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Building an Oil Fairytale: The Narration of a Petroleumscape in Stavanger's Civic Spaces



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Fig. 1.1: Satellite image of Northern Europe, with Norway lined in red. (Google Earth, 2022)

Abstract

Building an oil fairy-tale investigates oil's potency as a socio-cultural force and its role in shaping civic spaces in Stavanger, Norway. It posits that the Nordic city represents an exemplary case study on the complex and co-dependent interaction between petroleum and architecture. Since the discovery of oil in Norway in the late 1960s, the historically peripheral Nordic nation has experienced a remarkable economic, social, cultural, and architectural transformation. The rapid and comprehensive transition towards a petroleumscape has given rise to the term 'oljeevntyret' or the oil fairy-tale in the Norwegian lexicon. The oil fairy-tale has functioned as a reflection of changing socio-cultural conditions and a potent device to perpetuate an energy culture reflected in Stavanger's architecture, cultural practices, economic developments, governmental policies, and visual expressions over the past decades. Following a general analysis of the national and local historical context, the thesis uses four architectural case studies in Stavanger, supported by archival and contemporary writings and media, to demonstrate how the city's oil fairy-tale and civic spaces have developed in a feedback loop. Oil actors' political and economic sway has created a new class of oil-civic spaces in Stavanger. In turn, these oil spaces' narrative potentials contribute to an ever-expanding petroleumscape and celebration of oil as a heroic and Norwegian product. As the end of the oil age looms closer and cities around the world, including Stavanger, strive to imagine a post-oil future, we must appreciate the power and extent of oil in shaping our everyday spaces. Only then may we engage meaningfully in imagining a post-oil city future for cities that have become deeply drenched in oil.

1. Introduction

“*What has oil done with us?*” asked Nils Bergsgard and Anders Vassenden in their 2015 homonymously titled book. (Bergsgard & Vassenden, 2015) Since the discovery of petroleum on the Norwegian continental shelf in the late 1960s, the historically peripheral Nordic nation has experienced a remarkable economic, social, cultural, and architectural transformation. The rapid and unexpected rise to prosperity has given rise to the notion of ‘Oljeeventyret’.¹ Situated at the heart of this petrol-fairytale is Stavanger, a former fishing town that has since been uplifted to a North Sea hub and ‘Oil Capital’ of Norway. (Bergsgard & Vassenden, 2015; Gjerde, 2002, 2013b; Terjesen & Espeland, 2013) Carola Hein’s theory of the global petroleumscape helps decode the relationship between contemporary Stavanger and petroleum. According to Hein:

“The concept of the petroleumscape starts from the understanding that petroleum is a physical material with a pervasive impact on physical space in terms of architecture, cities, and landscapes, and is not a magic fluid that fuels economies without a spatial imprint.”
(Hein, 2021, p. 4)

Through decades of state and industry collaborations and a trickle-down of oil wealth, the city has seen a new class of civic spaces and buildings arise, linked financially and narratively to the Norwegian petroleum sector. Today, the academic and public consensus recognises the prevalence and significance of petroleum to Stavanger. Many studies and publications have comprehensively chronicled the city’s oil history and societal effects. (Gjerde, 2002, 2013b; Roalkvam & Gjerde, 2012; Terjesen & Espeland, 2013) Within the public and commercial realms, the petroleum industry remains a key employer and generator of capital in the Stavanger region. It maintains an extensive outreach network through media and charitable programmes. Local sports clubs, avenues, schools, hospitals, and public buildings frequently list petroleum companies as their sponsors. Nevertheless, there is a limited understanding of petroleum’s influences on the physical spaces and how the decades-long mentality of living in an oil fairy-tale has shaped the city’s architecture and public spaces.

Furthermore, while many studies have identified the potency of petroleum in driving socio-cultural changes, few have considered how the city as an entity, too, plays a role in shaping the narrative of the oil fairy-tale. Architecture doubtlessly plays a vital role in this interchange. As Stavanger continues to feel the detrimental effect of a declining global petroleum market, which has erased some 40000 Norwegian jobs since 2014, understanding the interactions between the petroleum sector and the built environment represents a crucial step in imagining the city’s future. (Hetland & Oppedal, 2017) Hence, this thesis will raise the question: To what extent have Stavanger’s civic spaces been influenced by the Norwegian ‘Oil Fairy-tale’?

¹. *Oljeeventyr* is a Norwegian compound of two stems: ‘-olje’ [oil] + ‘-eventyr’ [fairy-tale] or [adventure], the term could thus be translated to English as oil-adventure or oil-fairy tale. This paper will use the latter term as this more closely conveys the dictionary definition in Norwegian, which includes an element of surprise. See: (‘Oljeeventyr’, 2022)

CASE STUDIES & METHODOLOGY

Detailed studies of four civic sites in Stavanger formed the basis of this thesis investigation.

CASE	YEAR	ARCHITECT	CIVIC CHARACTERISTICS
SØLVBERGET BIBLIOTEK & KULTURHUS (<i>CITY</i> <i>LIBRARY AND CULTURAL</i> <i>CENTRE</i>)	1987	Lund + Slaatto	Public institution, free access during opening hours
PROFESSOR OLAV HANSENSVEI 10 (<i>THE</i> <i>NORWEGIAN PETROLEUM</i> <i>DIRECTORATE HQ</i>)	1986	Erik Thesen / Link Arkitektur	Government institution, no public access
NORSK OLJEMUSEUM (<i>THE NORWEGIAN</i> <i>PETROLEUM MUSEUM</i>)	1999	Lunde & Løvseth Arkitekter	Public institution, ticketed public access, library can be access for free
GEPARK	2008	Helen & Hard Arkitekter	Public park, 24h free access

According to Hein, oil spaces take on many forms, including corporate headquarters, refineries, shipyards, and logistical hubs. (Hein, 2018, p. 891) The complete catalogue of oil spaces is too extensive for the scope of this paper. Instead, the four case studies focus on civic spaces, hence defined as locales used by or otherwise experienced by the public in Stavanger. Furthermore, the cases are limited to those built or substantially reconfigured since the discovery of oil in the 1970s. In the context of the Norwegian petroleum history, the cases cover roughly three periods:

- the mid-1980s, when the rising petroleum industry fuelled urban expansions in Stavanger and reconsideration of its cultural life
- 2000, when the retirement of Ekofisk 1 raised questions about how to preserve and narrate Norway's oil heritage for posterity
- In the late-2000s, when urban renewal and post-oil debates gained momentum.

The four cases also embody different ways built environments interact with the public. Geopark and Sølverget represent the everyday environments that most closely relate to the traditional definition of public spaces – freely accessible and widely utilised by citizens.² Norsk Oljemuseum embodies the Western museum typology – a form of a public institution of a renaissance legacy tasked with preserving, curating, exhibiting, narrating, and educating histories to broader society – in this case, the story of Norwegian oil. (Marotta, 2012) Finally, Professor Olav Hanssens vei 10 represents a public institution that falls outside the typical definition of 'public space' as it is inaccessible to the general public. Nonetheless, I would argue that it plays

2. Here I refer to UNHabitat's definition of 'public spaces' which itself is based on the notion of 'commons': elements of the environments shared and used by all. See: (2016, p. viii)

an active role in the public understanding of oil through its prominent and symbolic architecture. Moreover, its occupant, the Oljedirektoratet (OD) [Norwegian Petroleum Directorate], holds immense political clout over oil and, by extension, Stavanger. Hence, the term ‘civic spaces’ encapsulated all the cases.

A field trip undertaken in February 2022 and archival documents sourced from local and national archives provides the basis for the study of the sites. The architects’ testaments and contemporary architectural journals and newspapers supplement the analysis. In addition, records from the NOM archives, which included original documents from the museum’s design competition, provided more profound insight into the original stakeholders’ and architects’ intentions. Finally, posters, photographs, and other visual media gathered from the NOM, National Library of Norway, and DigitaltMuseum’s collections formed a vital part of the broader analyses of the oil fairy-tale. These visual mediums revealed petroleum’s far-reaching socio-cultural effects and how architectural imageries could serve as capable manifestations of the oil fairy-tale.

2. Historical Context

2.1 A Brief History of Norwegian Petroleum

‘One can exclude the possibilities that there would be coal, oil, or sulphur on the continental shelf along the Norwegian coast.’

*- Letter from the Norwegian Geological Survey to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, February 1958*³

On Christmas Eve 1969, the Philips Petroleum Company⁴ informed the Norwegian government that their exploration of wellbore 2/4-2 had uncovered a massive field containing both oil and gas. (Norwegian Petroleum Directorate, 2022) As has been popularised in subsequent narrations, this Christmas miracle heralded the discovery of the Ekofisk field and Norway’s oil fairy-tale. (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2021) It is important to note that despite the early scepticism from native geologists, the presence of oil on the Norwegian shelf was hardly a surprise by 1969. Vast quantities of natural gas were uncovered near Groningen in The Netherlands only a year after the NGS’s pessimistic assessment, sparking hope and international interest in the wider North Sea region. Commercial actors, spearheaded by the American Philips, succinctly began petitioning the Norwegian state for the right to conduct oceanic surveys and for exclusive access to any discoveries made. Renewed geological surveys in the late-60s led to the first discovery of oil in the Balder field in 1967. However, Balder proved too challenging for commercial extraction at the time and remained undeveloped till the 1990s. Hence, Ekofisk represented not the first discovery of petroleum but rather the first profitable discovery.

The importance of the Ekofisk discovery must nevertheless not be understated. Ekofisk not only proved to be the world’s largest offshore reserve discovered at the time but remains hitherto the second largest reserve by proven quantity in Norwegian history.⁵ It is also the oldest field in continuous production, extracted since 1971. Furthermore, its immense economic prospects rapidly ignited interest in the Norwegian North Sea and led to the discovery of significant fields in the ensuing years. (Fig. 2.1) Consequently, Ekofisk carries solid symbolic value as the origin of the Norwegian oil fairy-tale.

