heritage, analysing expressions of civic pride, public awareness, collective memory, community engagement and local resilience. I focus on national cultural sensitivities and the specific symbolism represented by Icelandic twentieth century industrial architecture. In this context I look at how experience of poverty and hardship, traceable to relatively late industrial development, seems to play a role in public opposition to conservation funding and consider whether traumatic, even epigenetic, collective memory negatively influences contemporary public opinion and planning policy. I analyse to what extent active sites prioritise and practise community consultation and other local engagement strategies, including volunteer conservation programmes. I consider why organised volunteer schemes appear to be rarely encouraged or adopted in Iceland - and are even seen as questionable practice - and look at how this may be impacting negatively on community cohesion, self-worth, intergenerational knowledge transfer and succession planning as well as contributing to the continued degradation of the built heritage landscape. The research looks at growing trends in the acceptance and understanding of industrial heritage within the tourism and leisure sectors and considers to what extent re-purposed industrial sites are becoming credible and desirable destinations. I also look at emerging trends in slow, half and domestic tourism, particularly in light of the Covid-19 outbreak.

TICCIH advises that industrial heritage adaptation should be focused on ‘preserving functional integrity’ and that ‘interventions should be reversible’ (TICCIH, 2003). Beyond this I make no analysis or judgement with regards to the value of selected sites, whether intrinsic, economic, societal, aesthetic, cultural, educational or political, other than to

consider general definitions of value and to report the findings of my interviews and related data. There is considerable reference to methods of conservation in the literature, including, for instance, the origins of the restoration debate which I do not intend to investigate here other than to draw attention to the field of adaptive re-use, which since the 1960s is widely acknowledged and recognised as having grown into its own discipline within architectural conservation (Plevoets and Van Cleempoel, 2011).

1.3 Justification, practical and scientific significance

Over successive periods of the 20th century Iceland enjoyed a lucrative whale, herring and cod trade. The success of the herring fishery helped to finance Iceland's independence from the colonial government of Denmark in 1944 (Antonova & Rieser, 2019) and the later extension of coastal limits to 200nm, including victory over British fishing fleets during the Cod Wars, contributed further to the success and profitability of fishing businesses around the country. However the subsequent decline of the fishing industry in remote communities came about as a result of several overlapping circumstantial factors, in particular overfishing, leading to stock depletion and collapse. The ensuing strategy of resource privatisation and the introduction of Total Allowable Catch (TAC) and Individual Transferable Quotas (ITQ) which favoured economies of scale, technological changes and an overall decrease in shipping tonnage, led to a signficant reduction in smaller fishing fleets and coastal processing plants, particularly impacting rural population dependent on local fishing-related industries (Benediktsson and Karlsdóttir, 2011).

Much of the abandoned industrial infrastructure remains however - in various states of decay - from herring factories, processing plants, freezer units, fish and fuel oil tanks, whaling stations, shipwrecks, jetties, cranes, quaysides and piers. New uses for this built heritage have in some cases been successfully implemented - with varying degrees of financial and popular support. The research looks at trends in the acceptance and understanding of this heritage among statutory authorities and the public and considers how industrial sites can be repurposed to become both regeneration catalysts and desirable tourism destinations. Of note in this context are the opportunities that arise from what Theodora (2019, p.1) describes as growth '[…] shaped by the learning society and knowledge-based economy'.

1.4 Research topics and questions

The following five key research topics were identified from the principal aim to create a thesis framework:

1. An overview of industrial heritage conservation and adaptive re-use
2. An insight into industrial heritage safeguarding over recent years and current government policy and protection mechanisms.
3. An understanding of the operational priorities of re-purposed heritage sites including local support and community engagement, role of stakeholders, decision-making processes and state of funding, as well as a discussion of governance and power balances.
4. An assessment of how success in conservation can be defined
5. An understanding of the factors behind successful (and unsuccessful) projects and an analysis of any resistance or negativity from local municipalities and/or communities.

The principle aim and research topics were used to inform the design of the following six research questions:

1. What is the relationship between industrial heritage and their local communities, and how do those communities engage with the heritage?
2. How are 'value' and 'success' defined in the adaptation and re-use of industrial heritage?
3. How are key stakeholders on a regional and national level supportive of and active in the consideration of industrial heritage?
4. What are the commonalities between industrial heritage sites?
5. What can we identify as the significant challenges and obstacles to the continued conservation and success of industrial heritage projects?
6. How are the buildings protected in legal terms, if at all?

To address these questions, I consider the available literature relating to regional development, conservation and industrial heritage in Iceland. I identify, select and analyse a range of industrial heritage sites and interview decision makers at government, agency and municipality levels, as well as project directors, founders, owners, politicians, specialists, academics, architects and other stakeholders. I use qualitative methods to code and examine my results and examine the current legislation and statutory framework for heritage

protection. Finally, I provide a discussion and conclusions, including recommendations and proposals for managers regarding future policy

The thesis begins by covering the current state of knowledge around the re-use of industrial heritage in Chapter 2, comprising a review of current literature on a variety of topics including notions of change and adaptability and providing a short background to the topic and a general interpretation of heritage. I set out key concepts including culture, remoteness, resilience and social capital. I consider concepts of value, including economic, tourism and ecological arguments for retention of heritage and look at industrial heritage routes, networks and clusters in mainland Europe. Chapter 3 sets out the research design, including site selection and methodology. Chapter 4 provides analysis of the coded interview data using MAXQDA v20.3 software and Chapter 5 comprises the research results. Chapter 6 offers a discussion section and Chapter 7 provides a conclusion, including management and policy recommendations. Appendices comprise a sample research participation consent form as provided to respondents, interview questions from both the informal and semi-structured research stages, tables of coded segments and exterior site photographs.

2. State of Knowledge

2.1 Key concepts

2.1.1 Industrial and cultural heritage

Sandis (2014) describes heritage as 'that which has been or may be inherited, regardless of its value' tracing the term 'heritage' to the 13th Century English word derived from the Latin haeres meaning 'heir or heiress'. A European Commission (2014) report divides heritage into several categories: cultural, physical, digital, environmental, human and social and Dümcke and Gnedovsky (2013) divide cultural and industrial heritage into built heritage, movable heritage and archaeological heritage. TICCIH defines industrial heritage as 'buildings and machinery, workshops, mills and factories, mines and sites for processing and refining, warehouses and stores, places where energy is generated, transmitted and used, transport and all its infrastructure, as well as places used for social activities related to industry such as housing, religious worship or education' (TICCIH, 2003). Falser (2001) writes that heritage sites are 'important milestones in the history of humanity, marking humanity's dual power of destruction and creation that engenders both nuisances and progress. They embody the hope of a better life and the ever-greater power over matter'. Falser (2001) offers the following useful though not exhaustive list of industrial heritage categories:

1. Extractive Industries (coal, ore or gold mining, including fisheries)
2. Bulk Products Industries (primary metal industries)
3. Manufacturing Industries (machine textile manufacture)
4. Utilities (water supply, electricity)
5. Power Sources and Prime Movers (water wheels, steam turbines)
6. Transportation (railroads, canals, harbours)
7. Communication (radio, telephone)
8. Bridges, Trestles, Aqueducts
9. Building Technology (roof systems, fenestration)
10 Specialised Structures/Objects (dams, tunnels, hydraulic works)

In the context of this research I have considered primarily built heritage- the infrastructure from fisheries (category 1 above) including fish factories, processing plants, freezer units and oil tanks, with some reflections on movable heritage in the form of artefacts, memorabilia and collections, whether visual, oral or written.

2.1.2 Remoteness

Taylor et al. (2016) note that remoteness is often used interchangeably in the literature with ‘sparsely populated’ and that remoteness can be considered on three levels - geographical, cultural and institutional. Granholm (2010, p.1) describes ‘islands’ of cultural remoteness as both geographical and practical: ‘some regions of the world can be called "practical islands" on a seasonal basis’. Institutional remoteness relates mainly to a lack of agency or linkages with local government or other institutions and a perception within a community that policy and rules devised and implemented by a centralised system may not take into account local needs. Hence institutional remoteness operates against the ability to self-govern - an issue highlighted in the research with regards Djúpavík and Þingeyri for instance. Remoteness is also defined by relative comparison with first and second tier settlements.

2.1.3 Social capital

Social capital is described by Van der Gaag and Snijders (2003, p.4) as the ‘collection of resources owned by the members of an individual’s personal social network’. Social capital is thus ‘embedded in the relations between individuals, who take part in various social networks in their daily life.’ (Jóhannesson et al., 2003, p.8).

2.1.4 Industrial heritage tourism

Industrial heritage tourism is defined as ‘the development of touristic activities and industries on man-made sites, buildings and landscapes that originated with industrial processes of earlier periods’ (Edwards and i Coit, 1996, p.342 and referred to by Dzeravianka et al. (2019) in the context of ‘heritagization’, the creation and re-creation of cultural, historical meaning and identity, which, as the research illustrates, is often performed in public spaces by artists and activists.

2.1.5 Resilience

Resilience is the ability of individuals, communities and systems to adapt to change (Berkes and Ross, 2013), also defined (Kokorsch, 2018, p.31) as a 'return to an equilibrium', although with the caveat that in some cases normativity may not be a desired objective 'where the original state itself might have been an undesirable one.' Resilience therefore 'is different from steady-state thinking and recognises non-equilibrium or at least multiple and dynamic equilibria as option, which opens up for the possibility of different development paths'. (Kokorsch, 2018, p.31). While problematic to measure, resilience is closely related to positive aspects of structural change (Kokorsch, 2018), contributing to perceptions of civic pride and collective confidence, particularly within communities struggling to re-establish themselves both financially and socially as they search for new identities, populations and purpose.

2.1.6 Heritage interpretation

The interpretation of industrial heritage involves its adaptation into new or altered functions in order to create a new purpose for the structure. As such the scale, range and aesthetic of the adaptation can vary from conserving the physical assets in their original or authentic state, restoring the assets to some level of functional order, creating an entirely new function for their re-use or a hybrid combination of all three approaches. I do not attempt to analyse examples of industrial heritage interpretation and adaptation outside Iceland in this thesis - however the reader may wish to explore particularly successful examples of sites within other European nations, notably Zollverein in Germany's Ruhrgebiet and Völklinger Hütte in Saarland, Ironbridge and Saltaire in England or Pontcysyllte Aquaduct and the Blaenavon Big Pit complex in Wales (Icomos, 2011).

2.2 Context and background

Over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries agricultural zones in northern and central Europe experienced significant de-population as the Industrial Age attracted new populations around manufacturing sites, often built close to the source of the raw materials - or natural capital - being extracted and processed. De-population often followed a core-periphery model (Krugman, 1991) developing into several tiers of larger and smaller settlements (Taylor et al., 2016). A great deal of the resulting industrial infrastructure has since been gradually

abandoned as largescale manufacturing processes moved from Europe to Asia over the late twentieth century, presenting both considerable challenges - and significant successes - in re-purposing such structures.

In comparison to most of Europe, Iceland's process of industrialisation began somewhat later and can be said to have been relatively monothematic, attributable to certain key technological events including the mechanisation and motorisation of fishing vessels, initially with the introduction of steam and later combustion engines at the start of the 20th century. Significant advances in Icelandic industrialisation and economic prosperity can be traced to three distinct and highly lucrative fisheries - whale, herring and cod. Barr (2014) notes that whale oil represented a valuable commodity that was in global demand, mainly exported to European markets to run machinery as well as to light crime-ridden streets, improving the lives of city workers and residents. Whaling was a key factor in the development of the early Industrial Age in Iceland, helping to establish vital trade routes and open new commercial markets. Despite the widespread contemporary narrative that decries whaling for environmental and ethical reasons, whalers were regarded in their day as heroic pioneers who 'somewhat like the Internet today, connected the world' (Barr, 2014, p.2). I consider notions of the heroic fisher later in the research, including the significance that this narrative appears to have on public discourse in the context of rural identities and collective memory.

The onset of the Great Herring Adventure from the early 1930s until the late 1960s represented a second remarkable and rapid period of industrialisation, comprising engineering innovation and economic development of exceptional scale. It was during this era that a small group of investors, entrepreneurs, inventors and financiers came together to build innovative, often monolithic concrete factories to develop the processing of highly lucrative yet ultimately unpredictable, herring fisheries (Hamilton et al., 2004; Nannini, 2018), taking substantial economic and logistical risks to achieve their goals. I consider three of these still extant factories in my research - at Djúpavík, Hjalteyri and Raufarhöfn - as well as the restored and repurposed buildings that comprise the Herring Era Museum at Siglufjörður. The impact - physical, economic and social - of these monumental industrial complexes on local populations was considerable, representing the first opportunity for many subsistence agricultural labourers to work in exchange for financial reward.

As the herring era 'gold rush' subsided, notably after two key peaks in extraction and sudden stock collapse (Antonova & Rieser, 2019), herring became one of the first fisheries in Iceland to be protected with extraction limits through government policy - specifically the introduction of controls and quotas from 1979. Given the extremes of extraction and subsequent stock depletion this was seen as a necessary and successful conservation management tool, leading in turn to the introduction of generalised quotas that were then applied to cod fisheries among others from the mid 1980s and developing into the full ITQ/TAC system in 1990, privatising and commodifying fish stocks. The new system also effectively annulled guaranteed fishing rights that had been enshrined in existing Icelandic legislation (Antonova & Rieser, 2019) causing hardship, division and resentment (Chambers et al., 2017).

The introduction of ITQs was in line with political and ideological beliefs in private capital and other popular neoliberal theories of the era (Kokorsch, 2018). During the 1990s and early 2000s the neo-liberal ethos that embodied the late 20th Century's political and economic thought in much of the developed world continued apace (Kokorsch, 2018). It is this Icelandic sense of the goldrush - of driving forward, seizing the day, *carpe diem*, with entrepreneurial vigour and haste - that also appears to contribute to a headlong dash to remove sites that, although decaying, are often historically important. (Tyas, 2016).

Icelandic gold rushes can be said to have swung too far in many cases, fuelling the privatisation of fishing quotas, creating competing individualists from relatively harmonious fishing communities and in parallel setting in train some of the dubious banking practices of the early 2000s in Iceland, originally set up to finance much of that same quota privatisation process (Huijbens, 2012). Kokorsch (2018, p.19) writes that 'the weak structures and public institutions did not appear suddenly, but gradually evolved. The privatisation of a previous common-pool resource certainly played an important role'. This embrace of privatisation and rejection of collective, co-operative or publicly owned enterprise can be seen as a reworking of the entrepreneurial pioneering spirit of the whaling and herring eras, in some ways mimicking the well-trodden path of many of the early industrialists with their ruthless ambition and objectivist outlooks. The decline of remote fishing communities as a direct

result of such change has been marked and has led to a 'negative spiral in public services' (Byggðastofnun, 2018, p.2).

Alternative approaches to such purely economic imperatives were defined by Elkington (1997) as the Triple Bottom Line - and have since led to more balanced approaches to overall social and economic benefit, including the growth of corporate social responsibility. More recently indicators of success other than GDP have been attracting attention, specifically the UN SDGs (Petti et al., 2020) and the Government of Iceland's own Indicators for Measuring Wellbeing (2019). In many cases adapted and re-purposed industrial heritage sites can address many of these alternative measures of economic well-being. Successfully adapted sites can underpin, realign, restore and strengthen a local population's perceptions of identity, resilience and purpose - the keys to rebuilding community solidarity, loyalty, reciprocity and consensus (Kokorsch, 2018). Such values are also key objectives and components of emerging environmental and social justice movements, in which community heritage can play a key role if local distrust and scepticism can be overcome (Bottero et al., 2019). Re-purposed industrial heritage projects have the potential therefore to contribute to rebuilding, securing and maintaining social structures and reversing the damage within communities of neo-liberal policies.

2.3 Conceptualising value

Assigning value to heritage is a multidisciplinary task and requires input from a number of sources including economists, historians and sociologists. There is consequently considerable debate in the literature regarding appropriate methods to quantify its value. Throsby (2007) argues that value can be applied to both cultural and industrial heritage by drawing from the model of environmental economics. The assumption that this is a close parallel is derived from the idea that environmental, natural and cultural assets share similar value scales. Throsby considers the close association between concepts of environmental sustainability and cultural sustainability and as divisible into individual and collective value (Throsby, 2007).

2.3.1 Individual value

Use value

Use value is the direct use, consumption or access to heritage embodied either in ownership or enjoyment of the asset. This could include owning and/or using a historic building, including the value enjoyed by tourists who use a historic site. In these cases the individual access fee, including rental or other monetary values, applied to each individual site could be seen as a market-driven marker with which to judge how important such sites are in the estimation and consciousness of service users as well as local and national populations (Rizzo and Throsby, 2006). Increasingly however we need to find other non-monetary means with which to judge the importance of such sites, which in economic terms can be seen as 'unpriced goods' (Alexandrakis et al., 2019). There is considerable evidence that the market prices the direct use value of heritage positively, driven partly by scarcity, and irreproducibility, often driven by a sense of sentimentality and attachment to ancestry and history. In cases where the site presents significant logistical or conservation challenges, including cost, uncertainty and/or risk, this market value may become dampened or even in extreme cases negative.

Non-use value

Attributable to passive uses of heritage, often derived and perceived by those who do not have direct connection with a heritage site. This can be further subdivided as follows:

a) existence value: understood as appreciating or valuing cultural heritage simply because it exists

b) option value: the intention or attitude of valuing heritage items for their possible future use

c) bequest value: the intention to hand on heritage assets to future generations, thus deriving benefit and welfare from the knowledge that heritage will be passed on. The welfare derived from recreation and bequest opportunities is reflected by people's willingness to pay for visiting and conserving heritage (Ruijgrok, 2006)

2.3.2 Collective value

Collective value can include symbolic, patriotic or national sources of pride, identity or wellbeing. Huebner and Hedhal (2012, p.4) define collective value as providing 'action

guidance that stretches well beyond the recognition of aggregates of individual values. They change the deontic status of particular actions for group members.'

2.3.3 Private and public value

Throsby (2003) cites the building listing process as an example of private/public value, where a public benefit can be applied to a private use, in some cases to the detriment or cost of the private owner - in other words although a collective value is to the benefit of the community, it is the financial and ethical responsibility of an individual property owner. I consider social attitudes in Iceland to state intervention and heritage protection in the research and discuss a widespread trust and belief in the rights of individual property ownership.

2.3.4 Whole life and embodied carbon value

The debate around the value of whole life carbon is increasingly moving into mainstream debate in architectural design, engineering and construction as the process of demolition and newbuild construction is recognised as bearing substantial ecological implications (IPCC, 2014; Ding, 2018; Wibowo and Uda, 2018). Lucon et al., (2014, p.675) report the following statistical data on the environmental impact of the construction industry: 'In 2010 buildings accounted for 32% of total global final energy use, 19% of energy-related GHG emissions (including electricity-related), approximately one-third of black carbon emissions, and an eighth to a third of F-gases'. With regards removal of waste resulting from demolition, Pomponi and Moncaster (2017) set out preferential waste hierarchies, prioritising prevention of waste over a descending order of alternative approaches, with disposal of waste as the least preferable outcome.

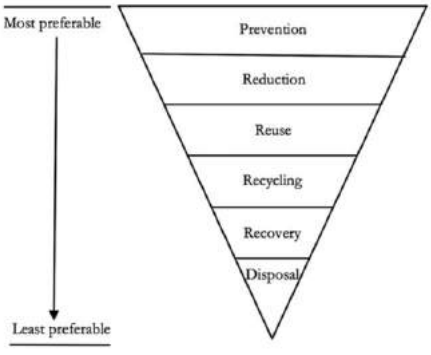


Figure 1: Waste minimisation hierarchy (Source: Pomponi and Moncaster 2017)

Other definitions of value include hedonic pricing, willingness to pay (WTP) - including contingent valuation (CVM) - and willingness to accept giving up a benefit (WTA). A variation on this valuation argument is proposed by Ruijgrok (2006), whose research seeks to put a price tag on cultural heritage that is mostly less well known and privately owned. Ruijgrok categorises value into 'housing comfort value', 'recreational perception value' and 'bequest value', concluding that 'the economic benefits of conserving the most threatened types of cultural heritage surpass the costs' and that 'conservation is a sound investment'. (Ruijgrok, 2006, p.1). Ruijgrok argues that 'housing comfort value' should be measured using the Hedonic Pricing Method (HPM), and it may be worth considering this method as applicable also to less well-known cultural heritage such as industrial heritage.

2.4 Tourism

Boniface and Fowler wrote nearly thirty years ago that: 'tourism is fast becoming the biggest industry in the world: 'the Greatest Show on Earth' and the life blood of much of that industry is heritage' (1993). Since the 2008 financial crisis, a series of events led to a rapid and arguably unsustainable growth of international tourism in Iceland. The 2010 eruption of Eyjafjallajökull, combined media attention resulting from the Icelandic banking collapse and the arrival of the low-cost transatlantic carrier Wow Air together contributed to Iceland's arrival on the global media and tourism stages, resulting in a dramatic expansion in demand from visitors eager to visit the country that they had been seeing on news bulletins. This rapid growth in international visitor numbers has become a cultural and logistical challenge globally as it erodes authenticity of experience and contributes to what Boniface & Fowler (1993) described as the 'commodification of culture'.

2.5 Cultural routes, networks and clusters

Industrial heritage sites are often in remote locations and have historically represented niche or special interest tourism products - consequently co-operation clusters and partnerships have proved difficult to form (Lane et al., 2013). Yet increasingly partnerships and routes are recognised as significant methods of successfully consolidating resources, building capacity and addressing widespread fragmentation within the sector. Inter-organisational

links potentially offer effective regional branding, marketing and cross-fertilisation tools, attracting like-minded audiences to partner sites, as well as fostering cooperation, research, development, communication, peer to peer information exchange, support and economies of scale. TICCIH (2003, p.4) states that 'regional and international routes of industrial heritage can highlight the continual transfer of industrial technology and the large-scale movement of people that can be caused by it'. The growth of heritage site clusters, in particular the development of regional routes, has been a welcome phenomenon in establishing added value. The Council of Europe's report (2011, p.6) concludes that cultural routes have 'enormous potential for SME generation, clustering, networking (intercultural dialogue)'. As background the Cultural Routes programme of the Council of Europe was established between 1984-87 to promote 'discovery through travel' (Council of Europe, 2011, p.13). In addition to the Cultural Routes programme, the EU introduced the European Heritage Label, of which there are now 64 accredited sites. Both the Cultural Routes and EHL programmes complement the existing, longstanding nomenclature of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Such routes have proved to be successful in building interest among tourist groups such as educational walking parties, encompassing such trails as the Iron Route in the Pyrenees and the European Iron Trail in Central Europe (Interreg, 2019). Visitors are attracted to educational sites that are perceived as active or experiential as they seek to enhance their knowledge and understanding of the historical and geopolitical significance of disused or re-purposed heritage. Industrial heritage sites are also perceived as offering popular appeal rather than being attributed to high culture, sometimes through 'landscapes of nostalgia' (Halewood and Hannam, 2001, p. 566). The Council of Europe (2011) finds that inter-organisational networks offer strong regional branding, marketing and cross-fertilisation tools, attracting like-minded audiences to partner sites as well as fostering co-operation, research, development, communication, peer to peer information exchange, support and economies of scale. 'European networks make a vital contribution to transnational co-operation across diverse sectors of arts and heritage fields. A contemporary phenomenon, they represent a flexible and dynamic way of working which brings together professionals across Europe who share common concerns.' (Council of Europe, 2011, p.36). Lane et al. (2013, p.13) find that 'the development of Europe's industrial heritage could also benefit secondary destinations and contribute to achieving a more sustainable tourism sector in Europe, through the preservation, transformation and rehabilitation of industrial sites'. The research therefore considers whether similar links have been established in Iceland and if so,

how actively they are maintained, either between sites in terms of cross-ticketing or joint marketing programmes (including collections or exhibit sharing) or with related tourism operators such as agri-rural tourism businesses.

The EU has instigated several thematic programmes which could inform Icelandic heritage cluster marketing. These include European Heritage Days, the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage/Europa Nostra Awards (celebrating exemplary heritage achievements) and the European Capitals of Culture (ECoC) (European Commission, 2014). In addition, UNESCO has developed the Routes of Dialogue programme, intended to use 'cultural heritage and identity as common spaces for exchange…highlighting values and principles that have the capacity to bring people together.' (Council of Europe, 2011, p.233). These projects include the Silk Roads, the Routes of Al-Andalus, the Mediterranean programme, the Iron Roads in Africa project, the Culture in the Neighbourhood project, the Arabia Plan, the Caucasus Project and the Slave Route project (Council of Europe, 2011).

Specific to industrial heritage in the European context has been the European Routes of Industrial Heritage (ERIH) project, which today has become a significant force in both tourism, research and study, buoyed in particular by increasingly connected tourism and consumer networks which serve to enhance the on- as well as offline experience. The mapping and joint marketing of sites through these regional routes has proved particularly successful in creating linkages and driving tourism between industrial heritage locations in Germany and the UK - particularly in the identification of 'anchor points' - sites with special historical importance. ERIH (2008) guidance specifically recommends going beyond listing key anchor point sites and establishing/appointing anchor point representatives. The guidance divides the clustering process into four stages:

1. Establish a Regional Working Group
2. Identify and select the sites
3. Develop promotional material
4. Market the product.

2.6 Agglomerations and partnerships

Lane et al. (2013, p.9) find that 'rural tourism creates place attachment, encouraging visitor loyalty and, therefore, repeat visits. Rural tourism has a good record in product development and innovation, and in drawing in new capital and entrepreneurs from cities, other regions and countries, often driven by particular lifestyle choices.' The research identifies whether industrial heritage sites have been instrumental in attracting secondary inward investment from the private sector and investigates whether such projects have the potential to create clusters or agglomerations in remote communities, including provision of adjacent hospitality businesses such as accommodation, restaurants or retail operations. It has been shown that the off-site multiplier effect within a remote community can be substantial. Economic sustainability is considered as well as the potential for expansion and development of industrial heritage sites, by looking at whether related commercial activities, such as heritage craft manufacturing and/or retail operations are undertaken in-house or externally by third parties.

2.7 Migration flows and social capital

The economic trends of the twentieth century tended to further concentrate resources towards the urban centre, which today holds political influence, financial power, network connections and technical knowledge, setting up feedback loops that impact negatively on remote communities, reducing local economic autonomy while further exacerbating demographic changes and out-migration flows. As the century progressed and as the semi-feudal agricultural system was disbanded, changing employment patterns combined with the impact of new technologies and processes in fisheries led to renewed de-population of remote areas, exacerbating their decline - described as 'the early mobility transition' by Zelinsky (1971). Such changes involved *inter alia* the introduction of freezer and processing trawlers which have largely negated the need for onshore fish factories, thus freeing owners from fixed contractual obligations to certain communities. This in turn led to widespread loss of income and employment in coastal communities as trawlers became technically autonomous production units, without the need to land their catches. Even in communities that retained processing capacity, such sites increasingly became less desirable providers of employment as younger populations chose to find other opportunities in urban environments,

notably Reykjavik and abroad, driven by globalisation, increased access to information, higher educational attainment and raised personal aspirations - particularly among young women (Júlíusdóttir, 2010; Jóhannesson, 2013).

In contrast to this move away from rural towns among young people seeking opportunities outside the fishing sector, an opposite and gradual ex-urbanisation shift has been taking place more recently among middle- and high-income residents of the capital – the so-called 101ers – who began to appreciate and acquire properties in remote areas as second homes (Huijbens, 2012). Huijbens (2012) also states that second homers often become actively involved in the community and represent a rich vein of social capital that they are willing to invest in the development of community projects. Huijbens (2012, p.337) also comments that 'social capital is not a property that can be amassed, stored or owned'. He argues that it should be encouraged and recognised immediately as a valuable, yet possibly transient, resource within such communities.

2.8 Community engagement, access and volunteerism

I investigate whether sites offer volunteer opportunities and shared training programmes with the local community - and how such training can be developed as part of a post-industrial re-skilling process, contributing positively to conservation work as well as social cohesion and knowledge transfer. The European Commission (2014, p.11) highlights that 'a major problem faced by the heritage sector is the progressive disappearance of traditional skills and crafts. Demographic trends compound this situation so there may soon be a shortage of skilled workers. There is a need to increase the attractiveness of heritage-related professions and to provide more opportunities for continuous training'. As an example of a skills sharing project, the Creative Europe programme, which promotes peer-learning, is designed 'to contribute to the dissemination of good practices in culture and creative industries, including heritage' (European Commission, 2014, p.13). TICCIH is more specific (2003, p.3), stating that 'the human skills involved in many old or obsolete industrial processes are a critically important resource whose loss may be irreplaceable. They need to be carefully recorded and transmitted to younger generations.' It is this important inter-generational exchange of knowledge, experience and memories that volunteering programmes can provide for both the project itself as well as for participants - particularly

in the application of conservation techniques, cataloguing of artefacts and collections, and archiving and documenting of oral histories (TICCIH, 2003). It would seem logical to apply similar reasoning to the Icelandic experience, although there appears to be little published research on the subject.

Heritage sites also have the potential to benefit from volunteer tourism, a category of slow tourism which has been experiencing a marked upturn in interest as visitors seek to engage in projects over the longer term, learning and sharing skills, creating lasting and fulfilling relationships and finding a sense of purpose and fulfilment in the tasks and activities they carry out on site. I seek to address the issues and consider the possible reasons, both cultural and institutional, surrounding an apparent resistance to volunteering programmes and low levels of engagement with volunteers in heritage projects.

2.9 Statutory protection mechanisms

Statutory legal protection, or building listing, is a complex subject in the context of industrial heritage in Iceland. The protection mechanism is administered by Minjastofnun, the Cultural Heritage Institute, under the terms of *Lög um menningarminjar* (Cultural Heritage Act) 80/2012 which passed into law on 1 January 2013 (Alþingi, 2012). An interactive map of registered buildings and archaeological sites published by Minjastofnun is available online (Minjastofnun, 2021).

