CHAPTER 1

The Unmaking of Industrial Landscapes: The North-Western Italian Industrial Triangle and the Ruhr Region in Germany

Stefan Berger, Stefano Musso, and Christian Wicke

Across the globe, we find iconic industrial landscapes. In Europe, they often have a deep past stretching back to the beginnings of industrialization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This is also the case

S. Berger (✉)
Institute for Social Movements, Ruhr University Bochum, Bochum, Germany
e-mail: Stefan.Berger@ruhr-uni-bochum.de; stefan.berger@rub.de

S. Musso
Department of Historical Studies, University of Turin, Turin, Italy
e-mail: stefano.musso@unito.it

C. Wicke
Department of History and Art History, Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands
e-mail: c.wicke@uu.nl

© The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2022

S. Berger et al. (eds.), *Deindustrialisation in Twentieth-Century Europe*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-89631-7_1

for the two landscapes that are being compared in the present volume[1]: the industrial triangle in the North West of Italy and the Ruhr region in Germany. Both stand at the historical centers of industrialization processes in the two respective countries. Without the coal and steel industry of the Ruhr, Germany would not have advanced to become the most advanced industrial country in Europe just before the First World War. It would not have been capable of rising from the ashes twice, after two lost world wars in the first half of the twentieth century. Without the industrial powerhouse of the North West of Italy, the country would have remained, to a large extent, an agricultural country without much impact on the industrial map of Europe. Germany and Italy were both countries that were unified as nation states very late in the day, when compared with other West European nation states: 1871 and 1861, respectively. And for both nation states, the regions under discussion here were vital to their nation building.

Yet they occupy very different positions as regions in the imaginary landscapes of the two countries. As the contributions to this volume show, the North West of Italy always remained an analytical construction. Politicians, administrators, scholars and businessmen looked at the region and identified, above all, an industrial hub. But the people living in the region never really felt that they were living in a region that hung together as a region—they never imagined themselves as being from the North West. This was the case, despite the fact that there were strong economic links between the three key cities in the North West: coal from the port of Genoa served Turin and Milan, steel from Genoa and Sesto San Giovanni went to the engineering industry in Turin and Milan, big marine engines made in Turin went to the shipyards in Genoa, batteries and tires made in Milan went to the Turin car industry, and there were manifold financial ties between the three cities. But this would never constitute an imagined community, unlike the Ruhr region.

The imaginary landscape of the Ruhr region has been dominated by the coal and steel industries, regardless of the fact that it also was home to an important textile industry and that it was the birthplace of the idea

[1] The volume originates from a conference held at the German Historical Institute in Rome. For the report by Florian Meier in German see, Tagungsbericht: Deindustrialization: The Structural Transformation of Nord-Ovest and the Ruhr in Comparative Perspective, 18.04.2018–20.04.2018 Rom, in: H-Soz-Kult, 16.06.2018, www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-7751.

of the 'discounter' in the world of retail. Around 1900 its skylines were dominated by mineshafts and chimney stacks. Hundreds of mines and steel factories attracted hundreds of thousands of workers who occupied industrial villages that grew to veritable city sizes around those places of work. Initially, until well into the interwar period, known as the Rhenish-Westphalian coal district, it only slowly developed an identity as a region. But since then, for a variety of reasons, a strong feeling of togetherness, one might even talk about a feeling of *Heimat*, developed in the region. These very different positions of the two regions under comparison here make the comparison a 'most different' one in some respects and the differences between them need to be considered strongly also when asking about the impact of deindustrialization on both regions.

Many of the iconic industrial landscapes of Europe, including the two under investigation here, have undergone processes of deindustrialization and economic restructuring from the 1970s onwards, and these will be the focus of our analysis here.[2] This introduction will, first of all, provide some overall context for the comparison of deindustrialization processes in the North West of Italy and the Ruhr by reviewing the broad lines that deindustrialization studies have taken since its beginnings in the 1970s. It will, of course, not be possible to do this comprehensively. The point here is rather to locate this volume in a literature that has been focusing on the impact of deindustrialization. We highlight its development from local case studies to more comparative perspectives—a development to which this current volume wishes to contribute. And we also stress the transdisciplinarity of the field[3] and situate the current volume in some of the theoretical and methodological concerns that have been important for the field. It is indeed characteristic for the field of deindustrialization studies that scholars from a wide range of disciplines, including sociology, political science, economics, history, anthropology, geography, literary studies, museum studies, memory studies and social movement studies, are active in this field, and the line-up of contributors to this volume reflects this too.

[2] Bert Altena and Marcel van der Linden (eds.), *De-industrialization: Social, Cultural and Political Aspects, IRSH Supplements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[3] We use the term 'transdisciplinarity' here to emphasize that different disciplines have engaged with the phenomena associated with deindustrialization. Often there still is a lack of 'interdisciplinarity' in the sense of a sustained and constructive dialogue between the disciplines, although promising beginnings have no doubt been made.

In the second part of this chapter, we then aim to provide some specific comparative perspectives on deindustrialization processes of the North West and the Ruhr. Starting from the conceptualization of space in both regions, we aim to identify major milestones of development over time and analyze both differences and similarities between the attempts to restructure both regions economically, socially and culturally. Here, we will build on the insights provided by the chapters in this volume. We grouped the chapters into tandems that deal with the same theme for both regions, and the authors of the tandems have developed their respective chapters in collaboration with each other. Thereby, we aimed to make the chapters speak to each other in the hope that it would improve the comparative and transdisciplinary insights to be drawn from those chapters. As always, the proof of the pudding will be in the eating.

Deindustralization Studies—Developments, Agendas and Theoretical Perspectives in a Transdisciplinary Field of Studies

Global competition in the age of industrial capitalism has led to comprehensive transformations, especially in highly industrialized regions, which often had to deal with and make sense of their industrial legacies and pasts under new conditions. Deindustrialization in the global north was the flipside of industries moving to the global south and has become part of the master narrative on the alleged structural break following the post-war boom that ended in the 1970s. It had major effects on class structures, consumer cultures and more broadly the implementation of neoliberal ideology from the 1980s onwards.[4] This transition has been greatly affecting the work of scholars' imagination from various disciplines already during the beginnings of deindustrialization in the 1970s. Thus, for example, Daniel Bell in 1974 published an influential study where he argued that Western societies were moving from an industrial to a postindustrial age, a prophecy which did not materialize fully in many of the regions undergoing deindustrialization.[5] In many areas across the world,

[4] Lutz Raphael, *Jenseits von Kohle und Stahl. Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte Westeuropas nach dem Boom* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2019).

[5] Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

processes of deindustrialization were accompanied with the rise of service-sector industries and with processes of reindustrialization in different areas of the economy. In 1980, showing the scales of changing employment figures in industrial countries around the world, economist Nigel Harris wrote: ‘A spectre is haunting the treasuries of the advanced capitalist countries. It is not yet, regrettably, the spectre of proletarian revolution, but of the obsolescence of capitalism itself, or rather of its great productive engine, industry’.[6] This statement already indicates to what extent some of the literature on deindustrialization was influenced by Marxist perspectives in scholarship. Steven High’s seminal and hugely impressive work on deindustrialization in North America is a good example of this influence of Marxism on the scholarship surrounding deindustrialization.[7]

Marxism’s hostility to capitalism made Marxist scholars place special emphasis on the detrimental effects of deindustrialization on the industrial working class, thus opening perspectives of looking at deindustrialization ‘from below’, including effects on everyday life and emotions. Mass unemployment raised the specter of a society in which work would not be available for all anymore and in which unemployment and immiseration would spread.[8] The golden years of welfare capitalism seemed a passing and short phase in the development of capitalism, which was to give way to a new, more inhumane form that already characterized industrial capitalism from its birth to the period after the Second World War. The short

[6] Nigel Harris, *Selected Essays of Nigel Harris: From National Liberation to Globalisation* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), p. 238.

[7] Steven High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of America’a Rust Belt* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); see also idem and David W. Lewis, *Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2007); Steven High, Lachlan MacKinnon and Andrew Perchard (eds.), *The Deindustrialized World: Confronting Ruination in Postindustrial Places* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017); Steven High, *One Job Town: Work, Belonging and Betrayal in Northern Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018); Stefan Berger and Steven High (eds.), ‘(De-)Industrial Heritage, Special Issue of Labor’, in *Studies in Working-Class History* 16:1 (2019), pp. 1–170.

[8] See, for example, Thor Berger and Carl B. Frey, ‘Structural Transformation in the OECD: Digitalisation, Deindustrialisation and the Future of Work’, in *OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers* 193 (2016), OECD Publishing, Paris, https://doi.org/10.1787/5jlr068802f7-en. Much more bottom-up accounts, looking at what happened to working-class families under conditions of deindustrialization, is, for example, Christine J. Walley, *Exit 0: Family and Class in Postindustrial Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

decades from the 1950s to the 1970s with full employment, rising real wages for the industrial working class and the emergence of an affluent society in the global north now all seemed under threat.

Those less intent on indicting capitalism often found the deindustrialization and the accompanying structural changes contained a silver lining. It reduced work-related injuries[9] and it helped the environment by bringing down emission levels.[10] It allowed new and often 'cleaner' industries to thrive. Debates about 'work 4.0'[11] and the 'future of good work' discuss how team and network-based work forms can foster more democratization at the workplace and allow for greater empowerment of workers. New industries, for example in the realms of 'cyber physical systems', IT-security or in the health sector and knowledge-based economies, united with an ever-growing service sector. In fact, looking at 'smart product-service systems', we note that any division between production and service has become practically meaningless, as companies are offering solutions that integrate digital services.[12]

In this view, restructuring the economy has not only losers but also winners who can realize their dreams of a better life at a comparatively high level. Processes of requalification stand next to processes of dequalification just as processes of the renewal of old city quarters mean a better life for some, while for others, these processes of urban change amount to 'gentrification'. New forms of education, including education at work but also higher education in industrial areas that formerly had few universities, provide new opportunities for deindustrializing regions. Old sites of industries become cultural and knowledge hubs that help rejuvenate former industrial regions. They also are magnets for tourists wishing to

[9] Dana Loomis, David B. Richardson, and James F. Bena, 'Deindustrialisation and the Long Term Decline in Fatal Occupational Injuries', in *Occupational and Environmental Medicine* 61 (2004), pp. 616–621.