State actors’ narrations of the Norwegian petroleum history tended to ascribe high symbolism to the Ekofisk find. (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2021; Norwegian Petroleum Directorate, 2022) The geologists’ initial pessimism, encroachments by opportunistic foreign corporations, and early oil surveyors on the brink of resignation are reoccurring themes in these retellings. Against such backdrops, Ekofisk naturally represented a miraculous (and conveniently timed) Christmas turning point from which the Norwegian

^{3.} (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2021) Translated from Norwegian by thesis author.

^{4.} Known today as ConocoPhillips. As this chapter primarily concerns historical developments, I will refer to all companies by their names at the time.

^{5.} For a complete overview of Norwegian oil finds and their names, see: (Norwegian Petroleum Directorate & Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, n.d.)

oil enterprise began in earnest. From a public discourse perspective, the discovery of Ekofisk also triggered the shared imagination of Norway as an oil state. According to N-gram data from the National Library of Norway, 1970-71 was when the word “oljeeventyr” first emerged, coinciding with when Ekofisk entered production and broader public knowledge. (fig. 2.2)

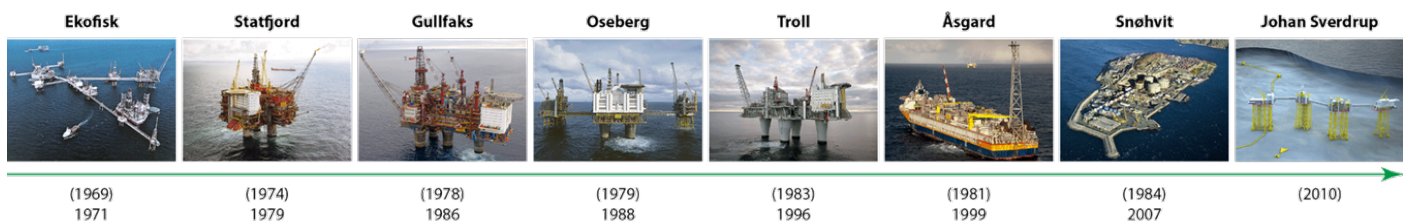


Fig. 2.1: Timeline of major Norwegian petroleum fields, annotated with year of production start and discovery (Norsk Petroleum, 2022)

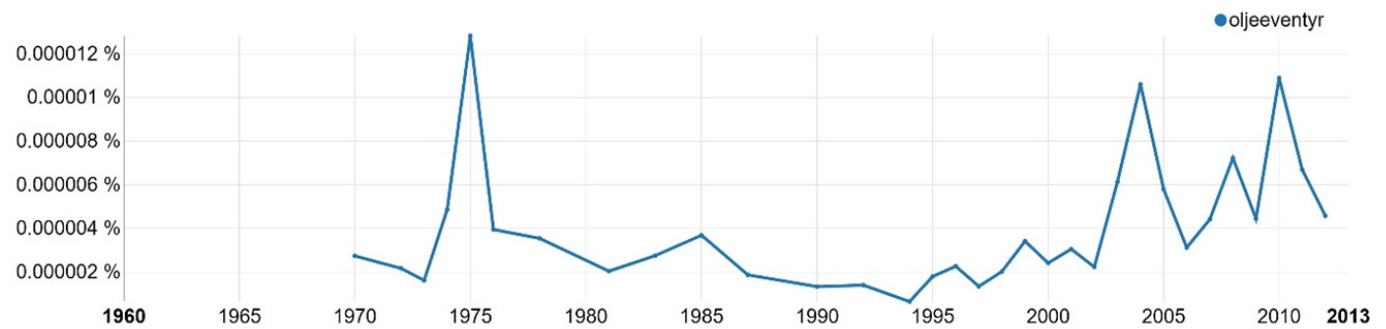


Fig. 2.2: N-Gram Graph plotting the usage of “oljeeventyr” (National Library of Norway, 2015)

2.2 Stavanger is the Place!

An Oil Capital for An Oil Fairytale



Fig. 2.3: “Norway and oil: Stavanger is the place” proclaimed a 1971 governmental poster. (Stortingets Industrikomité, 1971)

The rise of Stavanger mirrors that of the larger oil fairy-tale. In the few decades since Ekofisk, Stavanger has successfully positioned itself to become Norway’s de-facto ‘oil capital’ and a primary beneficiary of the fairy-tale. A closer reading of its historical context reveals that this did not occur by chance. Stavanger traces its urban origin to the founding of the diocese and the cathedral of Stavanger in 1125. In the following centuries, the city grew at a snail’s pace. By 1800, the town could boast little more than 2400 inhabitants, small even by Nordic standards. (Buringh, 2021) Situated on the rugged western coast of a peripheral state, Stavanger historically relied on small-scale fishers and farmers to sustain its meagre population. The first major catalyst to the city’s growth occurred in 1808, when rich streams of sardines began frequenting the regional coast. With it arose the possibilities of an economy based on mass fishing and canning of the fish. By 1860, the city had grown into a regional hub of 18000 inhabitants. By the outbreak of WW1, the city hosted more than 70 canning businesses of various sizes. The 1920 census recorded some 44000 inhabitants in Stavanger, a growth in large part fuelled by the canning boom. However, the canning boom would decline following the Great War as the post-war recessions dimmed demands

for Norwegian fish. The interwar years thus saw a significant decline in the city’s fortunes as the deteriorating canning economy sent other supporting industries, such as shipbuilding, into recession. (Gjerde, 2002, pp. 9–10)

The economic and physical infrastructure left behind by the canning industry proved instrumental in preparing the city for its oil fairy-tale. Local business interests played a considerable role in facilitating this transition. Following the Ekofisk discovery in 1969, foreign corporations needed a land base for their offshore ventures. With its geographic proximity to the early oil fields in the Southwestern North Sea and an existing infrastructural and cultural network for seafaring, Stavanger represented a strong candidate – a position foreign and local stakeholders quickly realised. In April 1965, weeks after the national government announced that 278 blocks in the North Sea would be made available for petroleum explorations, the local paper *Stavanger Aftenblad* proclaimed: “*Stavanger stands out as a natural base port for North Sea oil explorations.*” (‘Stavanger peker seg ut’, 1965)

The national government’s adoption of a protectionist stance proved fortuitous to the city. The ten oil commandments required foreign actors

interested in Norwegian oil to conduct their activities through a local subsidiary and from domestic facilities. Thus, while the capital city of Oslo quickly attracted branch offices of transnational oil lobbies seeking to sway the government, these corporations still required facilities on the Western coast to support their offshore operations – a position Stavanger was eager to fill. Competition soon arose as municipal governments took note of the lucrative opportunities afforded to an oil city. As Kristin Gjerde attained, several coastal towns vied to host the burgeoning industry, including Bergen and Trondheim – both more populous and traditionally more notable cities than Stavanger. Nevertheless, Stavanger ultimately won due to a combination of factors: geographic proximity, infrastructural availability, and lastly, effective courting of foreign oil companies by local stakeholders. (Gjerde, 2011, pp. 10–11)

The last point reflected the combined, and crucially rapid, efforts by local public and private interests to make the city appealing to foreign oil. In the commercial realm, shipowner Torolf Smedvig moved first by offering Esso⁶ the use of Fjeldberg Brug, a defunct sardine factory in Hundvåg. The deal not only brought the American oil giant to the city but reportedly helped grow a camaraderie between Esso and the business-savvy Smedvig. Further on, Smedvig developed an extensive base area in Dusavik, which became Phillips' operation hub for their Ekofisk field in 1967. Gjerde considered the arrival of Esso and other multinational corporations as the decisive factor in elevating Stavanger to the forefront candidate.

The local political establishment too quickly came on board. Mayor Arne Rettedal's pro-business government swiftly backed the local entrepreneurial overtures by mobilising municipal resources to fast-track infrastructural and housing developments. Moreover, the city founded a provisional American school within a year, opened the luxurious Hotell Atlantic to welcome business travellers, and built a golf course to ensure the gratification of the golf-loving American ex-pats. (Gjerde, 2002, p. 26) Thus, as Gjerde noted, Stavanger had already won the race before the national government even learned of the Ekofisk-find on Christmas Eve 1969. (2011, p. 10) Stavanger's rapid urban and cultural transformation further mirrors Hein's global petroleumscape theory. In the bid to join the oil rush, Stavanger had opened its cityscape to international influences, specifically the petroleum culture promulgated by the transnational (mainly Anglo-American) corporations of the time. Chapter 2.2 will discuss in greater detail Stavanger's internationalisation and its spatial and cultural implications.



Fig. 2.4: A class of schoolchildren from the newly established American school (SAMS) in 1966. (Unknown Photographer, 1966)

The final stage of Stavanger's race to become the Norwegian oil capital came with the state's investitures in the 1970s. In 1970, Stavanger's Sola airport became the national air search & rescue operation headquarters. This signalled both Oslo's growing acceptance of Stavanger's newfound status and granted relief to investor concerns about offshore safety. (Gjerde, 2011, p. 10) The strengthened airport, combined with a newly founded civilian heliport nearby, provided Stavanger with a complete aerial infrastructure to service the growing offshore installations. Finally, in 1972, Norway established Statoil and the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate per the oil commandments. Once more, Stavanger came ahead of competing cities. Generous municipal support in land grants, promises of ensuring residential capacity, and a well-established private oil sector secured the seats of both institutions, where they remain headquartered today. (Gjerde, 2011, p.11)



Fig. 2.5: Platforming workers before taking off from the helicopter base in Forus. (Unknown Photographer, 1978)

2.3 Towards a Petroleumscape: The Oil Fairy-tale Outside of the Built Environment

An essential element of petroleum's social legacy in Norway is the feeling of economic safety provided by a robust welfare state. The influx of petroleum revenue has proved instrumental in founding and maintaining this social order. The 1970s saw governmental expenditure reach record heights as the state capitalised on its newfound wealth to pass extensive healthcare and education reforms. Global events such as the 1974 OPEC crisis further demonstrated Norway's economic stability. While the skyrocketing oil price sent financial anxieties and high energy costs across Europe, the Norwegian economy recorded unprecedented profits thanks to its burgeoning oil sector. (Lie, 2015) When its Nordic neighbours wrestled the economic recessions of the 1990s, oil revenues helped sustain Norwegian welfare. (Botten et al., 2003) Thus, when considering the economic history of Norway since the 1970s, its social imprint of oil was conceivably one of safety and prosperity. The NB's N-gram data of 'oljeeventyr' reflects this trend. Figure 2.2 shows the term spike in popularity following major global crises: 1974-75 OPEC-Crisis, 2003 US Invasion of Iraq, and the 2010s following the 2008 Financial Crash.

