ROUTLEDGE INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOKS

The Routledge International Handbook of Deindustrialization Studies

Edited by Tim Strangleman, Sherry Lee Linkon, Steven High, Jackie Clarke, and Stefan Berger

THE ROUTLEDGE INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK OF DEINDUSTRIALIZATION STUDIES

The Routledge International Handbook of Deindustrialization Studies is a timely volume that provides an overview of this interdisciplinary field that emerged in response to the widespread decline of manufacturing and heavy industry from the 1980s onward. Edited by prominent figures in the field, the volume brings together many of the leading scholars from a range of countries across the globe to offer a multifaceted overview of deindustrialization and its impact.

Deindustrialization has been cited as one of the factors behind the rise of the far right, and to a lesser extent the far left, across Europe, the rise and success of Trumpism in the US, and the Brexit vote as well as the more recent and sudden erosion of UK Labour's 'Red Wall' of the North of England. This collection brings together scholars of deindustrialization around the globe and from a wide variety of academic disciplines including history, sociology, politics, geography, economics, anthropology, literature, arts practice, photography, heritage, and cultural studies. In doing so, the volume explores the roots of deindustrialization across the world, highlights the key themes and issues in the field, illustrates the intersectional and interdisciplinary character of the field, and shows how deindustrialization lies at the heart of many of the key political, cultural, social, and economic issues of our time.

Written in a clear and accessible style, the *Handbook* is a comprehensive interdisciplinary volume for this young but maturing field. The volume is a valuable resource for students, teachers, and researchers interested in industrial decline, closure, and the multifaceted impacts they cause. It speaks to readers across the arts, humanities, and social and political sciences concerned with deindustrialization broadly defined.

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

Designed cover image: 'A poster by Fred Wright protesting plant closures'

First published 2025
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Strangleman, Tim, 1967– editor.
Title: Routledge international handbook of deindustrialization studies / edited by Tim Strangleman, Sherry Lee Linkon, Steven High, Jackie Clarke, Stefan Berger.
Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2025. | Series: Routledge international handbooks | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2024049109 (print) | LCCN 2024049110 (ebook) | ISBN 9781032311524 (hardback) | ISBN 9781032311531 (paperback) | ISBN 9781003308324 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Deindustrialization. | Industries—History.
Classification: LCC HD2329 .R679 2025 (print) | LCC HD2329 (ebook) | DDC 338.09—dc23/eng/20241213
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024049109
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024049110

ISBN: 978-1-032-31152-4 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-032-31153-1 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-003-30832-4 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003308324

Typeset in Galliard
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As always, a collection like this incurs many debts along the way. All the team would like to thank the many staff at Routledge for their help and support, especially Chris and Lakshita. We would like to acknowledge the wonderful copy editing undertaken by Halima Bensaid. This handbook emerges out of many discussions at various in-person and online events over the last two decades or more. This field's strength lies in its ability to draw on academic and nonacademic material, insights, and encounters. It rightfully draws on established scholars but also is exciting as newer generation younger scholars' voices are heard. We thank you all.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the DéPOT (Deindustrialization and the Politics of Our Time) project led by Steven High and funded by Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada. This volume received funding for copy editing work undertaken by Halima. More widely, all of the editors are involved in the DéPOT program and gratefully acknowledge how important it has been to this volume.

Tim would like to thank Claudia, Max, Maddy, and Pip for all their love and support.

Sherry would like to thank Tim for creating space here for arts and culture, the contributors to the representations section for their patience and enthusiasm, and John for his never-ending encouragement and support.

INTRODUCTION

Deindustrialization as a field of study emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s when scholars and activists began to recognize a pattern of industrial job loss over and above 'ordinary' closures and layoffs. In many of the 'developed' countries of the world, traditional industrial manufacturing sectors were experiencing massive downsizing or even systematic eradication. This destructive process united North America, the UK, and Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, but it has also occurred in economies as varied as India, Tanzania, China, and Australia. Scholars studying deindustrialization recognized that its effects went far beyond the immediate economic impact of job loss, generating a host of social, cultural, health, and political challenges for individuals and their families, communities, and nation-states. Since the turn of the millennium, the field has matured and expanded, becoming increasingly interdisciplinary and international. This handbook offers a guide to the range of scholarship and thinking about deindustrialization for those new to the field as well as more established scholars.

Why Deindustrialization Studies?