[10] The deindustrialization of the former GDR had an important impact of the image of reunified Germany as a green country due to large-scale reduction of emissions in the East, see, e.g., Benjamin Becker and Caspar Richter, 'Klimaschutz in Deutschland: Realitaet oder Rheotorik', in *Momentum Quarterly* 4:1 (2015), pp. 3–22.

[11] German Federal Ministry of Social Affairs, Re-Imagining Work. Green Paper Work 4.0, Berlin: BMAS, 2015, https://www.bmas.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/PDF-Publikationen/arbeiten-4-0-green-paper.pdf;jsessionid=FD5D548A3D5C42D51FBB9C9B04DC9C27.delivery2-master?__blob=publicationFile&v=1 [accessed 8 October 2020].

[12] Bojan Lalic et al. (eds.), *Advances in Production Management Systems: Towards Smart and Digital Manufacturing*, 2 vols (Berlin: Springer, 2020).

get to know the icons of an industrial past.[13] Industrial heritage thus revives former industrial regions further and leads to new opportunities.[14] In this reading, deindustrialization undoubtedly provided a challenge to political, administrative and business elites but was one that could be handled, shaped and directed. Nowhere was this upbeat assessment of opportunities provided by deindustrialization more prevalent than in Germany, where the specific corporatism, often referred to as 'Rhenish capitalism', offered a framework in which to manage deindustrialization from above. The German term 'Strukturwandel', used much more frequently in Germany than 'deindustrialization', reflects this belief in the possibility of shaping deindustrialization processes in order to produce a better future for everyone involved in those processes.[15]

Whichever way one looked at it, deindustrialization certainly seemed a momentous process that very quickly was studied by many disciplines. Ever since the groundbreaking publications of *Deindustrialization* by Frank Blackby of 1978 and of *The Deindustrialization of America* by Barry Bluestone and Benett Harrison in 1982, deindustrialization studies have become an important field of research.[16] The incredible scale of the loss of industrial jobs in the Western world and the ruination of many of the former hubs of industrial production ensured that many scholars were attracted to this field. In the United States alone, roughly 2 million jobs in manufacturing industry were lost between 1973 and 2012. In Great Britain, between 1979 und 2010, that figure was a staggering 4.3 million.[17] Much of the ensuing research was, however, highly

[13] On Genoa, see, for example, Emanuela Guano, 'Touring the Hidden City: Walking Tour Guides in Deindustrializing Genoa', in *City and Society* 27:2 (2015), pp. 160–182.

[14] In this respect, Margaret Cowell's concept of 'adaptive resilience' is also interesting. See Margaret Cowell, *Dealing with Deindustrialization. Adaptive Resilience in American Midwestern Regions* (London: Routledge 2015).

[15] For a largely positive balance sheet of this management approach to deindustrialization in Germany's former key area of heavy industry, the Ruhr, see Stefan Goch, *Eine Region im Kampf mit dem Strukturwandel: Bewältigung von Strukturwandel und Strukturpolitik im Ruhrgebiet* (Essen: Klartext, 2002); see also his contribution in this volume.

[16] Frank Blackby (ed.), *Deindustrialization* (London: Heinemann, 1978); Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America* (New York: Basic Books, 1982).

[17] For details, see Steven High, Lachlan MacKinnon, and Andrew Perchard, 'Introduction', in eidem (eds.), *The Deindustrialized World*, pp. 3–24.

localized, asking about the impact of the closure of individual plants or the fate of individual cities undergoing deindustrialization. Many valuable case studies were produced over several decades highlighting in particular the plight of local people who were victims of such processes of deindustrialization.

A number of important themes have emerged from this research, of which we would like to highlight seven. Firstly, many studies focused on the economic, social, political and cultural processes connected with deindustrialization, investigating how different actors developed differing strategies of how to cope with changing economic circumstances.[18] Secondly, many scholars chose to concentrate their attention on those classical industrial workers who belong to the losers of deindustrialization.[19] The movement toward knowledge economies associated with the fourth industrial revolution brought forth the search for a different type of worker than the one that dominated fordist production modes during the third industrial revolution. Thirdly, much research has discussed changing identities of class, gender, ethnicity/race and religion but also changing spatial identities in cities and regions.[20] Thus, for example,

[18] We cannot provide here an extensive list of the literature that is available on each of the seven themes. Hence, we restrict ourselves to give some prominent examples for each theme. On the first theme compare: Dora Apel, *Beautiful Terrible Ruins. Detroit and the Anxiety of Decline* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015); Alexis S. Boutefeu-Moraitis, 'The Politics of Deindustrialization: The Experience of the Textiles and Clothing Sector (1974–1984)', in *French Politics* 16:1 (2018), pp. 38–63; Margaret Cowell, *Dealing with Deindustrialization. Adaptive Resilience in American Mid-Western Regions* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

[19] Kathryn Marie Dudley, *The End of the Line: Lost Jobs, New Lives in Postindustrial America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Owen Jones, *Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class* (London: Verso, 2011); Jackie Clarke, 'Closing Time: Deindustrialization and Nostalgia in Contemporary France', in *History Workshop Journal* 79:1 (2015), pp. 107–125.

[20] Christian Wicke, Stefan Berger and Jana Golombek (eds.), 'Special Issue: Deindustrialization, Heritage and Representations of Identity', in *The Public Historian* 39:4 (2017); James Rhodes, 'The "Trouble" with the "White Working-Class": Whiteness, Class and "Groupism"', in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 19:4 (2012), pp. 485–492; Lex Heerma van Voss, and Marcel van der Linden (eds.), *Class and Other Identities: Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Writing of European Labor History* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002).

we have a formidable literature on what is happening to 'shrinking cities'—often connected to processes of deindustrialization.[21]

Fourthly, an increasing amount of scholarship is highlighting how processes of structural change have been connected to developments in the realm of civil society. Here, a range of new and highly relevant actors have been playing a vital role in resisting and reshaping processes of deindustrialization.[22] Fifthly, we have many studies looking at social movements and their positioning toward processes of deindustrialization. In 2002, Johnson observed that '[o]ne of the great ironies of differential regional deindustrialization, which is the standard form of capitalist 'crisis', is that it hardly leads to revolution, but rather engenders quiescence, the internalization of despair'.[23] While it is true that structural change has nowhere led to revolution, there have been manifold attempts to resist and cushion the consequences of deindustrialization. Trade unions and social movements were often at the forefront of this resistance demanding greater social justice. Therefore, scholars have been re-assessing how reactions to structural change went beyond acquiescence and despair.[24]

Sixthly, environmental scholars in particular have been dealing with the ecological challenges posed by deindustrialization that are often

[21] Clemens Zimmermann (ed.), *Industrial Cities: History and Future* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2013); Ronan Paddison and Tom Hutton (eds.), *Cities and Economic Change: Restructuring and Dislocation in the Global Metropolis* (London: Sage, 2014).

[22] Martin Baumeister, Bruno Bonomo and Dieter Schott (eds.), *Cities Contested: Urban Politics, Heritage and Social Movements in Italy and West Germany in the 1970s* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2017); Marion Fontaine and Xavier Vigna (eds.), 'La Déindustrialisation: une histoire en cours', in *Revue d'Historique* 21/22 (2019).

[23] Christopher H. Johnson, *The Life and Death of Industrial Languedoc 1700–1920: The Politics of Deindustrialisation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 259; see also: idem, 'Introduction: De-industrialization and Globalization', in *International Review of Social History* 47 (2002), pp. 3–33.

[24] Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott, *Beyond the Ruins: The Meaning of Deindustrialization* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); Tim Strangleman and James T. Rhodes, 'The "New" Sociology of Deindustrialization? Understanding Industrial Change', in *Sociology Compass* 8:4 (2014), pp. 411–421; Michael Peter Smith and L. Owen Kirkpatrick (eds.), *Reinventing Detroit: The Politics of Possibility* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2017); Steven P. Dandaneau, *A Town Abandoned: Flint, Michigan, Confronts Deindustrialization* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

massive and a legacy of industrialization and high industrial modernity.[25] Seventhly, processes of deindustrialization have gone hand in hand with the development of industrial heritage—as tourist destination, branding ploy and foil for postindustrial identities.[26] A strong media discourse on industrial heritage in novels, films, photography and art has led to a comprehensive historicization of industrial modernity that is tightly connected with diverse strategies for the future of formerly industrial regions.[27] Here, scholars have examined often in great detail the relationship between the people and their collective memories in deindustrializing landscapes.[28] Others have analyzed the effects on popular and alternative culture in processes of deindustrialization, such as music or writing in or about deindustrialized cities.[29]

[25] Mario Reimer and Karsten Rusche, 'Green Infrastructure under Pressure: A Global Narrative Between Regional Vision and Local Implementation', in *European Planning Studies* (2019). https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2019.1591346; Pia Eiringhaus, *Industrie und Natur: Postindustrielle Repräsentationen von Natur und Umwelt im Ruhrgebiet* (Bochum: SGR, 2018); Tim Edensor, 'The Ghosts of Industrial Ruins: Ordering and Disordering Memory in Excessive Space', in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23:6 (2005), pp. 829–849.