The oil fairy-tale represents a vital device in promoting petroleum's contribution to Norwegian society. One example of this is in the lexicon attached to oil. From the onset of Norway's oil age, petroleum's language has often sought to invoke the sacred or mythical. The popularisation of parliament's 1970 positions paper as the 'ten oil commandments', a biblical allusion, is one of the more direct demonstrations. Here, the state's political choices are not only lauded as being sound policy but arguably took on a religious dimension – hinting at a divine rectitude. The petroleum industry adopted similar linguistic devices. In the North Sea, names of Norse gods such as Odin, Frigg, Tor, Vale, Balder, and Brage imprinted the walls of offshore installations and names of oil fields. Botolv Helleland argued these names reflected a pioneering and adventurous spirit that characterised the early Norwegian oil age – in other words, the oil fairy-tale. (2000) Helleland positioned that names represented a means to establish a connection to the past or frame one's identity. Based on this reading and the state's oft-repeated narrative of an inexperienced nation faced with unprecedented responsibilities and foreign encroachment, we may recognise the 'Norsification' of the North Sea as an effort to safeguard domestic interests. On the other hand, more critical positions exemplified by Nancy Couling interpret the Norse naming trends as a nationalistic and colonialist approach to forging an oil identity rooted in heritage and mythical heroism. Couling lists the case of Frigg, the mythological queen goddess of the Norse pantheon made to preside over a contested Norwegian gas field that crosses into UK waters. (2021, pp. 118–119)



Fig. 2.6: Print commemorating the retirement of an Esso executive, shown riding on the mythical eight-legged horse Sleipnir in a parade of Norse gods. (Esso Norge, 1987)

While the naming conventions have largely steered off Norse traditions in recent years, as the Ministry for Petroleum admitted that the repertoire for names “*with the strongest symbolist effect*” has already been exhausted, newer titles continue to reinforce the larger North Sea fairy-tale. (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 24/062011, p. 76) For example, in the 2000s, Statoil’s first Arctic and exclusively subsea development was named Snøhvit [Snow White], ostensibly turning a new pluralistic page in the book of oil fairy-tale. (Gjellstad, 2015)



Fig. 2.7:
Illustrated View of
Snøhvit LNG in Melkøya,
Hammerfest. (Ulriksen, n.d.)

More subtle but equally potent use of language exists in contemporary narrations of oil, such as on the website of the Oljefondet.⁷ The fund was established in 1990 to preserve Norway's oil wealth for posterity by investing a portion of the national oil income overseas and outside the petroleum sector. Today, the fund constitutes the world's largest sovereign wealth fund, with NOK 11 trillion in global assets.⁸ It represents a critical fail-safe of the Norwegian welfare state and, I would argue, a vital part of the larger oil fairy-tale. By recognising the short liveness of oil and publically broadcasting the active measures to combat this, the state builds upon the notion of a strong oil steward ever vigilant of economic threats. The fund also provides up to 20% of the Norwegian governmental budget – a fact widely disseminated by the media during annual parliamentary seasons. (Norges Bank Investment Management, 2019) The state also directly project the fund's vital mission and significance to the public through an online metric displaying the fund's total market value in real-time. Both the visual and linguistic components of the page powerfully evoke Plato's idea of pathos. (Merriam-Webster Dictionary) The imagery of a father and child looking over the sea and the caption emphasising the fund's mission of caretaking the future generations speaks to emotional values. Intriguingly, the Norwegian and English versions of the same page feature nuanced differences. In the Norwegian version, the caption read "*for deg og fremtidige generasjoner*" [Translation: "*for you and future generations*"]. However, the English version adopted an indirect translation taking on a more utilitarian and corporate tone: "*We work to safeguard and build financial wealth for future generations.*" (fig. 2.8) Hence, while the Norwegian audience receives a moving image and caption, the international version reads more like a corporate tagline with a curated and descriptive tone.



Fig. 2.8: Two versions of the Oil Fund's online metrics (Chen, 2022r)

7. Officially titled Norwegian State Pension Fund Global, Oljefondet [the oil fund] is the vernacular name.

8. oughly equivalent to EUR 1.15 trillion or USD 1.11 trillion, per March 2022.

Visual arts represent another consequential avenue for the narration of the oil fairy tale and one historically well-exploited. The romanticisation of oil and connection to heritage are frequent themes in oil-related artworks. For example, in fig. 2.9, a NOM exhibition poster depicts a old fisherman and an younger oil worker sit side by side. The caption reads: “From one to the other” [TbA], an apparent reference to Stavanger’s heritage as a fishing port and its transition to an oil port.



Fig. 2.9: "From one to another" A poster by the Norwegian Petroleum Museum. (Norsk Oljemuseum, n.d.-a)

In figure 2.10, a Statoil-sponsored children’s school calendar crafts an adventurous image of the offshore oil industry. The hand-drawn artwork showcase a brave diver submerged in the North Sea, back by majestic platform structures over the horizon – echoing an art style commonly found in illustrated fairy tale books.



Fig. 2.11: Children's Christmas Diploma (Unknown Artist, 1987)

3. Oil & Civic Spaces in Stavanger

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a study of four sites of civic significance constructed in Stavanger since the discovery of oil. As laid out in chapter 1, the Norwegian oil fairy-tale was not a product of spontaneous inspiration but developed through decades of conscious political efforts and vernacular imaginations. Legislations, place-names, visual media, and architectural representations were all apparatuses in the narration of the oil fairy-tale. As this chapter will reveal, the same process occurred in the built environments in Stavanger, in which oil's physical and financial flows gradually seeped into the urban fabric. Each new global crisis weathered by the young oil state helped spread the sense of fairy-tale in the vernacular mind – and eventually manifested itself in the physical spaces of its oil capital.

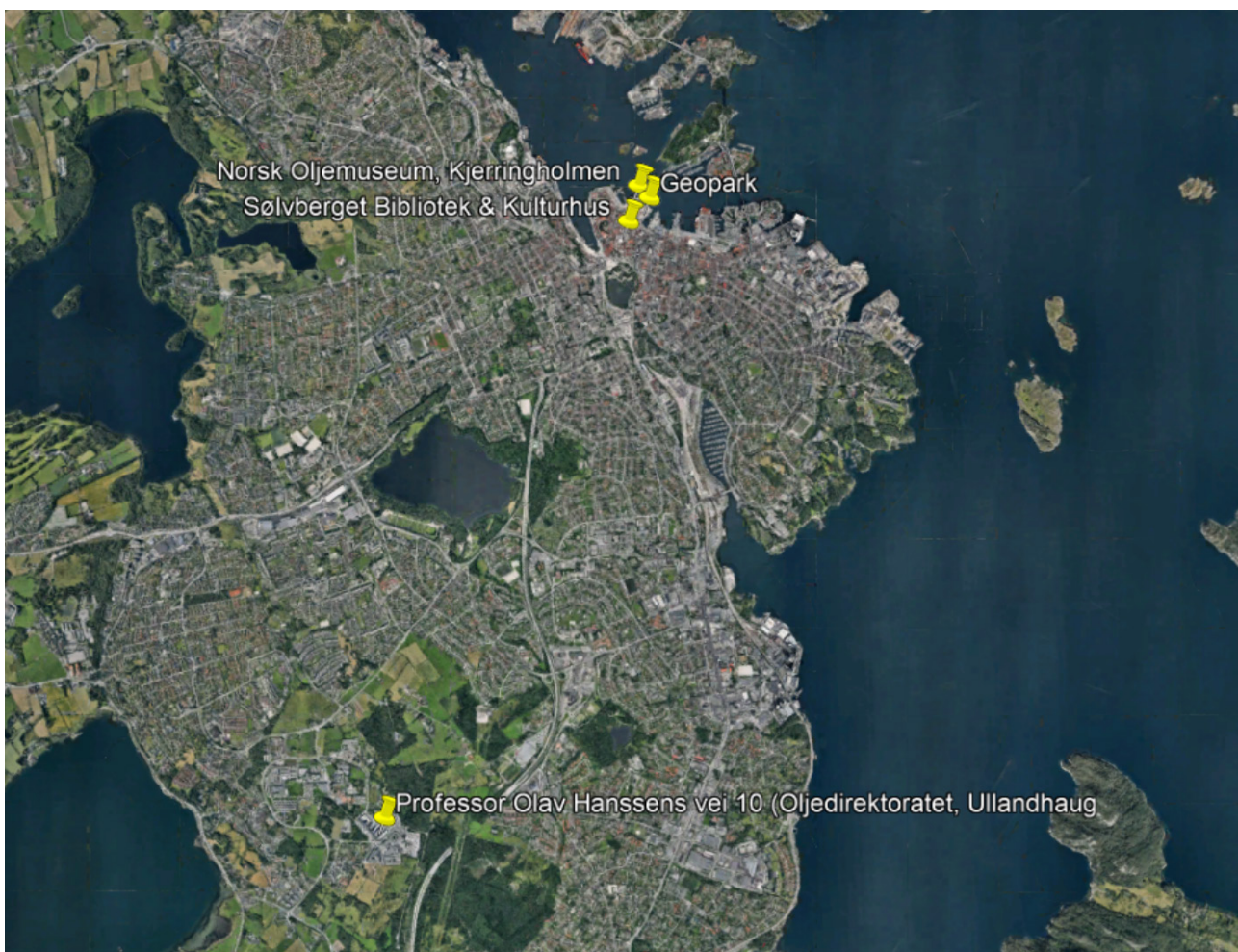


Fig. 3.1: Satellite image of Stavanger, with location of case studies marked. (Google Earth, 2022b)

3.2 Sølvsberget Bibliotek & Kulturhus

In 1969, the same year Ekofisk kicked off Norway's oil fairy-tale, Stavanger enacted its first municipal plan on cultural policies. In *Vårt kulturliv i dag og i morgen [our cultural lives today and tomorrow]*, the municipality recognised the need to undertake structured planning of its cultural provisions for the expanding city. (*Kulturpolitikk og kulturutvikling i Stavanger 1962-2010*, 2019) Before discovering North Sea petroleum, Stavanger was a minor city with poor economic prospects. Its backbone canning industry had been in a recession for decades. Between 1961 and 1964, the average income per capita stood at 78% of the national average. (Gjerde, 1998, p. 2) Nevertheless, several cultural organisations existed in the city before the 60s, such as Rogaland Theatre, Stavanger Symphony Orchestra, Stavanger Museum, and a municipal library. However, these represented primarily venerable institutions modelled on Continental-European precedents, and many had arisen from philanthropical goodwill by 19th Century canning tycoons. (ibid.)