3. Research design

3.1 Site selection

Preliminary site research was based on network recommendations, literature and internet sources with particular focus on north, west and southwest Iceland and the Westfjords. I conducted field studies including photographic documentation and notes of buildings, machinery, artefacts and locations. Having established a longlist of potential sites I created a shortlist of sixteen, thirteen in rural areas and three in the capital Reykjavik to serve as control or benchmark sites. In general fish factories or related processing units were selected, as many examples of adaptation and re-use of such structures already exist. Many more lie either abandoned or partially used, awaiting either adaptation or deterioration and eventual demolition. I sought to introduce a cross-section of sites from both the private and public sector ownership and to include varying construction types, eras, scales and adaptive re-uses - from traditional museums to galleries, artists' studios, residencies, music centres and accommodation. Selection of sites was also dependent on physical and geographical access from the location of the University Centre of the Westfjords.

Given the variety of adaptation types my research does not seek to draw direct, quantitative comparisons between sites - instead I use qualitative research to identify, categorise and define adaptive re-use, analysing the origins of conservation projects and seeking to understand how Icelandic society allocates differing and relative value structures to industrial heritage. An interactive list of the selected research sites was created at http://bit.ly/35iSmrr. They include the herring factory in Djúpavík, the Herring Era Museum in Siglufjörður, Nes Artist Residency and the Salthús Guesthouse at Skagaströnd, the Freezer Hostel and Culture Centre at Rif, the Whale Museum in Húsavík, the Hjalteyri Center for Contemporary Art, the Art Museum and the Industry Museum in Akureyri, Edinborg House and Westfjords Heritage Museum in Ísafjörður, the herring factory in Raufarhöfn, the power plant in Vopnafjörður and three urban sites for comparison located in Reykjavik - the Marshall House, Galleri Korpulfsstadir and Gufunes Fertiliser Factory.

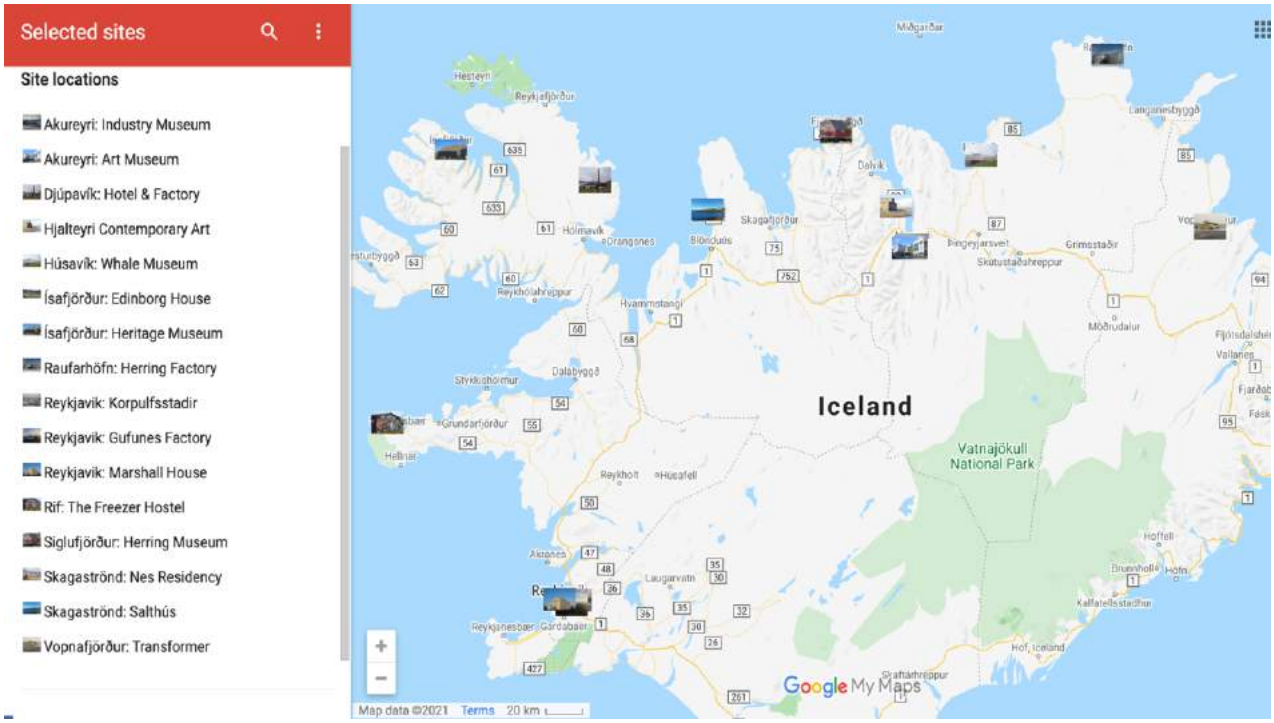


Figure 2: Research sites map - Iceland (Google Maps)

As an initial triage I created five loosely differentiated adaptation types as follows:

Type 1: adaptations that reflect a classic narrative, offering an educational or didactic interpretation of the building's original purpose or function (Herring Era Museum Siglufjörður, Westfjords Heritage Museum Ísafjörður)

Type 2: adaptations that do not directly reflect a former industrial purpose, but which use the structure to perform other functions or to exhibit different content (Akureyri Art Museum, Freezer Centre Rif, Whale Museum Husavík, Galleri Korpulfsstaðir);

Type 3: adaptations that have been adapted for commercial use or as a mix of commercial use and cultural/community hubs (Edinborg House Ísafjörður, Marshall House Reykjavik, Salthús Guesthouse Skagaströnd, Gufunes movie & creative studios)

Type 4: adaptations that have been conserved rather than restored, maintaining a level of derelict abandonment and attracting a niche market of creative tourism comprising artists, photographers, film-makers, musicians and even 'dark' tourists - within the genre of the somewhat pejorative term ''ruin porn" (Griffioen, 2009) (Djúpavík and Hjalteyri herring factories)

Type 5: sites at risk of loss or demolition (Vopnafjörður power plantt, Raufarhöfn herring factory, Akureyri Industry Museum, Nes workshops Skagaströnd).

3.2 Methodology and analysis

Data collection consisted principally of interviews carried out over a total sixteen month period and comprised two stages of participant input. I did not seek to balance the gender, age or ethnicity of respondents as the research was intended to focus on key stakeholders and participants – equality of statistical sampling was therefore not a priority. I set up the interview appointments in advance through introductions by email and phone with a short explanation and clarification of my research aims and purpose. Through informal and semi-structured interviews, I sought to understand where possible perceived values assigned to industrial structures within stakeholder groups, such as local communities, universities, research institutes, museums, media, political institutions and other bodies. Attention was also paid to levels of local and national support - or indeed resistance - to a site's conservation and development, taking into account the description by Lane et al. (2013, p.26) of 'psychological and aesthetic burdens' which identifies that 'the link between industry, hard work and the often tough living conditions of the past is deeply engrained in the psyche of much of the population'. The thesis analysed sites with reference as far as practicable to best practice models within the sector, drawing on the Nizhny Tagil Charter (TICCIH 2003) where applicable and attempts to compare methods and approaches adopted at different sites to interpret the heritage, such as signage, storytelling, guided tours, interpreters/animators, oral history documentation and curation of physical collections, including handling and archiving.

3.3 Interview technique

For the purposes of the research the interviews were all conducted in English. Transcripts of interviews were carried out verbatim and completed as accurately as possible - however I chose to omit hesitations, repetitions, gaps and pauses as well as discourse markers, pause fillers or expressions such as 'um', 'er' and 'you know' where these interrupted the flow of the conversation and made the context of the reply less intelligible. Although the participants' fluency in English was nearly always good or excellent, it is possible that, as most participants were native Icelandic speakers, some detail and nuance may have been lost in the English used. In cases where the speaker's command of English grammar was less fluent and English expressions or phrases appeared occasionally inaccurate or linguistically

confusing, some minor grammatical paraphrasing or limited editorialising was undertaken in the transcript. On all such occasions I ensured that the context of the dialogue and respondent's comments remained consistent.

Subjects were contacted initially by email and follow-up phone call before programming face-to-face semi-structured and informal interviews. Where onsite interviews were not possible, alternative methods of enquiry and research were used, including (in ascending order of preference) email, phone and/or Skype. Interviewees agreed to be named and identified for the purposes of this research. All respondents were provided with a copy of the transcript of their interview over January 2021 and offered the option of editorial approval of the attributed material prior to submission and publication of the final research. Thus all respondents were afforded a right to reply ahead of publication. No significant objections or refusals were raised, with only minor amendments and modifications submitted as feedback. In some cases, specific actions or events had taken place since the interview was carried out that required minor amendments to the text and in a few limited cases respondents requested the removal of sensitive commercial information. In all cases respondents' requests were complied with. In no case did any of the requested amendments substantially alter the context of the interviews. Interviews were recorded using digital equipment supported by the AI transcription application Temi.

3.4 Organisation of data and transcripts

The first stage informal interviews were conducted in person and were completed just before Covid-19 restrictions came into force - which in turn resulted in my returning to my home in France to continue my research. As a result of Covid-19 regulations, consideration was given to conducting the second phase of semi-structured interviews online. It was determined that online interviews would diminish the quality of engagement and input of the respondents and that face-to-face interviews would enable a wider and more in-depth reach - thus a decision was taken to continue in person interviews if health and safety criteria could be met. Advice from governmental organisations as well as ongoing media coverage was closely monitored to establish the advisability and practicality of conducting the interviews in person. Once lockdown restrictions were lifted in Iceland in the summer of 2020, participants were approached to establish their availability and willingness to meet face to

face based on the safety protocol that would be adopted. I set out a detailed explanation to respondents offering a choice of online or in person interviews, with a preference for in person, explaining that I would of course respect social distancing rules, wear a mask, avoid shaking hands and that I would have completed the government's legal requirement to undergo a 5 day isolation period and two-stage negative PCR tests. No respondent raised an objection to meeting in person. The face-to-face interview method was therefore chosen and in September 2020 I put in place measures to conduct the interviews in Iceland.

3.5 Ethics

With regards ethical best practice and recognised protocols, a key condition was that interviews would not be anonymised and that transcripts would attribute subject names (and job titles) where relevant. Interviewees therefore agreed to be identified by name, job title (where applicable) and organisation. Participants were always informed regarding the nature and purpose of the interviews, the research objectives and intended academic publication from the outset and were always made aware that the interviews were recorded and recording equipment was always deliberately visible. Consent was always established prior to proceeding and participants confirmed this verbally on taped recordings during each interview within the context of the established interview process by introducing themselves formally and on the record at the start of all recordings. Stage 1 respondents were asked for and gave verbal consent in this way. The methodology was refined subsequent to this process - Stage 2 respondents were given a Research Participation Consent form (Appendix C) prior to being interviewed which comprised an introduction to the research, an outline of the interview format and a consent form which respondents completed and signed either before - or in some cases after - each interview. Interviewees were aware that their conversations would be saved to digital audio recordings and subsequently stored in the Google data cloud with password protection using secure logins. Personal privacy data such as phone numbers, email addresses and other contact information has been respected in all cases.

I have presented the figures and photography using largely self-originated photographs as supportive material and product. To this end I ensured that permission to photograph the

exteriors and interiors of sites as well as any attendant collections and material was always sought and granted from the site owner, manager or decision-maker. Image copyright therefore rests with the author in most cases unless otherwise indicated, eliminating reproduction or rights issues. Any other related rights issues, restrictions or acknowledgment obligations were considered and respected in this publication. The photographic work explored as far as possible a range of available material beyond the built structures, including machinery, adjacent environment and personal collections. The qualitative data analysis application MAXQDA v20.3 was used to code the research data from both the informal and semi-structured interviews. The data has been protected in line with current protocols and the General Data Protection Regulation (Cornock, 2018).

3.6 Project limitations

The selection of sites and overall geographic area for the first stage of interviews was driven by the availability of relevant interview subjects. Access was dependent on the geographical restrictions of my university base in Ísafjörður in the Westfjords as well as practical and logistical limitations, travel restrictions and difficulties in accessing research sites over the winter months, exacerbated by severe weather conditions over 2019/20. The remoteness of the location to some extent restricted my ability to cover sites and conduct exploratory interviews to the east, southeast or south of the country by car over available timeframes.

There were also some limitations in terms of language. As has been set out previously in this paper, all interviews were carried out in English, my native language. I am aware of the limitations of this approach and it is possible that some linguistic nuance was lost in the process of conducting interviews in respondents' second language - however all participants had a good to excellent grasp of spoken English and where any misunderstanding or misinterpretation was noted it was always my policy to either clarify the question or revisit the answer at a later date with the respondent in order to ensure as full a comprehension of the relevant point as possible. I chose not to engage an interpreter to translate from Icelandic into English for reasons of consistency, practicality, logistics and budget.

Other limitations in the research may have arisen within the context of the exploratory interview round when I occasionally used my own personal interpretation of a particular

circumstance or response to gauge and direct a subsequent question. As the exploratory round of interviews was intended to be wide-ranging and designed to be an informal relationship-building process I do not consider that this has unduly affected the data gathering or results - it allowed me to better understand each project and together with my thesis advisor to formulate appropriate questions for the semi-structured interview round.

3.7 Stage 1 informal interviews

Stage 1 was an exploratory exercise which took place between September 2019 – March 2020. I visited a selection of shortlisted sites, taking notes and photographs and conducting 15 informal, unstructured in-person interviews to establish relationships with owners/managers and gather initial data as well as personal impressions of the sites. The intention was to establish an outline understanding of each project and to build relationships with the key participants ahead of a later round of semi-structured interviews. My aim was to keep an open mind regarding each project to allow participants to direct the informal interviews wherever possible. I interviewed the subjects in person, either at the relevant heritage sites or in occasional circumstances where this was either not possible or impractical a nearby location was chosen as a secondary option. I encouraged the selection of a quiet location to enable reflection and consideration of the questions and allocated on average 90-120 minutes per interview. The timeframe was also determined by the participant's availability and willingness to participate and in this regard, I ensured as much flexibility as possible to encourage the broadest possible input as, in line with my previous professional experience, participants often offer the most insightful or reflective comments after an hour or so into an informal conversation. Questions were informally presented to encourage a range of topics and responses and designed to address the key topics of research. These were varied to allow flexibility of feedback from subjects and to reflect the diversity of locations and site uses. I deliberately involved myself in the conversation to both guide the dialogue topics as well as to maintain a conversational flow at this early stage of the research, with the aim of exploring broad subject areas and to encourage a wide initial framework of responses. The complete set of informal interview questions are listed in Appendix D.

3.8 Stage 2 semi-structured interviews

Stage 2 of the interview process took place between September 2020 – January 2021. I revisited all the original Stage 1 respondents and sites (except for Djúpavík for reasons of access and subject availability) and expanded the list of sites to include a wider cross-section of structures, uses and physical conditions. I carried out 35 semi-structured interviews with a variety of participants reflecting differing facets of the industrial heritage sector in Iceland, with key respondents from national and local government, ministries, agencies, universities and other related bodies. 30 interviews were conducted in-person and 5 online (by Zoom or Skype) for reasons of subject availability or newly introduced Covid-19 restrictions.

As in the informal interview stage, I interviewed the subjects in person, again either at the relevant site or nearby, except for five respondents whose interviews had to be conducted online because of newly introduced Covid-19 restrictions towards the end of September 2020. Again, I encouraged the selection of a quiet location to enable reflection and consideration of the questions and allocated on average 90-120 minutes per interview. Interviews were conducted using a semi-structured set of questions as listed in Appendix D. I strove to involve myself less in the conversation at this stage to achieve a degree of consistency, although also allowing for the conversations to follow different directions where I considered that the information was relevant and applicable to answering the research questions. As part of the semi-structured interview stage, I chose not to discount but to include respondents' observations relating to the Covid-19 pandemic of 2020 to maintain relevancy and topicality. I therefore included questions relating to how heritage projects have reacted to and coped with the challenges arising from the pandemic and the consequent collapse of foreign tourism - and to understand how sites are managing to draw lessons from this experience to build future sustainability and resilience.

Interviewees selected for the formal, semi-structured second phase of the research were organised into two groups. Group 1 'Executive and Management' comprised owners, directors, CEOs, founders, board members and other stakeholders. Group 2 'Policy makers and experts' comprised political figures, policymakers, mayors, academics, researchers, architects and specialists. The full list of participants from both stages is provided in Appendix B.

4. Data Analysis

4.1 Data analysis overview

Interviews from both stages were fully transcribed and later summarised. A code system was then devised based on an initial, inductive interpretation of the data results from the interview process, with a view to answering the key research questions. The code system comprised two levels, an initial primary coding exercise followed by a secondary, targeted coding exercise designed to answer the research questions. As part of this process, I applied my own professional knowledge in the field of industrial heritage conservation and adaptation in order to integrate my understanding and experience of 'real world' project management to the theoretical research.

4.2 Primary level data coding

In order to organise raw data derived from the interview transcripts into broad, primary themes, a code system was designed using the application MAXQDA v20.3. Five parent codes were initially devised. Each parent code was subdivided into a total of 32 subcodes, again based on an inductive interpretation of the results of the interview stages. In order to confirm subcoding decisions before segment coding began, a visualisation of the full parent/subcode primary system was created using MAXMaps, shown in the following five schematics with each parent code at centre:

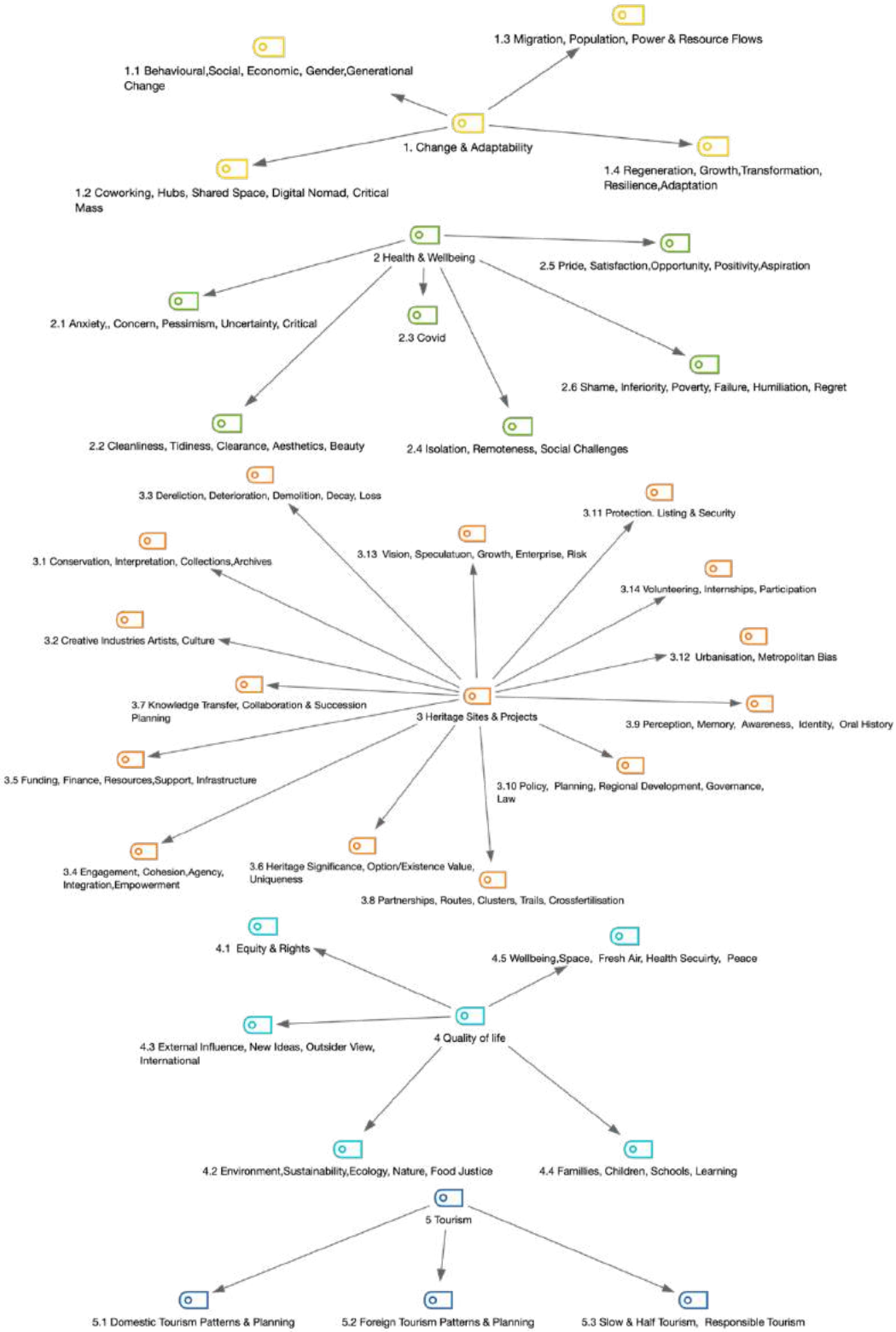


Figure 3: Primary code system schematics showing 5 parent codes and 32 subcodes

Each interview transcript was then coded into the primary code system. A total of 2830 segments were created from the full set of transcripts and allocated to relevant subcodes for

subsequent analysis. An aggregate overview of the segment coding system and results, with parent codes, subcodes, document and segment occurrence totals, is shown below:

Table 1: Primary level code system showing parent, subcodes and occurrence frequencies

Parent code	Code	Cod.seg.(all documents)
	1.Change & Adaptability	0
1.Change & Adaptability	1.1 Behavioural,Social,Economic,Gender,Generational Change	71
1.Change & Adaptability	1.2 Coworking,Hubs,Shared Space,Digital Nomad,Critical Mass	58
1.Change & Adaptability	1.3 Migration,Population,Power & Resource Flows	60
1.Change & Adaptability	1.4 Regeneration,Growth,Transformation,Resilience,Adaptation	74
	2 Health & Wellbeing	0
2 Health & Wellbeing	2.1 Anxiety,,Concern,Pessimism,Uncertainty,Critical	124
2 Health & Wellbeing	2.2 Cleanliness,Tidiness,Clearance,Aesthetics,Beauty	10
2 Health & Wellbeing	2.3 Covid	115
2 Health & Wellbeing	2.4 Isolation,Remoteness,Social Challenges	30
2 Health & Wellbeing	2.5 Pride,Satisfaction,Opportunity,Positivity,Aspiration	111
2 Health & Wellbeing	2.6 Shame,Inferiority,Poverty,Failure,Humiliation,Regret	77
	3 Heritage Sites & Projects	0
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.1 Conservation,Interpretation,Collections,Archives	212
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.2 Creative Industries Artists,Culture	102
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.3 Dereliction,Deterioration,Demolition,Decay,Loss	140
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.4 Engagement,Cohesion,Agency,Integration,Empowerment	170
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.5 Funding,Finance,Resources,Support,Infrastructure	155
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.6 Heritage Significance,Option/Existence Value,Uniqueness	149
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.7 Knowledge Transfer,Collaboration & Succession Planning	13
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.8 Partnerships,Routes,Clusters,Trails,Crossfertilisation	37
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.9 Perception,Memory, Awareness, Identity, Oral History	220
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.10 Policy, Planning,Regional Development,Governance, Law	159
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.11 Protection.Listing & Security	199
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.12 Urbanisation,Metropolitan Bias	13
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.13 Vision,Speculatuon,Growth,Enterprise,Risk	177
3 Heritage Sites & Projects	3.14 Volunteering,Internships,Participation	22
	4 Quality of life	0
4 Quality of life	4.1 Equity & Rights	2
4 Quality of life	4.2 Environment,Sustainability,Ecology,Nature,Food Justice	34
4 Quality of life	4.3 External Influence,New Ideas,Outsider View,International	49
4 Quality of life	4.4 Famillies,Children,Schools,Learning	24
4 Quality of life	4.5 Wellbeing,Space, Fresh Air,Health Secuirty, Peace	23
	5 Tourism	0
5 Tourism	5.1 Domestic Tourism Patterns & Planning	74
5 Tourism	5.2 Foreign Tourism Patterns & Planning	99
5 Tourism	5.3 Slow & Half Tourism, Responsible Tourism	27

To enable a comprehensive analysis of the data, multiple co-occurrences were performed where required although minimised as far as possible, with a maximum of 5 co-occurrences allowed per segment to enable a level of flexibility while reducing unnecessary overlap between codes. Once all transcripts had been coded, categorised data lists were created to analyse results. The aim at this stage of the analysis was to assess overall data to design a secondary coding system targeted at addressing the research questions.

Interview response data was also analysed by individual respondent, using individual transcript documents to generate visualisations within MAXMaps as single case models. These charts were used to enable response and subcode occurrences to be analysed as a

function of each interview. Figure 4 below shows a typical visualisation with a sample response segment illustrated:

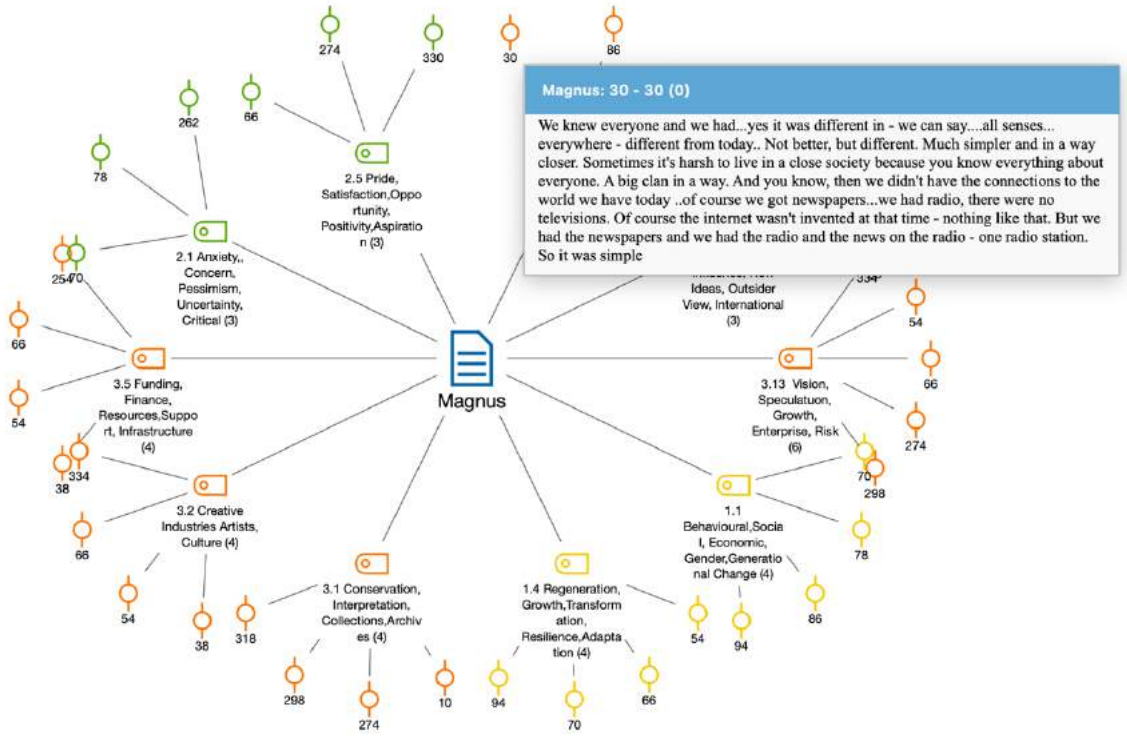


Figure 4: Interview response data sample

4.3 Secondary level data coding

Having analysed the data from the primary coding process, a secondary level code system was created comprising six codes designed specifically to address each of the six research questions. Coded segments from the primary coding operation were retrieved using MAXQDA. Key data relating to the research questions were selected from these segments and re-coded according to the 6 secondary parent codes. For this part of the coding process co-occurrences were not allowed in order to focus results on each of the six specific research questions. The secondary level coding exercise was initially performed only for parent codes to test the criteria chosen. 42 subcodes were then created to address the research questions, using inductive reasoning drawn from interview data and site visits - in combination with my professional experience in the field of industrial heritage conservation - to reach relevant decisions regarding criteria. The response segments were then recoded into the full secondary coding system. An aggregate overview of the segment coding system and results (with parent codes, subcodes, document and segment occurrence totals) is as below:

Table 2: Secondary level code system showing parent, subcodes and occurrence frequencies

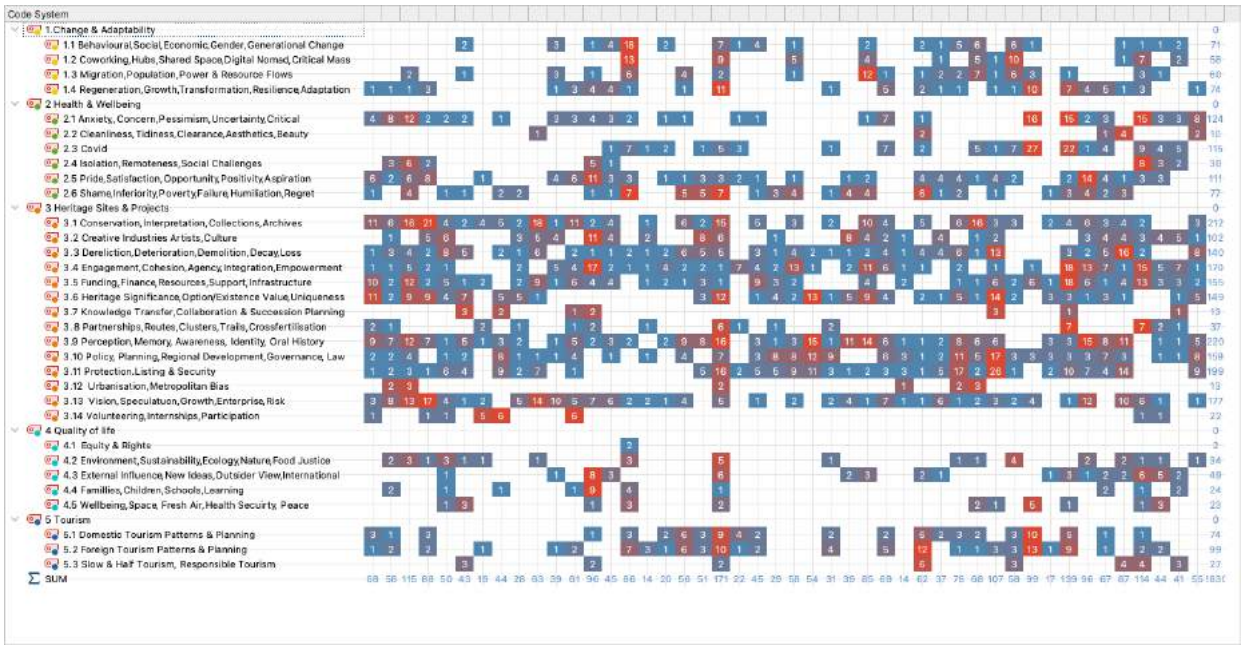
Parent code	Code	Cod.seg....	% Cod.seg.(a...
Q1 Communities	Capacity,building,social capital,migration,second homers	22	2.73
Q1 Communities	Civic pride,identity,culture,positivity	20	2.48
Q1 Communities	Community engagement & education	22	2.73
Q1 Communities	Memories,local stories	13	1.61
Q1 Communities	Shame, humiliation,poverty, disadvantage,regret	29	3.59
Q1 Communities	Volunteerism, activism	25	3.10
Q2 Value/Success	External influence,openness	16	1.98
Q2 Value/Success	Local support/interest,domestic tourism	22	2.73
Q2 Value/Success	Media interest/public recognition	19	2.35
Q2 Value/Success	Partnerships,networks,trails,routes	26	3.22
Q2 Value/Success	Regenerative draw/creative hub/critical mass	27	3.35
Q2 Value/Success	Wonder,awe, delight,surprise	12	1.49
Q3 Support	Belief & encouragement	12	1.49
Q3 Support	Funding	25	3.10
Q3 Support	Incoherent heritage strategy	25	3.10
Q3 Support	Infrastructure support	8	0.99
Q3 Support	Lack of recognition & intervention, inertia	17	2.11
Q3 Support	Tourism & heritage	12	1.49
Q4 Commonalities	Creative industries,art,counterculture	20	2.48
Q4 Commonalities	Goldrush mentality,entrepreneurship,risk,materialism	20	2.48
Q4 Commonalities	History custodians,researchers,archaeologists	20	2.48
Q4 Commonalities	Natural & built environment,quality of life, health security	21	2.60
Q4 Commonalities	Slow travel,sustainable living,new thinking	30	3.72
Q4 Commonalities	Ugly,dirty,untidy,Inaccessible,impractical	18	2.23
Q4 Commonalities	Unsustainable travel,foreign tourism	12	1.49
Q4 Commonalities	Visionary - drive tenacity determination adaptability	30	3.72
Q5 Challenges	Burnout,exhaustion,desperation	11	1.36
Q5 Challenges	Economic downturn,covid	19	2.35
Q5 Challenges	Lack of funds,resources	17	2.11
Q5 Challenges	Lack of interest, understanding, respect	20	2.48
Q5 Challenges	Managing collections	8	0.99
Q5 Challenges	Remoteness/Isolation	9	1.12
Q5 Challenges	Scale of task	25	3.10
Q5 Challenges	Scepticism,negative perceptions	22	2.73
Q6 Protection	Age listing / friðað	11	1.36
Q6 Protection	Belief/faith in individual private ownership	15	1.86
Q6 Protection	Conservatiom examples & arguments	23	2.85
Q6 Protection	Demolition,dereliction.neglect,loss	20	2.48
Q6 Protection	Lack of protection	16	1.98
Q6 Protection	Legislation	18	2.23
Q6 Protection	Light touch - trust in public opinion,goodwill & luck	19	2.35
Q6 Protection	Lost heritage	31	3.84

5. Results

Six research questions were designed with a view to addressing the thesis aims. Each question was allocated a relevant parent code, to which between 6-8 subcodes were assigned. Subcodes were devised as specific topics according to data results and designed to reflect a theme relevant to the overall research question. Subcode topics were derived from a combination of processes including site visits, interview recordings, transcription and summary writing, primary coding exercise, follow up questions to respondents, inductive reasoning and professional experience. No weight or prioritisation has been attributed to the order in which the questions and themes are presented below.

