The Deindustrialized World

Confronting Ruination in Postindustrial Places

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and Andrew Perchard

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Introduction

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Early one morning when I was fourteen years old, my mom entered my bedroom and shook me awake. "Don't worry," she said quietly, "it'll be OK. They called the ore boat back, but it'll be all right." I wondered why we should be worrying about an "oar boat" being called somewhere but drowsily accepted her reassurances and went back to sleep. In retrospect, I imagine my mother on that chilly March morning both trying to reassure me and seeking comfort to face what was ahead, even as she couldn't quite bring herself to tell me what happened. The real news was that the recall of the ore freighter from the middle of Lake Michigan meant that Wisconsin Steel, the mill in Southeast Chicago where my father worked as a shear operator, had shut down.

– Christine J. Walley, *Exit 0*[1]

Deindustrialization has marked a crucial rupture in the lives of tens of millions of working-class families, including those of many of the contributors to this volume. For some, a specific workplace closure marked the sharp dividing line between their lives "before" and "after." For others, it was tied to a broader political and economic defeat, such as the British miners' strike of 1984–85. Younger contributors grew up in the aftermath of deindustrialization, noting the industrial and personal ruination around them. But

the process also witnessed new beginnings, as former industrial areas were redeveloped or converted into condominiums and art spaces. The central concerns of the fifteen essays in *The Deindustrialized World* are the spatial and temporal unevenness of these global events and how people live in and with, and respond to, economic and political ruination. This considers the oft-neglected aspect of global economic and social change – the profound legacy of globalization on former industrial communities.

The voices of the individuals and communities affected by deindustrialization are the "roar ... on the other side of silence."[2] While there is nothing new about capital relocation by firms, as Jefferson Cowie noted in his study *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor,* the pace of that change and its transnational character, facilitated by transnational agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), limit the ability of nation states to regulate against such movements (or provides them with the space to abrogate their responsibilities).[3] The ability to regulate the movement of capital owes as much to the political will to challenge the status quo and the rhetoric around the universal benefits of liberalized global markets. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) and Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), currently under discussion, will make it even easier for multinationals to make these changes with impunity, even offering recourse for them to sue national governments. While trade inequalities remain rightly at the forefront of the public consciousness, those industrial communities in former industrial heartlands have often been left behind.[4] However, the self-same counsel offered to nations rich in natural resources by former insiders like the former chief economist of the World Bank, Joseph Stiglitz, is apposite:

> Be skeptical of those offering to manage your resources or to buy them from you. Their objective is not to increase your well-being but theirs. And too often, the conditions that are required to be satisfied so that you can "trust the market" are not satisfied. There is another maxim: "A fool and his money are soon parted." This is an even stronger warning to the publics in resource-rich countries: *It is all too easy for politicians to connive with those in the private sector to take from you what is yours.* This maxim may be less catchy: When it comes to natural resources, even a reasonably informed citizenry and their money can soon be parted.[5]

As the chapters in this collection testify, closures have been met with a range of responses, leavened by time and place. Emotions may be reflected

in the minds of those who are affected by closures, such as the British steel-workers currently being laid off by Tata.[6] This forms the transition to what sociologist Richard Sennett has characterized as the "no long term," with the relative protections afforded to working people by Keynesian economic settlement, embedded welfare state, and strong trade unions replaced by the dominance of the market, social uncertainty, and erosion of employees' conditions – "the corrosion of character."[7] As many of the contributions in this volume illustrate, those industrial jobs and culture were shaped by industrial struggle, and left a legacy of disablement and even death. They could also be fraught with divisions and inequalities.