Sølvsberget Library and Cultural Centre, completed in 1987, marked a noteworthy shift in the city's cultural development. The winning design by the Oslo-based architects Lund + Slaatto erected a 15300 m² complex with a multifaceted form on a previously undeveloped site in the heart of the historical town centre. The architects utilised a complex arrangement of square and octagonal shapes to mediate the contrast between the project's sizable massing and the surrounding pre-industrial timber houses and efficiently occupy the constrained site. (Lund + Slaatto Arkitekter, n.d.)

The city and the architects conceived a multi-use complex that would house a blend of public and commercial functions from the start. This arrangement remains today, as Sølvsberget houses the main branch of Stavanger's municipal library, the largest cinema, art spaces, eateries, and ancillary public galleries. While its competition in 1987 came over a decade after North Sea petroleum, it is nevertheless an important moment to consider in the oil fairy-tale – being one of the first major public building projects commissioned and completed during Stavanger's oil age.

The project's industrial materiality of concrete and steel-framed glass is perhaps the best reflection of its oil age identity. Before constructing the new cultural centre, the Sølvsberget site was considered a cultural and developmental hole in the city. (Sølvsberget, Stavanger bibliotek og kulturhus, 2017, p. 6) The more venerable cultural institutions had largely steered away from the cramped historic town in search of more spacious or picturesque sites – as exemplified by the cluster of art museums by the Mosvatn lake.



Fig. 3.2: Sølverget site prior to the library development. (Unknown Photographer, n.d.-e)

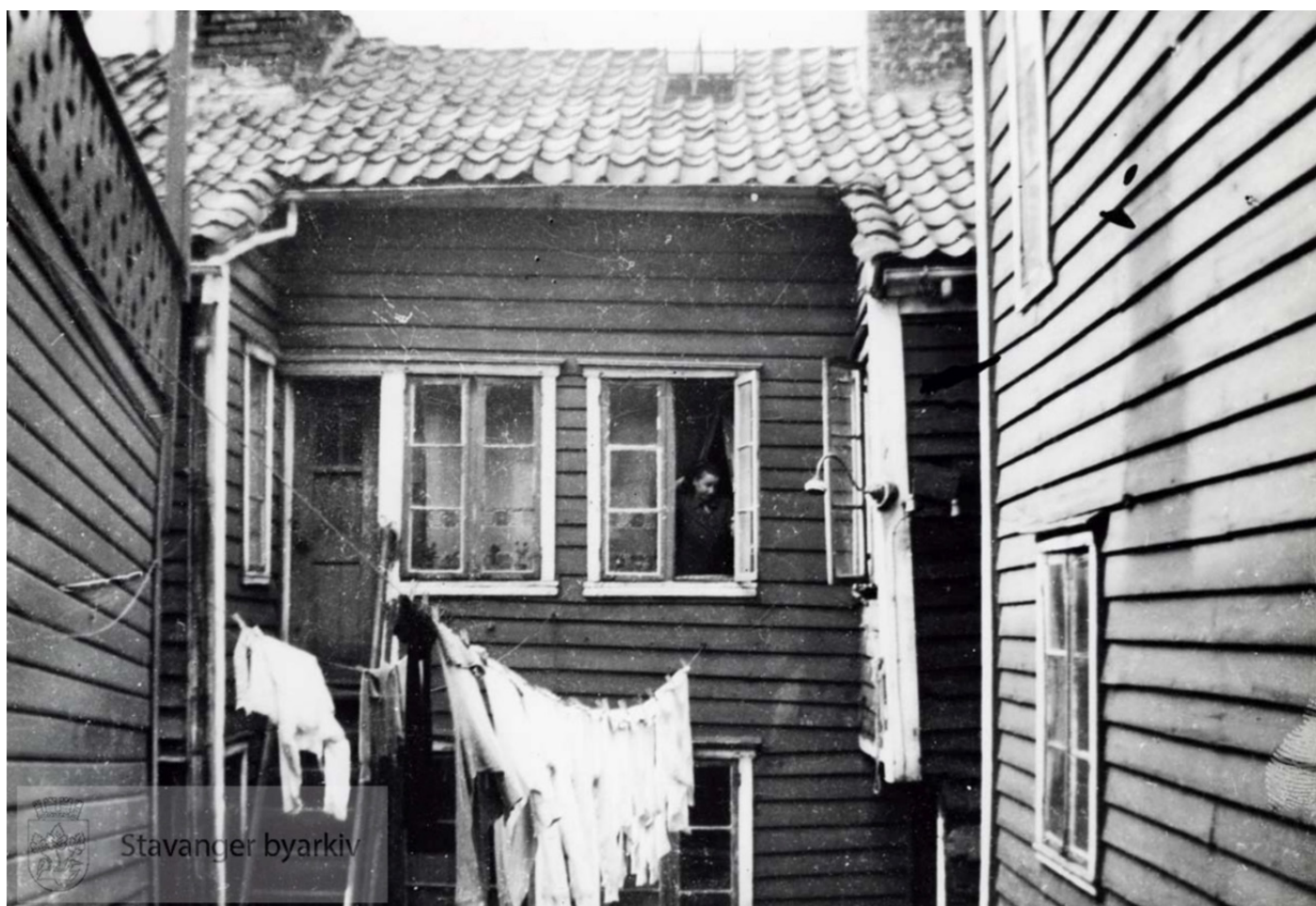


Fig. 3.3: A vernacular house adjacent to Sølverget, these types of dwelling were once commonplace across the region and can still be found in the historic city centre. (Unknown Photographer, n.d.-d)

What made Sølvsberget distinct from the other cultural spaces of its time in the city was its democratic philosophy. Unlike art museums and theatres, the library was always accessible and free. Its spatial qualities likewise reflected this spirit of openness. A large triple-height atrium marked the main entrance to the complex, leading into an internal passage connected two sides of the site, forming a covered street. The building thus effectively functioned as a sheltered passage through the rainy city, attracting even those disinterested in the library. Within the library, a glazed stair core allowed physical and visual transitions between the different levels, allowing greater mingling between the various sections of the library and its user groups. Overall, Sølvsberget's democratic attitude reflected the shifting zeitgeist of Stavanger's oil era and the socio-economic changes brought by the petroleum industry. A passage from the 1982 municipal culture plan by the left-wing cultural commissioner Olav T. Laake highlighted this:

“Everyone can agree that oil has given the municipality of Stavanger economic means to undertake extensive expansions in all areas, also within the culture. The oil has certainly led to increased individual incomes, and the possibility of acquiring both material and cultural goods has grown substantially. The demands have grown much higher. We have gained a more international population with expatriates from many countries and broadly different cultural backgrounds.” [TbA] (Stavanger Kommune, Kulturstyret, 1982, p. 21)

Even today, Sølvsberget remains one of the few freely accessible indoor public spaces in the city. In recognition of this position, the municipality announced a new architectural competition in 2015 to revamp the complex's ground floor to strengthen public accessibility. The redesign by local practice KAP further opened the original design by making the entire ground floor an open-plan and introducing flexible furniture throughout the new 'urban living room'. (KAP - Kontor for Arkitektur og Plan AS, 2016)



Fig. 3.4:

KAP's redesign of Sølvsberget Library with open-floorplan and birch-clad multifunctional furnitures (Chen, 2022d)

The library's present condition as a civic junction and the municipality's continued desire to strengthen this role helps us comprehend Sølvsberget's immense social impact during its inception in the 80s. Archival evidence reveals that despite Laake's exclamation of oil-induced prosperity and internationalism, parts of the oil capital's city centre had remained in of limbo, still mainitng the medieval urban forms of timber houses. (fig. 3.2-3.3) During the early oil age, changing cultural ambitions and newer developments sought to align the city with a more globalist, particularly American, outlook. Organisations such as the Petroleum Wives Club introduced Norwegians to Anglo-American fashion and culture. Likewise, the importation of foreign architectural typologies, such as standardised hotels, brought new cultural and spatial formats into the city. In the Esso Motor Hotel, intricately crafted décor reminiscent of American Western films created cultural bubbles for the American corporate elites. (fig. 3.5-3.7) Conversely, in the landmark Hotell Atlantic, architect and later city antiquarian Einar Hedén inverted the city's vernacular forms as downscaled internal facades in the Mortenpumpen hall, which quickly became a popular venue for entertaining foreign guests. (fig. 3.9)



Fig. 3.5: Esso Motor Hotel was a international hotel chain modelled on the American road-side inns. Its standardised architecture and business model were introduced to Stavanger in the 1960s. (Unknown Photographer, n.d.-a)



Fig. 3.6: The dining hall of Esso Motor Hotel, once the scene of a vibrant ex-pat community (Unknown Photographer, n.d.-b)



Fig. 3.7: Advertisement for Inn Spot Bar in Esso Motor Hotell, a popular destination for oil ex-pats in Stavanger during the 60s and 70s. (Ellingsen, n.d.)



