Document généré le 24 avr. 2024 00:25

Urban History Review
Revue d'histoire urbaine

URBAN HISTORY REVIEW
REVUE D'HISTOIRE URBAINE

Introduction

Steven High

Volume 35, numéro 2, spring 2007

The Politics and Memory of Deindustrialization in Canada

URI : https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1015917ar
DOI : https://doi.org/10.7202/1015917ar

Aller au sommaire du numéro

Éditeur(s)

Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine

ISSN

0703-0428 (imprimé)
1918-5138 (numérique)

Découvrir la revue

Citer ce document

High, S. (2007). Introduction. *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine*, *35*(2), 2–13. https://doi.org/10.7202/1015917ar

All Rights Reserved © Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine, 2007

Ce document est protégé par la loi sur le droit d'auteur. L'utilisation des services d'Érudit (y compris la reproduction) est assujettie à sa politique d'utilisation que vous pouvez consulter en ligne.

https://apropos.erudit.org/fr/usagers/politique-dutilisation/

érudit

Cet article est diffusé et préservé par Érudit.

Érudit est un consortium interuniversitaire sans but lucratif composé de l'Université de Montréal, l'Université Laval et l'Université du Québec à Montréal. Il a pour mission la promotion et la valorisation de la recherche.

https://www.erudit.org/fr/

Introduction

Steven High / Photographs by David W. Lewis

Historian Rosemary Ommer gave the W. Stewart MacNutt Memorial Lecture at the University of New Brunswick in 1993, a year after the collapse of groundfish stocks had led the federal government to issue fishing moratoria in Atlantic Canada. It was entitled "One Hundred Years of Fishery Crises in Newfoundland." As a historian of the fishery and a resident of St. John's, Ommer used this occasion to grapple with the meaning of the dire economic crisis now facing Newfoundlanders and to reflect on the historian's role in the societal search for answers. What can the historian offer, she asked? A first step, Ommer told the audience, was for scholars to understand the crisis and provide insight into what went wrong: "We must trace where it came from, we must ask why it was not foreseen and prevented, and we must seek out the most useful approach to a solution for the future. In so doing, we will need to be aware of the implicit ideologies, beliefs and pressures that underlie the thinking of the policy makers of the day."[1] A second step was to ensure that the "historical record" that was already being marshalled in support of one political position or another was not distorted beyond recognition. A steady stream of studies has since appeared on the crisis in the Atlantic fisheries.[2]

Having grown up in Northwestern Ontario, I understand the sentiments expressed by Rosemary Ommer all too well. Once known as "New Ontario," a mythic land of infinite wealth and promise, Northern Ontario is now associated with hard times, out-migration, and the "old economy."[3] The region's resource-based economy is in a prolonged state of crisis. Tens of thousands of jobs have vanished in recent years as sawmills, paper mills, mines, railway shops, and grain terminal elevators have closed. This special issue, the first to explore deindustrialization within the Canadian context, attempts to do two things. First, it brings together scholars researching industrial restructuring on Canada's resource periphery and those focusing on the industrial core. The Call for Papers also explicitly invited researchers investigating tourism and retail—two sectors of the economy not normally associated with deindustrialization. The second aim is to have Canadian scholars engage more directly with the international scholarship. One of the basic characteristics of the American literature in particular is its cultural approach to the study of catastrophic economic change. Deindustrialization is about more than economics: it is a cultural drama of people and communities in transition, changes in the built environment and the politics of place.

When a major mine or mill goes down, or when the fish are gone as a result of government mismanagement, workers and local communities stand to "lose the social structure their collective integrity depends on"; people who "once stood at the centre of things now seem out of place."[4] What are the social and economic effects of mine, mill, and factory closures? What has job loss meant to people, place, and nation? How have Canadian workers and their unions responded to industrial restructuring? In what ways did mine or mill closings undermine community identity and place attachment? How have lost industries been remembered and commemorated? How have museum curators, artists, and novelists told these stories? What are the politics of deindustrialization? In exploring these and other questions, the contributors to this special issue of *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* have sought to ascertain how deindustrialization shaped Canada's urban and social history. One would be hard pressed to find a more under-researched topic in Canadian history than urban decline and revitalization.[5]