Industrial workplaces were also spaces from which strong networks and friendships extended out from the shop floor into the industrial communities in which they were located. They provided jobs, supported families, grew local economies, and evoked pride in occupational identities and localities. These ambiguities were powerfully captured in American blue-collar poet Bruce Springsteen's song "Factory" in 1978. The chapters in this book also illustrate another aspect of the shared global experiences that arise from the "human web" – the decline of industrial jobs and associated suffering but also the persistence and resilience of communities against immiseration.[8] The effects of such changes have also, as a number of chapters make clear, been mediated through a "moral economy," which, in the words of sociologist Andrew Sayer, "embodies norms and sentiments regarding the responsibilities and rights of individuals and institutions with respect to others."[9] Made famous by social historian Edward Thompson's influential 1971 work on eighteenth-century food riots, as Sayer notes, these "norms and sentiments" are not static; "to some extent, moral-political values regarding economic activities and responsibilities co-evolve with economic systems."[10] This was reflected in the ruptures signalled by the end of the Golden Years of the mid-twentieth century and the gradual abandonment of Keynesianism in the United Kingdom and North America. As Thompson noted twenty years after his original piece: "When I first published 'The Moral Economy,' 'the market' was not flying as high in the ideological firmament as it is today.

In the 1970s something called 'modernisation theory' swept through some undefended minds in Western academies, and subsequently the celebration of 'the market' has become triumphal and almost universal."[11] In Britain, this was seen with the prioritization of the market, especially after 1979, in what sociologist Stuart Hall referred to at the time as the "Great Moving Right Show."[12]

Industrial decline and erasure are often studied in places where the signs of ruination are most visible, resulting in a disproportionate number of studies that focus on small or medium-sized single-industry towns, where nothing has filled the void left by departing industries. With the exception of Detroit, ground zero for the American discussion, economic change in metropolitan areas is usually understood as "urban change," privileging where people live instead of where they work. This also shifts our attention away from capital flight to city governance, urban planning, and gentrification. The postindustrial transformation of large cities has therefore resulted in a double erasure of working people: first the factories closed, and then they were demolished or converted into high-end condominiums or art galleries. Residents in hard-hit working-class neighbourhoods adjoining the old factory districts have thus been blighted or residentially displaced as areas gentrify. This book examines deindustrialization in a variety of local and regional contexts, ranging from single-industry towns on the resource or mining frontier to large postindustrial cities. The process itself is nothing new; mill and factory closures and industrial rise and decline are integral parts of economic history.

Deindustrialization was a provocative idea at a time when people in "industrialized" or "First World" nations were grappling with the significance and extent of the rapid restructuring of the international division of labour.[13] It raised fundamental questions about the prevailing economic and political order, demanding urgent action. In Canada, for example, deindustrialization emerged as a left-nationalist critique of factory closures in the early 1970s, which were blamed on the high rate of US foreign ownership.[14] This analysis placed considerable emphasis on the disinvestment decisions made outside the country, which placed Canadians at a disadvantage. A few years later, in the United Kingdom, the deindustrialization idea was taken up by economists and geographers to describe the alarming collapse of that country's industrial base.[15] By then, the term was also in circulation in France and other countries,[16] but it was the publication of Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison's epic study, *The Deindustrialization of America*, in 1982 that pushed the concept into the "popular and scholarly lexicon."[17] This benchmark study, originally commissioned by a coalition of trade unions and community groups opposed to factory closures, cast deindustrialization as "a fundamental struggle between capital and community."[18] The centrality of the US experience, centred on the Rust Belt, that great arc of once-mighty industrial cities from Chicago and Detroit in the west to Philadelphia in the east, has effectively anchored the international field of research ever since.[19]

The Lachine Canal District of Montreal as seen from the old Northern Electric building | *Photograph by David W. Lewis*

The historiography of industrial decline has been both fractured and expanded since Bluestone and Harrison's study. These authors worked within the historical moment when "capital flight" and the "runaway shop phenomenon" were disturbing traditional notions of work, masculinity, and class in the heartland of American heavy industry.[20] Their critique emerged as towns such as Youngstown, Ohio, experienced the immediate impact of deindustrialization, and it responded to the undercurrent of anger expressed by workers and communities at their ongoing economic displacement. "Why may a corporation unilaterally decide to destroy the livelihood of an entire community?" Staughton Lynd famously wrote. "Why should it be allowed to come into a community, dirty its air, foul its water, make use of the energies of its young people for generations, and then throw the place away like an orange peel and walk off?"[21]