[26] Christian Wicke, Stefan Berger and Jana Golombek (eds.), *Industrial Heritage and Regional Identities* (London: Routledge, 2018); Laurajane Smith, Paul Shackel, and Gary Campbell (eds.), *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes* (London: Routledge, 2011); Philip Feifan Xie, *Industrial Heritage Tourism* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015).

[27] Sherry Lee Linkon, *The Half-Life of Deindustrialization: Working-Class Writing About Economic Restructuring* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018); Anna Trubek, *Voices from the Rust Belt* (New York: Picador, 2018); Tim Strangleman, '"Smokestack nostalgia", "ruin porn" or Working Class Obituary? The Role and Meaning of De-industrial Representation', in *International Labour and Working-Class History* 84 (2013), pp. 23–37.

[28] Anna Storm, *Post-industrial Landscape Scars* (London: Palgrave, 2014); George Jaramillo and Juliane Tomann, *Transcending the Nostalgic: Deindustrialised Landscapes Across Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2021).

[29] Giacomo Bocca, *Deindustrialisation and Popular Music: Punk and 'Post-Punk' in Manchester, Düsseldorf, Torino and Tampere* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020); Keith Gildart and Stephen Catterall, *Keeping the Faith: A History of Northern Soul* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020); Sherry Lee Linkon, 'Navigating Past and Present in the Deindustrial Landscape: Contemporary Writers on Detroit and Youngstown', in *International Labor and Working-Class History* 84 (2013), pp. 38–54.

The memory landscapes of deindustrialization have often been affected by sentiments of nostalgia.[30] Under conditions of a capitalist economy, the past is often used in industrial heritage initiatives to create surplus value for particular sites and locations, so that they can be marketed in more profitable ways.[31] Yet, scholars pursuing oral history research that has been critical of capitalist forms of deindustrialization and their impact on working-class communities have also created a densely populated canvass of experiential worlds that contain much nostalgia.[32] They show how nostalgic memories can be a resource in the struggle of working-class communities facing the consequences of deindustrialization. They can help create what Hayden White referred to as 'practical past'[33] that helps to forge a specific future.

Nostalgia thus can be the opposite of a purely antiquarian longing for what has been irredeemably lost and instead becomes a powerful means to establish future-oriented narratives. Sociological and cultural theory approaches to nostalgia have hinted at the power of nostalgia to forge futures in oppositional ways to capitalist logics.[34] It is no coincidence that radical democratic movements as early as the nineteenth century have made good use of nostalgia to further their radical democratic agendas.[35] Nostalgic sentiments under conditions of deindustrialization have often been intimately connected to what Raymond Williams had termed 'structure of feeling', i.e. values and ideals that had a lived and felt reality in the everyday existence of working-class communities attached to memories

[30] Stefan Berger, 'Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Nostalgie. Das Kulturerbe der Deindustrialisierung im globalen Vergleich', in Zeithistorische Forschungen 2022 (forthcoming).

[31] Luc Boltanski andArnaud Esquerre, *Bereicherung. Eine Kritik der Ware,* Frankfurt a.M. 2018. On the role of nostalgia in the commodification of industrial pasts, see also Bella Dicks, *Heritage, Place and Community*, Cardiff 2000, und Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, London 2006.

[32] Two recent examples are Lachlan MacKinnon, *Closing Sysco. Industrial Decline in Atlantic Canada's Steel City*, Toronto 2020; Steven High, *One Job Town. Work, Belonging and Betrayal in Northern Ontario*, Toronto 2018.

[33] Hayden White, *The Practical Past*, Evanston 2014.

[34] Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday. A Sociology of Nostalgia*, New York 1979; Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York 2001.

[35] Alastair Bonnett, *Left in the Past. Radicalism and the Politics of Nostalgia*, New York 2010, S. 5.

of both their workplaces and their neighborhoods.[36] These feelings and accompanying sentiments of nostalgia could be a source of resistance to changes brought about by deindustrialization. Where rapid change questioned established identities, nostalgia was a means of bolstering those threatened identities.[37] As Sherry Lee Linkon put it in her analysis of working-class literature rooted in experiences of deindustrialization: 'It involves both nostalgia and haunting, a longing for what has been lost and a reckoning with past injuries. Remembering the best qualities and effects of industrial labor can be productive and critical, in part because it provides a clear contrast that clarifies the problems of the present'.[38] Laurajane Smith and Gary Campbell concur when they speak about nostalgia's ability to mobilize powerful emotions in order to bring values and ideals of working-class communities from an industrial past into a postindustrial future.[39]

More recently, and the current volume sees itself very much in line with these developments, deindustrialization studies have moved to more transregional and comparative perspectives, sometimes attempting comparisons at European level and sometimes even going in the direction of a global typology of experiences with deindustrialization.[40] These can build on the manifold discussions surrounding the 'varieties of capitalism' debates.[41] Drawing attention to different institutional contexts in which capitalism was developing means being aware of a variety of different actors and their differing reactions to processes of deindustrialization. Regional and national distinctiveness can be explained through the varieties of institutional responses to deindustrialization. Coordinated

[36] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*, Oxford 1973.

[37] Tobias Becker, 'The Meanings of Nostalgia: Genealogy and Critique', in *History and Theory* 57 (2018), S. 234–250.

[38] Sherry Lee Linkon, *The Half-Life of Deindustrialization. Working-Class Writing About Economic Restructuring*, Ann Arbor 2018, S. 23.

[39] Laurajane Smith/Gary Campbell, '"Nostalgia for the Future": Memory, Nostalgia and the Politics of Class', in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23 (2017), S. 612–627.

[40] Stefan Berger (ed.), *Constructing Industrial Pasts: Heritage, Identities and Historical Cultures in Regions Undergoing Structural Economic Transformation* (New York: Berghahn, 2020); *Alice Mah, Industrial Ruination, Community and Place: Landscapes and Legacies of Urban Decline* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

[41] Peter A. Hall and David Soskice (eds.), *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

market economies thus reacted fundamentally different to deindustrialization than radical market economies. The comparison that is being undertaken in the current volume is one within the type of the 'global north'; that is, we are not dealing here with post-colonial path trajectories that are so characteristic of deindustrialization processes in the global south.[42]

Within the global north, both regions belong to states, Germany and Italy, that knew relatively high levels of corporatism and state interventionism in the economic and social sphere; that is, we are not dealing with regions undergoing deindustrialization under conditions of a neoliberal states, as was the case in the United States and Britain. Both in Italy and in Germany, governments did not give up the idea of macroeconomic steering in the 1980s. In both cases, the state continued to intervene in economic and social processes, including the framing of specific programes to help alleviate the worst consequences of deindustrialization. Hence, the North West of Italy and the Ruhr in Germany share certain macro-systemic preconditions for the restructuring of both regions. Yet, as we shall see the end result was still very different—something that should serve as a timely reminder that typologies can only present a highly aggregated and abstract ordering of a multitude of different cases.

Both the rich vein of individual case studies[43] and the more recent comparative and transregional approaches have been building on a highly diverse body of methods and theories. Economic modeling and quantitative social science approaches stand next to studies connecting to memory history, oral history or heritage studies and social movement studies. Industrial relations approaches have been employed just as ideas surrounding 'governance'. Marxist and Weberian approaches stand next to the influence of practice theory, connected with Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens, and poststructuralist approaches, related to the work

[42] On the global south, see, for example, R. Hassink, X. Hu, D. H. Shin, S. Yamamura, and H. Gong, 'The Restructuring of Old Industrial Areas in East Asia', in *Area Development and Policy* 3:2 (2018), pp. 185–202; Katharine Frederick, 'Global and Local Forces in Deindustrialization: The Case of Cotton Cloth in East Africa's Lower Shire Valley', in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 11:2 (2017), pp. 266–289; Chitra Joshi, *Lost Worlds: Indian Labour and Its Forgotten Histories* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003).

[43] To cite just one recent among many wonderful examples, see Tim Strangleman, *Voices of Guinness: An Oral History of the Park Royal Brewery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. The field of deindustrialization studies has, overall, benefitted enormously from a happy eclecticism when it comes to theories and methods. Macro-sociological birds' eye perspectives stand next to anthropologically inspired micro-studies. The influence of neo-institutionalist approaches has been as noticeable as the strength of an actor-centered analysis of structural change. The fact that so many studies of deindustrialization have emphasized the social and human dimension of deindustrialization has encouraged many scholars to employ oral history and interviewing as techniques eminently suited to recording the personal, human and subjective sides of abstract economic and social changes.[44] Indeed, many studies have shown how deeply personal lives can be affected by deindustrialization, not only in terms of household incomes, but also, for example, with regard to individual identities and mental well-being.[45] In the current volume, we get a glimpse of this diversity of methodological and theoretical perspectives.

The historical comparison of two regions in Italy and Germany that we attempt here has the practical virtue that, through such studies, regions can learn from each other. In other words, they can find out about how deindustrialization has been managed or mismanaged in other regions, and how the resulting public memory or perhaps cultural trauma of deindustrialization can be managed. Comparison thus foremost assists us in understanding the particularities and similarities of the regions under conditions of deindustrialization, a complex process dependent on particular local conditions and with many unintended consequences ranging from social, cultural and political to environmental impact on the specific localities.[46] Using the region or city, rather than the nation, as a unit of

[44] Stefan Moitra and Katarzyna Nogueira (eds.), 'Industrial Memories. Oral History and Structural Change', in *BIOS. Zeitschrift für Biographieforschung*, (forthcoming).