Scholars have been writing about the process of deindustrialization for over four decades. Early work sought to understand change in the context of the crisis in Fordism and the end of the long postwar boom in 'western' industrial nations. Prosperity for these countries was built around a regime of manufacturing and consumption that was celebrated and seen as open-ended. A strong welfare industrial state could be built on this model buttressed by consensus on the need for a managed economy and full employment. By the 1970s, this consensus was breaking down politically, economically, and socially. The heavy and light industries, which had been the bedrock of the long boom era, were increasingly shedding jobs, and corporations were disinvesting from the industrialized countries of the Global North and setting up facilities in the Global South.

The brunt of deindustrialization in the US, for example, fell on the Industrial Midwest, which saw nearly one in five manufacturing jobs disappear between 1979 and 1986 (Markusen and Carlson, 1989, pp. 30–31). The unemployment rate in Detroit, the US's 'motor city,' climbed from 8.3% in 1978 to 20.3% in 1982. It was even worse in nearby Flint,

DOI: 10.4324/9781003308324-1

which saw its unemployment rate jump from 8.8% to 27.1% (Clark, 1986, p. 129). The impact on industrial workers, their families, and their communities was enormous. Undertaking anthropological research in the former auto-manufacturing town of Kenosha, Wisconsin, Kathryn Marie Dudley describes plant closures as rites of passage where displaced workers were not only "stripped of their workplace identities" but unmasked as middle-class imposters (Dudley, 1994, p. 134). While this pattern repeated in many places, as studies of closings in different locations and industries have shown, recent scholarship has made clear that deindustrialization unfolded unevenly even within the same country.

We see this in parts of the Global South, which is often treated as a single mass with a vague destination point for runaway plants. Yet offshoring is an uneven process, and the economic trajectories of countries vary enormously. Much attention has been given to the rise of the newly industrialized nations on the Pacific Rim such as South Korea and Taiwan, but, since the 1980s, South America has experienced a manufacturing decline similar to what occurred in Europe and North America (Rodrik, 2016, p. 2). Deindustrialization was a strong trend throughout much of the region, with Brazil serving as its poster child, given the loss of 1.7 million industrial jobs between 1988 and 1998. The rate of unionization in Brazil was also cut in half during that terrible decade (Anner, 2008, p. 38). China and India have likewise seen the deindustrialization of older industrial areas such as Harbin and West Bengal respectively, while newly industrialized regions have emerged with the liberalization of trade (see Neethi and Rao, 2023; Xie, 2024).

In part, the purpose of this volume is to chart this process but also to reflect on the historiography around the study of deindustrialization. It raises questions about how scholars attempted to frame these processes conceptually, theoretically, methodologically, and historically. Bluestone and Harrison's *The Deindustrialization of America* was something of a foundational text for the field and is a touchstone drawn on throughout the volume. Bluestone and Harrison argued that the industrial change being witnessed at scale in the 1970s and early 1980s had to be seen as a process that went beyond economics. The consequences of large-scale closure and loss were profound, long-lasting, and ongoing. As important as economics were to the story, they argued, it was also vital to understand deindustrialization socially, geographically, politically, and morally. This process was the consequence and outcome of choices made by corporations and by national, regional, and local politicians faced with globalization and increased international competition.

As this volume shows, deindustrialization can and should be studied in multiple ways and through multiple disciplines. While there have been significant and largely separate threads of scholarship by historians, geographers, and sociologists, the field has been increasingly marked by cross- and interdisciplinary work. One of the distinctive features of this collaboration is how it straddles the arts, humanities, and social sciences. This has led to genuinely inclusive learning, allowing scholars to think in new and imaginative ways about industry and the ideas that attach to it. As social scientists such as sociologists, geographers, and political scientists use and adopt visual and literacy approaches, humanities scholars draw on concepts and theories developed in the human and social sciences. One theme connecting research across disciplines – and running through this volume – is the temporal. Many scholars here consider ideas about history, memory, nostalgia, and the past. We cannot ignore how things came to be, but at the same time, many of the contributions here also examine the crucial role of the past in shaping how individuals, communities, and nations think about the present and their futures. As deindustrialization continues to evolve, it reshapes our understanding of the temporal. In some places such as the UK, the closures of the 1980s may have been met

with radical opposition on the left, while in the first three decades of the new millennium deindustrialization is generating social conservatism and divisive politics. This speaks to our own time, but it also calls for deindustrialization scholars to ponder how these ideas and imaginaries are deploying the past to cast the future and its possibilities.