The six authors contributing to this volume exemplify the wide range of possible approaches to the study of deindustrialization and its meaning. They approach the subject from multiple angles and adopt varying scales, from local case studies to larger multi-local and trans-local studies. For example, whereas historian Katharine Rollwagen provides a close reading of community and worker responses to mine closures in the British Columbia mining town of Britannia Beach, historian Dimitry Anastakis examines the resilience of Ontario's auto industry from a broad public policy perspective. Atlantic Canada is well represented in this special issue by geographer Robert Summerby-Murray's study of vernacular industrial heritage in two Nova Scotia coal-mining towns and by sociologist Jim Overton's enquiry into the post-moratorium politics of community economic development in Newfoundland. The declining fortunes of small-town Manitoba are explored by public historian and curator Sharon Reilly in relation to a permanent museum exhibit. In fact, the largest urban centre to feature in this volume is Victoria, BC, which experienced the shift from manufacturing to tourism and retail in the early twentieth century. In his contribution, historian Michael Dawson examines how deindustrialization propelled the store hours debate in Victoria and steered the town toward catering to tourists. Tourism looms large in several of the studies, as does the concept of community. The series of photographs of abandoned industrial sites taken by David W. Lewis, included here, suggest an emerging aesthetic of deindustrialization based on the notion of the sublime.[6] These ruins make us pause, reflect and remember. Taken as a whole, the authors ask us to widen our vision of what deindustrialization means and point to exciting new theoretical directions for the study of industrial change.[7]

To be sure, the authors' focus on small-town Canada represents a clear break from the prevailing focus on large metropolitan cities in urban history. A survey of *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* since its inception in 1972 finds a growing concentration on the metropolitan centres of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, and on second-tier cities such as Ottawa, Calgary, and Edmonton. In the last decade, only a handful of articles have appeared in these pages on smaller urban centres. This was not always the case. Back in the 1970s and 1980s, this journal and the classic anthologies edited by Gilbert Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise were filled with articles about resource towns on Canada's periphery.[8] Urban historians of the day were encouraged to look beyond big cities by proponents of the "metropolitan thesis" and the "heartland-hinterland" framework, which emphasized inter-urban relationships rather than

David W. Lewis

Nipissing Refinery (interior), Cobalt, ON

intra-urban ones.[9] Our return to smaller urban centres is thus both an acknowledgement of the continued importance of the resource sector in Canada (46 per cent of Canada's total exports were either raw or processed natural resources in 2001) and a recognition that the meanings derived from economic change in the core and on the periphery are not necessarily the same.

In this regard, I take my cue as guest editor from three scholars associated with the "new economic geography" who recently argued that the debate over industrial restructuring is bound by a "discourse that is rooted in the experience of industrial cores, old and new. An economic geography dominated by post-industrial, service-oriented economies has no interest in what is perceived as 'old fashioned' resource geography."[10] For Roger Hayter, Trevor J. Barnes, and Michael J. Bradshaw, globalization "has different meanings, implications and history for resource peripheries than for cores."[11] The same point can and should be made about deindustrialization. As a result, this special issue aims to bring resource-dependent towns, the state, and tourism more fully into the international debate over the politics and meaning of industrial restructuring and deindustrialization.[12]

In recent years, the study of mill and factory closures has been something of a growth industry in the United States. Recent monographs by Jefferson Cowie, Sherry Lee Linkon and John Russo, Lisa Fine, Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott, Thomas Sugrue, and many others, have much to tell us about the social effects of deindustrialization, its politics and representation, as well as its economics.[13] To date, the study of "deindustrialization"—defined by Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison as "a widespread, systematic disinvestment in the nation's productive capacity"[14]—has focused almost exclusively on manufacturing and basic steel. As a result, we now know a great deal about industrial restructuring and community abandonment in auto, steel, rubber, textiles, and electrical products. Many of the hardest-hit towns and cities in the Rust Belt now have their own urban biographer. Place names like Kenosha, Flint, Detroit, Youngstown, and Homestead have become synonymous with the ravages of creative destruction and, in so doing, have acted to confirm the popular belief that we live in a post-industrial era.

Resource towns, by contrast, have been *terra incognita* for scholars of deindustrialization in the United States. Only one of the thirteen essays included in Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott's path-breaking edited volume, *Beyond the Ruins: The Meaning of Deindustrialization* (2003), for example, deals with a resource-dependent town. Yet, even there, the focus of the piece is on Anaconda, Montana, a town that lost its copper refinery—not a mine. With few exceptions, "deindustrialization" has been applied almost exclusively to core economic sectors (employing mainly men, I might add), usually located in heartland regions.[15] It is as though the meaning of deindustrialization precludes the study of peripheral resource towns of single industry. Industrial restructuring and economic crisis in mining, forestry, fishing, and transportation have thus been left to others.

The bifurcation of the scholarly literature is due—at least in part—to two explanatory frameworks that structure our understanding of economic change at the core and on the periphery. In the first instance, industrial decline in the heartland has been understood in terms of the life course metaphor: a linear slide into industrial oblivion and, perhaps, economic rebirth as a new post-industrial space. Not surprisingly, the meanings derived from these changes were contested. While enthusiasts heralded the rise of a new post-industrial era, critics argued that capital divestment led to the death of industry and the destruction of community.[16] By contrast, the meaning of economic change in the resource sector is premised on the idea that the normal economic cycle on the periphery is one of extremes. The dependence of resource towns on staples exports makes them vulnerable to changing prices and market demand on the one hand and resource exhaustion on the other. The "boom and bust" metaphor thus encloses and structures our understanding of economic change in the resource hinterland.