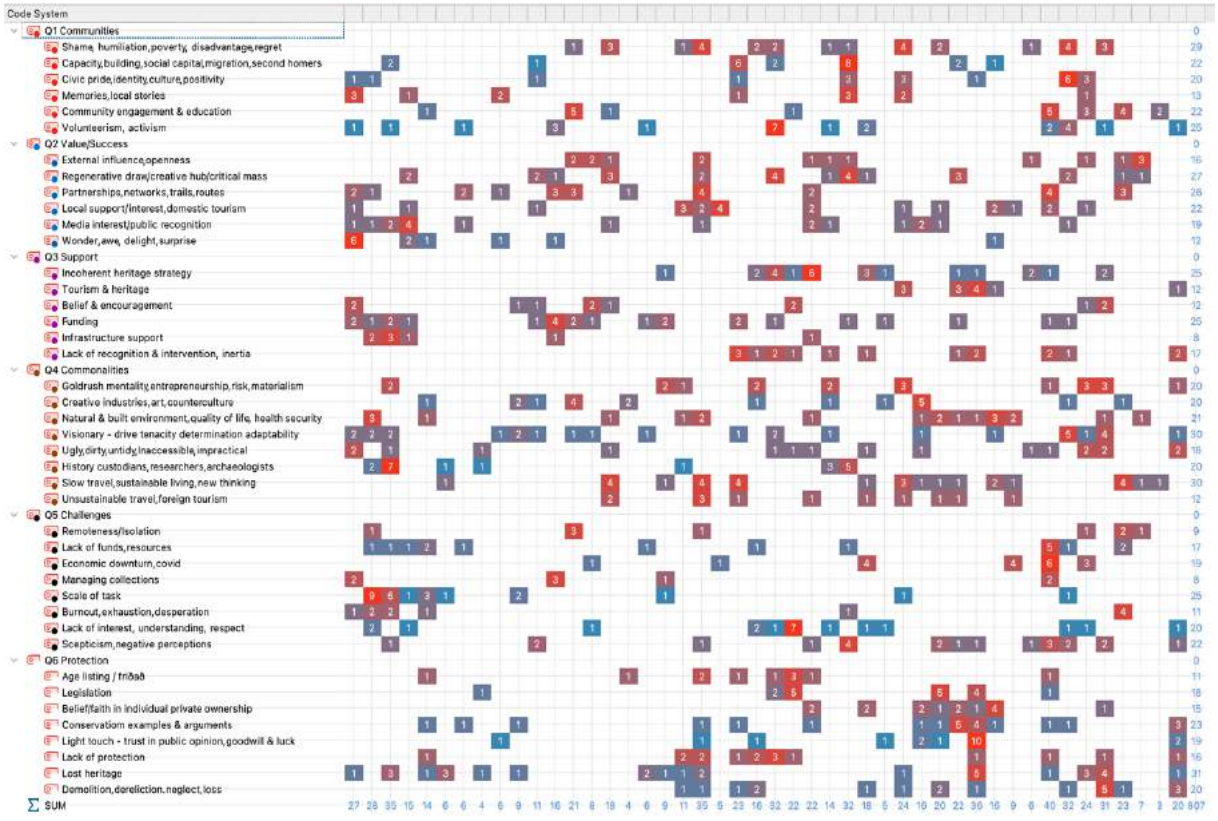
To assist in the analysis a code matrix was also created to determine the frequency of responses by each respondent within each subcode. From the code matrix a heatmap was generated, providing an interactive diagnostic tool to highlight frequencies when analysing segment data:

Table 3: Heatmap generated from matrix of primary level coding results



A code matrix reflecting all secondary level subcodes was then generated to reflect the results of this exercise, divided into columns for each interview transcript, from which the following heatmap was created:

Table 4: Heatmap generated from matrix of secondary level subcoding



5.1 Relationships between industrial heritage and local communities

The first of the research questions explores the relationships between industrial heritage sites and their local communities, looking primarily at residents' perceptions of and participation in such projects. The section considers the effects of migration trends as well as the impact of creative and educational activities undertaken to cultivate stronger links between the site and the locality. Other topics covered comprise a successful site's contribution towards civic pride, identity and collective local memory. Analysis of volunteer schemes is also considered.

5.1.1 Shame, humiliation, poverty, disadvantage, regret

There is evidence from respondents' comments that abandoned industrial structures are repeatedly associated with negative connotations, often seen as symbolising Iceland's

relatively recent industrialisation and the hardship of life in remote communities experienced as recently as the Second World War. Such connotations appear to contribute to a general reluctance or resistance to value this form of architecture. Respondents referred to notions of shame related to the poverty of recent times, illustrated by phrases reflecting fears of a return to the turfhouse and the stigma attached to life in barrack buildings, metaphors that encompass much of this widespread desire to forget or erase memories of the recent past. Accompanying these sentiments were several responses citing ideas around an apparent 'unworthiness' of twentieth century Icelandic architecture – accentuated and exacerbated to some extent by the recent growth in foreign travel among Icelanders and a tendency to compare aesthetic values with, for instance, the architecture of central Europe, resulting in a popular sense that the Icelandic built environment is not 'good enough' to be treated seriously or conserved. Related themes linked derelict industrial heritage with economic failure, abandonment by former employers and perceptions of a community having been exploited or 'used' and then forgotten by foreign interests. These issues in turn touch on sensitivities related to the largely feudal agricultural system and feelings around humiliation linked to having been treated as 'uncultured' or 'uncivilised'. In some cases, issues of shame and failure that are symbolised by derelict industrial structures are also related to resentment towards recent management decisions by municipalities, often as a result of the sale of a community's fishing quota and the consequent impact on the local economy. A prevalent wish to eradicate such negative connotations is repeated frequently and shown in the data to be associated with the aspiration to erase the old and build new. Respondents' comments included reflections on comparative notions of culture such as 'European culture is Notre Dame', 'a turf house is not Notre Dame' and memories of recent hardship and poverty including 'the old women who worked at the factory where I was, they were crooked – they really spent their bodies doing this', 'this is a history we want to forget because it was horrible living', 'all these old turf houses were just bulldozed over…we were ashamed of them' and 'my mother was pregnant every year…in an apartment which was I think less than 40m², we were living, my parents and us…we were seven siblings.'

5.1.2 Capacity building, social capital, migration, second homers

Respondents refer to the fluctuating size of local populations in remote communities and the impact this has on their viability. Small populations necessarily also impact on the capacity needs of a challenging industrial re-use project with consequent implications for success over the medium to long term. Where a community has been struggling to maintain its population size against trends of urbanisation and out-migration, social capital and local support for a building conservation project will therefore be limited. An associated concern was the loss of agency in smaller communities as populations dwindle and administrative institutions become increasingly centralised, with the consequent erosion of local skills and decision-making powers. In contrast however respondents reported seeing a reversal of these demographic and capacity flows, commenting on recent in-migration trends of urban residents who increasingly choose to become second homeowners in rural areas. This new resource is largely seen as a positive, vital new source of energy and dynamism, comprising new part time residents who are often keen to contribute to the community and rich in fresh ideas, external connections and influences. Where this potential creative resource is not successfully channelled however, occasionally because such in-migrants are treated with suspicion or indifference, the potential new source of social capital is eventually lost, to the detriment of the project and the community which fails to reach critical mass and continues the cycle of local decline. Respondents' comments included 'in many of our fragile communities you don't have a lot of people or forces to be joined', 'the power has shifted out of the village', 'most people are busy with the day-to-day struggle for their lives – when you have maybe 150, 180 people living there' and 'I'm afraid that halted and we don't have much activity now'.

5.1.3 Civic pride, identity, culture, positivity

Expressions of local identity and associated comments related to civic pride were often linked by respondents to past periods of economic growth and recollections of better times. Comments referred frequently to a respect for the achievements of forefathers during an area's heyday, before more recent economic downturns and factory closures and a desire to reinstate and cultivate the positive outlook within the community that previously prevailed. Respondents describe how the conservation of an iconic or symbolic heritage building

frequently helped to contribute a particular local significance and restore a sense of identity, although some describe such symbols of success as more often attributed to maritime rather than built heritage, such as trawlers, quaysides and harbours. Despite this expressed aspiration there is little evidence of financial support for maritime heritage conservation in Iceland. Factories were often not considered sufficiently 'worthy' of saving, lacking perceived attributes of value such as heroism, valour or danger and instead associated with values of domestication, perhaps because of a largely masculine historical narrative. Fish factories were seen as representing work historically associated with poor working conditions, monotony, drudgery, low remuneration and chronic health conditions. However some respondents saw a key element in building populations in remote communities as the need to differentiate local offers and to establish uniqueness of identity. Mention is also made of the positive local impact inherent in attracting visitors to a remote community, a process which is seen to encourage residents to take greater care of their immediate environment, building civic pride. Respondents also reported the community rediscovering feelings of pride, respect and local identity once a conservation project was sufficiently well established and seen to be operating successfully (Herring Era Museum, Galleri Korpúlfsstaðir, Marshall House). This process is shown in the research to be closely associated with the efforts of a few visionary individuals usually from an arts background who initially struggle to save the abandoned structure and battle to reverse negative popular sentiment. Respondents' comments included 'I think people are just so proud of the history and the heritage', 'they would grow up knowing everything about their past and the glory and this adventure of things that happened' and 'this is our story, this place's story and also the community's story'.

5.1.4 Memories and local stories

In many cases respondents contribute memories of having worked in local fish processing factories or of having had friends or family member(s) associated with similar buildings. Related comments refer to the power of historic buildings and their associated artefacts to evoke strong personal memories, both positive and negative. Museums and other historic sites which create spaces for such memories, through experiential interpretation of industrial structures, guided tours or imaginative presentation of historic collections are shown to be particularly effective at building engagement with the local community. Such activities also

assist in attracting domestic tourists, helping to develop visitors' emotional connections with the past and facilitating inter-generational knowledge transfer. There is considerable evidence that the retelling of local stories, often by engaging residents in visual recollection through the cataloguing of historic photographs or the recording of oral histories, also creates appreciative, understanding and supportive audiences. Respondents' comments included: 'a lot of people come here to bring up good memories', 'I've heard so many stories about this house' and 'it's very interesting, the dynamic between the community, the strength, internal strength of a community – their memory'.

5.1.5 Community engagement and education

There was strong evidence of community engagement where projects connected with residents through learning initiatives, particularly in outreach programmes with local schools as well as collective memory exercises considered in 5.1.4 above. Sites that offer creative workshops, classes, courses or open days are seen to play a vital role in the community, building relationships and goodwill as well as long-term social and financial support. Managers also cited the implementation of learning programmes for schoolchildren as a vital tool in reaching out to local parents, in many cases breaking down barriers with local audiences that are often experienced by projects as difficult to reach. Other successful community engagement initiatives include effective communication through social media, discounted family ticketing for residents or other preferential access arrangements, locally targeted talks and special events. Respondents' comments included: 'we're reflecting it back and they love to see that', 'young kids get to take over the museum for a day' and 'we realised we need to give back to the community, so we started to bridge with the school and offer workshops.'

5.1.6 Volunteerism, activism

The subject of volunteering programmes seemed to generate a mixed and often confused response among participants. In some cases, a level of conflation between volunteerism and internships was detected, with assumptions made that volunteers should be provided with board and accommodation and that therefore volunteering programmes would not be attractive or cost effective for operators. In many cases respondents expressed opinions that

labour unions were firm opponents to volunteer programmes as they could be seen as undermining paid work, although the research has not been able to establish evidence of this. Some statements suggested that volunteering is not part of a national culture or social fabric for Icelanders, despite evident and active contributions of volunteering within other sectors such as search and rescue groups and humanitarian NGOs. Some managers seemed unclear about the legality of hiring volunteers and unaware of the process of organising or advertising volunteer programmes, preferring to avoid actively recruiting within the community as this could be perceived as an unwelcome intrusion. Active nature conservation volunteer schemes were cited as examples - some respondents viewed these as functioning successfully while others perceived them as having developed a poor reputation, effectively exploiting young foreign travellers who were seen as working unpaid in quasi-commercial operations. A strong cultural resistance to unpaid work among young people was also mentioned, again evoking notions of exploitation. There appeared to be little understanding or appreciation of the positive attributes of well implemented volunteer programmes, where best practice in other countries has been shown to build community engagement through skills sharing and knowledge transfer as well as positive social and mental health outcomes. Volunteer activity is however cited in references to local conservation activism, where individuals or groups organise in the initial stages to save a historic site from demolition, often engaging the community and local businesses in contributing in-kind donations to a nascent campaign. Such actions, which often comprise considerable commitment and effort, are not often recognised as volunteerism despite the considerable unremunerated contribution of participants to conservation work. Where these start-up groups occur, a pattern seemed to emerge in the research which indicates that once a project is seen as established and no longer at risk of dereliction or demolition, many local volunteer activists consider their work to be complete, stepping back from the project and ceasing their involvement. However in cases where founders or local stakeholders continue their participation in the project by joining a board of trustees or directors, their voluntary role continues, although this seems to be rarely acknowledged or understood as volunteerism by managers. An unanswered question from the research relates to the value of in-kind contributions from volunteering and whether projects have the resources, training or incentive to calculate such value for eventual use as match-funding in grant applications. Respondents' comments included: 'it isn't a culture in Iceland to have volunteers', 'if I would take here a volunteer and don't pay anything, that would be considered taking a job

from someone' and 'people in tourism especially, they have not been doing it quite correctly and getting people to work for them in tourist spots'.

5.2 Definition and evaluation of value and success

This section focuses on the attributes identified with successful, operational, active sites and seeks to classify indicators of that success – specifically how sites manage to attract and maintain the support, funding and momentum required to complete conservation work and begin public-facing activities. The findings also illustrate ways in which such sites have managed to achieve a level of resilience, adapting and surviving through periods of economic and operational difficulty

5.2.1 External influences, openness

A common denominator among successful re-use projects appears to be a tendency among founders, supporters and users towards openness of ideas and thought, with a strong encouragement of and focus on external influences. Several respondents mention the outward-looking spirit that is commonly experienced or witnessed within communities that have positively embraced the re-purposing of their industrial heritage, in some cases citing a sense of creativity and 'can-do' spirit that is shared between project leaders and local authorities and a proclivity to challenge popularly voiced negative sentiment or scepticism. Whether through artist residencies, galleries or other cultural activities that attract creative input from abroad, the act of repurposing an abandoned site is also often mentioned as contributing to an energetic new local dynamic that is prepared to take on an accepted status quo of ongoing dereliction and reverse or reimagine its associated symbols of decline. This outward-facing attitude is often mentioned as a catalyst in attracting new users, residents, visitors and other audiences and contributing to a positive cross-fertilisation of ideas, local renewal and a regained common experience of local pride and identity. In short, external focus and a propensity to embrace new ideas is seen to significantly contribute to the success of heritage conservation projects. Respondents' comments included: 'small communities tend to have a narrow view and we need to open that as much as we can', 'people from abroad are visiting places that we never looked at as important, but they find fascinating' and 'we're from all over the world here and our offers represent diversity'.

5.2.2 Regenerative draw, creative hub, critical mass

Respondents referred to the success of re-use projects that were adapted as tech, learning or innovation hubs and were seen as instrumental in attracting and retaining new visitors and residents to a locality. Such projects have the potential to build a critical mass of social capital, encouraging groups interested in new working and alternative thinking. Projects that offered a variety of educational, creative or other initiatives in many cases kickstarted this positive process, helping to reverse patterns of out-migration from small communities. Examples that created such regeneration draws include the Freezer, a cultural centre and hostel in a former fish freezer in Rif. Sites that participate in joint ticketing initiatives, marketing clusters or organise regular music, food and culture festivals, or which develop multi-use spaces and venues can generate a similar regenerative effect. The research highlighted the Herring Era Museum in Siglufjörður as a particular example of a regenerative draw, engaging in cross-fertilisation and collaboration initiatives with other projects such as the Folk Music Centre and successfully attracting new investment in hospitality and other commercial activities to the area, which in turn has led to the town becoming a popular destination for both domestic and foreign tourists. Respondents remark that, where adequately supported, re-purposed sites contribute towards a positive feedback loop and virtuous cycle of renewal, generating user reviews, recommendations, repeat visits and growth in numbers. Respondents' comments included: 'we are the magnet', 'the museum changed the town, it was like the first wave of very many – one wave follows the other as we say in Icelandic' and 'it's only in finding that flexibility and that informality that we create these spaces that can be dynamic and imaginative'.

5.2.3 Partnerships, trails, networks, routes

Several respondents provided input on collaboration initiatives including tourist trails, signposting initiatives and driving routes. Routes such as the Arctic Coast Way, Diamond Ring and Golden Circle were provided as examples, with recommendations made regarding greater use of Icelandic rather than English in trail signposting and marketing Several discussions also focused on the introduction of a new, focused trail initiative - the extension of the already established and successful European Route of Industrial Heritage - and the establishment in Iceland of the Modern Movement advocacy group Docomomo

International. Both suggestions were positively received and are incorporated in policy recommendations in the conclusion of this thesis. The research also suggests that projects that manage to build fruitful collaborative partnerships and links with related organisations in their sectors manage to create cluster groups that build success. Other forms of mutually beneficial networks include conference organisation and participation as well as continuous professional development initiatives such as workshops and training programmes, all of which are cited as instrumental in building best practice. Respondents' comments included: 'it's about collaboration and that means it's relational', 'I'm excited to work with other industry museums' and 'the circular route or any kind of route is a classical thing in tourism'.

5.2.4 Local support/interest, domestic tourism

The research highlights that the long-term success of re-purposed projects is closely linked to the support they can attract from local audiences, whether residents or domestic tourists. From the point of view of active, operational sites, many managers reported strong local support during the 2020 pandemic year, with considerable interest and uptake among Icelanders in heritage sites that they were often seen to be visiting for the first time and that they might hitherto have been unaware of or not made time to appreciate previously, especially those sites located in remote locations. There were expressions of surprise and delight among both visitors and managers resulting from these visits and a marked rise in attendance as Icelanders remained in the country and travelled domestically across rural areas. Considerable mention was made of an improved visitor experience at popular sites for domestic tourists, with observations of ease of access and reduced crowding as a result of the decline in foreign tourism numbers. Several suggestions were made of the need to build future resilience for heritage sites in the event of further or prolonged downturns in foreign tourist numbers by positioning historic attractions towards a domestic market in future. Respondents' comments included: 'it has become like a pattern of behaviour for the locals to be here', 'they had a new reason to go out and explore Iceland', 'I think in the coming years we will travel more domestically' and 'Icelanders have been around 7% of our total visitor numbers, this year they were 40% of the total number'

5.2.5 Media interest, public recognition

An enhanced category of the previous code, long-term project success is often expressed as a function of positive recognition and endorsement by the public as well as active media coverage, both on and offline. Successfully repurposed sites are consistently shown to be those that recognise the importance of building public awareness, harnessing media interest and implementing effective marketing strategies designed to build support and understanding in both local and wider audiences. In some cases, sites were successful in attracting TV news and documentary coverage (Herring Era Museum, Whale Museum, Marshall House, Akureyri Art Museum, Gufunes) and inclusion in travel guides and tourism review sites (Djúpavík herring factory). In contrast those sites that struggled to build wide media or public recognition (Akurreyri Industry Museum, Vopnafjörður power plant, Raufarhöfn herring factory) appear to face a more uncertain future. Other sites seemed to straddle this divide, having not quite achieved critical mass yet energetically and enthusiastically pursuing social media awareness campaigns and community engagement initiatives (Nes Listmiðstöð, Hjalteyri Verksmiðjan). Respondents' comments included: 'this documentary was in Icelandair planes for many, many years', 'now we run an incredibly beautiful and nice museum in one of those spaces' and 'there were endless interviews on television or radio or in the papers and I think very many, even all the nation, they were watching or following us.'

5.2.6 Expressions of wonder, awe, delight and surprise

Concepts of value and success were frequently linked to the quality of the visitor experience - specifically the ability of a re-use project to surprise and delight visitors. Many respondents refer to the challenges of raising public awareness and recognition but that, once past this hurdle, visitors seemed extremely positive about their experiences, expressing delight and surprise at having discovered or re-discovered remote industrial sites set in impressive natural locations. Participants noted positive responses from Icelandic tourists once pandemic restrictions were lifted in 2020, particularly among those who had previously not felt motivated or drawn to visit sites that were perceived as positioned towards and overcrowded by foreign tourists. Respondents' comments included: 'people come in here,

they are amazed', 'people are so happy coming here', 'it's a house which is quite incredible' and 'people just sit and they're like, wow, surprising – I had no idea'

5.3 Support from key stakeholders

Levels of stakeholder support are reviewed in this section, considering national and local government policy, funding and infrastructure support as well as commercial opportunities, particularly in the context of both foreign and domestic tourism. Attention is also paid to less tangible notions of support such as public recognition, encouragement and belief.

5.3.1 Incoherent heritage strategy

Frequent dissatisfaction was expressed by respondents in terms of a lack of coherence in strategic planning for the conservation of heritage. Both national and local planning policies were often described as unsatisfactory, working either in parallel without consultation or in opposition, with local municipalities seen to be making unilateral critical choices regarding approvals for building demolition, often without reference to or contrary to recommendations by Minjastofnun (the Cultural Heritage Agency). A particular disconnect was identified between heritage conservation and tourism strategies and is considered below. Specific issues relating to existing statutory protection legislation are considered in terms of age listing and legislation below. Respondents' comments included: 'I think soon we need to take some steps into creating a more cohesive plan on what should be protected and what shouldn't', 'often we're reacting, not proactive', 'there's no way you could use tearing down money for building things up' and 'so far it doesn't get further than someone opening up the subject, discussing it and they say, yes, let's have a meeting about this or let's have a working group and then nothing happens and it just goes away'.

5.3.2 Tourism and heritage

Overlapping with the previous category, this section considers responses that identify the links between heritage conservation and tourism. Respondents working at both agency and government levels in tourism report operating within clearly demarcated policy boundaries with little if any apparent crossover in terms of conservation policy for the built environment,

although respondents recognised that tourism strategy does increasingly prioritise conservation of the natural environment. This approach appears to be established within regional development plans which are apparently not intended or required to consider the contribution of building heritage to the overall tourism experience or offer. This seems a surprising finding given the importance that the built environment appears to play in the priorities of tourism strategies within other European countries. Respondents' comments included: 'tourism goes pretty well hand in hand with preserving buildings', 'they used to think that all tourists came here because of the nature. That may be the case but most visitors from Europe, they are very used to looking at buildings and sites as part of visiting a country – their eyes are open' and 'this link to tourism is really, really important because that's sort of the medium to talk about the importance of this kind of heritage and why we should try to conserve it'.

5.3.3 Belief and encouragement

The scale of the challenge of repurposing industrial heritage is often referred to by respondents – particularly leaders, founders and staff members – as daunting or overwhelming. Often these central actors express a need for support, recognition, mentoring and guidance and are often appreciative when such encouragement is offered from sources such as institutional bodies, municipalities, board members or visitors. Encouragement can also be derived from members of the public, including positive endorsements, offers of volunteer assistance, donations and in-kind contributions from residents and businesses. Demonstrations of encouragement and confidence from such sources can act as vital ingredients in maintaining morale and motivation through a difficult, underfunded endeavour which, as demonstrated elsewhere, often struggles to attract public and political support at the outset and in some instances faces direct resistance, opposition and even ridicule. Respondents underlined the value of such support when received. Such encouragement appears especially valuable to those working in remote, under-populated locations. Respondents' comments included: 'I think it's important that the museum is respected, professional', 'the authorities in the town realise that this is improving the quality of life in this community, like tenfold' and 'I think it's very important culturally to have a residency like that'.

5.3.4 Funding issues

Funding is understandably a critical category in considerations of support and one that perhaps inevitably generates responses of widespread dissatisfaction. Industrial heritage conservation in Iceland, as elsewhere, struggles to achieve adequate funding and recognition, as noted in the introduction to the thesis. Certain discrete exhibits and standalone art projects have recently been successful in achieving funding - however responses point to widespread difficulties in finding substantive support for structural costs, including repairs, overheads and ongoing maintenance. Difficulties in meeting funding conditions are also cited, such as required match-funding and a pervading sense that much of the recognition and support for heritage is focused on projects in the capital. Managers also stated their reticence in reaching out to local businesses for financial support during the economic difficulties of the pandemic year. Specific concerns were also raised about the level of resources provided by the state for conservation work carried out by Minjastofnun, with suggestions that funding levels were inadequate to provide effective or adequate protection guarantees for the built environment. Respondents' comments included: 'I usually have to ask them every year and say we're still here and we need money', 'how little money we're talking and they just don't want to spend it', 'the banks are so Reykjavik-centred – there are actually a lot of sound businesses that the banks won't touch' and 'now when everyone is struggling you don't write them letters saying hey can you put some money in my museum?'

5.3.5 Infrastructure support

Industrial heritage projects in remote communities are necessarily dependent on reliable infrastructure to provide a reliable, comfortable and safe experience to operators, visitors and guests. Road maintenance and power supplies are cited by respondents as essential but often unreliable services and lacking in service provision guarantees, particularly to outlying regions. Where commercial considerations are concerned, such as hospitality, events management and catering, interruptions to access or supply can create substantial reputational damage and negatively impact on much needed revenue. In the case of Djúpavík both concerns have recently become critical issues, threatening the future viability of the factory and hotel project. Tunnel infrastructure projects are seen as contributing substantially to the regeneration of certain localities, helping to build visitor numbers to

historic sites. However the research suggests that government policy may in future deprioritise infrastructure projects in favour of conservation of the natural environment, a decision which will inevitably impact more remote locations. Respondents' comments included: 'the electricity can be away for three days', 'we're not talking a huge amount of money that we need – we just need a proper road service' and 'what really changed for us were the tunnels leading to Akureyri'.