For many of us who have been studying deindustrialization, much of what has unfolded since the 1980s was entirely predictable. If industry disappears from a town, city, or region, it leaves in its wake a whole series of legacies. Some of these are noble and positive – including what some might capture in the phrase an "industrial structure of feeling," often reduced to the phrase a good work ethic. But, too often, these positive traits are swamped by multiple problems: lack of education, poor health (mental and physical), alcohol and drug problems, and housing and transport issues. Politically, deindustrialized places have often felt forgotten and marginalized. Oftentimes, industrial areas that played vital roles in forging regional or national identities now find themselves stigmatized and neglected. Too often, deindustrialized places have had to make the best of their lot, advised to get over their past without being given the capacity or resources to do just that.

French historians Marion Fontaine and Xavier Vigna have recently suggested that deindustrialization represents an especially promising pathway to understanding contemporary societies (Fontaine and Vigna, 2019, p. 3). With the emergence of new currents of national populism – Trump, Brexit, AfD in Germany, the Front National/Rassemblement National in France, and radical politics elsewhere – deindustrialization began to move to the top of the political agenda. Often, progressive parties whose base had been the places now deindustrialized sought to broaden their appeal, moving on to emerging social issues but leaving a political vacuum in their wake. Deindustrialization, like industrialization before, continues to shape and reshape the politics and meanings of class, race, and gender. In many ways, these issues speak to larger questions of what the transition from the previous industrial order is likely to mean, how it is to be handled, and what kind of society we would like to see in the future. One of the biggest challenges to have emerged since the 1970s is the environment, especially the ongoing consequences of a carbon-based industrial society. The idea of just transitions goes to the heart of deindustrialization studies, which has examined transitions that have been far from just. Communities have been left to themselves to 'get over' their industrial pasts, to move on, and forget, and many continue to struggle decades after industrial closures. At the same time, just transitions have to involve more than economic justice. They should also take account of the physical environment, social and moral terrains, and the multiple legacies of an industrial past. Justice for deindustrialized areas need not disrupt us in tackling climate change; indeed, the two are inextricably linked.

The Structure of the Handbook

In the parts and chapters that follow we explore these issues. We have organized the volume into five parts, each with an introduction. We have tried to represent a range of scholars and scholarship to showcase the state of the art of the field in all its richness. Inevitably, there are gaps and absences here. We address some of these in the part introductions and the conclusion to the volume. As in any handbook, what follows can be dipped into selectively or read part by part. Inevitably, some themes and even examples appear multiple times, underscoring the shared knowledge of the field while also highlighting the diversity of approaches.

In *Part I Concepts and Theories*, editor Tim Strangleman provides an overview of definitional challenges of the field, followed by Steven High's discussion of the theoretical

underpinnings of deindustrialization studies. High explores the historiography of the field and how it has emerged since the beginning of widespread closures of the 1970s. Sherry Lee Linkon's chapter reflects on how her concept of the half-life of deindustrialization has been taken up but also adapted by others in the field. Economic historian Jim Tomlinson considers how we might think more historically about deindustrialization and how we are now witnessing a contraction in industrial jobs across the globe. In 'Moral Economy and Industrial Culture,' business oral historian Andrew Perchard traces the idea of the moral economy, which has its roots in E. P. Thompson's famous use of the phrase to reveal preindustrial ways of being and understanding. Moral economy is useful in thinking about how deindustrialized communities make sense of past, present, and future. Finally, sociologist James Rhodes looks at questions of race and ethnicity and deindustrialization studies, providing a wide-ranging account of how race has shaped deindustrialization and how deindustrialization has in turn shaped race.

Part II Political Economy of Deindustrialization, edited by Steven High, comprises six chapters on the 'how' and 'why' of the political economy of deindustrialization. It begins with the fiery appeal of Fred Burrill and Matthew Penney for researchers to break out of their national silos and reengage with Marxist theory to study the workings of global capitalism itself. Jason Hackworth then pushes us to consider the ways that race and class play off against each other, pointing to the experience of Black-majority neighborhoods in the US as a case in point. Lachlan MacKinnon considers how a regional development mindset structured the state's early understanding and response to deindustrialization, using the 'have-not region' of Atlantic Canada as an example. Ewan Gibbs challenges, using the Scottish counterexample, the assumption that the economically left behind in deindustrialized areas have always veered toward right-wing populism. Marion Fontaine and Xavier Vigna then interrogate the underlying reasons for working-class resistance or passivity to industrial closures, grounding their analysis in France. Finally, Alice Mah explores the labor movement origins of the 'just transition,' which has become central to organizing around global warming today.