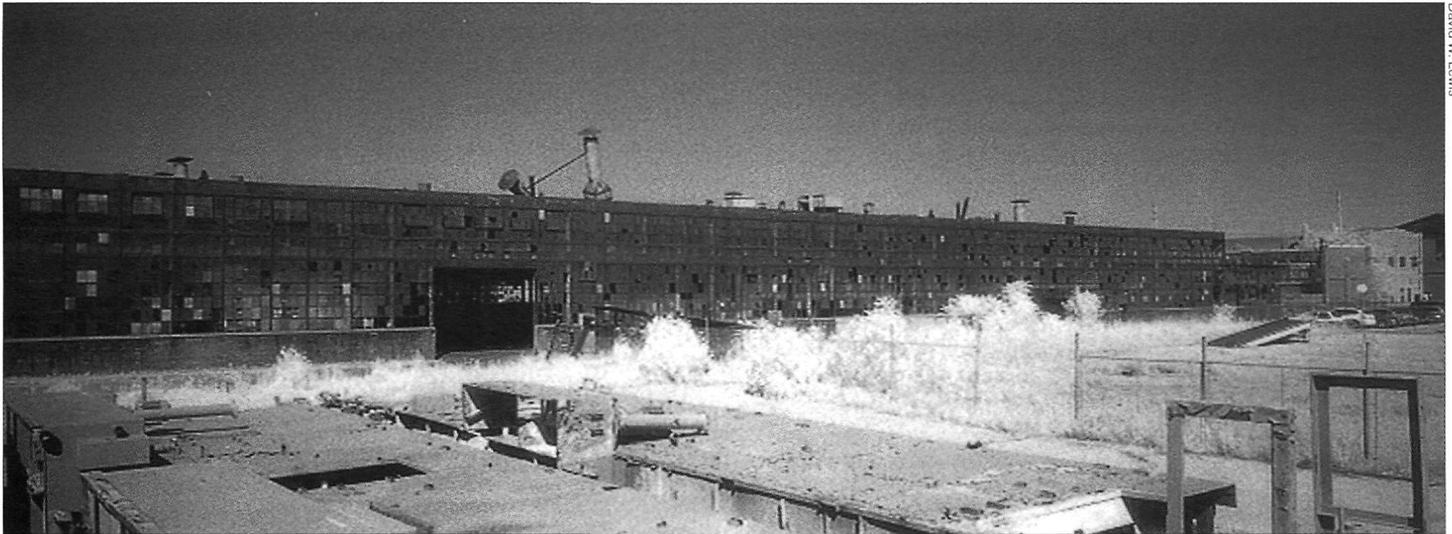
What both explanatory frameworks share, however, is an emphasis on the loss of local control and a sense of inevitability about economic change. "Booms, busts, dependence, exploitation and vulnerability are recurrent themes of resource peripheries," but these themes now resonate in the core as well.[17] It turns out that many of the industrial cities of the North American heartland were, in fact, towns of single industry masquerading as something more stable and lasting. A more flexible understanding of deindustrialization is therefore in order.

It is perhaps due to the continued importance of Canada's resource sector that the study of deindustrialization has not taken hold here to the extent that it has south of the Canada–U.S. border. Rianne Mahon's 1984 book, *The Politics of Industrial Restructuring: Canadian Textiles* (1984), is perhaps the earliest example, followed by J. Paul Grayson's *Corporate Strategy and Plant Closures: The SKF Experience* (1985), Jane Jenson and Rianne Mahon's anthology, *The Challenge of Restructuring: North American Labor Movements Respond* (1993), David Sobel and Susan Meurer's *Working at Inglis: The Life and Death of a Canadian Factory* (1994), and my own cross-national comparative study, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt* (2003).[18] Unlike U.S.-based authors who have adopted a binary between local community and non-local capital, Canadian scholars have juxtaposed Canadian (or Quebec) workers against American bosses.[19] Though this nationalist line surfaces occasionally in the papers that follow in this special issue, it is not the controlling idea in any of them.[20]

While the few Canadian scholars who have adopted the "deindustrialization" framework have focused mainly on the Montreal-Windsor corridor, there is an extensive scholarship on restructuring and resistance on the periphery. The resource town is the "backbone" of staples production in Canada.[21] In his classic 1971 study of Canada's towns of single industry, sociologist Rex Lucas presented them as "twentieth century products of an age of industry and technology." The inhabitants of these "communities of today" were cast by Lucas as "men, women, and children of the twentieth century."[22] Rex Lucas may still be right in his

David W. Lewis

Canada Motor Lamp (interior), Windsor, ON



David W. Lewis

Canada Motor Lamp (later Rockwell), Windsor, ON

assessment, but not in the way that he probably meant in 1971. Much has changed in the ensuing decades. Whereas primary resource industries such as mining, forestry, farming, and fishing employed 1.1 million Canadians in 1951, that number has declined to just 868,000 in 1991.[23] It has fallen further since then. In overall employment, the percentage of Canadians making their living in the primary sector fell from 21.3 per cent to just 6.1 during the same period. It should therefore come as no surprise that resource-dependent towns have faced tough times since Lucas wrote his book. The literatures on forestry,[24] mining,[25] and fishing[26] are particularly extensive, although little has been produced by historians.