[45] See, e.g., George Karl Ackers, 'Rethinking Deindustrialisation and Male Career Crisis', in *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, 42:5 (2009), pp. 500–510; Valerie Walkerdine and Luis Jimenez, *Gender, Work and Community after De-industrialisation: A Psychosocial Approach to Affect* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012).

[46] See, e.g., Ron Martin and Bob Rowthorn (eds.), *The Geography of Deindustrialization* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 1986); W. F. Lever, 'Deindustrialisation and the Reality of the Post-Industrial City', in *Urban Studies* 28:6 (1991), pp. 983–999; Mark Allen Rhodes, William R. Price, Amy Walker (eds.), *Geographies of Post-Industrial Place, Memory and Heritage* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2020).

comparison is an acknowledgment of the fact that deindustrialization is best studied at the local and regional levels.[47]

Comparative Perspectives on Deindustrialization Process in the North West of Italy and the Ruhr Region in Germany[48]

What are the two regions that we are comparing here? The North West is not a region according to Italian administrative division, but a larger area of three administrative regions, Piedmont, Liguria and Lombardy. The North West's population is 16 million, 10 for Lombardy, 4.5 for Piedmont and 1.5 for Liguria. After decades of dramatic population increase, concentrated in the urban industrial areas, Milan, Turin and Genoa, in the last twenty years of the twentieth century there has since been a slow decrease due to deindustrialization. In the early twenty-first century, a very limited population growth started again, especially in Lombardy, because of immigration, mainly from abroad.

The Ruhr region of Germany, by contrast, is an administrative unit associated with the Regionalverband Ruhr (RVR) that has some influence on the region but is constantly having to negotiate its remit with the 53 individual municipalities comprising the Ruhr district, not to speak of the federal government of North Rhine-Westphalia and the national government in Berlin. The Ruhr's population is about 5.5. million declining from a high of almost seven million in the late 1950s to its current level—largely due to deindustrialization. The recent wave of one million refugees into Germany has seen only a small overall increase in the population of the Ruhr (Figs. 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3).

Industry shaped the historical economic development of both regions. The North West was the core of Italy's industrialization. The term 'North West' was not used until the end of the 1970s. Previously, economic history manuals used 'industrial triangle', referring to Milano, Turin, and Genoa as the vertices, and considering that most of the industrial plants were located in the capital cities and their larger metropolitan areas. The

[47] Pathbreaking for deindustrialization studies in this respect was Mah, Industrial Ruination, who compared Niagara Falls, Canada/USA, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK; and Ivanovo, Russia.

[48] What follows is drawing strongly from the chapters of this book, and therefore, we have not provided any referencing in the following section.

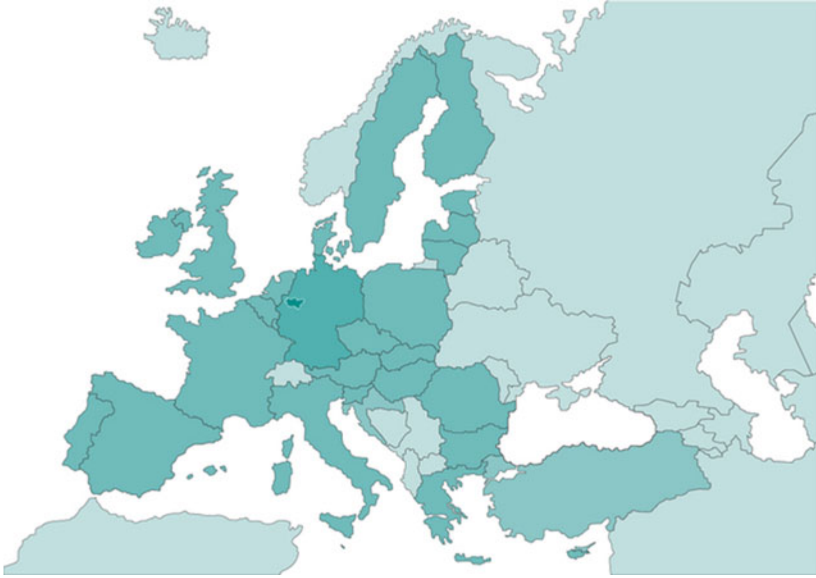

Fig. 1.1 Territory of the regional administrative body for the Ruhr region, the Regionalverband ruhr, on a map of Europe

growth of the urban population was due to immigration, mainly from the regional countryside until the Second World War, while in the post-war 'economic miracle', in the 1950s and 1960s, the largest migration streams came from the Italian South.

The Ruhr was similarly at the heart of German industrialization. The very name, Ruhr region (Ruhrgebiet), only began to be used more widely in the interwar period. This had much to do with political rather than economic developments, as the region was at the heart of the revolutionary conflicts in Germany between 1918 and 1920, and, later on, the focus of national attention during the so-called Ruhr struggle against French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr region in 1923. From the second half of the nineteenth century, it witnessed massive in-migration, first from the surrounding regions, but increasingly from further afield, especially from the Polish-speaking regions of Imperial Germany. In the boom period of the 'economic miracle' after the Second World War, many

Fig. 1.2 Internal structure of the Regionalverband Ruhr consisting of many independent cities and districts

so-called guest workers migrated to the region, especially from southern Italy, Spain, Greece and Turkey.

The North West of Italy remained always more a term of analytical description than a lived reality. When, in the 1970s, big industrial companies started to decentralize their production, largely in response to the strike wave also known as 'Hot Autumn', the new outsourced networks of production were largely to be found in the North East and center of Italy. They amounted to a string of smaller-sized firms, often dependent on the bigger and more well-known companies in the North West. Scholars, studying those new networks, referred to a 'Third Italy'. From then on, the North West became the First Italy, the South the Second, and the North East and Centre (acronym NEC) the Third Italy. Such definitions, however, did not go beyond Italian scholarship and did not create new identities in the regions concerned. People rather continued to consider themselves as 'Northern' or 'Southern'. Identities remained linked to traditional regions, shaped by the history of the various states in pre-unification Italy. Regional identities continued to be mainly anchored

Fig. 1.3 Atlante generale metodico De Agostini, edited by Istituto Geografico De Agostini, Novara. No date

in regional dialects. There is, until this very day, no sense of belonging to the North West or to NEC.

This is one of the most striking differences to the Ruhr region of Germany, where gradually, from the second decade of the twentieth century onwards, a strong sense of regional identity developed among the population of the Ruhr. Of course, there were also manifold divisions, ideological, class, ethnic, religious and gender ones—to name just the most obvious. But regardless of an often acutely divided society, the notion of being from a particular region grew markedly. The process remains relatively poorly researched, but there is some evidence that a sense of regional belonging grew exponentially with the ongoing process of deindustrialization, when the more educated and better paid children of former miners and steelworkers felt the need to create a sense of *Heimat* for themselves. This would explain their often loving attention to sites of industrial heritage and memories of the industrial pasts more

generally. Over the decades, the region also developed its own dialect, *Ruhrdeutsch*, which forms a strong part of the identity of the region, and many people living in the Ruhr refer to themselves as *Ruhris*—a term that is also used by outsiders, often to describe the inhabitants of the Ruhr in rather endearing ways.[49] The region developed its own myths—of hard work, of a multicultural and tolerant society, of a proletarian mindset that told it straight and hated formality, all things that need to be severely questioned but that nevertheless acquired a certain force as part and parcel of a regional identity.

To understand that major difference between the North West of Italy and the Ruhr in Germany, it is necessary to refer briefly to the very different histories of regionalism in both countries. Starting from Italy's unity in 1861, the new Italian State adopted a strongly centralized politics in order to overcome localized oppositions. Centralism continued under the Fascist regime. The new anti-Fascist constitution of 1948 provided for the creation of regional administrative governments that should lead to a de-centralization of power according to national laws. The traditional Napoleonic-style dualism between the State and the Provinces was to be overcome by a threefold structure: State, Regions and Provinces. But, the institution of the Regions was delayed until the 1970s, because the central government resisted delegating power. Regions in Italy are mainly in charge of providing functional services, such as job placements and labor intermediation, vocational training and medical services. They thus have never been able to develop a sense of deeply rooted historical identity.

In Germany, by contrast, the unification of the country only ten years after Italy was accompanied by a strong federalization, with the older constituent parts of the new Reich retaining a high degree of autonomy over political decisions, the army and other matters usually reserved for the sovereign state. The strong federal traditions of Germany continued into the Weimar Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany and the only times that were associated with processes of centralization of power were times of dictatorship, under National Socialism and under Communism in East Germany. Hence, the regions in Germany were not so much

[49] Achim Prossek, 'Sympathieträger der Region: Erinnerungsort Ruhri', in Stefan Berger, Ulrich Borsdorf, Ludger Classen, Heinrich Theodor Grütter and Dieter Nellen (eds.), *Zeit-Räume Ruhr: Erinnerungsorte des Ruhrgebiets* (Essen: Klartext, 2019), pp. 279–295.

seen as enemies of the nation but rather as building blocks of the nation. Regionalism and nationalism were not opposed to each other but went hand in hand. A sense of regional *Heimat* coincided and was the basis of a sense of national *Heimat*.[50] And this remains the case very much until today. Hence, it is also not very surprising that there is a long tradition of writing the history of particular regions in Germany. The phenomenon of Landesgeschichte goes back for many centuries and is tied to the idea of the different German states making up a larger unit, be it the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation before 1805, the German Federation between 1815 and 1866, or the German Reich and its successor states after 1871.