The seething ire within communities soon fed into the canon of work of musicians like Bruce Springsteen, Big Country, and The Proclaimers; these artists were informed by their own life experiences, as well as by influential books like Dale Maharidge and Michael Williamson's *Journey to Nowhere: The Saga of the New Underclass*.[22] Whereas Bluestone and Harrison employed an economic critique of deindustrialization, others began examining

its impact in terms of culture and identity. In 2003, Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott published their collection *Beyond the Ruins,* in which the contributors sketch these processes in terms of environmental impact, shifting class identities, and issues of working-class cultural representation.[23] Memories and representations of industrial displacement remain influential; in a recent special edition of *International Labor and Working Class History,* the editors remark that "by analyzing the way industrial work and its loss have been remembered and represented ... [we might] reveal the ongoing contestation between past ideas about work, class, and place, and a present in which those things have been destabilized not only by deindustrialization but by current economic conditions."[24]

Despite the theoretical hurdles cleared by deindustrialization scholarship in the last thirty years, the field remains largely indebted to the definitions provided by British and American contributors. The essays in this collection, exploring deindustrialization in five countries, seek to reveal the comparative threads drawing together the particularities of industrial decline in different geographies. While place-theorists such as Doreen Massey have long articulated the necessity of examining "the local" alongside "the global," deindustrialization as an ongoing process of capitalism reveals itself in various iterations and elicits disparate responses in different contexts.[25]

Industrial heritage preservation has recently surged in popularity, as has public fascination with industrial abandonment, where rubble is often aestheticized into ruins. The gritty appeal of former industrial buildings adapted to new uses also tells us something important about the times we live in.[26] The recent scholarship has thrilled in the transgressive appeal of exploring ruined mills and factories,[27] which has led to charges of voyeurism, even "ruin porn," in devastated cities like Detroit. Some have argued that these postindustrial cultural practices have much in common with other forms of middle-class ruin gazing.[28] Historian Ann Laura Stoler urges us to remember that ruins are not just found but also made: "Ruination is an act perpetrated, a condition to which one is subject, and a cause of loss."[29] For her, ruination is a "political project that lays waste to certain peoples and places, relations and things."[30] Building on an earlier scholarship focused on cultural meaning and representation, this edited collection takes us into the lived experience of those at ground zero and examines larger socio-economic changes.

The Deindustrialized World also brings into the conversation different national contexts in Western Europe, North America, and Australia, with a goal of considering how deindustrialization unfolded in particular geographic

and political contexts during the second half of the twentieth century. While mainly rooted in locality, region, or nation, the essays point towards a wider transnational understanding of deindustrialization as a political and economic process integral to capitalist development. So, too, these essays discuss the profound consequences for human health and the environment that have been wrought by industrial society; deindustrialization represents the loss of work – but also the cessation of pollution and other threats to the health of workers and community members. In this sense, the impact of deindustrialization is made more complicated; oral history testimony, referenced in several articles, explores the perception that industry provides economic livelihood while also negatively impacting community well-being. For these reasons, understandings of industrial decline and closure in postindustrial communities are often complex, layered, and contextual.

Locating Ourselves in History

Contributors to *The Deindustrialized World* are inextricably tied to this rapidly changing context. We are born into history, and it marks us in different ways. As historian Carolyn Steedman noted in her classic account of growing up working-class in 1950s England, the "specificity of place and politics has to be reckoned with in making an account of anybody's life, and their use of their own past."[31] Inspired by the Walley quote at the beginning of this introductory chapter, we asked our seventeen contributors (including ourselves) to respond to a series of questions. What originally brought you to work on these issues? What motivates you still? To what extent has it mattered where you grew up or where you live now? We then integrated the responses into the pages that follow, to help us situate the interpretative chapters in this volume.[32] The political and economic context may not be the same as that which animated the first wave of deindustrialization scholarship, but the changing baseline continues to shape how we approach deindustrialization in the past and present.