If the contributors to this special issue ask us to widen our definition of deindustrialization to include resource industries on the periphery, they also invite us to revise our understanding of the timing of deindustrialization. Deindustrialization, as a concept, was a product of a specific time and place. It emerged first as an explanatory framework in the early 1970s when left-nationalists in Canada's New Democratic Party sought to blame plant closings on U.S.-controlled companies. For them, American companies closed branch plants in Canada in order to keep factories running at home. By the early 1980s, a variant of the "deindustrialization thesis" had taken hold in the United States, popularized by Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison in their influential book, *The Deindustrialization of America*. In this American formulation, deindustrialization pitted local communities against outside capital. "At the root of all of this is a fundamental struggle between capital and community," wrote Bluestone and Harrison in 1982.[27]

The origin of deindustrialization (the concept) in the political debates of the 1970s and 1980s has led some scholars to treat it as an era rather than as a continuing process. Most studies, to date, are focused on the 1970s and 1980s—a period marked by mill and factory closings on a massive scale.[28] It is therefore notable that half of the contributors to this special issue focus on earlier times. For Michael Dawson, "one needs to break free from the traditional understanding of the timing and impact of deindustrialization." The notion that the postwar era was a time of labour stability and worker prosperity is similarly challenged by Katharine Rollwagen in her contribution. Both authors argue that time-bound notions of deindustrialization lend themselves to linear thinking about "stages of development." Because capitalism is never stationary, constantly creating the new and incessantly destroying the old, its path is not predetermined.

The politics of deindustrialization is a central theme running through all of the articles in this issue. Dozens of auto assembly plants in the United States closed in the 1970s and 1980s, leaving auto towns like Detroit and Flint devastated. Detroit lost 180,000 auto jobs in a mere seven years. Yet the auto industry in Canada, concentrated in southern Ontario, was largely insulated from this upheaval. Not a single auto assembly plant closed between 1969 and 1984. To the contrary, assembly plants were actually built during this troubled period. In his fascinating contribution to this volume, Dimitry Anastakis asks why the Rust Belt didn't cross the border into Canada. Why didn't Windsor become another Flint, Michigan? Anastakis looks for answers to these important questions in the Chrysler bailout of 1979–1980, when the governments of the United States and Canada intervened to save the company with loan guarantees. In doing so, he finds that state actors—and not "nationalistic worker agency" as I have argued elsewhere—were responsible. The 1965 auto pact and its attendant agreements on Canadian content and production had given the Canadian government a supervisory role in the industry. It was therefore used to having a say in the investment decisions of the Big Three automakers. When Chrysler came calling for help, the federal government naturally tied its financial support to employment and new investment. The U.S. Congress, by contrast, insisted on stiff union wage and benefit concessions before it would act. These contrasting approaches are telling. Dimitry Anastakis convincingly concludes with the point that the bailout did not signal the emergence of a Canadian Rust Belt but rather an "industrial sunrise" in this country. He credits state actors in Canada for this continental divide.

If state actors stopped the Rust Belt in its tracks at the border crossing between Windsor and Detroit, as Anastakis argues, the state was not so proactive in other parts of Canada. The federal government, for example, bears at least some responsibility (and many would argue a lot more than some) for the collapse of the Newfoundland cod fishery. More than half of the province's 200 fish plants were closed and dozens of coastal villages lost their economic livelihood. James Overton's provocative piece raises important questions about community economic development and heritage tourism in his examination of the politics of deindustrialization that followed the fishing moratoria. For him, the "promotion of a 'community' approach to social and economic development policy was part of an attempt to shift responsibility for dealing with the crisis away from the federal and provincial governments." In effect, Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells responded to the crisis by radically downsizing the state via privatization, deregulation, spending cuts, and "reform" to social policy. These "scorched earth" tactics resulted in a second wave of job loss.