5.3.6 Lack of recognition, intervention

Lack of regulatory intervention is a category closely linked to issues around incoherent heritage policy and planning. Responses describe an often static protection framework that appears to be designed to avoid state control, prioritising the rights of individual land and property owners over 'bureaucracy' or 'red tape' as protection policy is often described. The current system is seen as favouring localism, giving substantial powers to municipalities who appear to prioritise immediate economic demands over heritage support, lacking specialist knowledge or understanding in cultural issues such as historic significance or scarcity value. National agency staff appear to avoid enforcement, apparently opting for an advisory rather than legislative approach. Respondents speak of a conservation culture that is under-resourced, uncoordinated, non-interventionist and often reactive, with questions raised as to why there appears to be little appetite for more effective control and an apparent lack of funding for protection work. Comments included: 'perhaps because it's so close to us we don't really realise that we're doing it in a sense', 'it's partly because we're a little bit short of staff – so these kinds of precautionary listings are…something that we never get around to do' and 'it's very questionable why there are so few people working there, like two architects'.

5.4 Commonalities between industrial heritage sites

This question seeks to analyse the shared strengths, weaknesses, risks and externalities that can be said to be commonly associated with industrial heritage sites. The topic covers the role of the creative industries in conservation efforts, especially that of the visionary artist or leader. Common threats include a rush to label industrial sites as 'ugly' and to prioritise economic imperatives without considering the heritage, cultural or environmental loss

involved in demolition. Other commonalities consider the need to adapt to changing patterns of consumer behaviour, including the growth of slow and domestic tourism and – particularly in the wake of the pandemic – an increasingly evident move among urban residents to make life choices and seek out spaces within rural and natural environments.

5.4.1 Goldrush mentality, entrepreneurship, risk, materialism

A commonly recurring theme among respondents was a perception that industrial heritage conservation faces a battle against a 'goldrush mentality', an expression that encapsulates an apparent cultural tendency to prioritise commercial entrepreneurship and private ownership with the result that planning authorities often approve the demolition of historic buildings before retention options can be seriously considered. Respondents report a perceived rush in many cases to follow an economic imperative, removing the old without consideration of historic importance or the environmental impact inherent in demolition and newbuild construction, including whole life cycle costs and loss of embodied carbon. Despite widespread political and corporate messaging claiming commitments to social and ecological responsibility, there is little evidence from the research that substantive action is taken that reflects waste minimisation hierarchies (Pomponi and Moncaster 2017)

The goldrush tendency is aligned by some respondents with the mindset of fishers, characterised as an attitude of seizing immediate opportunities with minimal deliberation - by acting quickly and decisively trawler crews have traditionally been rewarded with a successful catch and consequent financial gain. Conservation choices, however, are commonly shown to require a more reflective, creative mindset as successful heritage projects offer complex and wide-ranging benefits that are difficult to quantify using traditional economic indicators and are more closely associated with societal and cultural wellbeing over immediate material reward, as evidenced in the research. Respondents' comments included: 'all of a sudden there was this gold rush and they made a lot of money. And this is a big step into what we know as Iceland today', 'I think if people thought it was something that meant money, they would definitely not defend my opinion', 'here in Iceland we would just destroy it and throw it away and build a new one', 'you just hop in the boat and go get that herring' and 'you're onto the next thing, that's a very Icelandic story'.

5.4.2 Creative industries, art, counterculture

The role of the creative industries in the protection and re-use of industrial heritage is commonly evidenced in the research. Respondents refer to the dramatic natural settings, physical isolation and impressive interior spaces of remote industrial sites, key factors that inspire and motivate artists to campaign to save these structures. Artists are usually skilled in visualising unrealised ideas and as such often become founders, activists and leaders of conservation efforts, frequently finding themselves fighting to prevent demolition, kickstarting seed funding and building local support. In other scenarios artists in the research have become gallerists, project managers, filmmakers or documentary photographers. Their work helps to create public awareness by inviting a closer look at the structures, reflecting a community's history back to its residents, facilitating their historical input and re-aligning initially negative perceptions. In many cases people from creative industries thus become unwitting, unrecognised guardians and ambassadors of the heritage. As a result of their passion and interest they develop history tours and manage collections of historic artefacts. Respondents' comments included: 'the artists, they immediately got what the building was about and what was the character of the building', 'we came together, a group of building who were in charge of the art gallery here', 'artists just came in and rebranded it a whole new thing' and 'I gathered together a few artists and people connected to art from the area'.

5.4.3 Natural and built environment, quality of life, health security

Respondents discuss these remote, difficult to access locations and isolated landscapes which often offer a unique combination of breath-taking natural and built environments. Several respondents also described being attracted to the sites through a personal desire to seek a better quality of life, improving their connections with nature. They frequently describe being attracted to working in small communities in remote locations and the experiences of their families and children having relocated to a de-urbanised setting. This commonly expressed aspiration for health security appears to have become more prevalent during the Covid-19 pandemic, spurring new migration trends from Reykjavik towards rural areas, often as second homers or in other flexible, semi-permanent arrangements. Respondents' comments included: 'it's a house that communicates with the ocean and nature', 'of course the quality of life is something that people are choosing', 'there's a focus

on health security – it will be more of a factor in tourism in the coming years' and 'closeness to nature will be a huge factor because everyone is thinking in terms of sustainability'.

5.4.4 Visionary - drive, tenacity, determination, adaptability

A commonality seen at many sites is that of the driven, visionary founder or leader, often from an arts background who sees the potential of an industrial space and has the talent to imagine the completed project. The research shows that these individuals are often good oral and visual communicators, using their skills to launch conservation campaigns and galvanising local support against demolition. The visionary founder is often an in-migrant, bringing fresh ideas from 'outside' and organising social capital for the benefit of the project. As leaders and motivators, they demonstrate highly determined personalities and are seen to be a critical force, particularly during a project's start-up phase. They are instrumental in pushing back against more traditional views that are usually based on an established aesthetic of cultural heritage and classical economic indicators. Respondents' comments included: 'he was just a visionary', 'we understood how important, how big and how huge this story was', 'I believe in something and I believe it until it's totally killed' and 'I was quite sure that I had to give my life into it, for this vision'

5.4.5 Ugly, dirty, untidy, inaccessible, impractical

A theme commonly expressed by respondents, this topic relates to popular aesthetic considerations of industrial structures. Industrial heritage is often referred to as 'ugly' or 'unsightly' in the research, in contrast to 'cultural' built heritage (churches, forts, cultural sites and residences). The argument that the structures are unsightly and therefore unworthy of serious recognition is a frequently heard argument, cited by municipal leaders and planners as a reason for demolition and sometimes - though not always - linked to notions of shame, failure and abandonment. Industrial sites are often seen within a working-class narrative and their functional, sometimes brutalist, appearance is seen as reflecting a lack of elegance, sophistication or grace, qualities more often associated with the built environment of the ruling or elite classes. As such respondents in some cases refer to their abandoned state making a town appear 'untidy' or 'dirty'. These perceptions have been shown elsewhere to have been reversed once a level of conservation work has been completed and

a successful project is made accessible to the public (Marshall House, Akureyri Art Museum, Herring Era Museum, Korpúlfsstaðir), a process that has been shown to re-build local support, domestic tourism and popular interest. Respondents' comments included: 'people tend to just think 'oh it's just some shitty factory', 'it was just built to process fish or something like that – we don't view as something important', 'it's a new idea that huge industrial buildings that often have been quite ugly actually, because they have been neglected, that they are worthwhile to protect' and 'people were saying it's just a block of concrete, it's ugly – there's no artistic value in preserving this building, and they didn't even put it into perspective'.

5.4.6 History custodians, researchers, archaeologists

The guardians of industrial heritage at the early stages of protection often hail from an arts background and very often become the unwitting *de facto* historians, researchers and archaeologists for the spaces that they choose to occupy. The task of documenting the history of the buildings - and the artefacts within - falls to these individuals who take on the difficult and largely unsupported task of curation and management, usually without specialist training. The process involves complex choices regarding methods and materials. The research shows that these individuals often emerge as unremunerated custodians of the national heritage, driven by an intense respect and determination to honour its founders and usually working without any form of conservation management plan. Documentation of conservation stages is often sporadic, as these unremunerated custodians rarely have the resources or training to prepare comprehensive written and photographic records of the work carried out. As enthusiasts and keen amateurs, they seem to become the tour guides, animators, conservators, fundraisers, spokespeople, campaigners and marketers of the site, working to raise general support and awareness. Respondents' comments included: 'we could show people how it worked – when the herring was coming in', 'I started to find out what people did before this time and it fascinated me so much', 'if people ask me to take a tour, I usually tell them the story of the building' and 'old typewriters, some of them over a hundred years old. So we in some ways were charged with that task of what to keep'.

5.4.7 Slow travel, sustainable living, new thinking

A commonality among many - though not all - repurposed sites seems to be the attraction they offer to alternative thinkers, often individuals from creative countercultures, digital nomads or tech innovators. Many of the respondents in the research tended to move the conversation away from the semi-structured questions, offering new ideas and thinking based on topics such as environmental concerns, sustainability, wellbeing, health security and the Covid-19 pandemic of 2020/21. A common such theme centred on new and emerging lifestyles, distance working, quality of life improvements, slow tourism and ways of living in greater harmony with the natural environment, including travelling less and living semi-permanently in more rural locations. The practice of distance working, which came into marked prominence during the Covid-19 pandemic, coincided with the period of research. It became clear from many respondents' replies that many repurposed industrial heritage sites in Iceland's coastal zone could, and in some cases already do, offer innovative tech spaces, cultural hubs and remote working opportunities when and if suitably adapted and funded (Freezer, Nes, Korpúlfsstaðir, Edinborg House). It has already also been shown that these spaces often generate critical mass, becoming magnets for in-migration. Often re-purposed sites are seen as embodying a powerfully positive new symbolism, having succeeded against often daunting odds in applying alternative thinking to the challenge of re-use and as such these sites appear to provide inspiration to other like-minded creatives. Slow tourism is also cited as a common theme within this category, with domestic visitors remarking on their delight, joy and surprise from their experiences of rediscovering the Icelandic countryside during 2020. Respondents' comments included: 'this idea that we should use this moment in the history of humanity or our civilisation to think outside, literally outside the box', 'we should aim to build quality tourist activities that people really love to see, to spend time, and I think that cultural heritage is one of those things, not just nature', 'we'd like to build up responsible tourism, how do we do that, linked to the industrial heritage that we have, and this is part of sustaining the community, proudly saying our stories or sharing our stories' and 'if we think about tourism in Iceland it's absolutely not too late to rethink and maybe step up more when it comes to managing numbers of people and the flows of tourists and the impact on particular spaces'.

5.4.8 Unsustainable travel, foreign tourism

A commonality in contrast to the previous category, respondents frequently referenced the impact of the rise in international tourism over the past decade and questioned the sustainability of such growth. Common responses described how pleased Icelanders were that they had the chance to visit sites without significant foreign tourist numbers, citing particularly the sudden impact of passengers when disembarking cruise ships who were seen as contributing to overcrowding at specific sites and negatively affecting authentic experiences. Issues were also raised about the costs and environmental impact of infrastructure projects such as coach car parks and cruise terminals and the consequent sense of disconnect from the natural environment. Several respondents voiced a desire to see foreign tourist numbers remain low post-pandemic and the need for heritage attractions to target the local market to build future resilience. Respondents' comments included: 'I've always felt that tourism in Iceland was – it always felt like a one trick pony', 'it's outdated just to only focus on the numbers of the tourists that you can receive. I mean you have to look at it in a bigger scale and in another perspective, considering the sustainability', 'it's quite extreme, this proportion between the number of inhabitant and foreign tourists', 'the crap in the souvenir shop, the things you make money from – puffins from China', 'it would be great that we would still have an active domestic market, so instead of those families going twice a year to Tenerife they just go once and then instead take an extra two weeks for a trip in Iceland'.

5.5 Challenges and obstacles to conservation and success

This section analyses the core difficulties faced by founders, campaigners and activists in their attempts to initiate conservation programmes, as well as the ongoing challenge of maintaining interest and support – particularly funding and revenue streams. The scale of many of the projects is shown to be both the attraction and the challenge – the sheer physical volumes and mass of many industrial sites is a significant part of their appeal as well as the conservation challenge, not just in terms of labour and materials but also the running costs, not least those of heating such spaces in Iceland. Overcoming the challenges of scale has considerable impact on the energy and morale of those involved, not least because of the

added complexities of isolation in remote areas where provision of supplies is difficult. Once established, such sites can also struggle to attract audiences to such remote locations – yet successful projects are seen to survive through the power of dynamic, imaginative thinking and creative interpretation ideas.

5.5.1 Remoteness, isolation

As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, industrialisation in Iceland followed a markedly different chronology and geography to other European nations. The industrial heritage of the fishing sector was necessarily constructed in the coastal zone, in locations which today have become depopulated, as post-war urbanisation led to out-migration over the latter half of the twentieth century. Many respondents refer to the challenges of this isolation and the difficulties associated with access to public funding, private finance, corporate donors and social capital. Other challenges were experienced in establishing wider public awareness and media interest, which is seen as largely Reykjavik-centred, difficulties in hiring specialist contractors, sourcing supplies and a lack of reliable infrastructure. Remoteness was considered a significant draw, however, in terms of interest from tourists, artists and other creatives who wish to connect with residencies, galleries and hubs set in an isolated natural environment. However respondents also mentioned the difficulties experienced by some users in adapting to such situations, particularly where a lack of social or public spaces prevented interacting and integrating with local populations. Respondents' comments included: 'people put a lot of value in their history, at least in these small towns, because you're so isolated, everyone's so close', 'when you think about the locations, herring factories and whaling factories, they're all quite far away from any kind of population', 'we are so small, with only three inhabitants' and 'every one of them is outside their comfort zone'.

5.5.2 Lack of funds, resources

This category focuses on responses that refer to individual founders' or managers' experiences rather than more general policy observations. Some respondents cited success in attracting initial financial support from both statutory funders and corporations at the outset of a conservation project but also referred to the onset of donor fatigue once a project

is seen to have become established. Managers mention a reluctance to approach private businesses during the pandemic year given the conditions faced by many small businesses. Prolonged experience of a lack of funding feeds into demotivation, despondency and burnout among founders and managers. Respondents' comments included: 'it's financially very tough to do it', 'the museum didn't really have any money', 'there's very little money that goes into the museum sector' and 'there's a lack of resources now after 12 years'.

5.5.3 Economic downturn, Covid-19

This category is an extension to 5.5.2 above, although with a focus on responses that address the wider economic environment and the impact of Covid-19 on both visitor numbers and future planning decisions. Many respondents voiced concern about their project's immediate finances and future viability, including their ability to complete or continue capital projects which particularly affected physical expansion or upgrade plans. The need was expressed to urgently implement alternative activities and income strategies to counterbalance the loss of foreign tourism revenues. Some sites had already implemented cuts in opening hours, staffing and future planning to meet budget constraints. Respondents' comments included: 'I'm worried about the project very much because now it's very fragile', 'we had over 10,000 visitors cancelled', 'we just cut down all of our plans for building up the museum', 'we have a lot of empty buildings that are just not being used for anything really, they're just standing there like ghosts' and 'I think the economy is going to contract 15%'.

5.5.4 Managing collections

This category considers comments related to the accessioning, cataloguing, displaying and storing of historical industrial artefacts, a central function of museum management. The task is often described by respondents as daunting or overwhelming - in many cases sizeable archives of historic photographs and documents require captioning and cross-referencing - sites that are not established as official museums become unrecognised custodians of these historic collections, often obliged to make difficult curatorial choices regarding artefact retention, conservation or disposal. Managers reported this function as frequently misunderstood - one museum manager spoke of being referred to by a local resident as someone who 'just turns the lights on and opens the door'. Respondents' comments

included: ‘at first it was just the machines and things from the old industries’, ‘when they founded the museum they literally went and picked up junk that was lying around…and it was just old junk’, ‘last year for example we got full information on over 3300 photographs’ and ‘everybody’s been tidying up their houses…we’re exploding with new acquisitions’.

5.5.5 Scale of task

The scale, proportions and volumes associated with industrial architecture represents a daunting challenge in terms of conservation, maintenance and resources. In addition, the initial state of dereliction at many sites, as well as their isolation and remoteness, creates considerable practical difficulties, particularly with regards access for contractors and supplies - and ultimately also for audiences once the site is open to the public. Yet the combination of scale in an isolated natural location also contributes to the striking appeal of such sites. Respondents express these challenges in varying ways, with many citing the difficulties of working within small, under resourced communities and the consequent lack of social capital that might otherwise be available to support their efforts as well as infrastructure and funding issues. Respondents’ comments included: ‘kids, people started breaking the windows and things and it was such a ruin when we came here’, ‘it’s overwhelming in a way’, ‘since 67 it had been used to dry fish but and things like that but it was mostly derelict – that’s a very long time’, ‘it’s over 6000m² – it’s huge – and it’s so daunting when you’re standing in there’ and ‘there was no insulation, there were no systems, there was no heating, no water, no electricity, no nothing’.

5.5.6 Burnout, exhaustion, desperation

This is an extension of the previous category and considers the responses of individuals who struggle to maintain their motivation and drive as the dauntingly large, usually impractical structures create seemingly endless conservation and operational challenges. Despite their dedication and vision, project founders and managers often find themselves facing insurmountable odds including funding shortages and sporadic public support. Respondents discuss in later sections difficulties in attracting media coverage, building public awareness and working to reverse negative public sentiment. Respondents’ comments included: ‘it’s difficult to see the future when you run it - as I’ve been doing’, ‘I thought we would just

have to give up', 'how difficult it is for them and how little money and how low on the list of doing it – it's sad – so you almost become exhausted',' it doesn't feel like it has maybe the respect that it deserves from having to continue the fight all the time' and 'that's one of the reasons why I'm leaving too – is that it hasn't changed'.

5.5.7 Lack of interest, understanding, respect

Respondents discuss the impact and difficulties inherent in a lack of public awareness for the value of industrial heritage, both on institutional and community levels. Despite the initial vision and drive displayed by a project's founders, many respondents refer to frequent disinterest in, even resistance to, their conservation campaigns from within the community and/or municipal authorities. The source of this lack of interest can often be traced back to feelings of humiliation or shame brought about by the loss or closure of certain industries which then become embodied in the symbolism of the abandoned industrial structure. In other cases disinterest seems to derive from a lack of awareness of the significance of a relevant historical association or architect attributed to the site or a failure to acknowledge or understand its scarcity value from the national perspective. Respondents' comments included: 'it's a great architect, and a great value, cultural value, but the local authority they didn't see that. Well ignorance with this kind of things – you need expertise to see that', 'when you don't know anything about it you don't really recognise how important it is' and 'two thirds of the population are based in Reykjavik and don't see the value'.

5.5.8 Scepticism, negative perceptions

In contrast to the success of certain active projects in building local support, some respondents described experiencing low levels of local support from both residents and authorities, with some sites struggling with ongoing negative perceptions and scepticism. Respondents frequently mention a widespread negative sentiment expressed towards redundant fish factories and related industrial structures, often associated with negative expressions that relate to the value, wisdom, practicalities and perceived costs of conservation. Where a level of interest or pride is noted within the context of fishing heritage, it appears to be centred on maritime rather than industrial heritage, with examples mentioned of trawlers and harbours. Collective memory in the context of this type of

industrial activity is seen as risky, dangerous and ultimately heroic. Some respondents discuss the implications behind the dominance of a masculine historical narrative and whether concepts of value are influenced by an institutionalised gender bias in these narratives. Other negative perceptions are reported as relating to a metropolitan/rural divide, where urban opinion seems to oppose the implementation of infrastructure upgrades in remote communities, either on environmental and/or financial grounds, impacting negatively on the viability of such localities. Another source of resentment and scepticism was detected following the high profile, well publicised conservation of a former barracks building, which exceeded the original restoration budget and became a point of focus of public derision. Respondents' comments included: 'that's what they said – bulldoze it into the ocean', 'most of us travel, we go to Europe, we see centuries old buildings and we feel that ours just, you know, compared to – our houses are not that old', 'although we've been here for thousands of years the industrial age is only 150 so we have not acquired the same respect for our past' and 'this building right now it doesn't seem to matter to the people'

5.6 Legal protection

This section relates to protection legislation, particularly the 100 year rule. The topic also covers associated concepts including faith or belief in the rights of private owners over state intervention, which in turn appears to have led to a 'light touch' regulatory framework. Other related areas of discussion highlight the loss of heritage sites - including entire districts – and provide examples of buildings currently under threat of demolition or significant, irreversible decay.

5.6.1 Age listing / *friðað*

Respondents referred to the Cultural Heritage Act 80/2012 (Alþingi, 2012) which automatically lists and protects buildings over a hundred years old – also referred to as *friðað*. Some respondents believed that the law was effective, while others questioned its function, in particular its efficacy and purpose, suggesting that although a helpful first step, it operated as something of a blunt instrument. There were suggestions that it was not fit for purpose, committing the state to subsidies for conservation across an increasingly large quantity of buildings, not all of which are necessarily of historical, architectural or aesthetic

value. The registration and protection of significant twentieth century buildings also came under criticism. Respondents described the system as effectively replying to requests related to planning applications from architects, owners and developers as part of the housing survey system and as such was described as operating reactively in a piecemeal or patchy manner. Protection legislation was also considered by several respondents to be deficient in terms of enforcement, with regulators seemingly prioritising a 'light touch' or advisory role that appears to be readily ignored or dismissed by local municipalities and planning authorities with contrary views. Respondents' comments included: 'there are no regulations or preservations of those buildings until they are a hundred years old', 'the hundred years rule is quite arbitrary when you think about it', 'in 20 years that will be maybe a problematic category', 'it doesn't really have anything to do with architectural importance or historical importance. In another sense they've just reached the age of a hundred' and 'if it's a hundred years old it doesn't mean they have a value, whereas maybe you should look at the value and then you can protect buildings that are much younger'.

5.6.2 Legislation considerations

This code considers general responses relating to protection legislation beyond the specific issues covered by *Lög um menningarminjar*. Respondents commented on the mechanisms involved in protection, the role of Minjastofnun and other agencies, the process of carrying out official housing surveys and the function of local authorities and planning departments. Despite some respondents expressing confidence and faith in the powers of Minjastofnun to intervene in removal decisions by local authorities with the use of *skyndifriðun* (emergency listing) this process appears to be used very occasionally, involving a complex legal mechanism requiring the authorisation of the culture minister (the agency operates within the remit of the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture) and once authorised is only valid for a determined number of weeks. Respondents referred to cases where there had been considerable local and political backlash as a result of *skyndifriðun* intervention, suggesting that the agency is now cautious about using enforcement measures. The research also appeared to confirm that many removal decisions are made by local authoities without reference to national historic significance or context. Respondents' comments included: 'most of the time they are just replying to architects who want to make changes on buildings that are listed or something like that', 'that was protected, they stopped the project and it was

a huge political row over that', 'we would not mind having those kinds of categories because it's a bit…it would be better to have more alternatives to things – because the formal listing by the decision of the ministry is a really high profile action' and 'you would probably be allowed to tear it down, yes, because it's not a hundred years old'.

5.6.3 Belief/faith in the individual and private ownership

This unexpected category derives from several interviews that evoked the general prioritisation of the rights of private property owners over what is often described as state interference, red tape or bureaucratic burdens. It is a theme that appears prevalent within the social fabric and national consciousness, wherein considerable trust and confidence seems to be placed in the personal and civic responsibility of the individual. The idea also coincides with belief in the principles of commercial entrepreneurship, linked to the goldrush spirit discussed previously and the rights of landowners to make their own conservation choices with regards historic buildings without public interference. The category also overlaps with the practice of light touch regulation discussed below. Respondents' comments included: 'I think also in the Icelandic legislation the right of owners is really strong', 'Icelanders are not very good in registering and planning', 'the property thing is almost holy here in Iceland' and 'because there isn't a plan in place it's so easy for people that have money and maybe want to develop it into something else – they can just do it'.

5.6.4 Conservation examples and arguments

Respondents provided many examples of good practice in protection and conservation, citing successful case studies of commercial re-use such as breweries, restaurants and hotels and also referencing sites where there appeared to be strong potential for future conservation projects. Several cases were highlighted where buildings had been successfully restored, including a specific example of proactive protection and a strong argument for early intervention – Róaldsbrakki, the historic salting station in Siglufjörður. Despite widespread local scepticism among residents and the local authority at the time, the building was preventatively listed when in a state of disrepair in 1977 at 'only' seventy years old. Róaldsbrakki was thus saved from demolition, restored and now represents one of the most significant historic structures within the portfolio of buildings that make up the acclaimed

Herring Era Museum, itself a symbol of renewal and regeneration for the locality. Respondents also discuss contemporary conservation practice, including the tendency to move away from the display of historic artefacts and to encourage interpretation based on experiential exhibits. Mention is made of the imperative of integrating environmental perspectives into displays and the importance of considering not just the aesthetic but also the historic significance of a site - an approach that can be said to be particularly relevant in terms of the current demolition threat of Rafstöðin, the power plant at Vopnafjörður and the historic 1930s buildings and workshops attached to Nes Artists Residency in Skagaströnd. Respondents' comments included: 'the reason to preserve the barracks, there's not a pure architectural reason for that as a building, the reason is more historical', 'the use of materials, corrugated metal, the combination of bringing in the material from England, a product of the industrial revolution and how that got combined with the Scandinavian wood building tradition, that's something very rare and special to Iceland' and 'I'm quite sure about 20 years ago it would have been torn down because nobody would have seen the values and the possibilities'.

5.6.5 Light touch – trust in public opinion, goodwill and luck

As discussed in previous categories, some respondents expressed a lack of confidence in the resources available to Minjastofnun to enable it to intervene effectively in protecting the historic built environment. Research responses suggest that in reality the agency possesses limited scope, political support and statutory powers in preventing demolition. The research suggests that out of these limitations a 'light touch' regulatory framework has developed - partly possible as a function of a relatively small, networked population - where trust that an owner or developer will treat a historic building conscientiously is considered a reliable, even dependable, strategy. Respondents appeared to confirm that much of this 'light touch' strategy is based on encouragement, negotiation, persuasion and conciliation - a policy of 'nudging' owners to act responsibly. Where a local authority disagrees with the opinion of the agency however, respondents report that the agency's recommendations seem easily ignored, with the occasional exception of a community where strong, organised local opposition to a proposed demolition is both vocal and evident. Some respondents specifically expressed faith in this approach, trusting in the concept that the protection of historic sites should be left to the individual and the strength of local opinion. Other

manifestations of this 'light touch' are evident in the belief in the power of reputational risk to a developer or owner from negative media coverage should the agency's advice be ignored. A further unexpected outcome from the research identified a sort of assumption of informal protection - a concept that can be likened to a project being seen as established and therefore 'too big to fail' once it has attracted visitor interest, local commitment, public funding and/or general recognition, even though formal protection has not been granted. There was widespread evidence that respondents placed considerable faith in this loose and largely unrecognised system that appeared, again, to be predicated largely on optimism, hope and trust - despite the evident and very real loss of many historic sites over recent years. Respondents' comments included: 'if it will be successful then I think they are not in danger of being torn down in 15 or 20 years. I'm quite sure about this', 'they don't have the power to stop this – they can advise the town council not to do this but they have no more power than this' and 'I don't think it really has a protected status, but if anyone would say let's tear it down, no-one would agree with that'.

5.6.6 Lack of protection

The category groups examples provided by respondents of significant heritage that continue to lack statutory protection measures. These could therefore reasonably be considered to be at risk either of complete removal or of structural alterations that would permanently affect a building's original fabric and diminish its authenticity. Reference is also made to the lack of protection available for maritime heritage. Respondents' comments included: 'I was very astonished that there was no idea that this would be protected', 'nobody would actually stop the company from demolishing buildings as well – as long as the planning authorities have accepted such plans' and 'I think it's just very short sighted because like, today it might be that important but in 50 years you can't really say'.

5.6.7 Lost heritage

This code draws together respondents' comments and examples of actual heritage loss - in terms of buildings, artefacts, areas and districts - as a result of lack of recognition or information, poor understanding, inaction / non-intervention or failure to prevent physical demolition, citing cases of significant twentieth century industrial heritage that has been

destroyed as a result. Respondents' comments included: 'the old is just sunk or torn down or sold', 'they were all demolished and taken out and sold as scrap', 'because only recently in 2008 they took the last machines out – there was no real necessity', 'just flatten it – and now it's sort of 'why did you do it'?' and 'there was a row of buildings all on the waterfront, the Skúlagata development as it is now, those are all gone, nothing left'.

5.6.8 Demolition, dereliction, neglect, loss

This final code continues the previous 5.6.7 and draws together respondents' commentaries on the wider theme of impending decisions that are likely to result in further heritage neglect and loss, including plans for the demolition of significant industrial sites. Specific cases include the derelict former herring factory at Raufarhöfn – currently in an advanced state of deterioration – and Rafstöðin, Sigvaldi Thordarson's power plant at Vopnafjörður - currently threatened with removal in 2021 despite specific advice to the contrary by Minjastofnun. Respondents' comments included: 'there's just a few councillors trying to protect and save this building, but I believe it's going to be demolished', 'if you destroy these buildings, it's a non-reversible decision – it's gone. You can't regenerate them', 'I said this is the oldest house in town probably, very likely – and you're still going to tear it down…you're still in the tearing down phase!' and 'we have knocked down most of our kind of industrial history, like Skúlagata – it was full of beautiful industrial buildings'.