All of the contributors have a deep personal connection to the central subject of this book. We have lived *with* deindustrialization and its consequences for much (or all) of our lives. Many thus locate their own decision to study deindustrialization in childhood experiences or in deep family roots in industrial work or working-class communities. The visible signs of ruination or postindustrial transformation in their daily lives provided inspiration for some. For example, one of the three editors, Andrew Perchard, observed: "You don't have to look far to see the human scars" of

Illuminations. **Performative, site-responsive urban walk, Deindustrialization and Its Aftermath Conference, May 2014; Cynthia Hammond, Shauna Janssen, and Thomas Strickland in collaboration with Adeline Paradis-Hautcoeur and Leslie Baker |** *Photograph © Lisa Graves*

deindustrialization in the west of Scotland, where he still lives. Jim Phillips likewise noted:

> I work in Glasgow ... and think about deindustrialization almost every day. I see the waterfront on the Clyde from the University of Glasgow's Gilmorehill campus and contemplate the hundreds of thousands of people who have passed through the shipyards and docks: working, organizing, and building. At home in Dundee I cycle through the ex-industrial estates, sometimes shopping in the 21st century stores built on the sites that once accommodated precision engineering, electronic assembly and textile manufacturing, and the lives of the women and men who made great things and mundane things happen in these sometimes happy, sometimes unhappy spaces.

Once encountered, the physical vestiges of mills and factories sometimes sparked new research interests. Writing from the former steel town of Sydney, Nova Scotia, where he now teaches history, Andy Parnaby admits

that he "didn't go looking for this new project, at least not intentionally." He has the sense that it "found me – mostly because I live and work in the same place that I am studying, a new experience." Arriving in Cape Breton to teach, he remembers that the "remnants" of the steel plant were still sitting on the wharf "awaiting shipment to India or China, and local people were embroiled in the gruelling politics of environmental remediation. To live and work in a depleted city like this, in a deindustrialized region, on a marginal island, in a have-not province means that ruination – economic uncertainty, population decline, high rates of poverty, derelict buildings – is a part of life." Accordingly, he could not "help but be engaged by this fact, both personally and politically, and by the challenge of understanding its origins and evolution over time, and trying to communicate what I have found to the widest possible audience."

Cathy Stanton, who teaches anthropology at Tufts University in Medford, Massachusetts, and was a keynote speaker at the conference, raised a similar point. She was "drawn to studying industrial history sites because this is a 'history' that is so vast, so unfinished, and so woven into the present on virtually every level of our lives that it seems unimaginable to me that anyone can think of it *as* history or past." Her principal questions as a public historian "involve the transition of aspects of life from being 'present' into being 'past.'" Stanton is fascinated by both the politics and the poetics of those transitions. For her, this isn't a "personal quest," as she has never lived or worked in an industrial setting:

> It's more about trying to be a conscious and engaged scholar and human being in a time period when the true costs of industrialization are coming home to us in the form of climate change, economic instabilities and disparities, and fragile, exploitative – yet powerfully defended – global supply chains. It's also about engaging with a past that seems to matter more than most, precisely because it is so much *not* a past!

We all live with the present-day and future consequences of deindustrialization.

The stories the contributors shared were often intensely personal, revealing the degree to which deindustrialization is felt by researchers as well as our interview partners. There is little of the felt distance that underpins disciplinary knowledge in history or other scholarly writing. Robert Storey, another conference keynote speaker, who teaches Labour Studies at McMaster University in his hometown of Hamilton, Ontario, noted:

> Deindustrialization rings close to home because I grew up in a working-class home, in a working-class neighbourhood that was ringed with heavy industry – that was defined by heavy industry. My father worked in heavy industry. My mother dealt with the economic ups and downs of that industry. She dealt with the shift work that came with that industry. We breathed the air that came with that industry. The clothes that she hung out on the line were dirtied by the soot that fell from the skies ... I walked picket lines with my father. I picked cherries and apples and peaches in the "Golden Horseshoe" when demand was down and they were laid-off or when they went out on strike. As E.E. Cummings wrote: "Blood and smoke is the mix of steel."