It was in this political context, then, that "community economic development" and its child, "outport archaeology" (defined by Overton as community-sponsored projects funded by government that used local labour to develop sites), took hold in Newfoundland. Tourism was held up as a viable economic alternative to lost industry. Touting tourism may have raised morale for a time but did nothing for the long-term sustainability of coastal communities. Archaeological developments at L'Anse-aux-Meadows (developed in the mid-1960s) and Ferryland, as well as lesser-known sites at Port aux Choix and Red Bay, Labrador, have failed to fill the economic vacuum. The mantra of "community economic development" was, for James Overton, little more than ideological cover for the neo-liberal agenda.

The close attention given to state actors by Anastakis and Overton represents a break from the localism of the scholarship in the United States. There, the politics of deindustrialization is largely played out on a local stage.[29] Yet a locally based study need not be locally bound, as Katharine Rollwagen demonstrates in her article on Brittania Beach, BC. Copper mining began in this quintessential company town, located forty-eight kilometres north of Vancouver, in 1905 and continued until the mine's closure in 1974. Rollwagen interrogates the mine workers' response to the threatened closure of the mine in 1958 and again in 1964. She argues that it was the workers' "sense of community" that determined their response to each announcement. In the first instance, employee loyalty to the British Mining and Smelting Company, the longstanding operator of the mine, and local social divisions between married miners and unmarried ones, dampened opposition and resulted in the quiescence of the Mine Mill local union. When the U.S.-based corporate giant Anaconda reopened the mine, residents' view of their community changed. Workers therefore responded defiantly when Anaconda subsequently threatened to close the mine during a labour dispute, appealing to local and national communities of identification. Both rhetorical strategies broadened the struggle and mobilized political support in Britannia Beach and across Canada. The miners' appeal to Canadian nationalism shows that economic nationalism was not confined to Ontario, as some would have it.

While the state can use the mantle of "community" to justify the downloading of financial obligations and responsibilities to localities, as Overton finds, and community can be used by workers to unite local people and Canadians against outside capital, as Rollwagen posits, it was also a matter of political contestation.

David W. Lewis

Atlas Steel, Welland, ON

Who spoke on behalf of community? In whose interests would the rhetoric of community serve most? These questions lie at the heart of Michael Dawson's study of post-industrial Victoria, BC. Like Overton's study of "outport archaeology," Dawson chooses an unlikely window through which to peer into the politics of deindustrialization: the retail store hours debate. Given the increasing dependence of the city on tourist dollars, the future of the traditional half-day mid-week retail holiday was a matter of fierce debate in the first half of the twentieth century. To what extent must Victoria's retail merchants and workers cater to the needs of tourists? The debate reveals a community's "divided response" to deindustrialization. As Dawson reminds us, deindustrialization not only pitted local "community" against outside "capital," but pitted local residents against each another.

Several authors also discuss the relationships among industrial heritage, memory, and place identity.[30] Frequently initiated in the immediate aftermath of mine, mill, or factory closures, industrial heritage projects promise jobs and a sense of security. Place identity need not change: mining towns can continue to be mining towns. Sometimes in the scramble to find ways to revitalize hard-hit areas, civic officials agree to ill-conceived schemes that end disastrously. Film-maker Michael Moore, for example, famously lampooned the millions invested in a luxury hotel and auto-themed amusement park in Flint, Michigan. There is also the question of what will happen to former industrial buildings. Should they be torn down? Converted to other uses? Preserved?

In thinking about place identity, Robert Summerby-Murray explores the "connections workers have to place and the creation of geographies of identity." He does this by interrogating the meaning of private commemorations found in the front yards of residents in the former mining towns of Springhill and River Hebert-Joggins in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia. What people choose to place in their front yards is significant, he suggests. Why did the Hurley family, for example, build and erect a 1.2 metre silhouette of a miner in their yard? What is communicated by the coal car filled with flowers in the front yard of another Springhill home? Why did chainsaw artist Bruce Hebert carve a life-sized sculpture of a miner and place it in his yard?

What did these residents hope to communicate? Who were they? To answer these questions, Summerby-Murray knocked on people's doors and asked them. In doing so, he found that the display of historic artifacts and iconic symbols of the mining past was one way ordinary people—many of them former miners or with deep family connections to the mining past—displayed individual pride in the history of mining, while at the same time reinforcing local identity and asserting community membership. Summerby-Murray expected to find a narrative of resistance, too, but did not. Personal industrial heritage is thus "consonant with rather than resistant to a public industrial heritage discourse that seeks to commodify, romanticize, sanitize, and memorialize." What is an "authentic" expression of an individual or a community and what is commodity is not always clear.