6. Discussion

6.1 Communities and heritage

The research shows the symbiotic and interconnected relationship that exists between industrial heritage projects and local communities. Where strong connections and interaction takes place, often in providing preferential access or historic research, public engagement usually follows, delivering multi-layered benefits on both sides - in particular in terms of mutual awareness, recognition, confidence and trust. Where initial local negativity or scepticism regarding the value or merits of a conservation proposal are challenged and overcome, projects are seen to build greater community buy-in and support, exhibiting stronger resilience over the medium to longer term. Outreach learning programmes are shown to be particularly effective at building recognition, goodwill and support, especially when connected to local schools which then serve as a communications conduit to the wider community. Local engagement is also seen to be strong where residents and stakeholders participate in the initial conservation campaign - however there appear to be few examples of active or ongoing volunteerism once a project is established, except for local participation at board or director level. Much of the evidence suggests that a striking, authentic, repurposed industrial heritage site can provide local differentiation, often by virtue of its unique architectural qualities as well as its impressive physical scale, especially where such sites are located in dramatic natural environments or when combined with dynamic, creative, cultural or tech hubs. Such sites can create a powerful, visual impact for the local community, becoming iconic landmarks, generating strong emotions and evoking powerful collective memories.

6.2 Definition of value and success

Concepts of the value of industrial heritage among local communities are shown in the research to be closely linked to aesthetic considerations. Where a site is perceived as ‘ugly’ or ‘untidy’ for instance, widespread negative perceptions tend to undervalue the historic significance of a site within the national context, undermining initial attempts by founders, activists or campaigners to establish support for conservation. Where such founders succeed in communicating the positive attributes of a site however, examples are given of projects

that manage to reverse negative sentiment, attracting media coverage and garnering public support. This process is often witnessed following initial conservation work. Once structural risk and a sense of 'ruin' or 'abandonment' is minimised, opposition from within the community is often neutralised and the site perceived as moving from a status of dereliction to that of iconic local landmark. Local stakeholders are then often persuaded to share in a positive future outlook, leading to expressions of renewed civic pride and a regained sense of local identity. Success is also closely linked to overall financial support and an autonomous capacity to generate income, usually through ticket sales and other revenue-yielding events and activities. Collaboration, partnerships and participation in joint marketing initiatives or clusters such as signposting, trails, conferences and continuous professional development - are also cited by respondents as important routes to adding value and indicative of a successful project.

6.3 Support from stakeholders

The research identified an incoherence and disconnect between different stakeholder policies with regards industrial heritage conservation. Although a powerful tourism draw in other European contexts, little crossover is evident between tourism and cultural heritage in Iceland and industrial heritage does not appear to be recognised within Icelandic tourism development planning. Support for industrial heritage conservation is also seen to be sporadic among many municipalities where prioritisation of immediate economic benefit appears to preclude consideration of heritage repurposing or retention options. An overriding desire to 'clear' or 'clean up' the locality by removing abandoned structures also seems to drive demolition decisions. The research identifies little if any enforcement capability where a listing or registration has been made unless an emergency listing is issued, a process which is time limited and requires endorsement at ministerial level as well as strong support within the community.

6.4 Commonalities between sites

A key commonality across all sites reported by respondents relates to the physical and financial scale involved in industrial heritage conservation work, where often massive volumes are concerned. The unremunerated role of founders and campaigners in

determining the type and priority of the work is a common challenge, as is the difficult task of communication and outreach programmes which are seen as prerequisites in building critical local support and tackling preconceptions, particularly where industrial heritage is seen to symbolise and reflect failure or loss within the community.

6.5 Challenges and Obstacles

Significant challenges raised by the research apply to what seems to be a continued battle for general recognition of the importance of industrial heritage. Much of the lack of understanding is attached to the low esteem that factory buildings seem to hold in the national consciousness and a lack of awareness of the regenerative effect that successful re-use projects can offer to remote areas. Other significant obstacles relate to ongoing battles to prevent impending plans for demolition and the struggle to attract reliable funding and revenue streams.

6.6 Legal protection

Heritage protection is identified as an automatic process once a building reaches a hundred years since construction, although this is seen to create its own difficulties as the stock of such buildings, not all of which are necessarily of historic value, grows and attracts increasing state subsidy for conservation work. The legislation lacks a proactive system of registration for twentieth century buildings, relying instead on a somewhat reactive process of housing reports written at the point when architects, developers or owners approach the Cultural Heritage Agency ahead of a planning application. The mechanism for protection of buildings less than 100 years, involves two tracks - friðlýst, essentially an advisory notice from Minjastofnun, or skyndifriðun - an emergency listing lasting between 3-6 weeks, which then requires intervention and endorsement by the Minister of Culture. This in turn appears unlikely to be granted where vocal local support for a site's retention is lacking. In comments by several respondents, the advisory notice appears to be just that - essentially unenforceable. This advisory protection status is shown in the research to be often dismissed by local and national planning authorities that prioritise removal over retention, usually citing immediate economic imperatives.

6.7 Final remarks

I close this discussion with the following six statements by respondents that seemed to capture the issues reflected in the research questions particularly accurately. The statements are presented without interpretation or analysis.

‘I think we're selling short our own heritage. And if we don't value it ourselves - in that way all the factories and industrial heritage - why should anyone else value it? Many people now, they are sort at a loss to explain why they didn't feel they had to be protected. Now they understand, see the value, but they didn't see it then. We have this saying in Iceland - glöggt er gests augað - 'the eye of the guest is good'. (Dr. Kjartan Bollason, Associate Professor Lektor in Icelandic, Tourism Department, Háskólinn á Hólum / Hólar University)

‘This idea that we use this moment in the story of humanity or our civilisation to…create these spaces that can be dynamic and imaginative and turn this thing that we've called Covid into a positive.’ (Dr. Arndís Bergsdóttir, Assistant Professor, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Haskolinn a Akureyri)

‘The authorities in this town realise that this is improving the quality of life in this community, like tenfold. And it's the reason why a lot of young people have decided to move back home’ (Kári Viðarsson, Founder and Business Owner, Freezer Hostel and Culture Centre, Rif)

‘My father …taught me that it's important to know our history. We are …so focused on getting the newest and the best thing. And the old is just sunk or torn down or sold. Why is there a nation that is so involved in fisheries - with all this money - why in the hell don't they take care of their history?’ (Héðinn Birnir Ásbjörnsson, Owner, Hotel and Herring Factory, Djúpavík)

‘We did that recently for a former power plant in Vopnafjörður by a well-known architect... they want to tear it down because it was in the way of the entrance to the freezing plant. We said, ok, well that's not a very good reason - you should try to find some other ways to solve this. It's a building with potential. There's no real need to demolish it - but we were not in an

authority to stop it' (Pétur Hrafn Ármannsson, Senior Architect, Head of Environment and Planning, Minjastofnun)

'We are very stuck in measuring everything by two measures - by time and by economic figures. But these two measurements … they're kind of the last ones for us as the animal homo sapiens because homo sapiens is made of something else. We didn't start with time. We didn't. There was just a new day…' (Magnús Jónsson, Chairman, Byggðastofnun; Chairman, Nes Listmiðstöð / Nes Artist Residency; Former Mayor, Skagaströnd)

7. Conclusion

The research leads to the following five key conclusions regarding the current state of industrial heritage conservation policy in Iceland:

1. Statutory legislation relies almost entirely on an arbitrary age listing measurement which effectively leaves many significant 20th century buildings unprotected and exposed to deterioration, neglect and eventual demolition or loss. The current 'light touch' local planning policy is no longer fit for purpose, frequently greenlighting demolition despite recommendations to the contrary from the national advisory body.
2. An apparent lack of public interest or awareness in industrial heritage conservation has been shown to be associated with expressions of loss or shame, which in turn are linked to collective memory around levels of hardship and poverty that were widely experienced until relatively recently. Such anxieties and negative sentiments can be seen as reflected in the symbolism attributed to abandoned factories, amplifying concepts of failure or abandonment and frequently leading to a drive or impulse by planning authorities and municipalities to demolish such structures.
3. A lack of recognition and coherent planning for the protection of significant 20th century buildings seems to be widespread within local and regional development policy, which fails to acknowledge the link between industrial heritage and tourism. Planning policy does not seem to recognise the regenerative effect of successfully adapted industrial projects, widely proven in other post-industrial economies, does not appear to incentivise building re-use and pays little if any regard to the ecological cost of demolition and the embodied carbon value in existing material.
4. Regional funding for the conservation and adaptation of industrial heritage appears to be largely piecemeal and erratic. The research shows that financial or regulatory support rarely offers the long-term assurances that might enable local communities, managers and owners to engage in sound or strategic planning. Consequently, the success or failure of industrial heritage projects is dependent on the determination of visionary individuals, artists, activists and engaged communities. Where such synchronicity and happenstance fail to coalesce however, many key sites have been - or are on the point of being - lost.

5. The potential benefits of community engagement and social cohesion through successfully managed volunteer projects are being missed across the country because of a lack of interest in - and general suspicion of - volunteerism. These benefits include successful specialist knowledge transfer, a heightened sense of local identity and social cohesion, civic pride and improved mental and physical wellbeing within communities. The research has highlighted a frequently expressed distrust and sense of unease around volunteering that is often attributed to concerns about labour exploitation and which, when combined with a general lack of societal validation or peer endorsement, leads to low levels of interest and participation. As a result, management of volunteering opportunities appears to receive little consideration, discussion or encouragement and current best practice based on the experience of non-profits in other countries in the implementation and management of volunteer schemes is not commonplace.

The research highlights how significant industrial heritage in Iceland has been, and continues to be, removed with minimal legal protection, community consultation or retention incentivisation, enabling developers, municipalities and private property owners to demolish buildings with little if any attention paid to alternative re-use options. Extended dereliction, often through lack of early conservation identification and low public perception of the value of built heritage - particularly in remote areas - appears to drive decisions for removal in conjunction with a cultural proclivity to eliminate perceptions of 'óþrifnaður' or uncleanliness.

In most of the case studies the research shows that regional cultural and tourism policy does not appear to be moving swiftly or effectively enough to support and underpin the value of heritage projects and fails to adequately recognise, regulate and protect important structures. Consequently, the deterioration of the original fabric of these buildings - which begins almost immediately once the structure is abandoned - becomes in many cases increasingly difficult and expensive to save and quickly irreversible. It appears that the loss of significant buildings continues apace despite expressions of confidence in the protectionary framework and reassurances by agencies and municipalities, as evidenced by the unique power plant in Vopnaförður designed by renowned Icelandic architect Sigvaldi Thordarson, the historic workshops annexed to the Nes Artists Residency in Skagaströnd that are facing impending

demolition and the derelict former herring factory at Raufarhöfn, currently in an advanced state of deterioration.

The research provides evidence that links the later development of industrialisation to perceptions among many Icelanders that their 20th century history is in some ways unworthy, as though the little significant industrial heritage that remains only reinforces a narrative of humiliation, even shame, linked to relatively 'late' industrial development. The data indicates that the apparent widespread lack of support or interest in conserving industrial heritage is a function of these perceptions and that built structures are in some cases seen to embody a negative collective memory that generates emotional conflict within some remote communities.

The thesis has shown that prioritisation of economic growth and an overarching trust in private capital over concepts of collective value still informs heritage conservation policy and drives an almost unquestioning desire to replace old structures for new. There exists a cultural instinct to take decisions that favour immediate job creation, to drive towards an anticipated new herring adventure that appears to merge with a subconscious desire to avoid glancing back at the turf houses and barracks that remain a not-so-distant memory. As a result, an economic short-termism seems to be at play within the wider national consciousness, appearing to prioritise perceived immediate opportunities over a more strategic, holistic approach. The thesis has highlighted how this gold rush mentality appears to be closely connected to the prioritisation of individual landowners' rights over common benefit and how this has led to the limited 'light touch' statutory framework and lack of protection for the built environment that exists today.

The research also suggests a growing trend of willing incomers to remote communities as urban populations re-assess their lifestyle values, family priorities and health security, particularly post-Covid. Such in-migrants, seeking to become second homeowners and/or remote workers, offer a rich resource for growth. In combination with this nascent trend, the research has identified how communities with an open outlook, keen to embrace these dynamic incomers and new ideas, appear best placed to nurture the potential influx of social capital. However the research also identified how a closed, traditional mindset and rejection of new social capital opportunities can be detrimental to early regeneration and heritage

conservation efforts. The data also evidences an apparent disconnect or disinterest within Iceland towards European trails, routes and clusters, leading to the conclusion that a lack of coherent international signposting, cross-fertilisation and collaboration is hampering the recognition and performance of the industrial heritage sector. Once destination clusters are established, rural tourism often develops as a result, delivering considerable value for operators as well as the community in general.

Respondents also confirmed that volunteerism occupies a complex space within Icelandic culture and perceptions. Whereas in many other European countries, notably the UK and Germany, volunteering is seen as an integral, even indispensable, contribution of social capital to heritage projects and a positive contributor to community reciprocity and intergenerational relationship building, the research shows that Icelandic heritage project managers appear resistant to accept or encourage volunteer labour, whether for conservation, interpretation or management functions, despite widespread evidence of the multi-faceted benefits inherent in volunteer-led projects. Evidence suggests that volunteering appears to generate largely negative responses and seems to have little cultural acceptance except in specific, designated sectors. Respondents replied on many occasions that labour unions voice strong objections to volunteering schemes, insisting on the principle of remunerative payment in exchange for nearly all provision of labour. While there appears to be significant resistance to volunteer participation in conservation and heritage programmes there seems to be greater cultural acceptance for and little or no resistance to volunteering opportunities in frontline emergency operations such as the Icelandic Search and Rescue Squads (Slysavarnarfélagið Landsbjörg) and Red Cross (Rauði Krossinn) organisations. With some very limited exceptions the perception around volunteerism in the cultural heritage sector seems to generate a negative feedback loop within which, given the limited social endorsement, few opportunities are offered and little if any take-up or interest is generated, especially among younger age groups. There is evidence that the resistance to volunteering may be partly a function of historically high employment levels in Iceland and consequently the limited availability or supply of individuals willing to perform unpaid work. The research shows that the consequent negative impact on skills and knowledge transfer both inter-generation and within communities is noticeable.

The research demonstrates that successfully adapted industrial projects can help build the necessary place attachment for such communities to thrive, operating as powerful regenerative tools, attracting new and often domestic audiences seeking experiential learning and a slower, more qualitative and engaged form of tourism. Yet the unique history of Iceland's industrialisation - and the spectacular economic growth that has been the direct result - appears largely marginalised in the popular culture and consciousness for reasons discussed in this paper, negatively impacting attitudes towards industrial heritage protection. Successful projects can develop into powerful catalysts for community engagement, a process that can be said to benefit the circular economy on a variety of levels: socially, for retaining intrinsic historical value and binding communities through skills sharing, collective conservation and volunteering; culturally, for linking past narratives (often through oral history projects) with present and future needs and uses, economically, for attracting new revenue sources into fragile settlements and ecologically by communicating issues around resource extraction and man's use of the natural environment - as well as repurposing rather than removing the embodied carbon within existing buildings. The latter issue in particular requires further attention and research, as little is currently written in public policy regarding extending the whole life cycle of built structures nor of maximising material efficiencies and reducing the production of material waste inherent in demolition and consequent newbuild construction.

The research has demonstrated how integrating the successful protection and adaptation of industrial heritage sites into local planning policy can help to move away from short termist decision making and provide a focus for communities seeking a more diverse, resilient approach. Such re-use projects have been shown to contribute a greater sense of agency, engagement and empowerment among local residents - and in many cases also create strong tourism draws. The data highlights how, in pro-actively choosing to protect and adapt such structures, small communities have the potential to create local differentiation, attract new audiences and positively reinforce self-belief, civic pride and social cohesion.

As Iceland moves into a post-industrial era, many of the significant buildings that reflect its unique industrialisation story have either already been demolished or fallen into disuse. In many cases those still in existence stand as magnificent, muscular monuments to industry. Many have been successfully transformed and adapted into museums, commercial

businesses, cultural venues, galleries, co-working spaces, community hubs, studios, artist residences and learning co-operatives. The research highlights a pattern behind the early catalysing force for such initiatives – that of a driven individual or small group, very often from the creative industries and with a singular vision, advocating for conservation rather than demolition and often battling for long periods against mainstream local opposition, frequently at substantial financial and personal cost to themselves. The data illustrates how such individuals struggle against considerable odds to gain support at the early stages of industrial heritage adaptation.

Such projects have been shown in the research to revitalise and reverse the decline of economically stagnant areas, drawing in-migrants and visitors to the wider region and kickstarting the virtuous cycle of renewal and regeneration in these post-industrial zones - as most clearly demonstrated by the Herring Era Museum in Siglufjörður, the Whale Museum in Húsavik, the Art Museum in Akureyri, the fertiliser factory at Gufunes and the Marshall House in Reykjavik. More marginal sites, such as the herring factories in Djúpavík and Hjalteyri and the artist residencies in Skagaströnd and Korpúlfsstaðir, are currently at a more fragile, critical juncture and urgently need greater support to achieve the critical mass required for similar regenerative effects to take place. For other sites, such as the herring factory at Raufarhöfn, Sigvaldi Thordarson's power plant at Vopnafjörður and the historic workshops at Skagaströnd, it may already be too late to save these structures.

Policy proposals

Policy recommendations arising from the research comprise the following:

1. Development of European Route of Industrial Heritage across Iceland designed to create anchor points, clusters and a national industrial heritage trail, driving both international and domestic tourism to remote regions and creating new engaged audiences for the built environment of Iceland
2. Establishment of a new Docomomo International chapter in Iceland with a view to encouraging public support and awareness for 20th century architecture
3. Development of a proactive listing of significant 20th century Icelandic industrial heritage based on the above
4. Discussions and national consultation regarding provision of statutory protection for significant 20th century buildings as national heritage

5. Integration of historic built environment into regional development, tourism and infrastructure planning policy at both national and local government levels

Further study will be required to better understand the implications and complexities of these findings and proposals, particularly in terms of the possible implementation of international networks into strategic planning. Additional research is also required to consider and include elements of other industrial categories including, *inter alia*, hydro-power and geothermal stations, utility and communications networks, bridges, tunnels and harbours. My aim in writing this paper has been to address and understand the overarching challenges faced by remote communities to manage adaptation in a post-industrial environment. My goal has been to understand communities' relationships with their built industrial heritage since economic, ecological and demographic change drove much of their populations away from these more remote areas. Yet dynamic, creative new in-migration trends to rural areas are now also perceptible – with the potential to reverse those demographic trends. The research has also shown that post-Covid-19, Icelandic tourism is having to find ways to re-invent itself and that current circumstances indicate that Iceland is at a pivotal point in that process of change. Successfully executed conservation projects, marketed through and supported by international tourism trails and networks, have the potential to attract a new, more sustainable and slower tourism market comprising engaged audiences eager to understand historical narratives and seek out innovative cultural attractions. With the appropriate mix of ingredients these are the possibilities that stand ready to be encouraged and nurtured. It is precisely the complex challenge of conserving, memorialising and adapting these symbols of past industrial development, while in parallel finding new socio-cultural and economic uses and value within their sometimes impractical yet dramatic structures, that affords significant strategic opportunities to dynamic remote communities willing to embrace bold ideas and new thinking.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics clearance letter

Háskólasetur Vestfjarða
University Centre of the Westfjords

Research ethics training and clearance

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This letter certifies that **David Kampfner** has completed the following modules of:

(X) Basic ethics in research
(X) Human subjects research
(X) Animal subjects research

Furthermore, the Masters Program Committee has determined that the proposed masters research entitled **Finding the Phoenix Factor: An analysis of re-purposed industrial heritage sites with a focus on successful regeneration projects and their impact in driving economic and social change in marginalised regional communities in Iceland** meets the ethics and research integrity standards of the University Centre of the Westfjords. Throughout the course of his or her research, the student has the continued responsibility to adhere to basic ethical principles for the responsible conduct of research and discipline specific professional standards.

University Centre of the Westfjords ethics training certification and research ethics clearance is valid for one year past the date of issue unless otherwise noted.

Effective Date: 22 November 2019
Expiration Date: 18 June 2021

Prior to making substantive changes to the scope of research, research tools, or methods, the student is required to contact the Masters Program Committee to determine whether or not additional review is required.

Appendix B: Interview Participants List

INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS LIST			STAGE	
LOCATION	FULL NAME	ROLE & ORGANISATION	1	2
Akureyri	Jóna Friðriksdóttir	Director, Iðnaðarsafnið / Industry Museum, Akureyri	X	X
Akureyri	Dr. Þóroddur Bjarnason	Professor of Sociology, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Haskolinn a Akureyri / Akureyri University		X
Akureyri	Dr. Arndís Bergsdóttir	Assistant Professor, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Haskolinn a Akureyri / Akureyri University		X
Akureyri	Hlynur Hallsson	Director, Listasafnið á Akureyri / Akureyri Art Museum		X
Djúpavík	Eva Sigurbjörnsdóttir	Owner, Hotel & Herring Factory, Djúpavík	X	
Djúpavík	Magnús Karl Pétursson	Owner, Hotel & Herring Factory, Djúpavík	X	
Djúpavík	Héðinn Birnir Ásbjörnsson	Owner, Hotel & Herring Factory, Djúpavík	X	X
Hjalteyri	Lene Zachariassen	Resident Artist, Verksmiðjan á Hjalteyri / Centre for Contemporary Art, Hjalteyri	X	X
Hjalteyri	Gústav Bollason	Artist, Founder & Gallery Curator, Verksmiðjan á Hjalteyri / Center for Contemporary Art, Hjalteyri	X	X
Hólar	Kjartan Bollason	Associate Professor (Lektor in Icelandic), Tourism Department, Háskólinn á Hólum / Hólar University		X
Húsavík	Eva Björk Káradóttir	Director, Hvalasafn / Whale Museum, Húsavík	X	X
Ísafjörður	Jón Sigurpálsson	Artist & Founder, Edinborgarhúsið / Edinborg House & Byggðasafn Vestfjarða / Westfjords Heritage Museum		X
Raufarhöfn	Kristján Halldórsson	Brothættar byggðir / Fragile Communities Programme, Byggðastofnun / Regional Development Institute		X
Reykjavik	Hjálmar Sveinsson	Chairman of the Culture, Sport and Leisure Committee, Borgarfulltrúi / Reykjavik City Council		X
Reykjavik	Anna Eyjólfsdóttir	Artist & Chairman SIM, Reykjavik		X
Reykjavik	Ásdís Þórarinsdóttir	Artist & Co-Manager, Galleri Korpulfsstaðir	X	
Reykjavik	Alma Sigurdardottir	Surveyor, Árbæjarsafn / Arbær Open Air Museum, Reykjavik	X	X
Reykjavik	Ásmundur Hrafn Sturluson	Architect, Kurtogpi, Marshallhúsið / Marshall House Reykjavik & Listasafnið á Akureyri / Akureyri Art Museum	X	X
Reykjavik	Steinthor Kari Karason	Architect, Kurtogpi, Marshallhúsið / Marshall House Reykjavik & Listasafnið á Akureyri / Akureyri Art Museum	X	X
Reykjavik	Eva Pandora Baldursdóttir	Brothættar byggðir / Fragile Communities Programme, Byggðastofnun / Regional Development Institute		X
Reykjavik	Pétur Hrafn Ármannsson	Senior Architect & Cultural Heritage Co-ordinator, Minjastofnun / Cultural Heritage Agency of Iceland		X
Reykjavik	Gunnar Þór Jóhannesson	Professor, Faculty of Life and Environmental Sciences, Háskóli Íslands / University of Iceland		X
Reykjavik	Dr. David Cook	Post-Doctoral Researcher, Faculty of Economics, Háskóli Íslands / University of Iceland		X
Reykjavik	Anna Katrín Einarsdóttir	Specialist, Skrifstofa ferðamála og nýsköpunar / Office of Tourism and Innovation, Government of Iceland		X
Reykjavik	Albertina Elíasdóttir	Member Of Parliament at Alþingi		X
Reykjavik	Skarphéðinn Steinarsson	Director, Ferðamálastofa / Icelandic Tourism Board		X
Reykjavik	Nils Wiberg	Interaction Designer, Gagarin		X
Rif	Kári Vidarsson	Founder/Owner, Freezer Hostel & Culture Centre, Rif	X	X
Siglufjörður	Anita Elefsen	Director, Síldarminjasafn Íslands / Herring Era Museum, Siglufjörður	X	X
Siglufjörður	Örlygur Kristfinnsson	Founder & former Director, Síldarminjasafn Íslands / Herring Era Museum, Siglufjörður		X
Skagaströnd	Kerryn McMurdo	Co-Director, Nes Listmiðstöð / Nes Artist Residency, Skagaströnd	X	X
Skagaströnd	Vicki O'Shea	Co-Director, Nes Listmiðstöð / Nes Artist Residency, Skagaströnd		X
Skagaströnd	Magnús Jónsson	Chairman, Byggðastofnun; Chairman, Nes Listmiðstöð / Nes Artist Residency; Former Mayor, Skagaströnd	X	X
Skagaströnd	Alexandra Jóhannesdóttir	Mayor, Skagaströnd		X
Skagaströnd	Hrafnhildur Sigurðardóttir	Founder & Trustee, Nes Listmiðstöð / Nes Artist Residency / Owner, Salthús Guest House, Skagaströnd		X
Sauðárkrókur	Hjalti Árnason	Director, Regulator and Privacy Officer, Legal Department, Byggdastofnun / Regional Development Institute		X
Þingeyri	Arnar Sigurðsson	Entrepreneur, Business owner, East of Moon / Former Director, Blabankinn / Blue bank Þingeyri		X
Vopnafjörður	Bjartur Aðalbjörnsson	Samfylkingin / Social Democratic Alliance, Vopnafjörður Municipality		X
		NO INTERVIEWS:	15	35
		TOTAL NO INTERVIEWS:		50

Appendix C: Research Participation Consent Form

Háskólasetur Vestfjarða
University Centre of the Westfjords

RESEARCH PARTICIPATION CONSENT FORM

Yfirlýsing um samþykki til þátttöku í rannsókn

This form enables persons to give: i) consent for their participation in the above research project; and ii) permission for use of their contributions (e.g. interview, photography, writing, drawing – and so on) in the thesis and other forms of disseminating findings.

PART 1 – INFORMATION SHEET

***Research Title**: **'Finding the Phoenix Factor:** An analysis of re-purposed industrial heritage sites with a focus on successful regeneration projects and their impact in driving economic and social change in marginalised remote communities in Iceland.'*
***Institution**: University Centre of the Westfjords*
***Researcher**: David Kampfner (david19@uw.is)*

This paper analyses a selection of re-purposed industrial heritage sites in Iceland with a focus on how their role as catalysts in driving the change required within marginalised communities to ensure the future viability of remote coastal populations. While Reykjavik is a well known cultural centre, little is known about the importance of cultural and industrial heritage sites in rural settlements in Iceland - a subject that is rarely considered to have had significant economic weight or purpose hitherto. Hence a notable knowledge gap can be identified between urban, over-researched projects and somewhat under-researched rural projects.

The research identifies the key elements attributable to successfully adapted industrial heritage sites, drawing linkages and commonalities between projects in order to better understand how these could influence future regional development in Iceland. As part of this process the paper also reviews how the projects have reacted to, adapted and coped with the sudden onset and impact of the Covid-19 virus.

The paper concludes by drawing together best practice and learnings from successful projects, while also casting attention on possible cultural resistance to certain European ideas, and how these may possibly be responsible for a lack of political and popular support for the industrial heritage sector. The research considers how collaborative projects, including volunteering programmes and intra-generational skills sharing, seem to have only occasionally established themselves in the management of Icelandic heritage projects, despite proven contributions to social cohesion, place attachment and positive attitudes towards local identity elsewhere in Europe. I conclude with proposals based on the research that may assist in establishing new cultures of resilience, cohesion and viability which could substantially contribute to the creation of effective and thriving regional communities.

Participation
Participation in the study may be for as little as a few minutes or, if agreed, much longer. Participants may withdraw at any time. Participation may result in the (co-)creation of a variety of materials (such as photography, writing, drawing – and so on) and/or a recorded interview. As such, participants may be filmed, photographed or recorded (audio/written accounts). Unfortunately, participants cannot be reimbursed for taking part. This signature will confirm your voluntary participation and note that all your questions concerning this research have been adequately answered by the researcher.

Háskólasetur Vestfjarða
University Centre of the Westfjords

PART 2 – CERTIFICATE OF INFORMED CONSENT

***Research Title**: 'Finding the Phoenix Factor:** An analysis of re-purposed industrial heritage sites with a focus on successful regeneration projects and their impact in driving economic and social change in marginalised remote communities in Iceland.'*
***Institution**: University Centre of the Westfjords*
***Researcher**: David Kampfner (david19@uw.is)*

I have read the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have been asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and give permission for the use of my contribution(s) in the written thesis and other forms of disseminating findings.

Please choose one option:

☐ I consent to be identified and/or named in the thesis and other materials.

☐ I would like to review being identified and/or named in the thesis and other materials, before publication, with the possibility of asking for anonymity (please provide email address below* – if contact cannot be made, contributions will be made anonymous).

☐ I would like all my contributions to be anonymous

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____/_____/2020

Appendix D: Interview questions

Stage 1: informal interview questions

What is your association/role in the project?

What were the key criteria and objectives applied and used in the conservation of the site?

How has the use of industrial heritage allowed / facilitated / attracted new audiences to the location?

Who are the principal owners/operators/stakeholders, what is the structure of the management and how are these actors implicated/involved in the project?

What are the greatest challenges in operating the site?

In which ways, if at all, does the local community participate in, engage with and view the project?

Are there any official listing or building classification restraints that are currently in place to safeguard the site – and which might restrict your conservation choices and decisions?

To what extent if at all have any statutory conservation protocols such as ICOMOS guidelines played in conservation decision making?

Have any particular areas of the site been permanently or irreversibly adapted – and if so have those conservation choices and changes been documented in any way?

How is the project funded – both capital and revenue funding?

What do you foresee as the main challenges, risks and opportunities ahead for the survival and continued operation of the project?

Stage 2: formal, semi-structured interview questions

Group 1 semi-structured interview questions

When and how did you first get involved with the project?