Storey describes how thousands of people lost their unionized jobs in Hamilton after 1981, and notes that city has never really recovered. But he immediately qualifies this statement, adding that the

> thousands of workers who lost their jobs have never really recovered. Hamilton, we are told by our city boasters, is now a city of education and health. Well, it is also a city of profound inequalities. If you go to the once-proud working-class neighbourhoods, they are a shell of their former selves. Housing is in poor states of repair. Many of the people are in poor states of repair.

One can plainly hear the anger and defiance in Storey's voice as he explains how the sweeping changes to the economy have informed his political analysis:

> I am outraged by these developments. People being left behind. Neighbourhoods being left for dead. Casualties of an "industrial age" that no one wants to talk about anymore because what is happening is part of the processes of "creative destruction," or because these jobs were not good jobs in any event, or because in neoliberal versions of social Darwinism these people are responsible for their own fates.

Childhood memories of industrial culture also animated the response of Steven High, another of this book's editors and a co-author of this introduction, who grew up in Thunder Bay, Ontario, an isolated resource town on the North Shore of Lake Superior, about a twenty-hour drive northwest of Hamilton. He recalls that, as a "Northerner," "I had a strong sense of being

on the political and economic periphery." He grew up next to the railway yard where his father worked: "One of my earliest childhood memories is being herded with other neighbourhood children into the front room of a neighbour, who rolled up his pant leg to reveal the jagged stump where his leg used to be – the result of being dragged by a passing train when taking a short cut through the rail yards." In elementary school, High and his classmates visited a working mine, a grain terminal elevator, and a paper mill. They saw how trees were harvested, and even learned to make paper. One day in high school, his "economics teacher flung open the classroom window and exclaimed, 'Smell that! That is the smell of money. That smell puts food on the table.'" Thunder Bay still had four of its paper mills operating then. Much of this industrial world has since unravelled, and High's father was "bridged" to retirement at age fifty-one, delivering a harsh cultural blow.

The embodied experience of industrial labour and its revocation looms particularly large for Arthur McIvor, the director of the Scottish Oral History Centre at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow. McIvor's interest in issues of worker's health originate in the experiences of his father – a blue-collar worker, employed as a docker in Liverpool and then as an assembly line worker in a Coventry automotive assembly plant. In the 1980s, he was made redundant at age fifty-four from British Leyland. Thereafter, he took on more precarious and physically exhausting jobs, "with spells working as a taxi driver, a labourer in a steel works and as a factory cleaner." McIvor notes that this "economic uncertainty and anxiety adversely affected his health and that of my mother (they died at ages 65 and 56, respectively). I'm sure my father's lively and engaging storytelling, punctuated with tales of exploitative management, 'dirty tricks' and a 'them and us' polarised narrative contributed to my interest in oral history." Noting the scholarship's neglect of deindustrialization's impact on the body, he has sought to "explore the social impact of deindustrialization and job loss through reflecting on the historical meanings of manual work and the impact work had upon the body and upon identities."

Women's motivations for researching deindustrialization, like those of their male counterparts, emphasize childhood memories and family connection. Lucy Taksa's parents worked in a factory in Sydney, Australia, giving her a "personal experience of the role these places played in the lives of working people" and the contribution that they made to our lives today. Her motivation is "fundamentally political," fighting hard to preserve and interpret Australia's industrial and working-class heritage, maintaining "links to the past of places which give meaning to those who live and work in their vicinity."