Fig. 3.8: Hotell Atlantic, now Radisson Blu Atlantic. (Chen, 2022g)



Fig. 3.9: The Mortenpumpen Room in Hotell Atlantic. (Kvæstad, 1954)

In the context of the medieval streets and vernacular huts that continued to dominate the centre of Stavanger in the 80s, the construction of the new library, with its distinctly modern morphology and materiality, represented a leap towards a more innovative and perhaps more democratic oil city. Sølvsberget was a place for the locals, a venue of avant-garde spatiality and free of the cultural tropes that inhabited the luxury hotels and banquet rooms of the 60s and 70s. Unlike the historic cultural institutions, it was free and accessible to all. Architecturally, we may speculate on its symbolic values. Its structuralist design and heavy massing projected a castled demeanour that differed from its wooden environs and open-plan interiors. Its light concrete surfaces and copious glazed openings elicited a sober monumentality that stood out from other urban oil spaces of its time – primarily lavishly decorated leisure spaces. In this sense, Sølvsberget can be considered a symbolic egalitarian space. One which highlighted the civic value of petroleum, no longer an agent of foreign wealth and aesthetics, but one for domestic prosperity and modernisation.



Fig. 3.10: Sølvsberget Library alongside a vernacular timber building. (Chen, 2022p)



Fig. 3.11: Main entrance of Sølvsberget, an older film theatre on the site was merged into the complex. (Chen, 2022r)

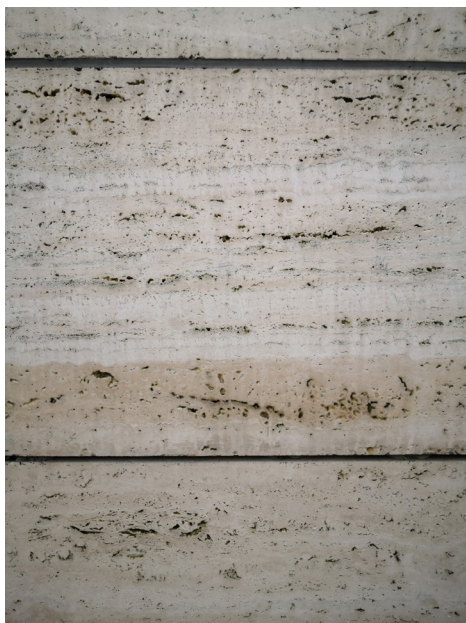


Fig. 3.12: Light-coloured concrete and stone cladding on the Sølvsberget. (Chen, 2022s)



Fig. 3.13: Main atrium and public passage, the brick facade of the film theatre was preserved as an internal wall in the new complex. (Chen, 2022o)

3.3 Professor Olav Hanssens vei 10 (Headquarters of Oljedirektoratet)

Around the same time Sølverberget sought to democratise the cultural realm of Stavanger, another public project arose to its West with the differing goal of centralising the city's oil power. Of the two major institutions established following the ten oil commandments, the Oljedirektoratet⁹ was to take charge of petroleum's political dimension. Through careful manoeuvring, Stavanger secured the seat of this powerful establishment upon its foundation in 1972. By the 1980s, however, the winds had begun to shift for Stavanger. Discoveries in Statfjord and Gullfaks meant that production facilities started migrating north towards Bergen, Trondheim, and Harstad. Oslo's political caste had likewise long sought to divide the petroleum windfalls amongst the nation's cities, leading to bases in coastal settlements like Florø and Kristiansund. Stavanger consequently had to fight hard for its role as Norway's oil capital. One of the main ways the municipality did so was through architectural works. The city spent much effort easing the process for large private and public oil establishments to commission new buildings. As a result, BP erected its considerably sized national office in Forus in 1984, adjacent to that of its main Norwegian competitor Statoil. Offices for Saga Petroleum, Amoco, and Conoco followed in the late 80s and early 90s. (Roalkvam & Gjerde, 2012, pp. 220–221)

However, the most significant project of the era was likely the new headquarters of the Oljedirektoratet in Ullanhaug in 1986. During its first decade of existence, the Directorate had resorted to renting offices in the city. With its new permanent headquarters, the state thus hoped to cut back on the high renting expenditures. Moreover, the project was of an even higher significance for the municipality because of its desire for further affirmation of its prominence as the premier oil city and because 1986 saw a steep fall in crude oil prices that brought concerns for the city's economic future. (ibid.) Therefore, the government commissioned the architect Erik Thesen to draw up a new 36000m² complex in the Ullandhaug district.

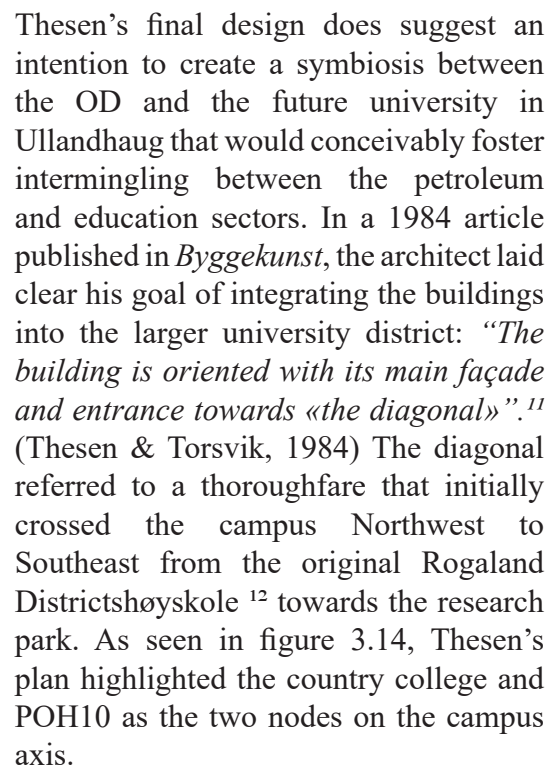
Its locality was likely no coincidence. Ullandhaug was historically an inconsequential agricultural area west of Stavanger. But in the 1980s, it was undergoing a mass transformation as part of a grand regional scheme to elevate Stavanger's into a university town. In 1961, with what Kristin Gjerde described as a "*collective, regional expression of will*", a gathering in the Rogaland Akademi declared the intention to establish a university in Stavanger. It was a tremendous challenge and would take 45 years to accomplish. (2011, p. 253) Universities were objects of great national significance in the Norwegian context. Historically subjugated by either Denmark or Sweden, Norway gained its first university in Oslo in 1811, only shortly before declaring a national constitution. The Norges Teknisk

⁹ Norwegian Petroleum Directorate

10. summarised and translated by thesis author, for the original and expanded definitions, see: Gjerde, 2013a, p.3

12. Rogaland County College

- Based on this framework, the motive behind Ullandhaug's transformation and the placement of OD's headquarters there becomes evident. As discussed in chapter 1, Stavanger had moved to strengthen its infrastructural capabilities and appeal to the oil sector during the early oil age. Ullandhaug thus likely represented a second stage in the oil development: intending to further cement its connection and influence over Norwegian oil by tying together the governing and educational powers through spatial planning.



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Architecturally, Thesen's design consisted of two independent volumes connected by a covered walkway on the second floor. The Western block, formulated on an E-shaped plan, contained the primary office spaces and communal functions, including a library, auditorium, meeting rooms, and staff cafeteria. The protruding wings towards the Northeast ensured natural light into the many offices of the four-storey block and outlined two semi-enclosed courtyards that faced a rolling landscape. On the other side, the Eastern building took on a more simplistic rectangular form and housed the OD's extensive collection of geological samples from the North Sea wellbores.

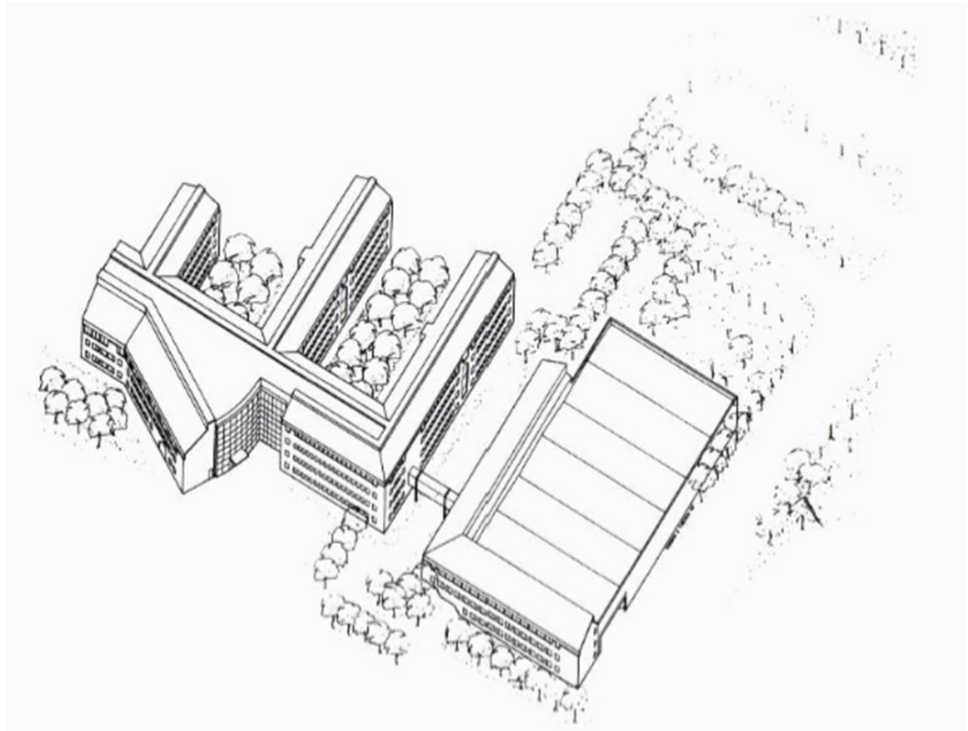


Fig. 3.15: Axonometric drawing of Prof. Olav Hanssens vei 10. (Thesen, n.d.-a)