The Ruhr region, however, was not a traditional historical region in Germany. In fact, the territory of the Ruhr region belonged to several older and more historical regions, in particular the Rhineland (the western parts of the Ruhr) and Westfalia (the eastern parts of the Ruhr). When the political regions of Germany were restructured after 1945, a new state, North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), came into being, which had weak historical roots.[51] The historiography about the Ruhr, now arguably one of the most important regions within NRW, already began in the interwar period with some early industrial, technological, economic and business histories going even further back, but a most sustained interest in the region arguably only began from the 1950s onwards when a rich stream of literature appeared covering many aspects of the political, economic, social and cultural history of the region.

By contrast, the stronger tendencies toward centralization following Italian unity in 1861 meant that regional histories had to be rediscovered in connection with the institution of the administrative regions in the second half of the 1970s. This new historiographic interest in the regions arose as side effect of the prestigious multi-volume *Storia d'Italia* published by one of the main Italian publishing house, Giulio Einaudi Editore, starting from 1972. The same publishing house started, from 1977 onwards, a new series of regional monographs, covering the period

[50] On the concept of Heimat, see Jens Jäger, Heimat (english version), in *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, first published 13 August 2018, https://docupedia.de/zg/Jaeger_heimat_v1_en_2018 [accessed 9 October 2020].

[51] Christoph Cornelissen, 'Der lange Weg zur historischen Identität. Geschichtspolitik in Nordrhein-Westfalen seit 1946', in Thomas Schlemmer and Hans Woller (eds.), *Politik und Kultur im föderativen Staat, 1949–1973* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2004), pp. 411–484.

from Italian unity until the present day. In all of the diverse attempts since then to recover a regional dimension in Italian history, the North West was seldom considered a historical unit of analysis. The only exception was in studies on deindustrialization, where the region often figured prominently.

In other regards, e.g. in terms of landscapes, transport routes, agricultural and industrial structures, administrative and political traditions and historical and cultural capital, there is little sense of togetherness in the North West. While there are also territorial differentiations in the Ruhr, they play much less of a role in providing striking contrasts within the region. The various 'zones' comprising the Ruhr region are zones of industrialization, with the zone around the River Ruhr in the south being the oldest, and the zones then moving northwards, first to the River Emscher and later reaching the River Lippe. While the hills of the *Bergische Land* are still reaching the southern parts of the Ruhr, everything north of the Ruhr valley is flat land and any hills are likely to be former slagheaps. The four major cities in the region are old medieval Hanse towns, from east to west, Dortmund, Bochum, Essen and Duisburg. They are positioned in the Hellweg zone, which was a medieval pilgrim's path. To the north, we have only industrial villages which grew into towns exceeding 100,000 very quickly in the period of massive industrialization after the 1870s. There are clearly rivalries and local sentiments within the Ruhr attached to individual cities, or to being either a Rhinelander or a Westphalian, but none have been strong enough to seriously dent the existence of an overriding feeling of belonging to the Ruhr region that developed from the interwar period onwards.

From the above-sketched picture of the North West and the Ruhr, we can see that both areas were core industrial regions of Germany and Italy. Both were heavily affected by processes of deindustrialization. If we ask how these processes compare, we can identify a number of themes that reveal both major differences and similarities. We have structured this book into sections that follow these themes. Thus, we look, first, at the **industrial landscapes** themselves. Here, we can observe that it is far more difficult to analyze the landscape of the industrial North West of Italy due to its far greater heterogeneity. Nevertheless, both were part and parcel of the cycle of a move away from industrial capitalism in the global west from the 1970s onwards and both developed strong strategies of reindustrialization in the face of deindustrialization. In other words, in both

regions, we have witnessed sustained attempts not to accept deindustrialization as a force of nature but develop interventions that would help to shape and guide the process, thereby ameliorating its consequences. These strategies involved a move to service and knowledge economies and attempts to re-use industrial sites and transform them into industrial heritage. It is also interesting to observe that in both industrial landscapes economic considerations always outweighed those concerned with urban development during the high time of industrialization and that it was only within an increasingly (albeit never entirely) postindustrial landscape that considerations about urban development began to prevail over economic issues. Finally, within the overall theme of the development of industrial landscapes, it is noticeable that it has been an uphill battle to redevelop former industrial areas and to find the investments necessary to do this.

Chapters by Hans-Werner Wehling and Stefano Musso provide a general picture of the Ruhr in Germany and the North West in Italy, starting from the historical process of economic development that shaped the industrial landscape of the two areas. The economic boom time in both regions lasted from the middle of the nineteenth century to the 1960s. Deindustrialization started earlier in the Ruhr, because of its specialization in mining and steel. In the North West of Italy, there was no mining. Starting from the end of the 1950s, the first branch undergoing deindustrialization was the textile industry. Yet, it was not so much perceived as a crisis, because it happened in a period of boom that helped overcome temporary employment difficulties, when the textile mills closed. Overall, it would appear as though the Ruhr has been more successful in devising a strategy to handle deindustrialization because it could mobilize more financial assets needed for economic and social transformation.

The second section of this book looks at the **life worlds of deindustrialization**. We note how in both regions industrial workers were the main victims of deindustrialization processes. Highlighting the plight of Sesto San Giovanni, Roberta Garrucio's chapter sheds light on an absence of attempts to create a transition from industrial to postindustrial spaces, leaving a non-man's land of despair, despite claims by Italian businessmen and politicians that 'no one was left behind' by the closure of the Falck works in Sesto. Both Garrucio's work on Sesto and Stefan Moitra's work on the Ruhr demonstrate the importance of oral history methods for a comprehensive understanding of the human dimension

of the effects of deindustrialization.[52] Both interestingly take their cue from the work of the British cultural theorist Raymond Williams, and Garrucio's notion of a 'deindustrial structure of feeling' that can be recuperated in all of its ambiguities through oral history research also echoes through Moitra's chapter. Both chapters underline how oral history can be a window onto everyday experiences and interpretative practices of workers in disappeared mines and factories. These workers strongly identified with those places of work and the destruction of the economic order with which they grew up pulled the carpet from underneath their existences. In Sesto San Giovanni, it resulted, above all, in a deep mistrust in established politics that resulted in a seismic shift of the city from a bulwark of the left to a stronghold of the populist right. In the Ruhr, recent successes of the right-wing populist Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) point in a similar direction.

Yet, Moitra's chapter also underlines that the workers, in his case the miners, retained considerable agency through the creation of heritage and the construction of meanings of the past that contained feelings of loss and disappointment but also celebrated a pride in past achievements that are, in musealized memories, strongly associated with collective endeavors. Arguably, similar structures of feeling in Sesto San Giovanni have not had the possibility of finding enough outlets in which such memories could become part and parcel of a similar memorial landscape. The oral history work done by Garrucio and others would be a powerful base for making memory a battle site over the meaning of the town's industrial past that reaches out to wider audiences and underlines how collective forms of solidarity have achieved considerable advances for working people in the past—advances that were lost or are in the process of being lost under conditions of deindustrialization. In the Ruhr, similar

[52] In the English-speaking world, there have been important centers for oral history that spearheaded the examination of diverse aspects of the history of deindustrialization. See, for example, the Scottish Oral History Centre at Strathclyde University in Glasgow, https://www.strath.ac.uk/humanities/schoolofhumanities/history/scottishoralhistorycentre/ [accessed 9 October 2020], and the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling at Concordia University in Montreal, http://storytelling.concordia.ca/ [accessed 9 October 2020]. Oral history has also been important in investigating stories of deindustrialization in both Germany and Italy, even if both countries lack a distinct center and if, like in the Ruhr, the oral history sources are widely dispersed between different institutions. See also the classic: Alessandro Portelli, *They Say in Harlan County. An Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

narrative patterns have been able, partly because of the generous financial support of politics, wider civil society and also business interests, to gain far more public exposure through a dense landscape of museums and industrial heritage sites speaking the language of collective solidarity.

There are other intriguing comparisons emerging from the chapters by Garrucio and Moitra. Thus, we see in Italy how the proximity of Sesto to Milan was a key strength for the town during its existence as an industrial town. Under conditions of deindustrialization, it has turned into a decisive disadvantage, as Sesto has become a kind of rust belt of the booming and cosmopolitan city of Milan. In the Ruhr, we can observe similar spatial differentiations, with the southern parts of the Ruhr, including the southern parts of the four main cities in the region, developing well economically and in terms of urban structures, and incorporating largely middle-class left-of-center populations, the northern parts of the Ruhr have become problem areas with much higher unemployment figures and forms of ruination also at times reminiscent of rust-belt charm. Here, we also find the strongholds of right-wing populism.

This section on the life worlds of deindustrialization in the Ruhr and in the North West of Italy also highlights the impact of moral economies of workers that influenced their reactions toward deindustrialization processes. The concept of 'moral economy' is, of course, connected to Edward Thompson's ideas about the reactions of English workers toward the industrial revolution in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[53] According to Thompson, they were often endowed with a clear moral compass that was calibrated to a pre-industrial world and often reacted negatively to the new values and ideals connected with industrialism. After 1945, diverse waves of deindustrialization and moves toward postindustrialism in the global north challenged the moral economy of industrial workers, who again reacted negatively to values and ideals that were undermining their own moral order and understanding of the world. In the history of emotions, Ute Frevert has pleaded to rediscover the value of Thompson's concept of 'moral economy' and to develop it further.[54] It seems that deindustrialization studies would also be well advised to think about 'moral economy' and its influence in

[53] Edward P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', in *Past and Present* 50 (1971), pp. 76–136.