Tracy Neumann, having grown up in Michigan and with several family members working for General Motors or other automakers, came to the topic of deindustrialization "quite naturally." Wanting to focus on cultural heritage issues in deindustrializing cities, Neumann pursued a master's degree in historic preservation and worked for several years as a historian for a cultural resource management firm in the blighted industrial cities in upper New York state and Pennsylvania. "Nearly everywhere I carried out my architectural surveys, I saw the social and physical devastation deindustrialization wrought." This caused her to think more about "places back home like Saginaw, Flint, and Detroit and [I] wondered how and why industrial cities had been allowed to decline, why urban planners and public policymakers had not tried harder to preserve manufacturing jobs." She then undertook a PhD to explore these questions further.

Sylvie Contrepois's research has focused on the transformation of the union movement since the 1990s, including a long-term study of the Corbeil-Essonnes industrial basin outside of Paris – situated near where she was born and still lives today. This was part of a Europe-wide study (SPHERE) of the evolution of collective identities in old industrial regions that have experienced large-scale restructuring. The Montreal conference raised questions in her mind about the concept of deindustrialization:

> C'est au moment du colloque de Montréal que je me suis vraiment penchée sur la notion de désindustrialisation en tant que telle, pour finalement me rendre compte qu'elle n'avait rien d'évident. Le déclin de l'industrie n'est, en effet, pas aussi net que l'on pourrait le penser: d'anciennes industries ont complètement disparu ou se sont radicalement transformées ou ont été déplacées dans d'autres régions/pays. Dans le même temps de nouvelles industries apparaissent. Travailler sur la notion de "désindustrialisation" m'a donc amenée à en questionner la pertinence. Plutôt que de désindustrialisation, je préférerait parler d'effacement d'une certaine civilisation industrielle qui s'est caractérisée jusque dans les années 1980 par un ancrage spécifique des unités de production industrielles dans leur territoire. Cela a fait émerger des formes d'organisation sociale spécifiques (logements collectifs, protection sociale, loisirs) et de solidarité particulières (mutuelles, associations ...).

Contrepois's political motivation is to find "pathways to human emancipation and to make visible the mechanisms of exploitation."

While several of our older contributors recalled childhoods firmly anchored in the culture of industrialism, younger ones grew up in its shadow. This was certainly true of Andy Clark, a PhD student at the University of Strathclyde, whose memory turned to something that happened with his father:

I was born and raised in Greenock, twenty-five miles downriver from Glasgow ... When I was seven years old, the large crane at the Scott Lithgow Shipyard was to be blown up, clearing the area for proposed regeneration. I nagged my father for days to take me to see it which he promised he would; however, on the day of demolition he told me that he was unwell and that we would not be going along. Around ten years later, as I was beginning my undergraduate degree and taking an interest in deindustrialization, he told me that he had lied that day, as he could not bring himself to witness the demolition of such an important symbol of the industry in which he worked once leaving school. That reflection had the biggest influence on me in focusing my studies.

Lachlan MacKinnon, one of this volume's editors, similarly points to the presence of deindustrialization in his early years as motivating him in this research area:

Growing up in Sydney [Nova Scotia] has caused me to hold a great deal of personal attachment to the victims of economic dispossession. The steel plant closed while I was still in my early teens, so I witnessed firsthand the closure of local businesses, the impact of unemployment, and the increased prevalence of crime and drug abuse in my city. While many of the people I grew up with have since left the region to work in the Alberta oil fields or other points west, others never got the chance – having lost their lives to suicide or overdose. These experiences, and an innate hostility towards popular narratives that blame residents in places like Sydney for their misfortune, led me to my current area of study.