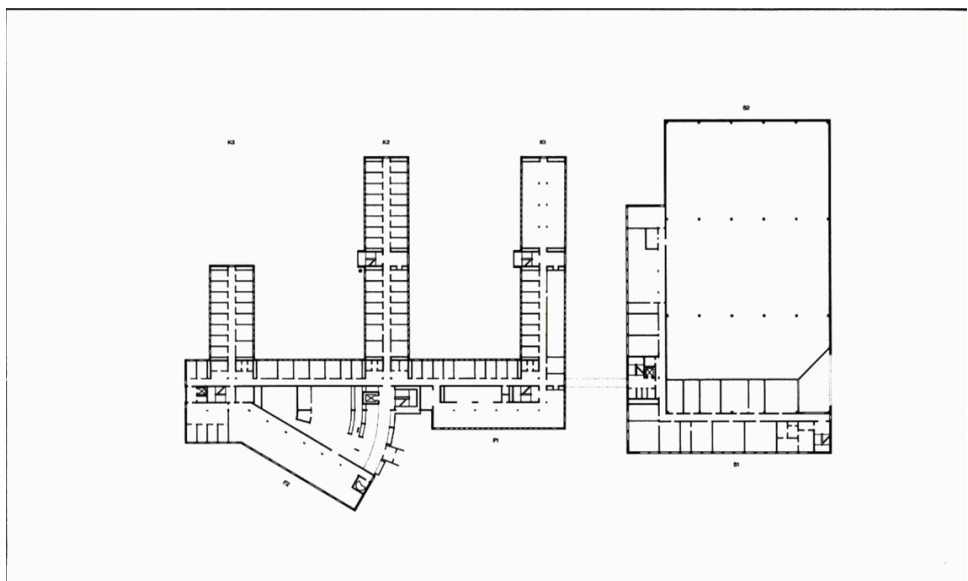


Fig. 3.16: Floor plan of Prof. Olav Hanssens vei 10. (Thesen, n.d.-b)

Materially, POH10 adopted a modest palette similar to Sølvsø to project a sense of uniformity presumably. Blackened bricks cladded both volumes, creating an imposing fortress appearance that was not dissimilar to Sølvsø. (fig. 3.17) Although, unlike the Sølvsø, where enough glazed portions exist to hint at a welcoming attitude, the architecture of POH10 outwardly hoped to inspire the opposite. On the ground level, the structures' uniform surfaces and relative height to the flat agricultural landscapes allow the structure to tower over any pedestrian. The gap between the two volumes, while spacious enough in plan to allow passage from the campus axis to the greenery behind and theoretically even ad-hoc gatherings, forms a daunting canyon that, in actuality, permits at most trepid transitions. (fig. 3.18) The absence of street furniture and prevalence of surveillance equipment in the area further entrenches the notion of public inadmissibility – a fact confirmed by an inquisitive security guard during the author's visit.



Fig. 3.17:
Material detail of POH10. (Chen, 2022b)



Fig. 3.18:
Public Passage (Chen, 2022e).

POH10 symbolic role within Stavanger's oil spaces thus appears to be one of power and hierarchy. Architecturally, the latter is perhaps meant to be experienced when approaching the complex from the campus axis. A flight of stairs facing the pavement allows the building to preside over the street and would-be visitors, akin to OD's role over the North Sea (fig. 3.19). The avidity for symbolism extended into the linguistic realm, as all the meeting rooms in the building followed the same naming convention as the North Sea oil fields – after Norse gods. (fig. 3.20) An abundance of art objects, many seemingly of some historical naval significance, scattered around the site further emphasises the sense of eminence by bringing aspects of memory to the young site and institution. (fig. 3.21)



Fig. 3.19: Street front of POH10. (Chen, 2022c)



Fig. 3.20: Mythological conference rooms. (Chen, 2022f)



Fig. 3.21: Memory objects. (Chen, 2022a)

3.4 Norsk Oljemuseum & Geopark

The potency of memories, even crafted ones, is a vital aspect of the oil fairy-tale. As demonstrated in chapter 1, architectural representations often served as carriers for these memories, linking specific architectonic fragments with notions of heritage and tradition. In the Norsk Oljemuseum this potential took on a physical manifestation.

The idea of an institution dedicated to the narration and preservation of petroleum history arose early in the Norwegian oil age. The proposal to establish a national museum was raised during the founding ONS fair in Stavanger in 1974.¹³ Consequently, The Norsk Oljemuseum foundation was launched in 1981 and tasked with collecting, documenting, and curating materials from Norwegian petroleum activities. Over the years, the museum gradually collated oil memorabilia and absorbed many private and corporate archives. However, the actual entrance of NOM¹⁴ into the physical realm and public prominence occurred with the unveiling of its dedicated complex in Kerringholmen in Stavanger in 1999.



Fig. 3.22: An exhibition from ONS 1974, Norse motifs are displayed alongside petroleum imageries. (Rogaland Avis, 1974)

13. Offshore North Sea: biannual trade fair held in Stavanger and one of the leading events for the global offshore and gas industry.

14. abbrev.: Norsk Oljemuseum = Norwegian Petroleum Museum

The scope and prestige of the project led to a highly anticipated open contest in 1992 that drew in 48 entries. The competition committee's requirements left no ambiguity about the project's significance to the nation:

*"The Norwegian Petroleum Museum shall be a symbol and physical expression of one of Norway's most important industrial eras; [during which Norwegian] sea[faring] power became oil power".*¹⁵ (Lunde & Løvseth Arkitekter, n.d., p. 19)

The winning architects, Ivar Lunde and Morten Løvseth, were pertinently aligned to the project's ethos. The duo had founded their practice a decade prior through a similar competition win and could list a portfolio of notable works dominated by government-backed projects. ('Lunde & Løvseth Arkitekter', 2021)

Perhaps most decisively, the two were proven and capable architectural narrators, as demonstrated in their Tønsberg Library completed the same year. In Tønsberg, the architects found inspiration in nearby archaeological discoveries. The ruined remnants of a medieval cloister become the spatial footprint and morphology of the new city library. (Lunde & Løvseth Arkitekter, 1992) This ability to embed allegorical meaning in architecture gained the practice much praise and favourability with the authorities, paving the way for their win in the NOM competition.



Fig. 3.23 Semi-circular roofs and glazed volume used to outline the archeological site under Tønsberg Library. (Unknown Photographer, 1992)

¹⁵. Translated by thesis author

The architect's narrative capabilities were again exercised in their entry for the NOM. Titled 'Vingtor & Sleipner' after two Norse mythological figures, L&L's¹⁶ design was based on a self-proclaimed scenographic philosophy and conceived as a curated spatial experience. The complex consists of three parts formulated and arranged in allegorical reference to Norwegian geology. (fig. 3.24) A rectangular volume clad in dark grey gneiss representing the metamorphic bedrock of the Norwegian continental plate formed the main public façade of the project. (Lunde & Løvseth Arkitekter AS, 2000, p. 51) At triple-story-height, the monolithic block exerts a monumental presence over the nearby street and square. To enter the museum, visitors go through a recessed space flanked by a curving protrusion and are thus figuratively led through the dark bedrock into the earth's crust. (fig. 3.25)

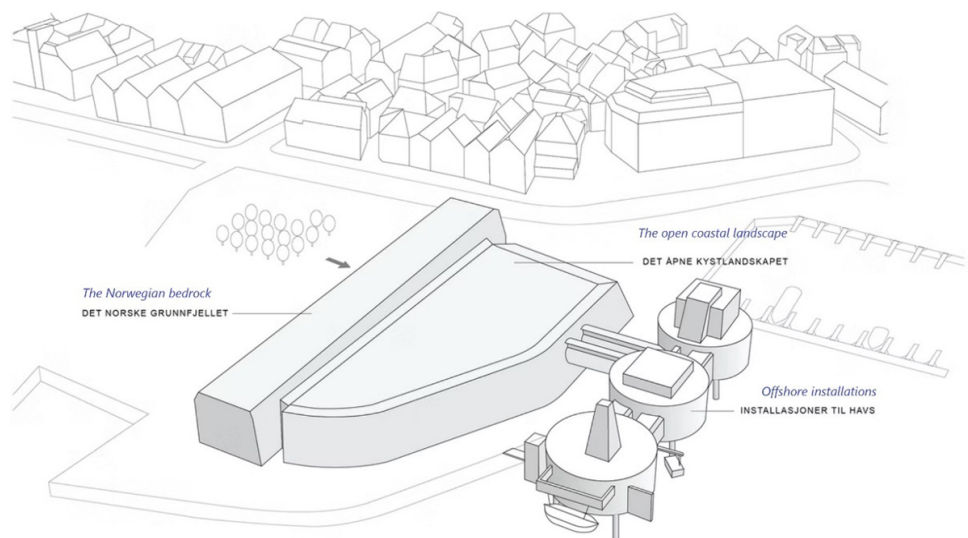


Fig. 3.24 Scenographic diagram of NOM. (L2 Arkitekter, n.d.)



Fig. 3.25 Exterior of NOM. (Unknown Photographer, n.d.-c)

15. Abbrev.: Lunde & Løvseth Arkitekter

The internal spaces similarly exercise narrative roles. Immediately upon entrance, a ‘wall of honour’ guides visitors towards the ticketing desk and the exhibition hall. Originally this was intended to be a textured and undulating concrete surface on which logos of key sponsors would be carved. (fig. 3.27) However, a more modest plaque was ultimately utilised in the finalised design. (fig. 3.26).

Nevertheless, the need for the architects to exercise such careful consideration of corporate motifs in architectural design reflects an often overlooked of the NOM – that of an intimate symbiosis with the petroleum industry. A tripartite coalition between the national government, county and municipal authorities, and private sponsors were required to pay off the museum’s NOK 165 million construction bill. The latter group, consisting primarily of oil companies, footed the largest share at NOK 75 million. (Norsk Oljemuseum, n.d.)



Fig. 3.26:

Plaque of Museum Sponsors.