[54] Ute Frevert, 'Moral Economies: Present and Past. Social Practices and Intellectual Controversies', in: idem (ed.), Moral Economies, Göttingen, 2019, 13–44.

deindustrialization processes more intensely. Scholars, such as Tim Strangleman, have already started this, and it would appear that there is a lot to be gained from this concept if we are trying to understand the emotional response of industrial workers to deindustrialization.[55]

The third theme and section of this book looks in detail at political responses to deindustrialization. They have been of utmost importance in both regions, and it is impossible to understand deindustrialization without accounting for the political attempts to **manage economic decline**. Massive sectoral changes in the manufacturing sector and soaring unemployment rates were met by structural policies from the 1970s onwards that betrayed active state intervention which arguably was heavier and more coordinated in the Ruhr than it was in the North West of Italy. The different levels of federalism were again of vital importance here. While in the Ruhr local municipalities, the regional administrative bodies, the federal government and the national government often worked hand in hand to develop a range of specific programes to help the Ruhr region, nothing as concerted, coordinated and big as those programes existed in the North West of Italy. Here, the municipalities were much more left to their own devices to develop strategies for change and outline infrastructural programes as well as programes for urban renewal that could transform old industrial regions. The strong regional level of governance in the Ruhr was a key element of its relative success in comparison with other industrial regions, including the North West of Italy.

Marco Doria's and Stefan Goch's contributions deal with the ways of managing economic decline. It is characteristic of the missing regional response to the crisis in the North West of Italy that Doria's chapter just deals with one city, Genoa, while Goch's chapter can deal with the entire industrial region. Genoa's industrial fabric is partly similar to the Ruhr because of the importance of steel, produced, in the case of Genoa, by state-owned enterprises. Both in the Ruhr and in Genoa, local and national authorities tried to counteract decline with expensive rationalization programes, which delayed but did not stop deindustrialization. In Genoa, the lack of joint institutional governance was to a certain extent counterbalanced by state funding for state-owned companies. When privatization and the EU's prohibition of public help stopped state funding,

[55] Tim Strangleman, 'Deindustrialization and the Historical Sociological Imagination: Making Sense of Work and Industrial Change', in *Sociology* 51 (2017), pp. 466–482.

the difficulties for local administration grew. Entering into a competition for new industries with other cities, it had to deal also with the decline of smaller and medium-size companies in the city. Nevertheless, as Doria shows, local politics succeeded, in contrast to a mono-industrial city like Turin, to diversity Genoa's industrial base and through urban planning restructure the city into a postindustrial showcase. Reading Goch's chapter though, one cannot help wondering whether a more concerted regional response to deindustrialization would not have benefitted the entire region of the North West of Italy. While it did not entirely prevent competition of the cities in the Ruhr among each other, it provided the frame for a more cooperative and solidaristic mindset that we find in the region today.

The role of the trade unions in the governance of deindustrialization is the topic of the essays by Manfred Wannöffel and Gilda Zazzara that make up the fourth section of this book. The governance of deindustrialization in the Ruhr was strongly dependent on corporatist structures which saw the state work hand in hand with employers and unions in order to develop strategies that would allow the region as a whole to transition from industrial hub to a more diversified economic landscape. Powerful unions in the Ruhr played an influential role in this process. Although corporatism was less marked in the Italian case and although, unlike in Germany, the trade union movement was ideologically divided, labor relations also played an influential part in shaping the processes of deindustrialization in the North West of Italy. Hence, both Wannöffel's and Zazzara's chapters look in detail at **labor relations under conditions of deindustrialization.**

In comparative perspective, we note how a more united trade union response in the Ruhr was better able to defend the interests of the unions' members than the more divided one in the North West of Italy. Faced with processes of downsizing, all unions tried to avoid job losses. Yet, different union cultures reacted differently: the more radical CGIL demanded that employment levels should not decline at all, while CISL was more inclined to acknowledge the need of companies to enhance competitiveness through technological change that would involve job losses. Admittedly, the strategies of employers in the North West of Italy were far more aggressive than those of their Ruhr counterparts, from outsourcing, off-shoring and delocalization to the campaigning for the weakening of labor protection laws. It also did not help that the Italian

state and its programes of privatization further weakened the union movement that, as Zazzara argues, was struggling to prevent the wholesale impoverishment and immiseration of working-class communities, giving them at least some protection. Still, while the state in the Ruhr was more of an arbiter between the interests of business and unions, in Italy it often sided more clearly with the interests of business. In particular, the tradition of co-determination in the coal and steel industries of the Ruhr provided a solid foundation from which deindustrialization was tackled, while in Italy the social dialogue between employers and unions, implemented through the wage integration fund, was a much weaker base from which to seek common solutions to the problems brought by deindustrialization. Hence, the structural transformation in the Ruhr has been more socially embedded than the one in the North West of Italy.

The fifth section of this book compares the specific **development of urban planning under conditions of deindustrialization** in both regions. Here, we can observe how the industrial development in the North West of Italy was leaving traces in a much older urban landscape that always remained the hallmark of places such as Turin or Milan, as the contributions by Giorgio Bigatti and Sergio Scamuzzi underline. Urbanity itself was not connected solely or predominantly with industrialization. By contrast, without the industrial development in the Ruhr, there would have been little urbanity in the region and it would have looked entirely different, as is shown in Christa Reicher's contribution. The major cities of the Ruhr had already been towns in medieval and early modern Germany, but they were completely reshaped by industrialization, which produced a polycentric urban space spanning the entire region and dividing it into 'cores' and 'strings', 'focal points' and 'fringes'. By contrast, in the North West of Italy, the older urban structures remained dominant and industrialization did not change them significantly—at least not in their inner centers. The fierce independence of Italian cities prevented them from merging into a larger regional development. Urban spaces remained distinct, and they contained important layers of non-industrial pasts, so that they could never be reduced to being only an industrial landscape.

Under conditions of deindustrialization, the redesigning of the Ruhr urban structures was accomplished largely as a result of the international building exhibition Emscher Park (IBA), on which all subsequent developments for urban renewal in the Ruhr could build. It instigated a

new culture of regional planning that was aware of international developments and paid attention to new planning formats that referred in particular to the interlinking of spaces for work, living and leisure. In the North West of Italy, urban planning was not regional but local—with different planning histories for different parts of the region. The redesigning of the industrial parts of its ancient cities often paid much less attention to its industrial histories, simply because it had many other histories that it could build legacies on. Urban planners in Italy who sought to integrate the industrial past into the cityscape of postindustrial cities had a tough time being heard by local governments. The latter prioritized economic regeneration in tumultuous times over the preservation of disused industrial sites. Yet, their disregard for the abandoned spaces of an industrial past also had much to do with a severe shortage of funding. Altogether, while deindustrialization led to a major revival of urban planning on a regional scale in the Ruhr, it played a minor role in managing deindustrialization in the North West of Italy.

As Bigatti and Scamuzzi show for Milan and Turin, this is not to say that the transformation of these two cities over recent decades was unsuccessful. In many respects, both have undergone remarkable metamorphoses. Using private capital much more than public funds, local governments have successfully diversified the local economy, where in particular leisure and knowledge industries play a much bigger role. Yet, many of these private initiatives were far less conscious of the place of industrial heritage in the urban landscape than was the case for the public initiatives in the Ruhr. They, Reicher underlines, did not follow the logic of profit maximization, but carefully considered questions of social cohesion, historical culture and collective identity. A range of public–private partnerships in the redevelopment of urban structures under conditions of deindustrialization were also informed by such concerns.

Deindustrialization was not just a challenge for urban renewal, but also for **environmental renewal**, as industrialization led to massive pollution and the need for major clean-ups after factory closures. Both regions have seen impressive attempts to set new environmental standards and demonstrate how economic development and environmental concerns can go hand in hand. The greening of the Ruhr and the discourse of 'industrial nature', which are at the center of Pia Eiringhaus's contribution to this volume, are good examples of that commitment to a more environmentally sustainable future that, in the case of the Ruhr, also provides an important function for giving the region a new postindustrial identity.

It has been precisely the search for such new urban and regional identities that have had motivating effects on the greening of spaces and the re-definition of industrial heritage against the background of the increasingly important environmentalist discourse the world has been witnessing in recent years. Re-enforcing calls for higher environmental standards and stronger environmental politics, the concept of 'industrial nature' highlights attempts to stress the 'livability' of postindustrial urban landscapes, and it also contains traces of a proud and self-celebratory regionalism that combines commitment to an industrial past with engagement for more sustainable postindustrial futures.

As shown in the contribution by Egidio Dansero and his collaborators, in the North West of Italy very similar processes of combining urban renewal with greening strategies can be observed, albeit in a far more localized space. This confirms, once again, the relative absence of a regional mindscape for the North West. In their article, the authors focus specifically on three tributaries of the Po River in the city of Turin. They show how these once exploited, contaminated and buried rivers were part and parcel of processes of re-territorialization that made them foundational elements in the city's postindustrial landscape—in line with new environmental concerns that have been on the rise in Italy since the 1970s. Paying attention to new ecologies produced new landscapes in the city. The Dora Riparia River was unburied and became part of a vast industrial landscape park, the Dora Park that has become one of the most important green spaces in Turin and the backbone of a new and thriving neighborhood. The Stura River, completely contaminated and remolded under conditions of industrialization, has seen sustained attempts to restore its eco-systems—a major challenge still for the future of the city. Finally, the Sangone River has become central again to the inhabitants of one of the most iconic working-class neighborhoods in Turin, Mirafiori. Overall, the chapter by Dansero and his colleagues shows many parallels to the re-territorialization of key rivers in the Ruhr area, above all the renaturation of the Emscher River but also the remaking of the Ruhr River itself. These parallels are at least partly the consequences of a sustained dialogue across former industrial regions on how to regenerate those landscapes poisoned by industrial use. Industrial landscape parks in both regions were designed, in part, by the same people. Thus, Peter Latz was involved in both the construction of the Duisburg North Landscape Park in the Ruhr and the Dora Park in Turin. Ideas and concepts cross

regional and national borders with relative ease in a Europeanized and globalized context.