Could you describe the functions of your role/involvement?

What are the principal objectives of the project?

How would you describe the main strengths/weaknesses of the project and in what ways would you seek/hope to improve the project?
What can you tell me regarding the funding/budget/turnover/viability of the project?
Who are the project's key funders/sponsors/supporters?
How is the project involved with other schemes and/or trails/routes?
How many paid staff and/or volunteers does the project employ?
How does the project communicate its presence, activities and heritage significance?
How does the project engage with and involve the local community, how do you ensure the consultation and participation of local communities and in what ways (if any) would you say that the project has strengthened the local community?
Is the project involved in any educational programmes with local schools or colleges?
How do you see the future of the project – are you primarily optimistic or pessimistic about next steps/developments?

Group 2 semi-structured interview questions

Can you describe your role and how it connects with industrial heritage?
To what extent do you think the protection, re-use and/or adaptation of industrial heritage plays a role in regenerating rural areas in Iceland?
How is industrial heritage recognised, protected and/or valued in Iceland?
Are you aware of, and if so can you explain, any specific weaknesses or resistance in the conservation of industrial heritage in Iceland?
Can you identify any particular industrial heritage site(s) in Iceland that you believe should be protected?
What can you tell me about how the relationship between tourism and industrial heritage in Iceland?
I'm researching a slightly contentious theory that Icelanders are generally disinterested - or even ashamed – by the story of their industrial heritage as the generally understood narrative of Icelandic industrialisation reinforces ideas of poverty and under development when compared to other European societies – do you have any thoughts/comments regarding this?
Do you think Icelanders are generally more likely to place aesthetic value on the natural environment, to the exclusion of industrial heritage?
Do you believe there is still more of a general tendency to find funding to demolish rather than restore industrial heritage?

Are you aware of programmes for the conservation of the industrial heritage that are integrated into policies for economic development and regional or national planning? And on a related note in what ways, if any, are industrial communities threatened by rapid structural change supported by central and local government?

Which agencies/ministries are principally engaged in protecting industrial heritage in Iceland?

There seems to be considerable resistance to volunteering programmes within heritage projects in Iceland – partly as a result of objections attributed to labour union policies – can you comment on this?

Are you aware of the Route of Industrial Heritage initiative – and would you support extending this to Icelandic industrial heritage?

What suggestions/ideas do you have to improve the current situation regarding the status and conservation of Icelandic industrial heritage?

Appendix E: Coded segments

Table 5: Coded segments - shame, humiliation, poverty, disadvantage, regret (5.1.1)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Kerryn	they used to dock here, 40 guys work… you know, how it goes
●	Arndis	culture in the European sense was Notre Dame,
●	Arndis	Because a turf house is not Notre Dame.
●	Arndis	We're not savages…
●	Gustav	after the crisis, the financial crisis, people were talking about, it was partly a joke, but 'we might end up again in the turf houses'
●	Kjartan	you lived in the barracks and then it was looked down upon even, even worse than living in a turf house.
●	Kjartan	getting out of being poor basically, which is quite a normal human reaction. And you're not thinking about protecting old stuff
●	Kjartan	but then we thought this vernacular architecture, this local architecture, it's not good enough, not posh enough.
●	Kjartan	quite shameful, to have lived in a barracks, so many people want to forget, tear down
●	Jon	the turf houses remind you of the poorness of your ancestors, and they are not worth….
●	Jon	my grandfather and my grandmother they were workers, labourers - hard labour….they just wanted to have a nice home
●	Albertina	My grandmother was born in like a turf house.
●	Albertina	we do remember the hardships that we had to go through to get to where we are today
●	Anna E	my father was a painter, like house painting. And he was the only one working of course, because my mother was pregnant every year. And in an apartment which was I think less than 40 square meters, we were living my parents and us. We were seven siblings and we were living in apartment
●	Arnar	the old women that worked at the factory where I was, they were crooked, some of them. They really spent their bodies doing this. So they didn't die, but they definitely sacrificed their healt
●	Gunnar	my grandparents, they lived in a turf house then they built a concrete house, probably in the 1940s, like so many did,
●	Gunnar	it sort of reminds them of, well, maybe mistakes that were made in investment by the municipality and the quota was sold on
●	Gunnar	with the selling of the quota, with having the ownership of those buildings as a municipality, but not being able to do anything and find what to do with it for 20, almost 30 years - that's sort of a feeling of humiliation…
●	Gunnar	failure is the right word. And that was something that I .. hadn't realised because I always thought of it as… an abandoned herring factory,
●	Kurtogpi	This is a history that we want to forget because it was horrible living, but that has totally changed, but that took 70 years
●	Kurtogpi	People didn't like the roof of the City Hall building because it reminded them of the barracks
●	Hjalti	some parts of our history we not particularly proud of, but still they shouldn't be erased.
●	Orlygur	it was a negative experience for Siglufjörður after the disappearance of the herring
●	Orlygur	what was a former pride of us was now like a humiliation - and the shame, you know, how the town looked, all the piers rotting and broken and dangerous and all these houses - endless piers and houses of the herring industry in very bad condition
●	Orlygur	I remember when I was a teacher here in the school, discovering the view of my pupils to the town, all the town, how badly looking the town was – a horrible place. 'No, I will never stay here and spend my future here' - I heard this one day in my lesson and it was like a shock for me.
●	Orlygur	It was for me a humiliation - looking around the town, everything was… Siglufjörður was considered the ugliest and worst of all Iceland towns.
●	Hrafnhildur	my father was born in 1929 and was born in one of those old turf buildings
●	Hrafnhildur	And all these old turf houses were just bulldozed over. We were ashamed of them. We were ashamed of having been raised in one. Not as bad though, as the barracks, the army barracks, there was a stigma.
●	Hrafnhildur	The stigma for the turf houses was not as bad, but it was still the last people who lived in turf houses they were poor. That's why they lived there. Just like the barracks - the people who lived in the barracks, they were poor. So it's always been this, like, let's get rid of it, it's like the dirty children of God…

Table 6: Coded segments - capacity building, social capital, migration, second homers (5.1.2)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Hedinn	when there's more life there is a community happening....there's something brewing
●	Hedinn	we have to have a community around it.
●	Kari	the reason a lot of people move out of small communities is because they have this idea that there's nothing to do here
●	Kristjan	in many of our fragile communities, you don't have a lot of people or forces to be joined there either
●	Kristjan	most people are busy with day to day struggle for their lives - when you have maybe 150, 180 people living there.
●	Kristjan	for the small communities, people are too few and they need support too to realise their vision about this.
●	Kristjan	we had some promising projects that were started maybe 4 years ago. I'm afraid that halted and we have very little activity now...
●	Kristjan	He was too busy to promote and lead this project - and the others involved, they didn't have the drive to make this happen without him...
●	Kristjan	they would have done something if they had got more money, but they had some funds that they could not use because of this lack of drive I'm afraid.
●	Albertina	Maybe part of the issue is that many of them are located in rural areas where there perhaps isn't capacity to keep them up
●	Albertina	we're seeing more and more people, even not necessarily from Iceland, but from all over the world that are all of a sudden able to work from wherever, and a lot of them are actually choosing to work in or live in small communities
●	Arnar	the best kept houses, for example, in Þingeyri, the best maintained and the most beautiful are summer houses owned by people who live in Reykjavik.
●	Arnar	there's a certain street that makes soup for everybody. So then next year it's the next street and so forth. So there are entire streets where that just doesn't work anymore,
●	Arnar	the power has shifted out of the village.
●	Arnar	if there were people with means and energy within the village they would like to live in those houses and do them up
●	Arnar	the same dynamic where there aren't necessarily companies or people or resources or money, or know-how to do them within the village itself. So it always needs to rely on the outside to somehow come in and support - to make something. Which then generates a kind of a strange dynamic between, between those things.
●	Arnar	n the last maybe 20 years, it had lost all these institutions - it had lost most significantly the cooperative. And with that the fish factories and stuff. And it had the lost the town council and it had lost the credit union at that point.
●	Arnar	nobody had even training in terms of dealing with bureaucracy. There was nobody that could look up regulations. And so they're sort of a community that had no tools
●	Arnar	you need a lot of these individuals in a certain place. And that's the kind of individuals that leave villages.
●	Nils	back in the fifties or something they thought it's best everybody moves to the big city
●	Nils	there's a little bit of a chance that you can have a sort of two-way migration internally, that on the one hand, people move to the city to get education, but then maybe they move back and do their information technology, or intellectual property producing work in the smaller towns.
●	Skarphedinn	I go there for weekends and Christmas and Easter and summer holidays. I have my horses there and it's a value to belong to a smaller community. And I think that that is an opportunity for the countryside.

Table 7: Coded segments - civic pride, identity, culture, positivity (5.1.3)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	this small town was producing almost everything
●	Eva S	this is our story, this place's story and also the community's story
●	Kari	We were such a tight community when I was growing up
●	Kristjan	in the Raufarhöfn case the people did not want to see the buildings go because this was such a big part of their identity..
●	Arnar	there is a lot of appreciation for the heritage of fishing vessels
●	Arnar	to be a fishermen, to work on the boat is kind of a very glorious job and a very high paid job, also a dangerous job
●	Arnar	a glorification of the fishing boat, but not necessarily the fish factory
●	Gunnar	feel better with themselves as a community. And they have this feeling of pride
●	Gunnar	my feeling is that it has something to do with generations also - the younger people are much more positive towards these buildings
●	Gunnar	culture, it allows people maybe to rethink their position and rethink those failures, and see them maybe not as failures,
●	Pétur	comparatively speaking, what you find here in terms of architectural heritage does not come with most European countries, but it is nonetheless, it is interesting. It's our heritage
●	Orlygur	Finished. And then everything changed for the people. Yes, now we understand. Now we see what you were meaning, what you were struggling for. So beautiful
●	Orlygur	then even some people came to me and said, which was very nice. 'now we understand, we are very proud ...the inhabitants of Siglufjördur .
●	Orlygur	it didn't have only a meaning for us, Siglufjörður, but all the other fishing villages and towns in Iceland,
●	Orlygur	they would grow up knowing everything about their past and the glory and this adventure of things that happened around the herring. And being proud of their history, their town
●	Orlygur	Siglufjörður was something and we were very proud of our town and our place and being from here.
●	Orlygur	they must know about Siglufjördur history. How it was - how different our former world was. And maybe they would be a little proud of - somehow - of Siglufjördur
●	Alexandra	because of their history - they do mean a lot to the town...they do mean a lot to the people
●	Alexandra	I think people are just so proud of the history and the heritage
●	Alexandra	it would just be amazing to do something with it because people take immense pride in it

Table 8: Coded segments - memories and local stories (5.1.4)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	a lot of people come here to bring up good memories.
●	Jona	you come here and see like a sweater like your grandma had
●	Jona	men come here and say 'I worked here once'.
●	Magnus P	Icelandic people who have maybe some experience - or their grandfather or father did work in a factory like this
●	Asdis	'Oh my grandfather used to work here'
●	Asdis	'Oh, I've heard so many stories about this house'.
●	Kristjan	some of those people were involved in the factory. They worked there most of their lives.
●	Arnar	it's very interesting, the dynamic between the community, the strength, internal strength of a community, their memory
●	Arnar	there was an incredible loss of lives at sea. It was kind of ridiculously risky to be a fishermen in the sixties and the seventies.
●	Arnar	you have the story of people losing their jobs in places like Þingeyri, so it's a very sad story in a way. Maybe that's even more important to preserve as heritage
●	Gunnar	people are very keen on actually preserving the oil tanks.
●	Gunnar	the reason that people would want to travel is to get this kind of feeling and, and hear about the local stories
●	Alexandra	it's just generation after generation that's living and doing the same job and all of a sudden you can't, and you sort of miss the history of your family,

Table 9: Coded segments - community engagement and education (5.1.5)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Gustav	I've been bringing schools in the autumn or early in the spring.
●	Kerryn	re-establishing our relationship to the school, having artists give artists talks or workshop
●	Kerryn	Open House is always the end of the month. So that's for the artists to share with the locals
●	Kerryn	And then they go home and tell their parents Nes came in
●	Kerryn	we're reflecting it back and they love to see that
●	Kerryn	invite locals to maybe co-exhibit once or twice a year or something like that.
●	Arndis	we are very big on making a bridge between the public and academia. So we do talks for the public about the things we're doing...
●	Alma	the parents were coming and they were like, 'so my daughter asked me to take her for a drive and she wanted to look at this type of buildings'
●	Anita	So all fifth graders, which are about 25 kids - and there were a mix of kids from the older classes, it's like an optional class. They're with us once a week throughout the whole school year
●	Anita	They're fifth graders, which are 10 - bit challenging, but they're really enjoying it. And then there are like 14 and 15 year olds who do this as an optional course.
●	Anita	Mondays we're teachers more or less all day long, we have them coming in three groups and we've prepared all kinds of different projects.
●	Anita	it's called takeover day. They have this in the UK a lot where young kids get to take over the museum for a day.
●	Anita	if your kid comes home and at the dinner table, he's like, 'Oh my God, do you know what I learned at the museum today? Do you know what they do?' Then I think it can be a very good impact on the local society
●	Alexandra	if you get the kids involved, you get the parents involved....
●	Alexandra	I could see how happy people were when they were, you know, being silly and making slime with their kids and looking at paintings
●	Alexandra	the kids were talking about it for ages afterwards
●	Kerryn	the funding is - is to take artists to a school and lead a workshop
●	Kerryn	we had a pinata workshop last year with a guy from Mexico and it was over two afternoons and it was really great, so unique for the students here at the school
●	Kerryn	it was exciting and the community did involve themselves.
●	Kerryn	we realised we need to give back to the community. So we started to bridge with the school and offer workshops
●	Vicki	it's the cultural wellbeing of the community - the young children are welcome in the studio. You know, they often are in and out
●	Vicki	the students could have a free period and they could choose an outdoor activity, a music activity, and one was an art activity. And so we had them come in for like a couple of months once a week and rotate through several artists, doing projects with them

Table 10: Coded segments - volunteerism, activism (5.1.6)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	after a few years, I don't think - we will not have any volunteers
●	Hedinn	I was wishing that people would like just come and help me out
●	Eva K	we had a lot of local volunteers and a lot of the construction companies really gave us good deals
●	Anita	But as this group of volunteers came to be things really started happening but the Róaldsbrakki was in horrific shape at the time.
●	Anita	they more or less put all extra hours and extra time they had for five years into reconstructing the house, collecting everything they could
●	Anita	It isn't a culture in Iceland to have volunteers.
●	Jona	if I would take here a volunteer, and don't pay anything, that would be considered as taking a job from someone.
●	Albertina	the old houses on Neðstikaupstaður, they were planned to be torn down, when there was a group of people in Isafjordur that were like, 'hey, this is really old and this is an important part of our history - can't we do something else with it
●	Albertina	They were fighting about it - what to do with the houses. But that the group that was pro protection, they were stronger. They managed to get the community with them, but there was a debate
●	Albertina	we have it when it comes to nature conservation, we look at groups of volunteers coming, for example, to Hornstrandir
●	Albertina	people in tourism, especially… have not been doing it quite correctly and getting volunteers to work for them in tourist spots.
●	Albertina	Umhverfisstofnun who was in charge - like the environmental agency - they've been doing it for years with very good experience from it.
●	Albertina	when they opened up like a women's shelter in Akureyri - everybody was willing to volunteer and help them fix up the house and get everything ready,
●	Albertina	the beach cleanup in Hornstrandir, there are people coming from Reykjavik.
●	Anna E	it was maybe around about '70 something that they wanted to turn to destroy every old house in Torfan… and then there was protest
●	David	and yet they have an environmental volunteering sector - Seeds for instance, tree planting all over the country…
●	David	I suppose they would fear a loss of jobs in the - I don't know - in the painting and decorating industry.
●	Anita	we thought about it this summer, for example, to get volunteers, to help out instead of summer staff. But all these restrictions made it very hard.
●	Anita	the hard thing is to go out and ask - would you want to come in and do some work, but I won't pay you
●	Orlygur	we did something about it, the summer of 1985, working evenings, weekends to restore something and paint all the house, even the roof and whatever. And I was leading a small group of people who were willing to do this - volunteering work.
●	Orlygur	It was impossible without being so many together - members of this association, they might be 125, 150, all over Iceland.
●	Orlygur	behind the museum is - how to say it - the grassroots. The museum has grown from the grassroots - just ordinary people who decided to do this and sacrificed something to do this.
●	Orlygur	talking about volunteering participation - it's very good in a way, but it is hard and to keep it and to organise that takes time and effort. And we have not done so much of it
●	Hrafnhildur	the Lækjarbrekka, all the restaurants, the lobster house and all that? Reykjavik wanted to tear them down in the seventies and the young people and the hippies, they actually chained themselves to the buildings - it got to that point. And they saved the buildings
●	Bjartur	we're only two members of the Social Democratic party in the opposition who are against the demolition.

Table 11: Coded segments - external influences, openness (5.2.1)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Kerryn	we're from all over the world here and our offers represent diversity,
●	Kerryn	there's a whole world out there
●	Magnus	small communities tend to have a narrow view and we need to open that as much as we can.
●	Magnus	Open new ideas, having new ideas, seeing another view on life
●	Arndis	the Icelandic mentality has also always been …what comes from abroad is better than what we have at home
●	Kjartan	turf houses, which were properly protected because this Englishman came to Iceland, wrote about them, took pictures of them
●	Kjartan	we have this saying in Iceland - glöggt er gests augað - 'the eye of the guest is quite good'
●	Anna KE	the foreign travellers have maybe more - they sometimes know more about the cultural heritage and what we have to offer here in Iceland,
●	Anna E	It's to open - open minds.
●	Arnar	you've got the French cemetery so to some extent, a lot of this heritage is connected with different nations
●	Hjalti	people from abroad are visiting places that we never looked at as important but they find fascinating.
●	Alexandra	when there was no one in Nes, the landscape of the town just changes because you don't have that sort of variety of people coming through
●	Kerryn	you have a group of different ages, cultures and art practices. So it's almost like I always said, like a mini United nations
●	Magnus J	an open creative community that is open for new things and accepting differences
●	Magnus J	small villages tend to be narrow-minded in a way. So it's always, we always have to watch out for that
●	Magnus J	the flow of information to and from Nes through the artistic world, that is a strength

Table 12: Coded segments - regenerative draw, creative hub, critical mass (5.2.2)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Magnus P	Definitely the reason why they came to this place was the factory, and that's the reason why thousands of people have been to Djupavik.
●	Magnus P	We have had five weddings inside the factory.
●	Kari	we're doing a music festival next summer
●	Kari	we are the magnet..like the freezer.
●	Anita	he has said that very often. 'I wouldn't have built a hotel if not for the herring museum
●	Arndis	hybrid communities of students and researchers and teachers where we make classrooms into offices
●	Arndis	The institution itself would not demarcate the boundaries, but where you live
●	Arndis	it's only in finding that flexibility and that informality that we create these spaces that can be dynamic and imaginative
●	Kjartan	for example my university, we have really good optic fibre connectivity there....we couldn't have invested otherwise
●	Kjartan	in Talinn the old industrial area, shipyards and so on has been changed into this sort of innovation campus
●	Albertina	even though these people are working from home, I think many of them would want to have like a hub
●	Albertina	there are definitely opportunities to sort of develop buildings in rural areas to sort of accommodate people like that.
●	Albertina	we would rather like to see hubs around the country.
●	Albertina	industrial places like we do have, like in Þingeyri with Blaubankin, in the old bank - like we have with Þróunarsetur - the University Centre, it was a fish factory before,
●	Anna E	this house would be perfect and is perfect for the purpose of having here some artists society in a way where, if all these are together, then they can make each other stronger by having courses
●	Arnar	There's an interesting food court by the harbour now. That used to be a fish factory
●	Arnar	the brilliant idea behind the Blue bank for a lot of people who supported it initially, was simply this - to combine many things into one place.
●	Arnar	definitely one of the premises that people bought into - it's like 'ok if we can't have many things in Thingeyri let's have a little bit of everything in one place.'.
●	Arnar	it wouldn't have worked if we had just gone into another building
●	David	we need these places as a basis for regeneration, for the future, whenever the future begins.
●	Nils	we have the opportunity to make those choices - that we might want to keep the countryside having enough attraction to be able to attract businesses...and even information technology businesses
●	Nils	the Scandinavian welfare States...they are very much looking for ways - they are looking for people like you to give them tools to implement opportunities for innovation and job creation in the rural places
●	Nils	making their sort of visions for the future was the ability to live in a small place, but have a highly skilled job - that was on the wishlist of everybody
●	Orlygur	the museum changed the town. It was like the first wave of very many- one wave follows another, as we say in Icelandic
●	Orlygur	the guy who has built up the hotel and the restaurant, and the business around it, again and again he said that the first years we would never have started this if ...there wasn't the Herring Era Museum and Folk Music Centre
●	Kerryn	it's definitely good for the region, because when other local businesses start to grow, it's these communities that connect, for example, a food truck busness, on its happened through Biopol and the lab up there being transformed into that
●	Magnus J	Nes has been part of the community for that long that us inhabitants would see it as a big loss if it had to close down. Because we are rather proud of it.

Table 13: Coded segments - partnerships, trails, networks, routes (5.2.3)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	we have some communication with industry museums in other countries
●	Jona	I'm excited to work with other industry museums.
●	Eva S	places all around Iceland are really interesting because they're doing this same thing
●	Eva K	We are part of the Icelandic Museums Council
●	Eva K	We're part of Arctic Coastway.
●	Asdis	Safnadagurinn. And all the museums - they were open until 11
●	Anita	we've been cooperating with museums in north of Norway about boat preservation
●	Anita	we cooperated with the national maritime museum of Poland in Gdansk
●	Anita	with the Bohuslans museum in Uddevalla in Sweden.
●	Kerryn	We do have a relationship with a German residency called Künstlerhaus Lukas
●	Kerryn	It's about collaboration and that means it's relational,
●	Kerryn	we already have a connection with the University of Reykjavik.
●	Hlynur	we have with the Design Museum in Garðabær, and Gljufrasteinn, the Laxness Museum in Mosfellsdalur,
●	Kjartan	the circular route or any kind of route is a classical thing in tourism.
●	Kjartan	a tour driving around everywhere. So it's obviously like a basic foundation and that's in a way you could say - that that's how you create value for industrial heritage
●	Kjartan	Norðurstrandarleið in Icelandic, the Arctic Coastway,
●	Kjartan	the Arctic Coastway which in Iceland is called Norðurstrandarleið - there are some signs up there and they're always...the big letters are in English and the small ones are Icelandic,
●	Anna KE	we have a lot of routes in Iceland, for example, the Gullni hringurinn, where you have Þingvellir you have Geysir and Gulfoss
●	Anna KE	the Arctic Coastway and the Diamond Ring is there in the North and in the West they also have a project there
●	Anita	We're part of what they call ICMM - the International Congress of Maritime Museums
●	Anita	a year ago I went to a six day conference in Sweden, in Öland, and there were people from over 30 different countries, all working in the maritime museum sector.
●	Anita	we also have this Icelandic association of maritime museums, which I'm on the board for,
●	Anita	we have a joint ticket with just the Folk Music Centre
●	Kerryn	Künstlerhaus Lukas has an exchange
●	Kerryn	a new exchange with a gallery called Marco Arte Foco in Argentina
●	Kerryn	Nes is connected to SIM, the visual arts residency and network in Reykjavik,

Table 14: Coded segments - local support/interest, domestic tourism (5.2.4)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	It's more Icelandic people than tourists.
●	Magnus P	we have a lot of Icelandic people here
●	Kari	It has become like a pattern of behaviour for the locals to be here
●	Gustav	this year they came already in late May and still last weekend. So it has been quite amazing
●	Gustav	with Icelandic people that come there, I think the spectrum is very large, all kinds of people,
●	Gustav	there's a very large selection of people ...who come there who...are not necessarily into art, but many people are interested in the house.
●	Kjartan	this was one of their best summers ever
●	Kjartan	I stayed in a hotel in Akureyri and 80% of the people - it was full - 80% were Icelanders
●	Eva K	Icelanders have been around 7% of our total visitor numbers, this year they were 40% of the total number.
●	Eva K	I think we had somewhere around 5,000 Icelanders come this year.
●	Eva K	the Icelanders don't really stop to chat, but this year, a lot of them - they really wanted to express how happy they were with the exhibition
●	Eva K	I think they just got a chance or had a new reason to go out and explore Iceland.
●	Anna KE	I think the local community has maybe realised the value of the cultural heritage this summer.
●	Anna KE	I think in the coming years, we will travel more domestically
●	Gunnar	visiting farmers and talking to them, tasting some food, going down to the harbour, visiting fishermen, seeing a fishing factory, how fish is being processed and so on. And this is something that only foreign tourists would do. But actually I think more and more Icelanders and the domestic market would be interested in this
●	Kurtogpi	in the summertime, Icelanders took a week or two or maybe three to travel around the Island.
●	Skarphedinn	I believe that this summer was quite good - museums and places like you're describing, because the local market, the domestic market seems to have been quite keen on visiting
●	Skarphedinn	hopefully we will be able to keep that local market, even though we will recover from Covid
●	Kari	Icelanders have travelled quite a lot domestically in the summer,
●	Anita	it seems like the local restaurants, they all had a splendid summer
●	Anita	we had way more Icelandic visitors this year than last year,
●	Alexandra	there was an influx of Icelandic tourists that sort of just replaced the ones that have been coming from....

Table 15: Coded segments - media interest, public recognition (5.2.5)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	it was a big opening, there was a festival, the President came
●	Eva S	a victory for us to get into those books
●	Hedinn	there was like this election of buildings - that this was the top - number one
●	Hedinn	foreigners like Americans that come there, they deeply understand
●	Magnus P	this is really popular - those tours we are doing twice a day
●	Magnus P	we get really good reviews for the factory
●	Magnus P	80 percent of our guests do the tours.
●	Magnus P	this documentary was in Icelandair planes for many, many years
●	Eva K	we get around 32,000 guests per year
●	Arndis	now we run an incredibly beautiful and nice museum in one of those spaces.
●	Kjartan	quite important, to understand how things could change from being a factory, desolate, abandoned, then it suddenly becomes something of value
●	Anna KE	they turned all these old fisheries plants and where they used to keep the nets - now this is a very popular place where you can go and buy meat and ice cream and they have designer shops, and also link it with the old heritage with the harbour
●	Anna KE	they have an old coffee house there called Kaffivagninn that's I think more than 60 years old or something - it's very popular, a local place where the fishermen used to go
●	Anna E	I think it will be in the end a very respected building,
●	Gunnar	because of the attention that the herring museum in particular has got - this is seen in a very romantic light from that perspective.
●	Hjalmar	that is a huge success story - and I think that is the first industrial building built by money from the Marshall help. And so this was a kind of a prototype for what is possible - a prototype for what is now happening at Gufunes
●	Hjalmar	Gufunes is by far the biggest, so this is very exciting.
●	Kurtogpi	I think projects like the Marshall House and Listasafnið in Akureyri, and more buildings are kind of proof of that - we can actually reinvent these buildings
●	Orlygur	there were endless interviews on television or radio or in the papers and I think very many, even all the nation, they were watching or following us.

Table 16: Coded segments - wonder, awe, delight, surprise (5.2.6)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	they often see something they know and are amazed
●	Jona	people come in here, they are amazed
●	Jona	maybe they come with the in-laws and they will show them all the things that were made here
●	Jona	you just have this feeling and you connect emotionally
●	Jona	I can say 100% are happy about the visit
●	Jona	people are very surprised, was all that produced just here in this little town?
●	Magnus P	they come out of the factory and just their respect for everything is so much higher...
●	Magnus P	I had 12 people from the Netherlands that booked a time inside the factory just to take pictures - didn't do a tour with them..this is a new thing
●	Gustav	It's a house which is quite incredible
●	Asdis	people are so happy coming here.
●	Anita	usually people just sit and they're like, wow, surprising... I had no idea.
●	Skarphedinn	I went to Djúpavík and stayed there for a night and my wife suggested that we would take a tour around the old factory, which was absolutely fascinating

Table 17: Coded segments - incoherent heritage strategy (5.3.1)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Thoroddur	And there's no way you could use tearing down money for building things up…
●	Jon	the local authorities, they don't have this expertise to give advice and if the government itself or the ministry or Minjastofnun comes with this expertise, and then there comes this conflict
●	Jon	in Denmark - they are much more open - when people show the effort to do something, then they support it more…
●	Albertina	we definitely should have like a heritage protection plan in regards to buildings and industry.
●	Albertina	I think partly it's just political disinterest
●	Albertina	I think soon we need to take some steps into creating a more cohesive plan on what should be protected and what shouldn't
●	Albertina	it shouldn't really be like that, or one would think that it would be better if we would do it more - if we would have a plan
●	Alma	I was like, why hasn't anyone been thinking about this and she was just like, 'Oh, you know, it's just…trouble
●	Anna KE	the local authorities, they have the power to… they have the role of the development plans in the areas, so I think they're the ones that maybe should be responsible for this planning
●	Anna KE	you have the local authorities in each area that are responsible for the main planning for the whole area,
●	Anna KE	they also have a body where all the municipalities work together. So they could also plan for the whole of the country and also in rural areas in each municipality. And they have a lot of authority.
●	Anna KE	the roles are very defined and preservation and heritage is not on our table. I think it's very unlikely that the Minister of Tourism would have something to say about that
●	Anna KE	I think the local authorities - because they have the authority in rural areas - they are the ones I think who should have a plan in place for these kinds of things
●	Anna KE	we have the destination management plans for the tourism, and of course, maybe that should be another dimension in these plans but these plans are not demanded by law
●	David	I wonder how much stakeholder consultation there actually is - is it simply that the municipality says right it's got to go?
●	David	it's almost like a tragedy of the commons, isn't it? Like the local community might benefit, might recognise the benefit of the preservation buildings, but they won't do anything…..nothing at all to ensure it survives
●	David	maybe in Iceland, the national agenda - which leads the way - doesn't reflect localism.
●	Eva B	often we're reacting, not proactive.
●	Nils	it is quite a reactive process, yes - outside of Reykjavik.
●	Pétur	I've been to every town in Iceland and I can easily - I have a picture in my mind more or less of what is important and what's not so important, so it's a personal thing, but no, we don't have an overall strategy.
●	Hjalti	in general, it's not on our table - it would be Minjastofnun
●	Hjalti	I haven't seen anything in parliament or - well maybe in the local government and the municipalities as well, on that level - but not on a state level.
●	Anita	so far it doesn't get further than someone opening up the subject, discussing it and they say, yes, let's have a meeting about this, or let's have a working group and then nothing happens and then it just goes away.
●	Hrafnhildur	There's no discussion. And I think it comes from the mindset of like, the turf house and the little wooden house and all that.
●	Hrafnhildur	They're totally just reactive - they're not proactive.