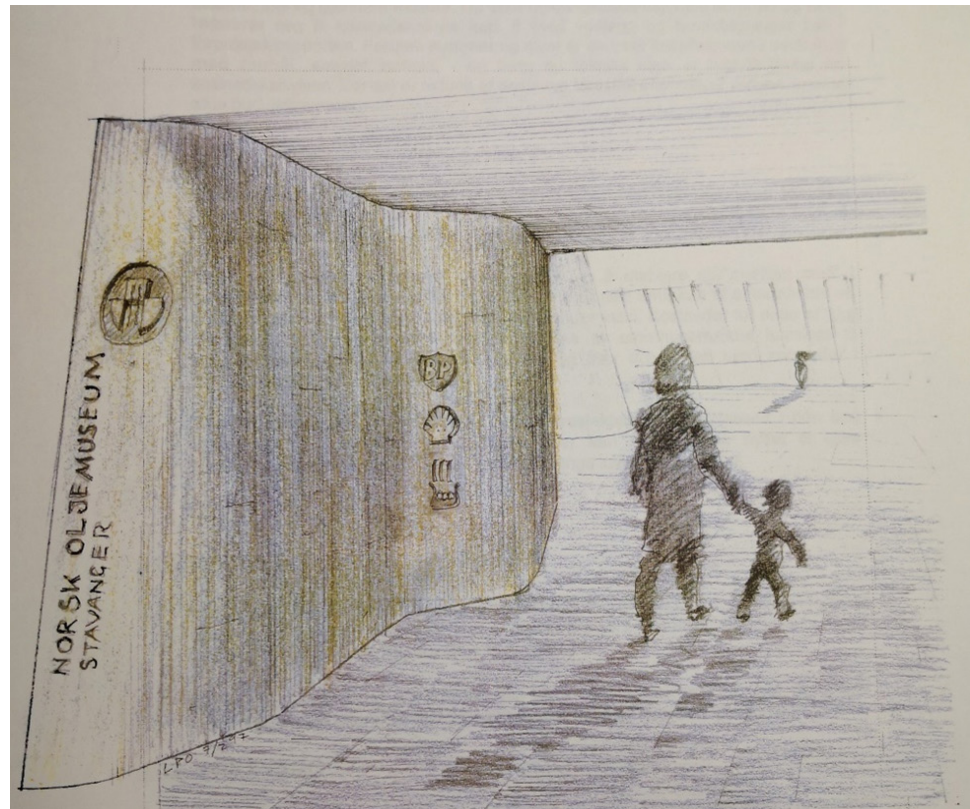


Fig. 3.27: Architects’ sketch of the ‘Wall of Honour’. (Lunde & Løvseth Arkitekter AS Sivilarkitekter MNAL, n.d.)

Due to it being a dedicated museum building, the architects specifically tailored the NOM to the intended exhibitions. The second and third volume's spatial formats directly correspond to their respective displays. In the main exhibit hall adjoining the entrance volume, a more traditional museum format showcases artefacts from the oil industry to visitors. Large-scale models, display panels, and memorabilia inhabit the open-plan hall. Conversely, the third and final part is split into three metallic cylinders containing the museum's interactive elements. (Lunde & Løvseth Arkitekter, n.d., pp. 28–31) The cylinders are not only apparent emulations of North Sea oil installations but rest atop steel stilts piled into the harbour floor itself, giving it the appearance of floating in the sea. (fig. 3.30) These 'mini platforms' connect to the main museum building through two elevated walkways, representing the aerial journey to the offshore platforms. (fig. 3.29) The adventurous visitors may even partake in special tours offering a ritualistic crossing of the walkways involving the wearing of oil workers' suits and sitting in salvaged helicopter seats over audio playback of a helicopter take-off, adding to the simulation.

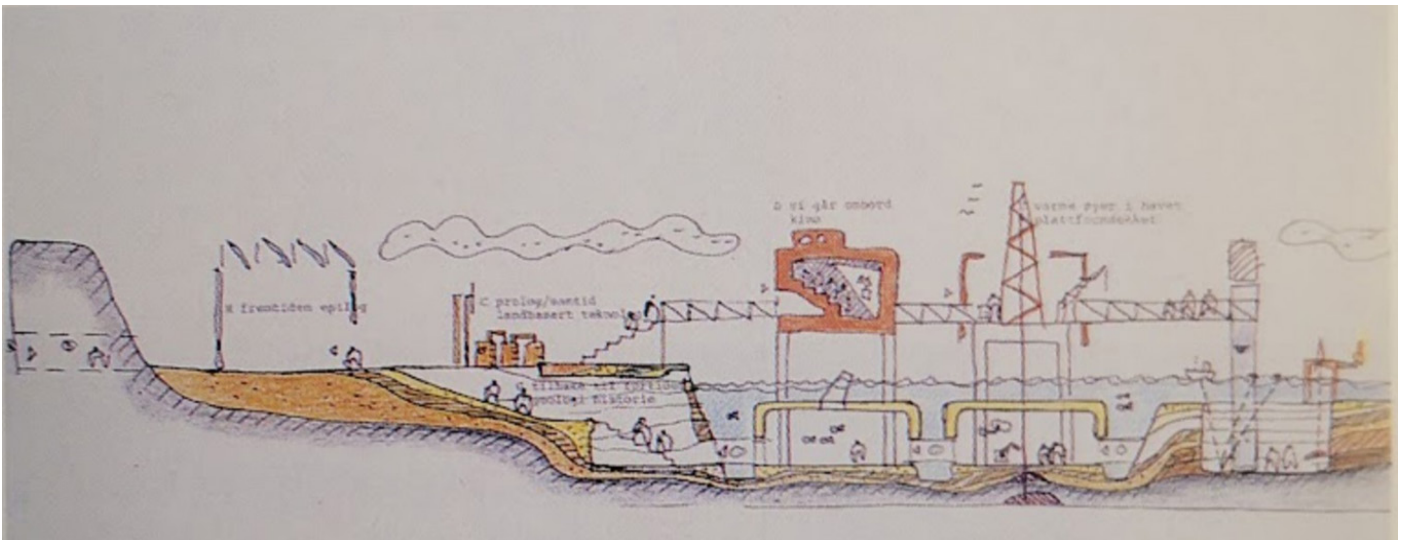


Fig. 3.28 Architects' Sketch of the Experiential Journey through NOM.



Fig. 3.29 Covered walkways connecting cylindrical blocks to the main building. (Chen, 2022n)



Fig. 3.30 Stilts supporting the cylindrical volumes. (Chen, 2022m)



Fig. 3.31 Functioning life-raft attached to one of NOM's cylinder blocks. (Chen, 2022q)

The architecture of staged reality is present throughout the NOM's exhibits and architecture. The NOM exhibitions feature numerous oil-themed simulacra, perhaps drawing a page from Walt Disney's design methods. Similar to Disneyland, children are the primary targets of these staged realities. In 'redningsstrømpen', visitors adorned in full floatation gear evacuate one of the cylinder blocks through an authentic platform escape chute. (fig. 3.32) In 'katta-stroferommet', children learn of the challenges of escaping a capsizing oil platform by completing an obstacle course housed within a large steel chamber, in darkness and over blaring emergency siren. (fig. 3.33) In 'lekeplattform småtroll', a miniature and cushioned version of the Troll oil platforms allow the youngest visitors safe exploration of oil spaces – and their guardians to browse the rest of the exhibits with ease of mind. (fig. 3.34)



Fig. 3.32:
Redningsstrømpen/*the rescue-sock* (Tjemsland, n.d.-a)



Fig. 3.33:
Katta-stroferommet/*the cat-tastrophe room* (Tjemsland, n.d.-b)



Fig. 3.34:
Lekeplattform Småtroll /*play-platform tiny Troll* (Norsk Oljemuseum, n.d.-b)

Finally, visitors and the public alike may delight in the nearby Geopark. A more recent addition by the local architects Helen & Hard in 2008, in conjunction with Stavanger's nomination as the European Capital of Culture, repurposed salvaged platform parts into an open-air urban park. According to the architects, the morphological study of the Troll oil field, aided by petroleum engineers and geologists, provided the basis for the park's configuration. (fig. 3.35) The project began as a self-initiated proposal by the architects to create a one-year installation. However, the park's popularity soon ensured its permanentising. (Helen & Hard Arkitekter, n.d.) Different zones within the park can accommodate both children's play and program-less civic gatherings. The architects imbued salvaged materials ranging from floatation buoys to oil pipes and drill heads with new, playful purposes such as trampolines, crawl pipes, skate ramps, and shelters. (fig. 3.36-39)