In both, the North West of Italy and the Ruhr region processes of deindustrialization raised the issue of what to do with the often large areas that were formerly reserved for industrial complexes and that had been forbidden territory for everyone not working there. Once mines and factories had been closed, and machineries dismantled, the erstwhile cathedrals of industry became ghostly specters and as such the object of fascination for a whole range of people. They included those who wanted to explore those forbidden sites and traveled long distances to enter ruins, taking photographs and documenting the morbidity of decline. They also included artists who produced photographs, and paintings and writers who produced novels and poems about deindustrialization.

Comparing the **cultures of deindustrialization** in the North West of Italy and the Ruhr, we can, first of all, observe that the physical preservation of an entire industrial landscape in the Ruhr is pretty spectacular and testimony to the degree to which that industrial past has become the anchor of regional identity, as Stefan Berger's chapter underlines. By comparison, Anna Moro's chapter also showcases many impressive attempts of preserving industrial heritage in the North West of Italy, but these are far more isolated and dotted in an overall landscape where the previous industrial past is disappearing fast. Similar ideas appear in both regions—the idea of the landscape park, the idea of the industrial museum, the idea of the re-use of industrial buildings such as office buildings, art centers, housing and entertainment complexes as well as decoration for shopping malls. At least some of these re-uses of industrial heritage sites have suffered from an ahistorical approach, where the locations have become decontextualized and only serve commercial functions. While in both the Ruhr and the North West of Italy heritagization has worked best where public institutions joined forces with civil society and private companies, such public–private partnerships need to be aware of the complexity of the sites they are transforming into heritage. Attempts at touristification also occasionally suffer from the desire to present through the sites of industrial heritage a rather too nostalgic view of the industrial past. Future research on industrial heritage in both regions will have to pay greater attention to the many silences and omissions that we find about the industrial past.

Conclusion: The Future of Two Iconic Industrial Landscapes in Europe

For the past two decades, right-wing populisms across North America and Europe have been drawing support from a white working class directly affected by deindustrialization.[56] In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most industrial hubs across the Western world were strongholds of the political left—trade unionism and left-wing political parties tended to be strong. But under conditions of deindustrialization many former union members felt that their unions could no longer protect them and that the left-of-center political parties that they had voted for had no recipes for dealing with their plight.[57] Hence, sections of the working class have been moving to the populist right, even if, as a sustained comparison between the North West of Italy and the Ruhr region of Germany underlines, both regions have seen important and partially successful attempts to weather the storm of deindustrialization.

Nevertheless, in December 2016, a 72-year-old left-wing dominance on the city council of Genoa ended and a populist right-wing mayor came in on a programe of expelling migrants, blocking plans for a local mosque and putting white Italians first. In the northern parts of the Ruhr, the right-wing Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) achieved some of their best results in West Germany—getting more than 20% of the vote in some urban districts in the regional elections for the state diet of North Rhine-Westphalia in 2017. One of the party's election posters in the Ruhr showed a former Social Democratic town councilor in Essen and convinced trade unionist, Guido Reill, who had moved to the AfD. He was dressed in miners' clothing and the slogan on the poster read: 'At heart a Social Democrat, therefore AfD'. The AfD was claiming to be the heirs of a Social Democratic tradition which, thus the message of the election poster, had been abandoned by the Social Democrats. This idea of betrayal must have rung true to at least some of the former voters of

[56] See, e.g., Seth Schindler, http://blog.gdi.manchester.ac.uk/the-new-geography-of-deindustrialization-and-the-rise-of-the-right/ [accessed 9 October 2020], and Jim Tomlison, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2017/04/28/de-industrialisation-rather-than-globalisation-is-the-key-part-of-the-brexit-story/ [accessed 9 October 2020]; see, more generally, Fernando López-Alves and Diane E. Johnson (eds.), *Populist Nationalism in Europe and the Americas* (London: Routledge, 2018).

[57] W. Rand Smith, *The Left's Dirty Job: The Politics of Industrial Restructuring in France and Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

the Social Democrats in the northern, most deprived parts of the Ruhr, at least judging by the election results.[58]

The two examples show clearly that what is currently at stake in deindustrialization processes in Italy, Germany and many other parts of the world is a political challenge: how to prevent the victims of deindustrialization, those who perceive themselves as having lost out, to move to the political right that is currently threatening democracies in many parts of the world. What answers democratic politicians, administrators, businessmen and trade unionists as well as social movements find to the challenges of deindustrialization will impact in a major way on our chances to defeat right-wing populisms.[59] In the Ruhr and in the North West of Italy, we can encounter several success stories of structural change but also some failures. As we are dealing with an ongoing process, the balance sheet of the overall process cannot yet be drawn up.

The futures of former industrial landscapes such as the ones in the North West of Italy and in the Ruhr will depend on whether governance processes manage to provide 'good work' for the vast majority of the people living in those regions, whether the growing precarity of work can be stopped, unemployment contained and whether the people see a future for themselves and for their children in those areas undergoing deindustrialization. Karl Polanyi in his seminal work *The Great Transformation* powerfully argued in favor of the social embeddedness of capitalism.[60] Neoliberal responses to deindustrialization have ignored that insight and instead left structural change to markets that turned everything into commodities. With such rapidly increasing processes of commodification, human relationships are destroyed, as societal cohesion

[58] It should be noted that the AfD also managed to mobilize many non-voters and that it draws support from diverse sections of the ideological spectrum, but in places like the Ruhr it undoubtedly also appeals to working-class voters who traditionally voted for parties on the left of the political spectrum. See Wolfgang Schroeder and Bernhard Weßels, *Smarte Spalter: die AfD zwischen Bewegung und Parlament* (Bonn: J.W.H. Dietz Nachf, 2019); Hambauer, Anja Mays Verena, 'Wer wählt die AfD? Ein Vergleich der Sozialstruktur, politischen Einstellungen und Einstellungen zu Flüchtlingen zwischen AfD WählerInnen und den WählerInnen anderer Parteien', in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* 12:1 (2018), pp. 133–154.

[59] Yascha Mounk, *The People vs. Democracy. Why Our Freedom Is in Danger and How to Save It* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

[60] Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001) (first published in 1944).

is lost and values once underpinning industrial societies, such as solidarity, are forgotten. This process has been particularly marked in the United States and Britain, where neoliberal governments from the late 1970s onwards pioneered the marketization of everything.[61] Italy and Germany went different paths, and this comparison of deindustrialization of two former industrial hubs in Italy and Germany provides plenty of examples of why it is necessary for the state to intervene and limit the commodification brought about by markets. Where this has been done, it has led to a new social and environmental embedding of capitalism. However, both in the Ruhr and in the North West of Italy, the partially successful intervention in the logic of markets has not been able to prevent entirely feelings among working-class voters that they have lost out in processes of deindustrialization which is why we have also seen the rise of right-wing populism here. The politics of deindustrialization needs to be studied in greater depth and more comparatively in order to find answers to how the anti-democratic, nationalist populist right may be stopped.[62]

References

Ackers, George Karl, 'Rethinking Deindustrialisation and Male Career Crisis', in British Journal of Guidance & Counceling 42:5 (2009), pp. 500–510.

Alterna, Bert and van der Linden, Marcel (eds.), 'De-industrialization: Social, Cultural and Political Aspects', IRSH Supplements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Apel, Dora, Beautiful Terrible Ruins. Detroit and the Anxiety of Decline (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015).

Baumeister, Martin, Bonomo, Bruno and Schott, Dieter (eds.), Cities Contested: Urban Politics, Heritage and Social Movements in Italy and West Germany in the 1970s (Frankfurt/Manin: Campus, 2017).

Becker, Tobias, 'The Meanings of Nostalgia: Genealogy and Critique', in History and Theory 57 (2018), S. 234–250.

[61] See, for example, David Byrne, 'Deindustrialization and Dispossession: An Examination of Social Division in the Industrial City', in *Sociology* 29:1 (1995), pp. 95–115.

[62] A consortium of scholars from North America and Europe, led by Steven High at Concordia University, Montreal, is doing precisely this in a seven-year project that started in 2020. See https://www.concordia.ca/news/stories/2020/06/03/sshrc-awards-2-5-m-to-concordia-led-collaborative-research-on-deindustrialization-and-the-rise-of-populism.html [accessed 12 October 2020].

Becker, Benjamin and Richter, Caspar, 'Klimaschutz in Deutschland: Realitaet oder Rhetorik', in Momentum Quarterly 4:1 (2015), pp. 3–22.
Bell, Daniel, The Coming of Post-industrial Society (New York: Basic Books, 1976).
Berger, Stefan (ed.), Constructing Industrial Pasts: Heritage, Identities and Historical Cultures in Regions Undergoing Structural Economic Transformation (New York: Berghahn, 2020).
Berger, Thor and Frey, Carl B., 'Structural Transformation in the OECD: Digitalisation, Deindustrialisation and the Future of Work', in OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers 193 (2016), OECD Publishing, Paris, https://doi.org/10.1787/5jlr068802f7-en.
Berger, Stefan and High, Steven (eds.), '(De-)Industrial Heritage, Special Issue of Labor', in Studies in Working-Class History 16:1 (2019), pp. 1–170.
Blackby, Frank (ed.), Deindustrialization (London: Heinemann, 1978).
Bluestone, Barry and Harrison, Bennett, The Deindustrialization of America (New York: Basic Books, 1982).
Boltanski, Luc and Esquerre, Arnaud, Bereicherung. Eine Kritik der Waren (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2018).
Bonnett, Alastair, Left in the Past. Radicalism and the Politics of Nostalgia (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010).
Boutefu-Moraitis, Alexis S., 'The Politics of Deindustrialisation: The Experience of the Textiles and Clothing Sector (1974-1984)', in French Politics 16:1 (2018), pp. 38–63.
Boym, Svetlana, The Future of Nostalgia (New York: Basic Books, 2001).
Byrne, David, 'Deindustrialization and Dispossession: An Examination of Social Division in the Industrial City', in Sociology 29:1 (1995), pp. 95–115.
Clarcke, Jackie, 'Closing Time: Deindustrialization and Nostalgia in Contemporary France', in History Workshop Journal 79:1 (2015), pp. 107–125.
Cornelissen, Christoph, 'Der lange Weg zur historischen Identität. Geschichtspolitik in Nordrhein-Westfalen seit 1946', in Thomas Schlemmer and Hans Woller (eds.), Politik und Kultur im föderativen Staat, 1949–1973 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2005), pp. 411–484.
Cowell Margaret, Dealing with Deindustrialization. Adaptive Resilience in American Midwestern Regions (London: Routledge, 2015).
Cowie, Jefferson and Heathcott, Joseph, Beyond the Ruins: The Meaning of Deindustrialization (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).
Dandaneau, Steven P., A Town Abandoned: Flint, Michigan, Confronts Deindustrialisation (Albany: University of New York Press, 1996).
Davis, Fred, Yearning for Yesterday. A Sociology of Nostalgia (New York: The Free Press, 1979).
Dicks, Bella, Heritage, Place and Comminity (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000).