The counterpoint to Overton and Summerby-Murray is Sharon Reilly's public history essay on the making of the Manitoba Museum's Parklands / Mixed Woods Gallery and the curatorial team's handling of the twin themes of industrialization and deindustrialization in southern Manitoba. As curator, Reilly sought to preserve the memory of industry and labour in a part of Manitoba that is not commonly associated with small-scale manufacturing. Wanting an artifact-rich exhibit, Reilly built this part of the exhibit around the fragments of material culture that were available: an unusual spinning wheel, green glass beverage bottles, and woollen sweaters. These artifacts led the curatorial team to do field work and archival research on the Leary Brickworks in Roseisle, Manitoba Glass in Beausejour, and Mary Maxim (woollens) in Sifton. What is particularly interesting about Reilly's essay is that she allies herself with the aging cohort of volunteers in the small museums of southern Manitoba who "struggle to preserve and pass on their local history." For Reilly, it is *their* story that is being exhibited in the Manitoba Museum.

This bottom-up view of industrial heritage runs counter to much of what Overton and Summerby-Murray argue in this issue. For them, industrial heritage discourse is driven by the practical desire to create jobs. But what sort of financial gain might the Manitoba Museum anticipate by recovering the industrial history of southern Manitoba? I suspect very little. Does its absence make the story being told there any more "authentic" than the miners museum in Springhill, Nova Scotia? If the absence of commercial motive is going to be the measure, where does that leave deindustrialized places? In our effort to critically engage with industrial heritage tourism, do we risk creating an opposition between commercially tainted local heritage projects on the one hand and untainted non-local ones on the other? The danger, here, of course, is that we fall into the trap of assuming that history can be told only at a distance.

At its best, industrial heritage offers displaced industrial workers validation. The permanent exhibition of the Ecomusée du Fier Monde in Montreal, for example, uses deindustrialization as the turning point around which it tells the story of the rise, death, and rebirth of the "Centre-Sud" neighbourhood.[31] Likewise, the Workers Arts and Heritage Centre in Hamilton hosted important exhibitions on Studebaker and other closed factories.[32] In the early 1990s, the Ontario NDP government provided funding to trade unions to preserve and interpret the industrial heritage of vanishing workplaces.[33] There are a number of industrial museums across Canada that do the same, but from an employer's perspective.[34] If the large number of popular history books exploring Canada's "lost" industrial heritage is any indication, public interest is high.[35]

Conclusion

The contributors to this special issue of *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* take up the challenge of Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott who called on scholars to "rethink the chronology, memory, spatial relations, culture, and politics of what we have come to call 'deindustrialization.'"[36] Their appeal to widen our understanding of deindustrialization informed my wording of the Call for Papers and clearly resonated with the contributors as well. Three points of similarity are evident. First, the contributors make the case that deindustrialization *as a process* was evident long before it entered our collective vocabulary in the 1970s and 1980s. Half of the articles in this volume focus on economic change in earlier decades. If the usual chronology of industrial decline is called into question in this issue, a second point of similarity relates to the politics of tourism and industrial heritage in the aftermath of mine, mill, factory, and industry closures. As Kirk Savage observed in *Beyond the Ruins*, the deindustrialized landscape, "like a ruined battlefield that heals over, is ripe for commemoration."[37] Much the same point is made here by Robert Summerby-Murray, James Overton, and Sharon Reilly. Finally, most of the authors of the articles that follow focus on deindustrialization's *aftermath*.

If there are important similarities, the differences are also striking. First, there is a difference in scale. Whereas local case studies predominate south of the border, this special issue contains an equal number of local, multi-local, and trans-local studies. In part, this was the luck of the draw. But the papers do, I think, mirror the diversity of approaches that prevail in Canada. Another aspect to consider is the place of the state in the stories being told. State actors are at centre stage in two of the six papers in this special issue. Even when the contributors turn their attention to the local level, they present a nuanced understanding of the concept of community. "Community" is politically loaded, as we see in the papers by Overton, Rollwagen, and Dawson. Touting "community economic development" and heritage tourism as the way forward for hard-hit localities, Overton warns, is at best wishful thinking and at worst a way for government to download responsibility at a time of economic crisis.[38] Finally, as this introduction has made clear, the papers bridge the divide between the study of deindustrialization in the core and on the periphery.

Missing from our discussion, here, is the story that is unfolding in Canada's metropolitan cities. There is a great deal of public discussion surrounding industrial demolition, adaptive reuse, and preservation. In Montreal, for example, the fate of the grain terminal elevator that stands at the mouth of the Lachine Canal