Table 18: Coded segments - tourism and heritage (5.3.2)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Gunnar	people are sort of more concerned about their localities and how they want to tidy up the towns and take care of how they look in a way - because they have visitors
●	Gunnar	now we're going to renovate this building and so people sort of started to take care of their immediate environment, because it matters in a way
●	Gunnar	this link to tourism is really, really important because that's sort of maybe the medium to talk about the importance of this kind of heritage and why we should try to conserve it.
●	Nils	there has been like a strive towards not selling just Iceland as a brand to tourists, but what's unique about these places? What's unique about this neck of the woods, specific to Langanes, what's specific to Sauðárkrókur
●	Nils	there's been a longer trend, I would say regardless of Covid, for these smaller places to try and find their own sort of niche
●	Nils	So not necessarily only in terms of industrial heritage, but in terms of what is unique here and what can we do?
●	Pétur	the tourist industry has been a very positive thing for conservation because first of all, people have realised that having a nice environment, keeping, making the towns attractive - and building heritage is a very important part in that.
●	Pétur	They have realised that the towns like Stykkishólmur, Djúpivogur, these kinds of old historic towns, they have benefited from having taken good care of their heritage.
●	Pétur	they used to think that all tourists came here because of the nature. Okay. That may be the case, but most visitors from Europe, they are very used to look at buildings and sites as part of visiting a country - their eyes are open. They look critically at the built environment, not just the nature.
●	Pétur	So tourism has put pressure on Icelanders, which is a very good thing, to improve, to take better care of their manmade environment, which... had not previously been..
●	Skarphedinn	tourism goes pretty well hand in hand with preserving buildings, that very many of these buildings are used for tourism, being hotels or restaurants or museums or whatever.
●	Bjartur	what are we going to do then when we have torn down a building like that one which we could then have used to draw tourism here.

Table 19: Coded segments - belief and encouragement (5.3.3)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	I have a new board member, a chairman, a woman and she has been helping me a lot. She is very supportive, so I'm not that, I'm not as much alone as before
●	Jona	I think it's important that the museum is respected, professional
●	Kurtogpí	It was really impressive I think from the management board of the company to really jump onboard.
●	Kari	the authorities in this town realise that this is improving the quality of life in this community, like tenfold
●	Magnus	We started off saying, okay, give it three years and see how we go.
●	Magnus	I think it's very important culturally to have a residency like that. It is important.
●	Arndis	in terms of the smaller places I'm incredibly optimistic and hopeful,
●	Alma	if we had Docomomo in Iceland, because it's like a very well-known international organisation that has a lot of respect and leverage. So if there was someone who was going to be demolishing or making some huge changes on a building that was like this modern building that we would consider to be at risk, or should maybe be listed. We would ask the international Docomomo to be on our side where we would protest for this building being demolished
●	Alma	I've thought about it with Docomomo as well. Because I was thinking why isn't it already here?
●	Alexandra	the municipality will have to step in to help keep it afloat because it's just not something that we want to lose.
●	Hrafnhildur	the head of the town council, Adolf, he just kept saying, 'yeah and you come and do this for us'.
●	Hrafnhildur	Adolf had just read some kind of an article about an old textile town in Sweden that had opened their mills up

Table 20: Coded segments – funding issues (5.3.4)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	they say, yes it is an important museum but it has to be self sufficient
●	Jona	I usually have to ask them every year and say we're here still and we need money
●	Eva S	sometimes we got a no and sometimes we got something
●	Hedinn	in order to get these funds we have to show what we are doing and we have to put the same amount of money
●	Hedinn	how little money we're talking and they just don't want to spend it
●	Magnus P	we get some help - we have got 1 million krona per year.
●	Kari	financial support from the Icelandic Theatre Association
●	Anita	Húsafriðunarsjóður. It's like a grant for preserving old buildings.
●	Anita	they didn't really get any support from the local municipality or the government until they had actually finished
●	Anita	They don't care how you pay for it. They really don't
●	Anita	a good contract with the ministry of education and culture
●	Kerryn	we're already struggling to get enough money just for running costs
●	Kerryn	we have funding from a local Northern cultural fund. Samtök sveitarfélaga á Norðurlandi vestra - SSNV
●	Magnus	Nes has several other grants. Last year it had 1,550,000 from Sognerroden Landsflöte..
●	Jona	now when everyone is struggling, you don't write them letters saying 'hey, can you put some money in my museum?
●	Thoroddur	the banks are so Reykjavik-centred, there are actually a lot of sound businesses that the banks won't touch
●	Thoroddur	we were struggling with the government, because there was money that had been set aside to tear it down. And we were trying to get that money to fix it up.
●	Kristjan	we have only very limited funding - we have 5 to 7 million usually per year for each community.
●	Kristjan	there was not enough money in the funding that the municipality got to repair the buildings
●	Albertina	Minjastofnun should perhaps have more funding to be able to protect sites like these.
●	Arnar	they put millions, hundreds of millions into preserving the old harbour.
●	Eva B	like in Djúpavík we've been giving them grants
●	Nils	I think the Basque project, for example, in Djúpavík is one of those - they got a few million krona to do a research study.
●	Anita	we did get a yes from the Museum Council of Iceland. We got a no from the big children's cultural fund,
●	Orlygur	we got very good support the next years from them. And then all kinds of cultural funds and companies

Table 21: Coded segments - infrastructure support (5.3.5)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Eva S	they are also doing a lot of things to destroy, maybe not to destroy, but to make it more difficult for us to survive here
●	Eva S	the electricity can be away for three days
●	Hedinn	if there's no community, there's no service.
●	Hedinn	they've been starving these roads of money since 1994
●	Hedinn	we're not talking a huge amount of money that we need - we just need a proper road service
●	Magnus P	we can't really think or do much more inside this house unless we find an easier way to heat it up
●	Anita	what really changed things for us were the tunnels leading to Akureyri
●	Anna KE	the focus is definitely not on building more infrastructure. It's more about the experience, the security factor in it and the sustainability really

Table 22: Coded segments - lack of recognition, intervention (5.3.6)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Kristjan	the big factories that have been lying there, this will not happen just by itself. I mean, you would have to see a deliberate plan also from the government and the involved municipalities to make some actions around those structures and support good ideas
●	Kristjan	the municipality sees this just as a problem because they have some costs keeping those buildings. And the state did fund the program of demolishing
●	Kristjan	it was not fair to leave the community in Raufarhöfn with those big buildings, without the means to make something sensible about it...
●	Jon	architects and historians and things like that with expertise, that they should announce that this building, because of its...even though it's only twenty years old, should be protected, and the age doesn't matter
●	Albertina	quite often, they're really large buildings and you would think that we would benefit from rebuilding them or fixing them up and repurpose them
●	Albertina	perhaps because it's so close to us, we don't really realise that we're doing it in a sense...
●	Alma	it's just very questionable, why there are so few people working there, like two architects,
●	Anna E	he was going to sell the building and everything - this guy - and we got no support from the city.
●	David	actually there's a limited supply of these places. So that's maybe why it doesn't get the national...
●	Nils	it's also easy to cast blame on these smaller municipalities in terms of, why don't they see what they have, but ... they're looking at a budget and ... at the tax base
●	Pétur	it's partly, we are a little bit short of staff. So these kinds of precautionary listings are...something that ... we never get around to do
●	Pétur	we're very lacking in a comprehensive inventory of archaeological sites in Iceland and the institution has been for a long time asking, begging for money to hire people to complete this inventory of archaeological sites
●	Anita	it's often somehow left to either individuals, municipalities or local museums to take care of way bigger projects than they can
●	Anita	Icelanders, we don't do very well with preserving our boats and ships. Just looking at our neighbouring countries in Scandinavia, even the Faroe islands, which are way smaller than us, they do way better.
●	Orlygur	there were conflicts and very few agreed with this plan of a museum. Most of the people in the town council, they were against it
●	Bjartur	When I speak about this matter, they really just stare at me and say nothing
●	Bjartur	I don't think it's such a big deal to save it, you know, it's not falling down.

Table 23: Coded segments - goldrush mentality, entrepreneurship, risk, materialism (5.4.1)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Hedinn	we always brag about, woah we're coming from this heritage of fishermen and this is the big step from where we were, like in the beginning of the century, living in our turf houses.
●	Hedinn	all of a sudden there was this gold rush and they made a lot of money. And this is a big step into what we know as Iceland today
●	Thoroddur	there is a side where people say we don't care about the history - this is just a big house that should be put to work.
●	Thoroddur	it can be a sensible option to say here's a building and it's this many square feet. And it would take so much to fix it up and so much to tear it down and build something new. And that's what happened there
●	Gustav	I think if people thought it was something that meant money, they would definitely not defend my opinion....
●	Jon	I have been thinking about this for years, what I think is that Icelanders, from the settlement actually, they are fishermen who go to catch as much as they can.
●	Jon	people have struggled and last century was the first century you saw some money and you felt some wealth and do you have to grab the whole thing in one bite.
●	Anna E	here in Iceland, we would just destroy it and throw it away and build a new one
●	Anna E	because it's easier to go to IKEA or something to buy things and leave the sofa from your grandmother
●	Gunnar	you're onto the next thing. And that's a very Icelandic story.
●	Gunnar	I think people learnt a lot during this eight year period of exponential growth, but of course there's also this very, very powerful element of, well you could call it entrepreneurship, or this gold digger mentality, this is the new herring
●	Gunnar	people have to realise that the main resource is the country itself and its culture and its people. So we are the herring in a way.
●	Anita	we've become somehow, along the way, quite occupied with the ideas of technology and new developments, and as soon as we got steel ships and plastic boats we felt we didn't need the old ones anymore.
●	Alexandra	I would always forego the heritage part of it. It wouldn't be with pleasure, but what we need to do is keep the town alive
●	Alexandra	they have some intrinsic value to people who live here, but what I'm saying is that I couldn't prioritise it.
●	Alexandra	you would always choose the jobs and the people over the building
●	Hrafnhildur	And that's when I say fishermen....you look into the ocean, you see the whales coming in and you know that they are following the herring. You can't say, well, let's do it tomorrow.'
●	Hrafnhildur	You just hop in the boat and you go get that herring. Because tomorrow they will be gone to Akureyri. It's going to be gone.
●	Hrafnhildur	ever since like a hundred years ago, they'd get into the boat. They didn't know what the weather was going to be like - no weather reports. Am I going to get home safe? It was risky the whole time - it's in their genes basically. And then they've taken risks, like they've tried so many things.
●	Bjartur	from the beginning of the 20th century, with the industrial revolution and people moving to the towns from the countryside - everything has been to secure jobs for people, everything, and it costs some, how do you say - if you have to destroy nature for it, if you have to destroy all buildings for it, it doesn't matter. Nothing stands in the way of more employment. And I think this factor is really rich in the culture of towns like Vopnafjörður

Table 24: Coded segments - creative industries, art, counterculture (5.4.2)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Gustav	I gathered together a few artists and people connected to art from the area.
●	Kurtogpí	the artists, they immediately got what the building was about and what was the character of the building
●	Kurtogpí	all the artists were on board
●	Kari	I also wanted to prove that like professional theatre could really thrive in this type of community
●	Kerryn	full capacity is 14 artists
●	Kerryn	not only tourism can bring people or some exchange or value to the community, but arts can
●	Kerryn	it is arts and culture that are going to evolve the industries
●	Kerryn	the artists feed into the local, the economy….they're buying food every week..gas station
●	Hlynur	the whole street here is like a part of this art community.
●	Hlynur	there would be an art school and art studios and artists would live here and artist-run spaces also.
●	Jon	it came to the local government to pull it down and to build some more houses there. And then we came together, a group of people who were in charge of the art gallery here
●	Anna E	we got this idea that we should bring art to places where it is difficult for people to go like into hospitals and institutions. We are never in museums. So we only wanted to be in these places where people are not going especially to look at art.
●	Eva B	artists came in and just rebranded it as a whole new thing
●	Hjalmar	So that place will be for creative industries and art plays a very important role in this re-investment in these places.
●	Hjalmar	I was very pleased when I heard how successful it was, how many took part and how many are going to build a studio there or something
●	Hjalmar	like in Seydisfjordur where they have a very lively, small community of young artists, also coming from abroad
●	Hjalmar	there is quite a focus on the film industry and there are all kinds of smaller companies accompany the film companies with all kinds of equipment and people building for the films, all kinds of settings. There are also quite many people, artists, painters, sculptors etcetera. And I guess some also - dancing and theatre studios,
●	Hjalmar	It should be an interesting place for artists to live here, for creative people to live here
●	Orlygur	I like old beautiful houses and I really like museums. And I like doing things, creating things. And I was trained in creation, creating,
●	Kerryn	it's arts and culture that will bring it forward

Table 25: Coded segments - natural and built environment, quality of life, health security (5.4.3)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Eva S	it was a real luxury to come here and be able to let the kids run around free outside
●	Eva S	we could enjoy a meal together, in the middle of the working day
●	Eva S	I myself am a nature lover,
●	Gustav	it's a house that communicates with the ocean and nature
●	Arndis	closeness to nature will be a huge factor because everyone is thinking in terms of sustainability
●	Gustav	the house communicates with the nature of the sea. It's not a neutral space for art - it's something you're obliged to work with, take inspiration from
●	Kjartan	they could move freely around, they didn't have to do tests or live in isolation, they moved freely around, didn't have to walk with their masks, they weren't in a big city
●	Kjartan	they have more freedom in choosing where to stay - they may choose to stay for example close to nature and not in a big city because of covid.
●	Anna KE	there's a focus on health security - it will be more of a factor in tourism in the coming years
●	Hjalmar	there's a sort of repatriation of Icelanders by virtue of seeing - obviously Iceland continues to be, en shalla, a place of low risk.
●	Kurtogpi	I think .. over the last 10, 20 years that the general views have changed on this issue. I think it's a similar thing with nature
●	Kurtogpi	I think the surroundings affect the way people think about those buildings. It's like the herring factories in the Westfjords and Strandir…is it in Ingólfsfjörður? And then Djupavik of course. Just the fact that the setting is so dramatic in a way - people can connect with…well understand the history
●	Nils	of course the quality of life is something that people are choosing
●	Pétur	there are numerous people living abroad who have… both Icelanders who have moved abroad who came back because of Covid - they wanted to be safe and there are also examples of affluent people from America who just moved here because they felt they were safer here than America….so it could be the safe haven
●	Skarphedinn	these places where that were linked to herring and harvesting nature and how the occupational history and nature can kind of go hand in hand and tell an interesting story about sustainable harvesting...
●	Skarphedinn	especially how nature and history, especially occupational history in the olden days, go hand in hand.
●	Skarphedinn	it's an opportunity to extend - our main product has been nature - I think that this is an opportunity to extend that.
●	Kari	I've heard more about Icelanders living overseas, moving back to Iceland,
●	Kari	I heard many stories of people that have lived decades in the US deciding in a couple of weeks. Ok this is enough - let's go back.
●	Hrafnhildur	and then he said, why would they want to come? And we were sitting in the cafe and I'm - and I'm looking out the window and I'm going like 'because of the nature'
●	Magnus J	the weather can be both of course, because it can be harsh and difficult to deal with - it's tough, but it's always interesting. It's always a challenge. It's always interesting at the end, it bears with it a different light, different colours

Table 26: Coded segments – visionary: drive, tenacity, determination, adaptability (5.4.4)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	founded by just one man who started to collect machines
●	Jona	this will all be ruined and I have to do something…' So he started collecting these machines and from that the Industry Museum existed.
●	Eva S	we understood how important, how big and how huge this story was
●	Eva S	we opened up in '85, really, really wet behind the ears
●	Hedinn	I had never done this type of work
●	Hedinn	my father has to get some credit for it because the factory would not be standing if he had not been there in 1983
●	Asdis	he was just a visionary
●	Kurtogpí	The first time we came into the building, it was really, really fantastically beautiful
●	Kurtogpí	whenever we are kind of traveling and see disused industrial buildings we get a kind of tinkling sensation
●	Kari	a plus and a minus that I was quite impulsive
●	Kerryn	other locals got on board and kind of joined with her to develop the idea. But she was really the one that initiated it.
●	Magnus	Hrafnhildur started to question if Skagaströnd would like to start up an art residency
●	Jona	this man, Jón (Arnþórsson) started to collect the machines
●	Kristjan	the oil tanks. These could be fantastic museum buildings
●	Albertina	I feel that they are very lucky to have had some people that had the foresight to protect these buildings.
●	Albertina	I think always some crazy individual that gets the idea in his head. This is something that should be protected and manages to do that.
●	Anna E	I believe in something and I believe it until it's totally killed.
●	Hjalmar	Individuals - the same goes for Seydisfjordur. It was all about some individuals. Not the authorities.
●	Skarphedinn	how the family devoted time, money effort into doing this and you can only adore that people find a reason to do something like that.
●	Orlygur	I had to face this, I personally wouldn't, couldn't stay here anymore in my place, in my town where I had been building up my life, personal life, unless doing something about this, otherwise I had to move away.
●	Orlygur	I was quite sure that if something had to be done for building up a museum, somebody should sacrifice his life almost,, and be there with all his effort and all his power of mind and whatever, and I had to decide how should I spend my life next years, the next 10 years, 20 years, 30 years.
●	Orlygur	I was quite sure that I had to give my life into it, for this vision
●	Orlygur	I had to convince them in meetings, you know, when we were meeting and I had to tell them my vision.
●	Orlygur	But my drive was and is to create something beautiful. I had it so clear in my mind how beautiful everything - or all of this could be.
●	Alexandra	of course the state of it now makes you sad. I mean, it's just, like you said a symbol of decline and that's what we want to do, to try and reverse that
●	Hrafnhildur	I saw these buildings and I thought they would be great,
●	Hrafnhildur	When I got in there, I thought, Oh my God, this would be a great studio for artists or like an art museum. It'd be fantastic - on the top floor there could be a restaurant there and looking all over there, there's like a patio on top which you could put glass on and the view is fantastic
●	Hrafnhildur	I got my friend to help me put up a website in two days, just threw up something - advertised and have one month where people could apply to come.
●	Hrafnhildur	Once I get the art museum up and running, then people will want to do things
●	Bjartur	It doesn't cost that much I think, maybe between six or 10 million. And with time make something out of it, a gallery, or museum for industrial heritage in Vopnafjörður

Table 27: Coded segments - ugly, dirty, untidy, inaccessible, impractical (5.4.6)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	We need something to get them to come in
●	Jona	it's not so interesting outside
●	Hedinn	if you take out of the thought this was a factory that, you know, it's not sexy,
●	Alma	people tend to just think, 'Oh, it's just some shitty factory.'
●	Arndis	this speaks to how we view heritage, like old fish plants, ugly heritage.
●	Albertina	it was just built to process fish or something like that. We don't view it as something important.
●	Alma	it's just an industrial building. It's not beautiful. 'It's not beautiful, like this little old house there.'.
●	Anna KE	maybe the houses that were built 50 years ago, they weren't so great.
●	David	if Hjalteyri was visible from the road, whether it would still exist.
●	Hjalmar	it's a new idea that huge industrial buildings that often have been quite ugly actually, because they have been neglected - that they are worthwhile to protect - that's completely new.
●	Hjalti	most people just see it as ruins and not very interesting to look at or visit. Because it's such recent history…
●	Anita	the industrial environment, they're usually very raw buildings. If they still stand, being historical ones, they're usually in a very bad shape. And they're just considered, not important old sheds that are about to collapse
●	Alexandra	it's just run down and not painted or there's nothing done to preserve it - and it's a reminder of something that… it's a reminder that there is nothing there, if you don't even keep it up and paint it, and sort of care for it a bit. It's just a bad reminder of what once
●	Alexandra	you don't want to have empty buildings lying, scattered around.
●	Hrafnhildur	They don't like ugly houses.
●	Hrafnhildur	she's been tidying up the town and she doesn't like those buildings.
●	Bjartur	my favourite argument of them all. It was the house looks so bad now that it isn't good for the architecture to leave it up. It's better to demolish it.
●	Bjartur	people were saying, it's just a block of concrete, it's ugly - there's no artistic value in preserving this building, and they didn't even put it in perspective with Sigvaldur,

Table 28: Coded segments - history custodians, researchers, archaeologists (5.4.6)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Eva S	we could show people how it worked when the herring was coming in
●	Eva S	the history of the place - that's unique. And that's how we got even more focused on the story of this place. In 2003 I had already been working on this idea with a historic exhibition...
●	Hedinn	for me, it's just a question of maintaining the heritage
●	Hedinn	and a deep, deep respect for the guys that built this factory and this house.
●	Hedinn	the house itself, built in this area at this time in 16 months. It's unbelievable
●	Hedinn	I think this factory has something to give to the future as a building, as a monument of our heritage.
●	Hedinn	you have to take into consideration when this was built in 1935, there was no house like it in Iceland
●	Hedinn	this was one of the biggest concrete made houses in Europe
●	Hedinn	Djupavik, Siglufjördur....these remind me where we are coming from, then you're more appreciative of where we are now and where we're going.
●	Lene	so I started to find out what people did before this time and it fascinated me so much
●	Alma	we have a lot of responsibility because we are kind of the ones that are standing up for the houses
●	Gustav	if people ask me to take a tour and then I usually tell them the story about the building....
●	Anna E	in memory of these women and these people, they were having laundry, everyone, white laundry, walking all this way - it was fantastic. And there was, I don't know how many photographs were there, nobody from the television. Nobody from the radio
●	Anna E	she had the numbers of the women who had been drowned, in Drekkingarhylur, and she was then collecting them
●	Anna E	this was of course around about 1800 or something, but these people here, many of them were just crying because they hadn't realised that this was what we did in our parliament earlier, you know? So they were connecting emotionally to this, and I am sure many of them have been trying to find some more information about this
●	Arnar	We kept a lot of portraits of ships, or we kept the emblem of the credit union that was there for a hundred years
●	Arnar	t's about walking through the building and explaining the history. And it's what makes the Blue bank kind of interesting... to people - that it's part of a heritage and part of a continuation of a story.
●	Arnar	credit unions that were formed in the countryside to empower the local farmers to have their own economic means in the 19th century. I think those are interesting stories that I would like to honour.
●	Arnar	we kept finding weird memorabilia, kind of a receipt that had fallen between the cracks and stuff, so there was a lot of just junk that we also had to throw away. So we had to decide what's junk and what's not,
●	Arnar	old typewriters, some of them probably a hundred years old. So we in some way were charged with that task of what to keep.

Table 29: Coded segments - slow travel, sustainable living, new thinking (5.4.7)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Lene	very important to feel the value of, to slow down time, not to destroy every point of Iceland and make some new fashionable things.
●	Arndis	a total rethinking of how we work and just how we are in the world in terms of choosing where we live and then how we work, not where we work.
●	Arndis	This idea that we use this moment in the story of humanity or our civilisation to think outside, literally outside the box,
●	Arndis	if we sort of try to make connections with and live in symbiosis with all kinds of things and just take down all these hierarchical structures in our heads,
●	Arndis	we can also rethink the hierarchies, other hierarchies, the hierarchies of institutions and the hierarchies of heritage
●	Thoroddur	t's kind of nice to go to Þingvellir…and you can just walk in and out…and you can go to a restaurant….
●	Kjartan	they would finally go to Geysir or Thingvellir there were no tourists there. so plenty of space for us
●	Kjartan	So a building, an office building for example, that every office, every company had to have may become more and more empty
●	Kjartan	Maybe we don't need to build as many buildings as we thought.
●	Kjartan	they've basically re-used all of the concrete which is, when you think about the ecological footprint - it's a big part of the energy use of the building and lifetime use of the building
●	Kristjan	there might be an opportunity to...re-think or re-plan how you advertise the country and which kind of tourists
●	Kristjan	more investment in trying to affect people that are really interested in history, in nature, tourists that would like to spend a little bit more time and not just see themselves pictured at Dettifoss
●	Kristjan	we should aim for building quality tourist activities that people really love to see and spend some time….and I think cultural heritage is one of those things - not only the nature
●	Kristjan	a trip with my family to Landmannalaugar which obviously it has not almost been possible to go there because it has been so crowded.
●	David	The glacier lagoon had two people in the car park. Námaskarð, the geothermal area by Lake Myvatn - nobody, just empty,
●	Gunnar	hopefully now people will be able to take more responsible or maybe better informed decisions when it comes to building up post Covid
●	Gunnar	we'd like to build up responsible tourism…how do we do that, linked to the industrial heritage that we have. And this is a part of sustaining the community, proudly saying our stories or sharing our stories
●	Gunnar	if we think about tourism in Iceland, it's absolutely not too late to rethink and maybe step up more when it comes to managing numbers of people and the flows of tourists and the impact on particular spaces
●	Hjalmar	Regained the country - yes. This is something that we all….I think most of us are longing for something like that.
●	Kurtogpi	I met so many people this summer - who actually, yes - they saw Djupavik, they saw Hjalteyri and just some kind of old houses where someone was turning it into a hostel or things like that, and everyone was positive about it.
●	Nils	To my surprise I think it's also given people pause - in terms of what's important
●	Skarphedinn	we will see that people will do longer trips, more kind of towards slow traveling, enjoying, so I believe that there will be opportunities coming up out of Covid that will result in that
●	Skarphedinn	you will work from - for one month a year you will just want to relocate to do your yoga stuff or whatever you want to do and enjoy life
●	Kari	If I was to find any silver lining in it, I think it gives perspective. This pandemic kind of teaches you a few things,
●	Kerryn	it's the new way to travel. Like people might be doing that or if it's three weeks they're allowed off work, then they might just be in one place instead of touring around…
●	Kerryn	to me, Covid was a blessing in disguise because something had to happen to stop humanity
●	Kerryn	it's happening in our systems too - our nervous systems and our immunity systems. So every system is being looked at - capitalism is being looked at, do you see what I mean?
●	Kerryn	I believe it's strengthening communities in ways that we can't see yet because the vision hasn't manifested, but things are being born out of this kind of chaotic feeling
●	Magnus J	We are very stuck in measuring everything by two measures - by time and by economical figures. And if we have not these things to measure your everyday life….we cannot kind of explain it.
●	Vicki	people are eager to still travel but they're just sort of slowly realising that maybe we have to adjust how we travel

Table 30: Coded segments - unsustainable travel, foreign tourism (5.4.8)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Arndis	I've always felt that tourism in Iceland was, I don't know, it always felt like a one trick pony
●	Arndis	when you've seen the Northern lights, you've seen the Northern lights, right?
●	Kjartan	they have an English description of their offer, like on the street, on the road, and rarely in Icelandic
●	Kjartan	if you go to the airport in Iceland you have English first and then Icelandic.
●	Kjartan	with cruise ship tourism they don't really stay long at each place but there are lots of buses
●	Kristjan	we have a generation now that is not used to traveling the country, they are traveling abroad every summer with their parents
●	Anna KE	it's outdated just to only focus on the numbers of the tourists that you can receive. I mean, you have to look at it in a bigger scale and in another perspective - considering the sustainability
●	David	it never was actually, even before this - this just brings it home, how unsustainable, it was
●	Gunnar	it would be great that we would still have an active domestic market. So instead of those families going twice to Tenerife they just go once, and then instead taking an extra two weeks for a trip in Iceland
●	Kurtogpi	it's quite extreme this proportion between number of inhabitants and foreign tourists
●	Nils	the crap in the souvenir shop, you make money from, the little plastic thing ... puffin, from China
●	Kari	people just forced to travel domestically regardless, because so many people don't, they just go overseas.

Table 31: Coded segments - remoteness, isolation (5.5.1)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Eva S	we are so small, with only three inhabitants
●	Kerryn	Every one of them is outside of their comfort zone, either in a free place here or to be challenged
●	Kerryn	used to be a bar and restaurant two years ago - it closed down
●	Kerryn	there's no social space, so they aren't meeting locals as frequently
●	Kjartan	when you think about its locations, herring factories and whaling factories - they're all quite far away from any kind of population.
●	Alexandra	I think that people put a lot of value in their history, at least in these small towns, because you're so isolated, everyone's so close
●	Kerryn	It's remote in Skagaströnd, so it draws on the quietness, the remoteness, the value of the environment is what they kind of pay for
●	Kerryn	it's very isolating. And even the Icelanders who've moved here say the same.
●	Magnus J	Skagaströnd is a remote place on this remote island. So we are very much north of most things.

Table 32: Coded segments - lack of funds, resources (5.5.2)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Eva S	we didn't have any money to advertise
●	Hedinn	I'm hopeful that I will receive some money
●	Magnus P	it's not really giving us physical money back straightaway
●	Gustav	I'm not getting money every year...
●	Gustav	it is financially very tough to do it.
●	Eva K	the museum didn't really have any money
●	Jona	you can lay that on Covid - because there's not as many opportunities to ask for money.
●	Jon	So we are able to struggle for one more year.
●	Arnar	to become future proof if there is anything like that it has to generate its own economic basis, which is still difficult in a place like Þingeyri or probably anywhere,
●	Anita	still there's like very little money that actually goes into the museum sector
●	Anita	our museum, which is, counted by square meters and exhibition space, amongst the three biggest museums in the country, this winter will have two and a half people working there, 2.5 staff members. And that's ridiculous
●	Anita	Örlygur who was the director before me, he was on his own for almost 20 years
●	Anita	Some local companies were very generous when the museum was like in its early years when we were constructing and building and so on, but ... now it feels that everyone's struggling somehow
●	Anita	we haven't really been going around asking private companies, but we've been applying for everything we possibly can
●	Orlygur	when we look around in Iceland, I think we can say that similar projects are difficult to finish. And very few, I think start something new - like we did
●	Kerryn	there's a lack of resources now after 12 years
●	Kerryn	the building itself, I would like to see totally upgraded - a make-over.