Dudley, Kathryn Marie, The End of the Line: Lost Jobs, New Lives in Postindustrial America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
Edensor, Tim, 'The Ghosts of Industrial Ruins: Ordering and Disordering Memory in Excessive Space', in Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 23:6 (2005), pp. 829–849.
Eiringhaus, Pia, Industrie und Natur: Postindustrielle Repräsentationen von Natur und Umwelt im Ruhrgebiet (Bochum: SGR, 2018).
Feifan Xie, Philip, Industiral Heritage Tourism (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015).
Fontaine, Marion and Vigna, Xavier (eds.), 'La Désindustrialisation: une histoire en cours', in Revue d'Historique 21/22 (2019), pp. 2–17.
Frederick, Katharine, 'Global and Local Forces in Deindustrialization: The Case of Cotton Cloth in East Africa's Lower Shire Valley', in Journal of Eastern African Studies 11:2 (2017), pp. 266–289.
Frevert, Ute, 'Moral Economics: Present and Past. Social Practices and Intellectual Controversies', in: idem (ed.), Moral Economies (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2019), pp. 13–44.
German Federal Ministry of Social Affairs, Re-Imagining Work. Green Paper Work 4.0 (Berlin: BMAS, 2015), https://www.bmas.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/PDF-Publikationen/arbeiten-4-0-green-paper.pdf;jsessionid=FD5D548A3D5C42D51FBB9C9B04DC9C27.delivery2-master?__blob=publicationFile&v=1 [accessed 8 October 2020].
Goch, Stefan, Eine Region im Kampf mit dem Strukturwandel. Bewältigung von Strukturwandel und Strukturpolitik im Ruhrgebiet (Essen: Klartext, 2002).
Guano, Emanuela, 'Touring the Hidden City: Walking Tour Guides in Deindustrializing Genoa', in City and Society 27:2 (2015), pp. 160–182.
Hall, Peter A. and Skice, David (eds.), Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
Harris, Nigel, Selected Essays of Nigel Harris: From National Liberation to Globalisation (Leiden: Brill, 2018).
Hassink, R., Hu, X., Shin, D.H., Yamamura, S., Gong, H., 'The Restructuring of Old Industrial Areas in East Asia', in Area Development and Policy 3:2 (2018), S. 185–202.
High, Steven, Industrial Sunset: The Making of Americ's Rust Belt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).
High, Steven, MacKinnon, Lachlan and Perchard, Andrew (eds.), The Deindustrialized World: Confronting Ruination in Postindustrial Places (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017).
High, Steven, One Job Town. Work, Belonging and Betrayal in Northern Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018).

Jäger, Jens, Heimat in Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte, first published 13 August 2018, https://docupedia.de/zg/Jaeger_heimat_v1_en_2018 [accessed 9 October 2020].
Johnson, Christopher H., The Life and Death of Industrial Languedoc 1700-1920: The Politics of Deindustrialisation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 259.
Johnson, Christopher H., 'Introduction: De-industrialization and Globalization', in International Review of Social History 47 (2002), pp. 3–33.
Jones, Owen, Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class (London: Verso, 2011).
Joshi, Chitra, Lost Worlds: Indian Labour and Its Forgotten Histories (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003).
Lalic, Bojan et al. (eds.), Advances in Production Management Systems: Towards Smart and Digital Manufacturing, 2 vols (Berlin: Springer, 2020).
Lever, W.F., 'Deindustrialization and the Reality of the Post-industrial City', in Urban Studies 28:6 (1991), pp. 983–999.
Lewis, David W., Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2007).
Linkon, Sherry Lee, The Half-Life of Deindustrialization. Working-Class Writing About Economic Restructuring (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018).
Loomis, Dana, Richardson, David B. and Bena, James F., 'Deindustrialisation and the Long Term Decline in Fatal Occupational Injuries', in: Occupational and Evironmental Medicine 61 (2004), pp. 616–621.
López-Alves, Fernando, and Johnson, Diane E. (eds.), Populist Nationalism in Europe and the Americas (London: Routledge, 2018).
MacKinnon, Lachlan, Closing Sysco. Industrial Decline in Atlantic Canada's Steel City (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020).
Mah, Alice, Industrial Ruination, Community and Place: Landscapes and Legacies of Urban Decline (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).
Martin, Ron and Rowthorn, Bob (eds.), The Geography of Deindustrialization (Basingstoke: Palgrave, [1986] 2012).
Moitra, Stefan and Nogueira, Katarzyna (eds.), 'Industrial Memories. Oral History and Structural Change', in BIOS. Zeitschrift für Biographieforschung, (forthcoming).
Mounk, Yasha, The People vs. Democracy, Why Our Freedom Is in Danger and How to Save It (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).
Paddison, Ronan and Hutton, Tom (eds.), Cities and Economic Change: Restructuring and Dislocation in the Global Metropolis (London: Sage, 2014).
Polanyi, Karl, The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001) (first published in 1944).

Prossek, Achim, 'Symphatieträger der Region: Erinnerungsort Ruhr', in Berger, Stefan, Borsdorf, Ulrich, Classen, Ludger, Grütter, Heinrich Theodor, Nellen, Dieter (eds.), Zeit-räume Ruhr: Erinnerungsorte des Ruhrgebiets (Essen: Klartext, 2019), pp. 279–295.

Raphael, Lutz, Jenseits von Kohle und Stahl. Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte Westeuropas nach dem Boom (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2019).

Reimer, Mario and Rusche, Karsten, 'Green Infrastructure Under Pressure: A Global Narrative Between Regional Vision and Local Implementation', in European Planning Studies (2019), pp. 1542–1563, https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2019.1591346.

Rhodes, James, 'The "Trouble" with the "White Working-Class": Whiteness, Class and "Groupism"', in Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power 19:4 (2012), pp. 485–492.

Rhodes, Mark Allen, Price, William R. and Walker, Amy (eds.), Geography of Post-industrial Place, Memory and Heritage (London: Taylor & Francis, 2020).

Schindler, Seth, http://blog.gdi.manchester.ac.uk/the-new-geography-of-deindustrialization-and-the-rise-of-the-right/ [accessed 9 October 2020].

Smith, W. Rand, The Left's Dirty Job: The Politics of Industrial Restructuring in France and Spain (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

Smith, Laurajane, Use of Heritage (London: Routledge, 2006).

Smith, Laurajane and Campbell, Gary, '"Nostalgia for the Future": Memory, Nostalgia and the Politics of Class', in International Journal of Heritage Studies 23 (2017), S. 612–627.

Smith, Laurajane, Shackel, Paul and Campbell, Gary (eds.), Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes (London: Routledge, 2011).

Smith, Michael Peter and Kirkpatrick, L. Owen (eds.), Reinventing Detroit: The Politics of Possibility (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2017).

Strangleman, T. and Rhodes James T., 'The "New" Sociology of Deindustrialization? Understanding Industrial Change', in Sociology Compass 8:4 (2014), pp. 411–421.

Strangleman, T. 'Deindustrialization and the Historical Sociological Imagination: Making Sense of Work and Industrial Change', in Sociology 51 (2017), pp. 466–482.

Strangleman, Tim, Voices of Guinness: An Oral History of the Park Royal Brewery (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Thompson, Edward P., 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', in Past and Present 50 (1971), pp. 76–136.

Tomlison, Jim, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2017/04/28/de-industrialisation-rather-than-globalisation-is-the-key-part-of-the-brexit-story/ [9 October 2020].

Van Voss, Lex Heerma and van der Linden, Marcel (eds.), Class and Other Identities: Gender Religion and Ethnicity in the Writing of European Labour History (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002).

Walkerdine, Valerie and Jimenez, Luis, Gender, Work and Community after De-industrialization: A Psychological Approach to Affect (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012).

Walley, Christine J., Exit 0: Family and Class in Postindustrial Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013)

White, Hayden, The Practical Past (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2014).

Wicke, Christian, Berger, Stefan and Golombeck, Jana (eds.), 'Special Issue: Deindustrialization, Heritage and Representations of Identity', in The Public Historian 39:4 (2017).

Wicke, Christian, Berger, Stefan and Golombek, Jana (eds.), Industrial Heritage and Regional Identities (London. Routledge, 2018).

Williams, Raymond, The Country and the City (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Zimmermann, Clemes (ed.), Industrial Cities: History and Future (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2013).