Riverside Brewery, Windsor, ON

(Silo #5) has generated a great deal of heated debate.[39] The conversion of many of the old industrial buildings along the Lachine Canal into condominiums has likewise proved to be controversial. David Fennario's 2005 play *Condoville*, a sequel to his iconic 1979 play *Balconville*, explores some of the tensions surrounding these issues in Pointe Ste-Charles. While there has been some interesting research on gentrification in inner city areas, much more work needs to be done.[40] The incorporation of the aesthetic of industry into landscapes of consumption in Winnipeg (The Forks), Toronto (The Distillery District), Montreal (Cité Multimedia) and elsewhere needs to be critically examined vis-à-vis deindustrialization. In what ways are changes to the urban landscape viewed and contested? How do they alter memory and attachment to place? Waterfront areas of major cities are particularly interesting in this regard. There is also the matter of the emerging aesthetics of deindustrialization. There are hundreds of websites dedicated to industrial ruins of every shape and size and any number of travel guides to the ghost town nearest you. Walk into any tourist shop on Water Street in St. John's and you can buy a photographic image or painting (usually of a house being moved) representing resettlement in the 1960s. How do we explain the appeal and commodification of abandonment? How have novelists, poets, songwriters, and playwrights represented these transformative changes? We have only begun to answer these questions.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Board of *UHR/RHU* for agreeing to my proposal to edit a special issue on deindustrialization. I would like to especially thank the journal's co-editor, Michèle Dagenais, who provided sage advice and a sounding board along the way. Thanks also go to Nancy Rebelo for some translation help and to David W. Lewis for agreeing to the reproduction of several of his photographs in this special issue. Funding for this came from SSHRC and Nipissing University. This special issue could not have been produced without the help of the many assessors who agreed to review the submitted manuscripts and the authors themselves. Finally, I would like to thank Barbara Lorenzkowski and our son Sebastian.

Notes

1. Rosemary Ommer, "One Hundred Years of Fishery Crises in Newfoundland," *Acadiensis* 23, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 5–6.

2. Writing eight years later, Sean Cadigan identified two broad schools of thought in the fisheries management literature published since 1992. The first, which can be called the "tragedy of the commons" thesis, argued that over-fishing resulted from the absence of property rights. Because open access supposedly resulted in over-harvesting, the answer was to privatize

the commons: individuals or enterprises would be given quotas, or shares, of the resource. The second group, which rejected resource privatization, argued that fisheries management had served the interests of "a particular capitalist organization of the fisheries" and not the interests of fishers and their communities. For these scholars, resource exhaustion resulted from the state's promotion of a large-scale industrial fishery. Sean Cadigan, "Whose Fish? Science, Ecosystems and Ethics in Fisheries Management Literature since 1992," *Acadiensis* 31, no. 1 (Autumn 2001): 171–95.

3. Northern Ontario comprises seven-eighths of the land mass of Ontario and underlies fully one-quarter of the Trans-Canada Highway. Kerry Abel notes that the region has garnered little attention from anyone without a direct connection to that region. See her "History and the Provincial Norths: An Ontario Example," in *Northern Visions: New Perspectives on the North in Canadian History*, ed. Kerry Abel and Ken S. Coates (Toronto: Broadview, 2001), 127. The resource economy shaped the region's politics, economy, society, and culture. See, for example, H. V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development*; Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870–1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971); as well as more recent studies by Karen Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880–1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), especially the chapter on "New Ontario," and Thomas Dunk, *A Working Man's Town: Male Working-class Culture* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

4. Kathryn Marie Dudley, *The End off the Line: Lost Jobs, New Lives in Postindustrial America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), xi, 161. Peter R. Sinclair, Heather Squires, and Lynn Downton make much the same point in their study of Bonavista Peninsula after the Newfoundland cod moratorium, in *Fishing People, Fishing Places: Issues in Canada's Small-Scale Fisheries*, ed. Dianne Newell and Rosemary Ommer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 321–333.

5. In a recent historiographic essay on the status of urban history in Canada, Claire Poitras notes that there has been very little work done on urban decline, demographic and economic, or on the politics of revitalization: "Le processus de désindustrialisation et ses effets sure le tissue urbain et social demeurent la chasse gardée des géographes, des politologues et des sociologies." Claire Poitras, "L'histoire urbaine au Canada: l'espace, les citadins et les gourvernants," *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* 32, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 49.

6. David W. Lewis is a photographic artist based in Callander, Ontario. His work has appeared in galleries across Europe and North America. For more on the deindustrial sublime, see Steven High and David W. Lewis, *Corporate Wasteland:The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization* (Toronto: Between the Lines and Cornell University Press, forthcoming).

7. Their appeal echoes that of Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott in the United States: "What was labelled deindustrialization in the intense political heat of the late 1970s and early 1980s turned out to be a more socially complicated, historically deep, geographically diverse, and politically perplexing phenomenon than previously thought." "Introduction," in *Beyond the Ruins: The Meaning of Deindustrialization*, ed. Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 2.

8. Articles appearing in *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* in the first two decades of its life focused on small- and medium-sized towns such as Kapuskasking, Thunder Bay, Barrie, Kingston, St. John's, Kamloops, and Kitchener. The anthologies edited by Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise include *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1979); *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982); and *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1984).