Part III Communities, Identities, Affects, explores further the human implications of deindustrialization with a focus on communities, identities, and affects. After an introduction by Jackie Clarke outlining the salience of these categories for deindustrialization studies, the part opens with a chapter by Valerie Walkerdine. Walkerdine adopts a psychosocial approach, arguing that to understand the full impact of deindustrialization on communities we must attend to its affective and gender implications. Christopher Lawson then offers a transnational historical assessment of the implications of deindustrialization for Black and ethnic minority communities and for community relations, focusing particularly on the US and the UK. Chiara Bonfiglioli's chapter examines the class and gender implications of deindustrialization in the post-socialist context of the former Yugoslavia, identifying a distinctive 'industrial structure of feeling' in the post-Yugoslav space. In doing so, she draws on the concept of structures of feeling first developed by Raymond Williams and introduced to many scholars of deindustrialization through the work of Tim Strangleman (Williams, 1977; Strangleman, 2017; Strangleman, 2012). Julia Wambach turns to the history of emotions and the concept 'feeling communities' to argue for the significance of leisure activities such as football clubs as spaces in which community can be reconstructed in deindustrialized places from Detroit to the Ruhr. A contribution from geographer Anoop Nayak draws on fieldwork in the English town Middlesbrough to demonstrate how place-based stigma attaches to deindustrialized

places but also how it can be resisted through local acts of 'rescripting' place. Finally, in a return to questions of gender and sexuality, Liam Devitt asks what a queer study of deindustrialization might look like and sketches some paths for future researchers to follow.

Part IV The Critical Cultural Work of Representations, edited by Sherry Lee Linkon, examines representations of deindustrialization. It opens with a chapter on public art and photography in Detroit, Michigan, a place that has often served as a visual icon of deindustrialization. Art historian Dora Apel argues that Black artists have used community arts projects, public art commissioned as part of redevelopment projects, and photography as tools for Black spatial agency to resist racialized erasure in a slowly gentrifying city. Picking up on Apel's themes of redevelopment and visual representations, historian Helen Wagner traces how community identity campaigns in the German Ruhr used photographs to redefine the region's relationship with the industrial past and imagine a post-industrial future. Turning to music, Giacomo Bottà's chapter, "The Sound of Deindustrialization," argues that while punk did not originate as a response to deindustrialization, it was embraced by musicians in deindustrialized communities in several countries as an expression of the pain, grief, and rage caused by the loss of industrial work and identities. Also, Bottà shows how this music extended the deindustrialization imaginary, providing listeners who had not experienced significant declines a resource for critiquing the broader economic, social, and political changes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Literary scholar Peter Thompson considers how Kate Beaton's award-winning graphic memoir *Ducks* captures the multiple tensions and contradictions of a changing Canadian economy. His analysis highlights themes of place, memory, the nature of work, and the environmental impacts of industry while also noting the particular power of the graphic narrative as a form. The final chapter of Part IV, by historian Piyusha Chatterjee, considers the implications of three films about South Asian women garment workers. Although the films focus on an industry that is growing, Chatterjee's analysis highlights how industrial labor and deindustrialization share a common cause: the exploitative engine of capitalism.

Part V Memories, Memorialization, and the Heritage of Deindustrialization on industrial heritage, begins with an opening chapter by Stefan Berger on the heritage of deindustrialization and its links to memory activism. Bringing a range of theoretical perspectives to bear from memory studies and the theory of history, he argues that a global comparison of industrial heritage constructions will have to relate the politics of deindustrialization to diverse memory regimes and forms of nostalgia. This is followed by Christa Reicher and Liliana Iuga's account on how urban planners in the Ruhr, Germany; Belval, Luxembourg; and the Nord-Pas-de-Calais, France have integrated industrial heritage into innovative and constructive forms of urban planning and how a transregional dialogue has fostered these developments. Following on from this West-European perspective, Juliane Tomann analyses the development of industrial heritage in the post-communist states of East-Central and Southeastern Europe tracing a development from neglect to nostalgic forms of remembrance. Lucy Taksa focuses on the global forms of railway heritage to underline how gendered this heritage is and how women have often been excluded from it. Laurajane Smith subsequently deals with the exclusion of working-class perspectives from industrial heritage initiatives focusing on the reception of labor and working-class heritage by visitors to labor museums. Finally, Marion Steiner provides important decolonial perspectives on industrial heritage from the Global South, arguing that the view from the South necessitates a complete reconceptualization of our understandings of industrial heritage.

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