For these contributors, childhood and family life was not marked by industrialism but by its palpable absence. As MacKinnon observes, this absence has been filled with a gamut of social problems. The "hidden injuries of class," identified by Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb in 1972, just as the tsunami was being unleashed on the industrial heartlands, have been

supplanted by even greater social inequalities.[33] Many areas have witnessed significant outward migration and multigenerational unemployment. They have experienced the collapse of the social infrastructure provided by trade unions, central and local (federal/state/provincial) government, communities, workplace networks, and families – and with it increasing social isolation. Ultimately, the toll is to be seen starkly in an associated disturbing rise in depression, suicides, and parasuicides.[34]

Scottish-born Jackie Clarke pinpoints her decision to write about deindustrialization in France to a road trip she made through Lorraine, and then relates it back to her family's industrial roots in Scotland:

> I was driving through what used to be the heart of the French steel industry … As the motorway passes Hayange, there is a spectacular view of the steelworks, with its huge blast furnaces in the valley below. I've taken this road many times and always found the sight strangely moving. Perhaps this was reinforced that day by a conversation we had over lunch with a retired steel industry engineer. Reflecting on how Rédange had changed, he despaired at the flashy executive homes now being constructed on its old industrial sites.
>
> What made the rusting steelworks and the *chagrin* of an old steel man speak to me? Something about the connection between physical spaces and human stories … The pull of this topic doubtless has something to do with the landscapes of my own childhood. My hometown of Bathgate in West Lothian, Scotland, was synonymous in the 1980s with the factory closures of the Thatcher era – and was immortalised in the chorus of a well-known song ["Letter from America"] of the time: "Bathgate no more." But my own family history is also deeply connected to an earlier industrial history, that of the West Lothian shale oil industry, in which both of my grandfathers worked.

Both the shale industry and the closure of the British Leyland plant in 1986 are now subjects of historical interpretation at the local museum and by oral history projects.

National contexts are sometimes determinant in researchers' motivations. Owen Jones once noted that "if Thatcherism had one aim, it was to stop us thinking in terms of class."[35] With the assault on the miners' union, Thatcher wanted to "erase the idea that people could better their lives by collective action, rather than by individual self-improvement."[36] This clearly did not work for our contributors from the United Kingdom, who all pointed to this pivotal moment as being central to their decision to study working-class history and deindustrialization. Another of this volume's editors, Andrew

Perchard, spoke for many when he noted that his interest in deindustrialization originated not so much from *where* he grew up as *when.* He was politicized under Thatcherism during his teenage years. The 1984–85 miners' strike also looms particularly large in the mind and research of Jim Phillips:

> In Scotland from the 1950s to the 1970s industrial jobs were eliminated deliberately, but the material interests of affected workers and communities were safeguarded partly because of trade unionism's continued influence in these decades. The new liberal order that emerged in Britain following the election of Thatcher's government in 1979 transformed their position. A social-democratic structure ... was eliminated, with the new liberal order imposed on workers and industrial communities through metaphorical and in some cases actual state violence.

Finally, in reflecting upon the impact of deindustrialization in Scotland, Arthur McIvor also notes that he moved to Glasgow from London during the miners' strike. He was only a "green early career labour historian" at the time, but the city imprinted itself on him:

> Glasgow was one of Britain's most important industrial cities, but deindustrialization accelerated in the 1980s and 1990s ... The city has had a profound influence on my thinking and has shaped my transition towards the study of industrial work and its meaning ... My first investigations in the 1980s related to Glasgow and to "Red Clydeside," including a study of previous struggles of workers in Singers, Clydebank – an iconic multi-national plant which had recently closed its Scottish operation in 1980 ... My interest in work and deindustrialization has been fuelled by a social democratic political position – I was a Labour Party activist in the 1980s and have been involved in supporting advocacy groups seeking social justice for workers who have contracted industrial diseases.

The contributors' reflections reveal that "place" matters not only in terms of lived experiences of deindustrialization and its aftermath but also for those who now find themselves critiquing it. Seamus O'Hanlon, an urban historian who has published extensively on the postindustrial transformation of his hometown, Melbourne, Australia, notes: "Being a male blue-collar worker like my dad in the 1970s and 1980s was to face a terrible truncated future. Being the educated child of that worker was for many of us the opportunity of a lifetime." Seamus noted that the new jobs and industries that emerged,

and the new ways of living, "opened up new possibilities for other groups – women, gays and lesbians, entrepreneurs of all descriptions and indeed immigrants and their children such as myself." But, he added, "perhaps being from Australia where a social democratic government attempted to share some of the spoils of the new economy gives me a rosier view of these things than would someone who grew up under Thatcher or Reagan."