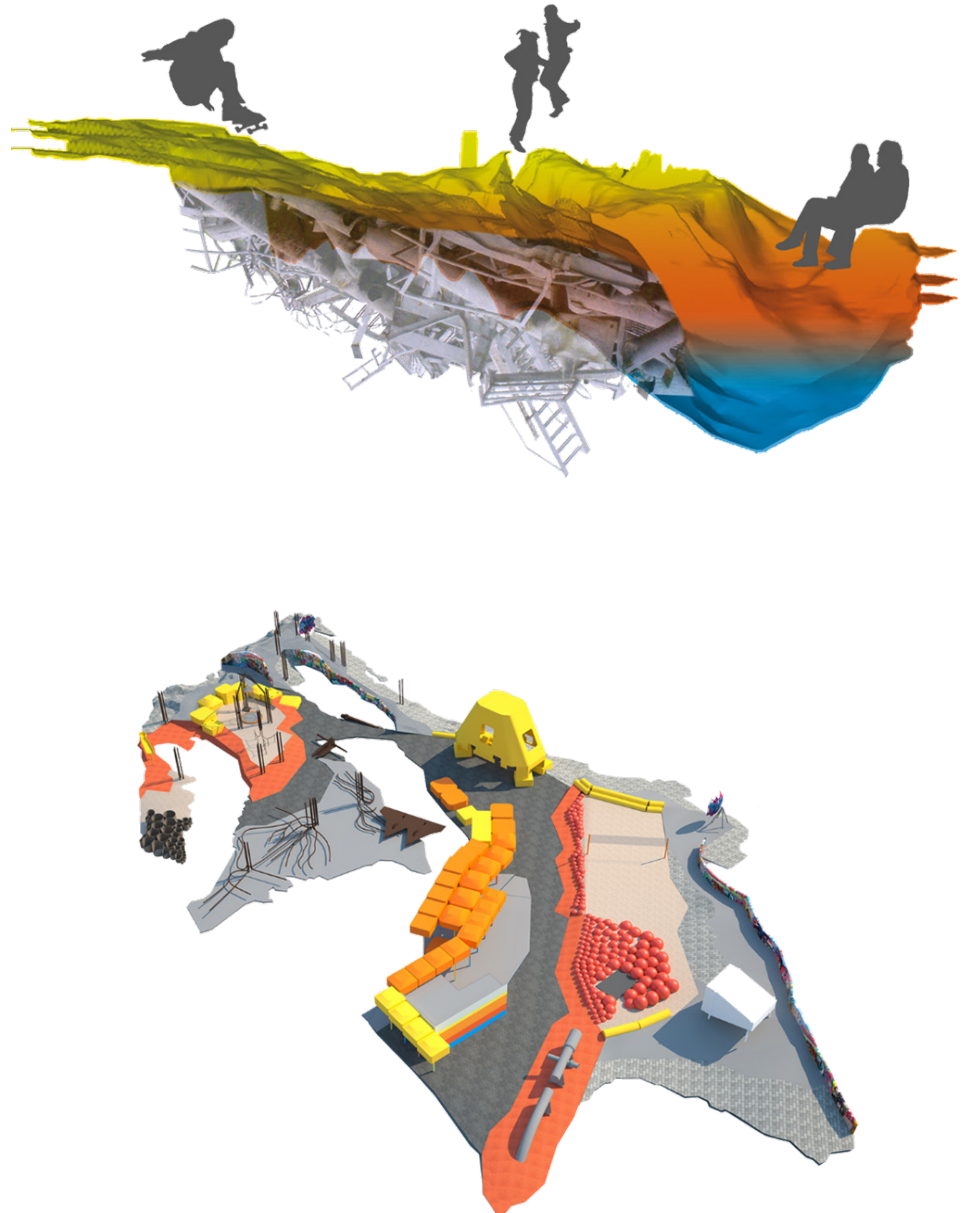


Fig. 3.35:

The architects' Morphological study of the Troll oil field.
(Helen & Hard Arkitekter, n.d.)



Fig. 3.36: Shelter made of reclaimed plastic and steel elements. (Chen, 2022i)



Fig. 3.37: North sea floatation buoys repurposed as bouncy balls. (Chen, 2022k)



Fig. 3.38: Sculpture made of rusted gas pipes. (Chen, 2022h)



Fig. 3.39: Drill bits and metal pipes converted into skate railings. (Chen, 2022j)

Compared to the simulacrums displayed in the neighbouring museum or the spatial allegories inherent in many of Stavanger's oil buildings, Geopark presents the city with an alternative oil experience. Rather than seeking to preserve oil history or convey political hierarchy as NOM and POH10 had done, Geopark's *raison d'être* is, at first glance, one of civic enabling. By adapting oil fragments, the park arguably democratises the industry to an extent unmatched by the other cases discussed. Moreover, the architects' discourse further presents the park as a foray into sustainable integration of oil infrastructure into urban life. (Helen & Hard Arkitekter, n.d.) Indeed, such acts of appropriating industrial infrastructure for civic good could conceivably point to a vision for a post-oil future and has many parallels around the world, from Latz + Partner's seminal Landschaftspark Duisburg-Nord in the 1990s to the more recent regeneration project by Diller Scofidio + Renfro in Milan, dRMM's Hastings Pier, or JCFO's New York High Line.

4 Conclusion

Through a combination of conscious public planning, private efforts, and historical context, the city of Stavanger has firmly asserted itself into the North Sea petroleumscape. Over the decades of interactions, the city and the oil sector have developed an intimate and co-dependent relationship that concerns nearly all aspects of civic life: politics, economics, leisure, culture, and education. At the root of these exchanges lay the deep-rooted and equally crafted cultural notion of the Norwegian ‘oljeeventyr’. Originally arisen as a vernacular response to the unexpected windfall brought by the discovery of petroleum, the Norwegian oil fairy-tale has since metamorphosised into a complex arrangement of linguistic, artistic, and political expressions guided by the state’s desire to curate Norway’s oil narrative. A palimpsestic network of art, adverts, buildings, corporate entities, literature, legislations, place-names, policies, and public institutions have since emerged to support the growing oil fairy-tale. A feedback loop now exists between oil and oil spaces. As Hein had pointed out, the resulting petroleumscape from deep entrenchment of oil can lead to a cycle of spatial generation and cultural imprinting. As new spaces arise from oil wealth, it reinforced oil’s cultural heroism.

Architecture, both its artistic and visual representations and physical manifestations, have played a central role in the narrative process of the oil fairy-tale. Architectural imageries, particularly ones concerning heritage, were often appropriated by the public stakeholders and oil sector to weave Norway’s oil ventures into a fantasised, historical legacy. Ultimately, similar methods were translated into building practices. This has been particularly evident in civic buildings in Stavanger, the de-facto Norwegian oil capital. As discussed in chapter 2, key civic spaces across the city and dating from different stages of oil development exhibit varying traces of the oil fairy-tale. This included both indirect oil spaces enabled by the influx of oil wealth and imported cultures and direct oil spaces conceived as allegorical references to Norwegian oil. Examples from the former category included the public library in Sølvberget and the hotel and entertainment venues of the 60s and 70s. These arose mainly in response to the changing urban conditions, whether from rising prosperity or an influx of foreign peoples and cultures. Conversely, the second group, exemplified by Oljedirektoratet’s HQ at Professor Olav Hanssens vei 10 and Norsk Oljemuseum, could be directly

attributed to oil activities, incorporated numerous symbolisms in their designs, and functioned as narrative devices towards the public.

Finally, a third noteworthy type of civic oil space emerged in Helen & Hard's Geopark. Typologically, it reflected perhaps the zeitgeist of 21st-century spatial planning – in which growing ecological awareness prompted architects and planners globally to explore recycling, rehabilitation and the transition to post-industrial landscapes. Nevertheless, I would argue that Geopark also stands out from most industrial regeneration projects that presently captivate architectural discourse, as it goes a step beyond the adaptation of derelict facilities for public enjoyment. By transplanting oil fragments into the city, Geopark created a new class of oil space – allowing the offshore petroleumscape to project itself onshore and into the heart of a city. Whilst the architects argued that the appropriation of salvaged elements might spark public interest in sustainable reuse of retired oil infrastructure and disseminate oil industry knowledge, the juxtaposition of oil memorabilia within the city's public life raises implications of spatial imprinting. In a town where the sight of colossal oil platforms under construction in nearby fjords used to be commonplace and where various urban wharves continue to service the North Sea oil fleet, the insertion of a playful oil space into the urban centre risk inadvertently aiding the petroleumscape and the notion of an oil fairy-tale in becoming ever more vernacular and ordinary in the public consciousness.

Thus, despite demonstrating the oil fairy-tale's influence over those of Stavanger's civic spaces studied in this thesis, it turns out that Bergsgard and Vassender's succinct question may not be as straightforward to answer. For Norwegian, *What has oil done with us?* concerns all aspects of society, though it is perhaps most powerfully present in the everyday spaces inhabited by its people. Stavanger exemplifies the complex interactions nature of an oil city. As demonstrated by Geopark, even efforts to envision a post-oil environment face implications of perpetuating the cycle of oil fairy-tales. Ultimately, the ability to determine the future of the oil fairy-tale rest in the same entity that created it – the public consciousness. In this regard, continued study, identification, and understanding of oil forces that shape the city's everyday spaces present the first and perhaps most potent step towards breaking oil's murky feedback loop.



Fig. 4.1: A 1986 calendar featuring the Gullfaks platform under construction in Stavanger harbour, spectacles like this were common throughout the 70s and 80s. (Norwegian Contractors, 1986)

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APPENDIX A:

«De ti oljebud»

1. *Nasjonal styring og kontroll med all virksomhet på den norske kontinentalsokkelen må sikres.*
2. *Petroleumsfunnene utnyttes slik at Norge blir mest mulig uavhengig av andre når det gjelder tilførsel av råolje.*
3. *Med basis i petroleum utvikles ny næringsvirksomhet.*
4. *Utviklingen av en oljeindustri må skje under nødvendig hensyn til eksisterende næringsvirksomhet og til natur- og miljøvern.*
5. *Brenning av utnyttbar naturgass på den norske sokkel må ikke aksepteres, unntatt for kortere prøveperioder.*
6. *Petroleum på den norske kontinentalsokkel skal som hovedregel ilandføres i Norge, med unntak for det enkelte tilfellet hvor samfunnspolitiske hensyn gir grunnlag for en annen løsning.*
7. *Staten engasjeres på alle hensiktsmessige plan, medvirker til en samordning av norske interesser innenfor petroleumsindustri og til oppbygging av et integrert oljemiljø med så vel nasjonalt som internasjonalt siktepunkt.*
8. *Det opprettes et statlig oljeselskap som kan ivareta statens forretningsmessige interesser og ha et formålstjenlig samarbeid med innenlandske oljeinteresser.*
9. *Det velges et aktivitetsmønster nord for 62. breddegrad som tilfredsstiller de særlige samfunnspolitiske forhold som knytter seg til landsdelen.*
10. *Norske petroleumsfunn i større omfang vil kunne stille norsk utenrikspolitikk overfor nye oppgaver*

«The Ten Oil Commandments» [Translation by thesis author]

1. *National governance and control of all activities on the Norwegian continental shelf must be secured.*
2. *Petroleum discoveries exploited in ways to ensure Norway becomes to the highest extent independent from others regarding the supply of crude oil.*
3. *Commercial activities to be developed with basis in petroleum.*
4. *The development of a petroleum industry must occur under the necessary supervision of existing commercial activities and to the protection of nature and environment.*
5. *The combustion of exploitable natural gas on the Norwegian continental shelf must not be accepted, with exception of short-term trial periods.*
6. *Petroleum found on the Norwegian continental shelf shall in principle be brought ashore in Norway, with exception in specific cases in which socio-political circumstances necessitate in alternative solutions.*
7. *The state is involved at all appropriate levels to contribute to a coordination of Norwegian interests within the petroleum industry and to establish an integrated petroleum sector with both national and international focus.*
8. *A national oil company is established to safeguard the state's commercial interests and have a purposeful collaboration with domestic oil interests.*
9. *An action plan is selected which satisfies the special socio-political conditions of the part of country north of 62. latitude.*
10. *Norwegian discoveries of petroleum in greater extent will confront Norwegian foreign policy with new undertakings.*

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