Table 33: Coded segments - economic downturn, Covid (5.5.3)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Magnus	I'm worried about the project very much. Because now ...it's very fragile.
●	Eva K	we just cut down all of our plans for building up the museum
●	David	no one sat here a few months ago could have envisaged the Icelandair hotels all being locked up
●	David	this has been the era of tourism after the crash of 2008. It had a wonderful 10 years really. And then we see the recession.
●	David	I think the economy is going to contract 15%,
●	David	the tourism companies were basically financed by investment companies and they're going under one by one
●	Kari	I've been quite honestly very paralysed in terms of arts, culture, events, residencies and all of those things.
●	Kari	the only thing we can really do now is what I'm trying to do now - is apply for funding for theatre shows,
●	Kari	following this type of pandemic or whatever - situation, people are not going to be so attracted to sharing rooms.
●	Kari	We will just work around everything and that will be fine. We're quite a big establishment, so you know, it doesn't scare me.
●	Anita	our income from visitors has dropped by a little over 70% in the last year.
●	Anita	we are cutting down on projects, like very many that we planned on doing this year
●	Anita	we had over 10,000 visitors cancelled - groups and prebooked visits
●	Anita	if you would have met me in April or May... when it would not have been a very happy conversation - but at the same time, I think I've just come to accept that we won't make a speedy recovery
●	Anita	the first months, it was just all very depressing worrying and stressing somehow. But now I feel, being able to at least to continue
●	Anita	it's just so important to somehow still be able to be excited about what you're doing. It's not all overwhelming. It's, ok well we'll do the best we can with what we have.
●	Alexandra	we have a lot of empty buildings that are just not being used for anything really. They're just standing there like ghosts
●	Alexandra	what we've been trying to do, at least since I came here is trying to find them some purpose, but it's extremely difficult
●	Alexandra	I do worry about Nes. It's the one post that you have to fight to keep going, if you're not getting people to come stay here

Table 34: Coded segments - managing collections (5.5.4)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	at first it was just the machines and things from the old industries
●	Jona	it expanded to all industry in Akureyri
●	Anita	they collected all this heavy machinery and things needed for the exhibition from herring factories around the country
●	Anita	we show them to the older people every single week to figure out what people are on all of these photographs...
●	Anita	last year for example, we got like full information on over 3300 photographs
●	Thoroddur	when they founded the museum they literally went and picked up junk that was lying around...and it was just old junk....
●	Anita	Everybody's been tidying up their houses...we're exploding with new acquisitions ...!
●	Anita	when taking an object into the collection, we accession it, give it a number and write its information by hand in our book or bible. And she actually just sat by the computer and digitised the whole book

Table 35: Coded segments - scale of task (5.5.5)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Eva S	people had been going in that on their own for a long time and there was no one looking after the factory anymore
●	Eva S	kids, people started breaking the windows and things and it was such a ruin when we came here
●	Eva S	inside it was like a garbage. It had been vandalised a lot
●	Eva S	when we had the factory for a few years it started leaking
●	Eva S	it had gone maybe 30 years with no renovation, nothing
●	Eva S	how we could stop the water from coming into the house.
●	Eva S	it always started leaking again
●	Eva S	they usually came when it was about to start raining and then they were just lying in bed all day and eating free here
●	Eva S	he was so scared of failing
●	Hedinn	there are some windows that blew in this autumn that I have to fix
●	Hedinn	It's overwhelming in a way
●	Hedinn	the roofs are now more or less 90% watertight
●	Hedinn	we will do it ourselves because it was always a struggle to get workers to us
●	Hedinn	it was over 20 tons of materials that I transported from Reykjavik to Djupavik on our lorry
●	Hedinn	it's over 6,000 square meters. It's huge. And it's so daunting when you're standing in there.
●	Magnus P	it really doesn't make any sense to heat up the place
●	Gustav	since 67 it had been used to store dry fish and things like that, but it was mostly derelict - that's a very long time.
●	Gustav	some of the main spaces are closed. They are very much run down
●	Gustav	two tanks that are like just abandoned, and one of them has quite a lot of water in it
●	Lene	buildings like this are so big and they are so expensive to maintain them or to take care of them so slowly they will just...
●	Kurtogpí	the building was kind of in a really bad shape and we didn't have any money to do it.
●	Kurtogpí	there was no insulation, there were no systems, there was no heating, no water, no electricity, no nothing
●	Thoroddur	they own this huge building. And it's been just falling to pieces since the sixties. It's just getting worse and worse and worse.
●	Gunnar	But then you have these huge buildings that people don't really know what to do with
●	Orlygur	1985 we had to do something about the red building, the oldest one, Róaldsbrakki, it was in very bad condition

Table 36: Coded segments - burnout, exhaustion, desperation (5.5.6)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Jona	It doesn't feel like it has maybe the respect that it deserves from having to continue this fight all the time…
●	Eva S	he was so scared of failing and doing something wrong…
●	Eva S	I thought we would just have to give up
●	Hedinn	I was completely exhausted after that summer period.
●	Hedinn	a whole community dying and people moving away
●	Gustav	it's difficult the see the future when you run it….as I've been doing….
●	Arnar	you see how the heritage museum of the Westfjords, how difficult it is for them and how little money and how low on the list of doing it… it's sad. So you almost become exhausted.
●	Kerryn	nothing's been upgraded, but I understand why, it just becomes a little bit tiring, yes….it's at a point where it really needs to have that injection of support
●	Kerryn	Nes never has that money….to send us to a conference, because it requires applying for more money. Vicki and I don't have those hours
●	Kerryn	That's one of the reasons why I'm leaving too, is that it hasn't changed.
●	Kerryn	nothing's shifted or changed or upgraded.

Table 37: Coded segments - lack of interest, understanding, respect (5.5.7)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Eva S	People didn't really understand what we were doing
●	Eva S	but there are still people in Iceland that don't know that Hotel Djúpavík exists
●	Magnus P	people thought there was nothing wrong with breaking windows
●	Magnus	We have also some who say, why this? But that is getting less and less. It's more, more and more accepted
●	Jon	this ignorance about this unique value of things. Some houses, not so old, but they have a great value in the environment, for instance. You should be - one should look at the whole thing, but not just one piece
●	Jon	Edinborg house which is a beautiful house - it's a great architect, and is a great value, cultural value, but the local authority they didn't see that. Well this ignorance with this kind of things - you need expertise to see that
●	Albertina	it's obviously being ruined by time. Maybe it is because we look at these factories, not as - as you say cultural heritage
●	Alma	I think it's probably just because of lack of knowledge, like, no one has told them…
●	Alma	I think it's just a general lack of education on the built environment, because there isn't really any topic in elementary school that deals with it.
●	Alma	with these modern industrial buildings. I think it's just a general lack of understanding
●	Alma	do you ever talk to your students about the built environment and connected maybe to math or history or whatever you're talking about?- there's just endless possibility of connections. And they were just like, no
●	Alma	when you don't know anything about it, you don't really recognise how important it is.
●	Alma	when you have a community full of people who actually never learned anything about how the built environment in relation to history,…it just doesn't happen
●	Alma	people are making poor judgments because they don't really have the information
●	Anna E	I know that we have interest in the history, but it's more in the saga than building
●	David	the case studies you're looking at… I think a lot of people would argue, 'Oh they're already preserved.'
●	Eva B	two thirds of the population are based in Reykjavik and don't really see the value.
●	Orlygur	But 'what a nonsense to have a museum for this, this history of Siglufjörður', which was like a humiliation
●	Alexandra	I think people don't really realise also the importance of NES
●	Bjartur	the people in Vopnafjörður don't understand, and the many, many towns around the country.

Table 38: Coded segments - scepticism, negative perceptions (5.5.8)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Hedinn	these people that talk this way - have no interest or really don't understand what the Westfjords have been dealing with
●	Kari	he said to me, 'Hey Kári, how does it feel to be the lunatic in the town?'
●	Kari	My dad even thought it's never going to work, it's too nuts.
●	Kjartan	a couple of years ago a barracks was rebuilt close to the airport and the budget went quite overboard
●	Anna KE	there's historic value as you say, with the barracks. But I think many people think it costs so much money to renovate them and to make them what they need to be. And therefore, maybe nobody's willing to pay for it.
●	Arnar	in places like the Westfjords and in other places there's almost like a cult-like status that trawlers have...so in some way that could be seen as a heritage. I don't necessarily know if that extends to fish factories
●	Arnar	there's a lot of romanticism around herring years. It's been like the golden years in these places and the Herring Museum and so forth. I don't know if those things are attached to buildings though.
●	Arnar	People are not proud of having worked in a fish factory in the kind of a way that they're proud in the sense of 'yes, I endured that shit'
●	Arnar	For some reason I think people are more obsessed with other aspects, like the harbour
●	Kurtogpi	Because that was their generation and they just wanted to get rid of it. While the younger ones, they hadn't a clue what this chimney was, but it was a nice symbol...
●	Kurtogpi	the budget went kind of out of the window - there was some major political kind of disaster - they were rebuilding an old barracks. So now everyone if they're planning on building something then the opposition say, 'Oh, this is going to be one of the barracks'.
●	Nils	Iceland didn't have that sort of spirit around the factories like you would see in maybe the North of England or in Scandinavia in the same way, that the community was sort of proud that this was what they were making
●	Pétur	I think people think because the building heritage here is so recent, I think the timescale of what Icelanders think is important history is adjusted to that
●	Hjalti	although we've been here for thousands of years, the industrial age is only 150 so we have not acquired the same respect for our past.
●	Anita	most of us travel, we go to Europe and we see century old buildings and we feel that ours just...you know, compared to - our houses aren't that old.
●	Anita	they walk around Rome or something and we have nothing like this in Iceland. We don't have this architecture, we don't have these buildings. So I think we sometimes, somehow we just downgrade our own history by comparing it to something else. Because they aren't massive marbled...
●	Anita	Icelanders, we sometimes think that our history isn't that old, it isn't that important compared to many other nations.
●	Orlygur	Why a museum? It was a stupid idea, I think most people thought so.
●	Orlygur	But I was not ready for discussions about this or giving them a chance to say some negative things. But I knew almost always what many people were thinking
●	Hrafnhildur	when I bought Salthús they said, 'uh? you're going to buy that building?! It's derelict...!'
●	Hrafnhildur	That's what they said, bulldoze it into the ocean
●	Bjartur	this building right now, it doesn't seem to matter to the people of Vopnafjörður.

Table 39: Coded segments - age listing / friðað (5.6.1)

Color	Document name	Segment
●	Gustav	I think after 13 years or something like this it's a hundred years old - but it has been changed a lot already
●	Hlynur	it hasn't reached this 100 years so it's not, it's not protected by some kind of regulations
●	Kjartan	the hundred years rule is quite arbitrary when you think about it
●	Kjartan	if it's a hundred years old it doesn't mean they have a value, whereas maybe you should look at the value and then you can protect buildings which are much younger
●	Kristjan	there are no regulations or preservation of those buildings until they are a hundred years old.
●	Albertina	I think the hundred years focus that we have in place made sense when it was put in place, but now we have a lot of houses that are coming up to that age and which will automatically be protected. And some of them might be houses that don't necessarily need protection.
●	Alma	it doesn't really have anything to do with architectural importance or historical importance. In another sense, they've just reached the age of a hundred
●	Alma	in 20 years, that will be maybe a problematic category.
●	Alma	So what does this mean It's age listed - like then what? Basically today it means you can't tear parts of it down and you can't make additions to it unless you get permission from Minjastofnun
●	Anna KE	there's no plan in place that preserves these buildings that are not a hundred years old or more
●	Anita	when a house reaches 100 years, it becomes what we in called friðað.

Table 40: Coded segments - legislation considerations (5.6.2)

Color	Document name	Segment
	Alma	when you have a listed building, you need to seek permission to do certain things
	Albertina	You would probably be allowed to tear it down, yes - because it's not a hundred years old.
	Albertina	that's why we established Minjastofnun to begin with and in a sense to help us make fewer mistakes like that
	Alma	they wouldn't even have to contact Minjastofnun. Because it's not really considered to be heritage yet
	Alma	it's called like a housing survey. So that's where you take every single building construction and you need to look at its history, its architecture, how it's changed, who made it, that's what I'm doing in my work. I need to profile it completely. And then we will make a decision based on all the information. It's the reason it's so slow
	Alma	sometimes buildings aren't really looked into until we do this kind of housing survey,
	Alma	if they want to do demolish it I think that's up to the planners as well, like Minjastofnun is not included. …unless they would hear about it and say, well, you know….
	Alma	most of the time, they are just replying to architects who wants to make changes on buildings that are listed or something like that
	Kurtogpi	in the last maybe 10 or 15 years, they have listed some modern monuments, you can say, like modern houses, buildings that…so they are protected, but that's a bit different game than the hundred years rule
	Kurtogpi	when someone actually wants to screw up a building or something then Minjastofnun has occasionally stepped in and made - sort of they call it skyndifriðun
	Kurtogpi	once you start to do planning, you need to do this house research. So it's actually a documentation.
	Kurtogpi	They can step in and say, oh, hang on, and then they do this immediate protection or something but that is also a process because that has to go through, I think the cultural minister who has to approve it in the end.
	Kurtogpi	that was protected - they stopped the project. And it was a huge political row over that
	Pétur	we can put a case that a building is in demolition, … which is not falling under the law - we can write to the local community and encourage them to take action through the planning mechanisms.
	Pétur	If it was our decision that this building was of such an important…. of national importance, that a demolition would be a really serious loss, then we have the possibility to do what we call skyndifriðun, which is sort of an emergency listing
	Pétur	We would not mind having those kinds of categories because it's a bit…it would be better to have more alternatives to things - because the formal listing by the decision of the ministry is a really….high profile action.
	Pétur	there is a requirement in the planning regulation that you have to make a building assessment, which means gathering information about all the buildings that are involved
	Anita	Minjastofnun - the Cultural Heritage Institute - they also have the power to make that decision upon other buildings regardless of their age. And then the house is not friðað, but friðlýst

Table 41: Coded segments - belief/faith in the individual and private ownership (5.6.3)

Color	Document name	Segment
	Anna KE	it's pretty much, I mean, in the hands of the owners, I would think if they have the resources and the interest in preserving the buildings, they will do so
	Anna KE	because there isn't a plan in place it's so easy for people that have money and maybe want to develop it into something else they can just do it
	David	in Iceland it's very much down to the individual entrepreneur to sustain these buildings and adapt them and transform them for the community good
	David	it's going to be on the basis of individual benevolence and creativity for these places to be opportunities for future prosperity,
	Hjalmar	The owner can say if you think my old house is so important and valuable show me the money. If you will not I will tear it down, you can't stop me, it is not protected by law So it can be complicated for Minjastofnun.
	Hjalmar	this property thing is almost holy here in Iceland.
	Kurtogpi	I think also the Icelandic legislation, the right of owners is really strong.
	Nils	the municipalities…also don't want to list things because they don't want to ruin it for an entrepreneur who might want to do something else.
	Nils	they don't want red tape in the middle of them
	Pétur	Icelanders are not very good in registering and planning
	Skarphedinn	how far should the government stretch in putting burdens on municipalities and private individuals, private companies, because in preserving buildings there is cost involved
	Skarphedinn	fortunately there have been individuals, there have been people that have seen an opportunity in preserving these sites, these buildings, being able to tell the story being behind them
	Skarphedinn	you need to preserve the optimism and that the individual is coming up with ideas and finding opportunities to use these buildings.
	Skarphedinn	we should support the individual, but we should not - for the government to step further into this and say every building that has some history being, let's say 50 years old, should be preserved
	Hrafnhildur	That's the only real protection that buildings in Iceland get - if somebody comes and uses it for something else than originally intended

Table 42: Coded segments - conservation examples and arguments (5.6.4)

Color	Document name	Segment
	Gustav	it has been changed a lot already…
	Eva K	they kept the beams and they reused a lot of metals
	Kurtogpí	How can we maintain and strengthen the character of the building or the character we wanted to put forward
	Kjartan	one of the best preserved, maybe one of the most beautiful is in Elliðarárdalur.
	Kristjan	the oil tanks. These could be fantastic museum buildings
	Anna KE	they have done a great job in turning old houses into some kind of museums or beer factories or hotels, or some activity linked things
	Hjalmar	I'm quite sure about 20 years ago, it would have been torn down because nobody would have seen the values and the possibilities, but after the Marshall House, we learnt a lot.
	Kurtogpi	the reason to preserve the barracks - it's not like - there's not a pure architectural reason for that as a building, the reason is more historical,
	Nils	it's not books on walls anymore. It's experience, it's inspiration.
	Nils	what we can do is do the staging or the interpretation or the mise en scène, what it was like in the city a hundred years ago, that's what people go to a museum to sort of see,
	Nils	the kind of experiences that we are being asked to create are a little bit different, they seem to attach more meaning to why this is important
	Nils	you can't make a nature museum now without having some sort of aspect of it being about preservation
	Nils	You can't make a museum about glaciers without talking about how they're melting
	Pétur	Then there are the metal works - as a matter of fact, we still do have a few of those…we have the one in Þingeyri
	Pétur	There is the Alliance building in the west end of Reykjavik which was almost demolished, but has been saved
	Pétur	the use of materials, corrugated metal, the combination of bringing in the material from England, a product of the industrial revolution and how that got combined with the Scandinavian wood building tradition, that's something very rare, and special to Iceland,
	Pétur	one of the most remarkable buildings or constructions to preserve are some of the older, concrete bridges that are still remaining, they are incredible constructions
	Skarphedinn	it's a bit difficult to preserve a building just to preserve it. It has to have a meaning, it has to have a reason
	Anita	Róaldsbrakki here at the museum - that one is friðlýst - it got the status in 1977 when it was 70 years old.
	Orlygur	they are taking the decision or doing something for this house especially, though, it was not more than 70, 80 years old.
	Bjartur	Sigvaldur Thordarson, one of Iceland's greatest architects was born here and there are only two buildings that he designed in the town
	Bjartur	it was a really important building in Vopnafjörður when it was in use.
	Bjartur	wherever in the world, buildings that - old buildings that don't look good, that's what you're looking for. That's the history, whether they are looking good and are in use, or they are not being used, doesn't matter.

Table 43: Coded segments - light touch: trust in public opinion, goodwill and luck (5.6.5)

Color	Document name	Segment
	Asdis	They are not going to destroy it. They're not going to destroy Korpulfsstadir completely. They are going to keep it as it is
	Kjartan	I don't think it really has a protected status, but if anyone would say let's tear it down, no-one would agree with that.
	Jon	Minjastofnun have declared it to be worth saving, but they have no teeth
	Eva B	If there would be a plan to maybe demolish an important building that the community didn't agree with or would have a significant meaning for the community, the community would speak up
	Hjalmar	if it will be successful then I think they are not in danger of being torn down in 15 or 20 years. I'm quite sure about that,
	Hjalmar	It depends on, for example, how successful Gufunes will be, if it would be as successful as the Marshall House, then I'm pretty sure that quite many will raise their voices and say, okay, there are many other places here like in Djupavik that we also have to preserve and find some role for
	Kurtogpi	And now people generally love the Marshall House they've been there. They go there to have dinner or go to see the exhibitions and things like that. And everyone basically says, don't dream of tearing it down and lucky we actually saved it.
	Pétur	we can write to the local community and encourage them to take action through the planning mechanisms.
	Pétur	the fact that it has been granted these restoration grants means that that it is an important heritage, although it doesn't have the official status
	Pétur	where recent cases where buildings have been demolished without permission in Reykjavik both parties got totally smashed in the press...
	Pétur	they got a really bad reputation and they know that when they come next time to get permission for something, we will not hurry to give it to them...we will not go out of our way to help them
	Pétur	the cement plant in Akranes, which was a huge assembly of buildings, concrete buildings, that was dealt with in the planning stage - we did not make an issue of preserving the actual factory. They, I think they are keeping, if I remember correctly, they're keeping the silos, but the rest is going.
	Pétur	Hjalteyri is sort of in an uncertain future, but I don't think the Hjalteyri factory will ever be demolished. I don't think so.
	Pétur	We have the Elliðaárvirkjun power plant - a listed building - it's treated with the highest degree of respect - and Landsvirkjun, the state power company is taking very, very good care of all its buildings.
	Pétur	they put a lot of money into restoring the Ljósafoss power plant near Þingvallavegur which was very...if they had just thinking about the economy they would have demolished the building, but they restored it beautifully
	Pétur	I know there were people in Akureyri who wanted to keep that, but the architects that were working..were not receptive. At least they didn't take any measures or steps to get that preserved.
	Pétur	I guess the policy is more that ...we try to keep informed about what's going on, and when something happens that we don't like we intervene but we are not....we try to negotiate
	Bjartur	they don't have any power to stop this. They can advise the town council not to do this, but they have no more power than that.
	Bjartur	I thought Minjastofnun would have more power in this type of action. I thought that, but no, it's just like regular, local planning, you just have to change it if you want to...

Table 44: Coded segments - lack of protection (5.6.6)

Color	Document name	Segment
	Gustav	No it's not protected yet. At the same time there are so few of them - I find it quite strange.
	Gustav	It was a spaceship. It was bigger than the village, bigger than the fjord... so I don't know why it is not protected. It should be.
	Gustav	I was very astonished that there was no idea that this would be protected...
	Kjartan	I don't think it really has a protected status, but if anyone would say let's tear it down, no-one would agree with that.
	Kjartan	I don't think it's even listed
	Kristjan	nobody could actually stop the company from demolishing buildings as well - as long as the planning authorities have accepted such plans
	Jon	in Iceland we have very primitive laws about boats and ships, for instance, and what I miss is - there should be, you should look at this as a cultural thing, it doesn't matter how old the thing is, a house or whatever - it is the unique value of it.
	Jon	The architect was Rögnvaldur Ólafsson who is said to be the first Icelandic architect, also of many great buildings in Iceland. And this is the only industrial building which is left from him. So that's enough
	Albertina	it would be very unusual for only like a 40, 50 year old house to be protected.
	Albertina	Djupavik and Hesteyri - the ruins of the factory there, - there have never been any discussions of protecting it
	Albertina	they did stop the coast guard using the chimney in Hesteyri to practice shooting
	Alma	I think it's just very short sighted because like, today it might not be that important, but in 50 years, you can't really say
	Pétur	there's never been any application or issue with Hjalteyri, not as far as I remember...
	Anita	boats and ships, they somehow... fall in between and there's no direct way to apply for big money and grants to do well in the sector.
	Hrafnhildur	Do you know how many barracks you have left in Iceland? This is one out of maybe, I don't know, 40, or 20 or 10
	Bjartur	the history of Vopnafjörður and how badly it has been preserved through the years

Table 45: Coded segments - lost heritage (5.6.7)

Color	Document name	Segment
	Jona	everything collapsed and the houses were taken down
	Hedinn	why in the hell as a fishing nation, can't we go to a museum or down to the harbour and see the development of our shipping industries?
	Hedinn	And the old is just sunk or teared down or sold
	Hedinn	why in the hell don't they take care of their history, where they are coming from?
	Gustav	they were all demolished and taken out and sold as scrap
	Lene	a lot of things get lost before something gets done
	Lene	they were tearing down the wool and skin factory in Akureyri
	Lene	how fast all this knowledge disappeared when modern times came to Iceland
	Alma	one turf house left in the whole of Reykjavik
	Kurtogpí	There's nothing left, it was just bulldozed.
	Jona	They were torn down anyway,
	Jona	when they were like pushing the houses down, inside the houses there was still furniture and everything. They just went and took it all down.
	Thoroddur	They just bulldozed it down…
	Gustav	Because only recently in 2008 they took the last machines out - there was no real necessity.
	Kjartan	we now see as of huge value and many people now, they are sort at a loss to explain why they didn't feel they had to be protected.
	Kjartan	They've been tearing down older timber houses to build bigger houses, which are often not unique,
	Gunnar	so why keep it - so just flatten it - and now it's sort of 'why did you do it?'
	Pétur	in Iceland - the 'industrial revolution' quote, unquote - happened very late and it was more in terms of ships than buildings - well that part of our heritage has more or less gone
	Pétur	the whaling stations and herring plants that were built by Norwegians in the late 19th century, early 20th century, then those are all gone. You have ruins
	Pétur	There were weaving mills in Akureyri and Reykjavik….they are all gone
	Pétur	there was a row of buildings, all on the waterfront… the Skúlagata development as it is now, those are all gone, nothing left.
	Pétur	unfortunately when they built the shopping mall in Akureyri, Glerártorg, that was the site of the weaving factories.
	Anita	we've been just losing the knowledge of both how to sail these ships, how to preserve them and keep them floating. We don't educate hardly any boatbuilders anymore, like one every 15 years in the past decades
	Alexandra	they had more of these old style buildings in Skagaströnd that they tore down
	Alexandra	something that people talk to me about often - that there's remorse in those actions - because why didn't we try to preserve them?
	Alexandra	Tons of buildings aren't here anymore.
	Hrafnhildur	in Skagaströnd, when I got there, you may not have noticed, but there's not a lot of old houses. Not like in Siglufjörður and Seyðisfjörður
	Hrafnhildur	the wooden houses, in Skagaströnd have all been pulled out down
	Hrafnhildur	Minjastofnun said, yes, go ahead - it's okay. Because they didn't have documentation about how old it was. But I could have told them
	Hrafnhildur	there was a part of the building that the town just tore down because the chimney was starting to slant a little bit
	Bjartur	in the last seventy years, we have torn down most of the old buildings.

Table 46: Coded segments - demolition, dereliction, neglect, loss (5.6.8)

Color	Document name	Segment
	Gustav	they even brought in a crew of these guys who work on metals, just to demolish and take it away
	Kjartan	They were built as factories, but they've been torn down often in the eighties, nineties, but even in 2000s when some people were saying this is worth preserving
	Kristjan	this is such a big part of their identity - the herring time in Raufarhöfn and later the capelin meal factory. So there was no consensus about this removal of the buildings
	Jon	there's just a few councillors trying to protect and save this building, but I believe it's going to be demolished
	Jon	Skúlagata for instance was a good example and they…demolished all the houses there
	David	you're retaining the option - if you destroy these buildings it's a non-reversible decision - it's gone. You can't regenerate them.
	Gunnar	now it's sort of too late to do anything because it's just getting ruined and actually quite dangerou
	Kurtogpi	we have knocked down most of our kind of industrial history, like Skúlagata - it was full of beautiful industrial buildings.
	Kurtogpi	there was a huge chimney in Laugarnes, some sort of herring factory - it was torn down
	Pétur	the two cases which became a court case, prosecution - they both had to do with tearing down listed buildings
	Orlygur	the town hall, they were planning to tear down the house and get rid of all of those objects which they had been collecting since the year '77,
	Hrafnhildur	Skagaströnd hasn't stopped. They say, 'Oh, you know, we shouldn't have, we shouldn't have', they feel really bad that they tore down all these old wooden houses, but they've been talking about tearing down the building where Nes is now
	Hrafnhildur	they're going to make a spa there, the same exact spot. And they're going to tear down those buildings.
	Hrafnhildur	There was a tiny little wooden house that was over a hundred years old that was standing next to my house where I was living here. They tore it down last year.
	Hrafnhildur	I said, this is the oldest house in town probably - very likely. And you're still going to tear it down. You're still in the tearing down phase!
	Hrafnhildur	the corrugated iron was rusty, it was falling down and inside it was very…it was just full of junk. And he said, 'Oh yes, we're going to tear down the barrack and I go 'are you kidding me? Do you know how many barracks there are left in Iceland?!'
	Kerryn	they're going to pull down that building behind Nes and there's been designs from that area into the ocean to have hot pots and have like a health centre…
	Bjartur	The matter was referred to the town council and two days later, the town council agreed on going ahead with the process of demolishing the building.
	Bjartur	there was never interest from the town council or from the governing part of the town council to try something else than just agreeing on demolishing the building.
	Bjartur	I think by the status of the planning process I think it could maybe it could be demolished around - the beginning of the new year (2021)

Appendix F: Photographs of sites

Figure 5: Akureyri - Listasafnið / Akureyri Art Museum (Kampfner)

Figure 6: Akureyri - Iðnaðarsafnið / Industry Museum (Kampfner)

Figure 7: Djúpavík - Herring Factory (Kampfner)

Figure 8: Hjalteyri - Verksmiðjan / Centre for Contemporary Art (Kampfner)

Figure 9: Húsavík - Hvalasafn / Whale Museum (Kampfner)

Figure 10: Ísafjörður - Edinborgarhúsið / Edinborg House (Edinborg. House)

Figure 11: Ísafjörður - Westfjords Heritage Museum (Byggðasafn Vestfjarða)

Figure 12: Raufarhöfn - Herring Factory (Halldórsson)

Figure 13: Reykjavik - Galleri Korpulfsstadir (Kampfner)

Figure 14: Reykjavik - Marshallhúsið / Marshall House (Kampfner)

Figure 15: Reykjavik, Áburðarverksmiðjan / Fertiliser Factory, Gufunes (Iceland Times)

Figure 16: Rif - Freezer Hostel and Culture Centre (Kampfner)

Figure 17: Siglufjörður - Síldarminjasafn Íslands / Herring Era Museum (Kampfner)

Figure 18: Skagaströnd - Nes Listmiðstöð / Nes Artist Residency (Kampfner)

Figure 19: Skagaströnd - Salthús Guesthouse. (Sigurðardóttir)

Figure 20: Vopnafjörður power plant (Aðalbjörnsson)