Andrew Hurley's interest in deindustrialization is similarly wrapped up in his fascination with cities and "the question of how urban environments (in the broadest sense) take shape and differ. I have always been drawn to places that are in some sense marginal, dysfunctional, or otherwise problematic." This interest "bears no relation to personal experience and is not tied to any particular political agenda ... I wouldn't say my politics drive my research." His contribution to this volume is in many ways a sequel to his first book, *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana, 1945–1980,* in that it asks what happened to places like Gary following the cataclysm of industrial contraction: "I wanted to know why so many deindustrialized districts continued to wither at the same time that many equally distressed inner-city neighbourhoods closer to the urban core experienced significant revitalization."

In order to further explore the many "aftermaths" of deindustrialization, we have organized this collection into three major sections: (1) "Living in and with Ruination," (2) "The Urban Politics of Deindustrialization," and (3) "The Political Economy of Deindustrialization." "Living in and with Ruination" explores the concept of industrial ruin in relation not only to ruined workspaces but also to the ruined health and injured bodies that are too often the lived aftermath of deindustrialization among former industrial workers. These chapters also examine representation of the industrial past, whether nostalgic, angry, or hopeful, to reveal how people come to terms with loss – particularly in single-industry towns. "The Urban Politics of Deindustrialization" reveals the disparity between rural resource economies and urban centres: How is deindustrialization framed in major cities where its aftermaths are sometimes less visible in the face of emerging "hipster-economies" of craft-breweries and expensive apartments? Where does the working class fit in the "revitalized" economy? The final section, "The Political Economy of Deindustrialization," examines the ongoing sociopolitical impact of industrial loss on former workers and their place within the new economy. This also includes a discussion of the neocolonial aspects of deindustrialization: To what extent is industrial loss racialized? How do

environmental concerns surrounding the continuation of industrial employment relate to the perception of a "Golden Age" of work?

In his 1998 article "The Body as an Accumulation Strategy," David Harvey asks, "What effect does the circulation of variable capital (the extraction of labour power and surplus value) have on the bodies ... of those through whom it circulates?"[37] In "Living in and with Ruination," the authors unpack the impact of deindustrialization on the bodies of workers and residents in industrial regions. In each chapter, the "critical nostalgia" of the postindustrial era is closely examined: where do the economic and social impacts of deindustrialization intersect with the environmental and bodily damages related to industrial employment? When these contested questions are represented through industrial heritage, as we learn in several of the section's chapters, sites sometimes obscure the lived memories of industry in favour of marketable images with mass appeal and salability.

"The Urban Politics of Deindustrialization" explores the impact of industrial decline on cityscapes throughout the world. What comes after the closure of the mill or the factory – particularly in the context of emergent finance, knowledge, and service-based capitalism – reveals much about shifting geographies of power. Other chapters discuss the impact of industrial decline on suburban locales, and explore how factors such as immigration, proximity to metropoles of the "new economy," and pre-existing political heritage can influence the enactment of deindustrialization at the local level. In contrast to many of the rural resource economies examined herein, there is a sense that affected urban centres are moving towards another stage of the capitalist development process.

In the final section, "The Political Economy of Deindustrialization," a selection of articles from Canada, Britain, and France explore the politics of deindustrialization through the lenses of class, race, and gender. Drawing upon case studies in Canada and Britain, authors explore how notions of whiteness and masculinity have influenced public perceptions of lost employment in industry and basic manufacturing. The role of the state, particularly through regional development strategies, is another theme that emerges in this section. In the United Kingdom, state intervention from the 1940s and 1990s has resulted in vastly different perceptions of the role of the national government in the deindustrialization process; other chapters in this section further reflect upon these discrepancies.

It is the authors' intent to shift our focus from industrial ruins to the wider processes of ruination. We see and hear how people live in and with