9. J. M. S. Careless, in his classic formulation, wrote that the metropolitan relationship is "almost a feudal chain of vassalage, wherein one city may stand tributary to a larger centre and yet be the metropolis of a sizeable region of its own." J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (March 1954): 1–21. For the best assessment of metropolitanism and its variations see Don Davis, "The 'Metropolitan Thesis' and the Writing of Canadian Urban History," *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* 14, no. 2 (October 1985): 95–113.

10. Roger Hayter, Trevor J. Barnes, and Michael J. Bradshaw, "Relocating Resource Peripheries to the Core of Economic Geography's Theorizing: Rationale and Agenda," *AREA* 35, no. 1 (2003): 15–23.

11. Ibid., 18.

12. Resource towns are "unquestionably, an important element in Canada's geography: without them, much of the nation's hinterland would remain unoccupied." Glen Norcliffe, *Global Game, Local Arena: Restructuring in Corner Brook, Newfoundland* (St. John's: ISER Books, 2005), 11–12.

13. Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality In Post-war Detroit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's 70-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (Cornell University Press, 1999); Sherry Lee Linkon and John Russo, *Steeltown, USA: Work and Memory in Youngstown* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002); Lisa Fine, *The Story of REO JOE: Work, Kin, and Community in Autotown, U.S.A.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

14. Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 6.

15. One of the exceptions is Thomas Dublin, *When the Mines Closed: Stories of Struggles in Hard Times* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998). Dublin explores the collapse of anthracite mining in northeastern Pennsylvania through the eyes of the miners he interviewed.

16. In the United States, the two sides of this debate over the nature of the changes underway are ably represented by Daniel Bell's *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973) on the one hand, and Bluestone and Harrison's *The Deindustrialization of America* on the other.

17. Hayter, Barnes, and Bradshaw posit that recent talk of "globalization" originates in the unexpected deindustrialization of the world's most important industrial cities. The search for answers led scholars to look at the changing international division of labour and the rise of the global corporation. Roger Hayter, Trevor J. Barnes, and Michael J. Bradshaw, "Relocating Resource Peripheries to the Core of Economic Geography's Theorizing: Rationale and Agenda," *AREA* 35, no. 1 (2003): 19.

18. Rianne Mahon, *The Politics of Industrial Restructuring: Canadian Textiles* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); J. Paul Grayson, *Corporate Strategy and Plant Closures: The SKF Experience* (Toronto: Our Times, 1985); Jane Jenson and Rianne Mahon, eds., *The Challenge of Restructuring: North American Labor Movements Respond* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993); David Sobel and Susan Meurer, *Working at Inglis: The Life and Death of a Canadian Factory* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1994); Steven High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt, 1969–1984* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003). Although the authors do not frame their study in terms of deindustrialization, Anthony Winson and Belinda Leach's study of several small manufacturing-dependent towns in Ontario is highly relevant to the issues explored by the contributors of this special issue. See their *Contingent Work, Disrupted Lives: Labour and Community in the New Rural Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). John N. H. Bretton's edited collection falls into the same category: *Canada and the Global Economy: The Geography of Structural and Technological Change* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996). Employee ownership is explored in Jack Quarter, *Crossing the Line: Unionized Employee Ownership and Investment Funds* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1995), which includes case studies of Pioneer Chain Saw, Nelco Mechanical, and Algoma Steel.

19. For an example of Quebec nationalism at work, see Jorge Niosi and Henri Gagnon, *Fermetures d'Usines, ou bien, Libération National* (Montreal: Les éditions heritage, 1979).

20. A number of recent studies have done likewise. See, for example, Doug Smith, *Stickin' to the Union: Local 2224 versus John Buhler* (Halifax: Fernwood, 2004), as well as Glen Norcliffe, "Mapping De-industrialization:

Canada Motor Lamp (interior), Windsor, ON

Brian Kippling's Landscapes of Toronto," *Canadian Geographer* 40 (1996): 266–277.

21. John H. Bradbury, "Towards an Alternative Theory of Resource-Based Town Development in Canada," *Economic Geography* 55 (1979): 147–166. For an empirical analysis of 220 Canadian resource-dependent towns see James E. Randall and R. Geoff Ironside, "Communities on the Edge: An Economic Geography of Resource-Dependent Communities in Canada," *Canadian Geographer* 40, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 17–35.

22. Rex Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown: Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 20.

23. Lars Ogberg, Fred Wien, and Jan Grude, *Vanishing Jobs: Canada's Changing Workplaces* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1995).

24. Trevor Barnes and Roger Hayter have been at the forefront of research on economic restructuring in Canada's forest industry. See their "Economic Restructuring, Local Development and Resource Towns: Forest Communities in Coastal British Columbia," *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 17, no. 3 (Autumn 1994): 289–294. Industrial restructuring and work process in paper-making are explored in a number of important articles published in a special issue of the *Canadian Geographer*, including Trevor J. Barnes, "High-Performance Organizations and Employment Flexibility: A Case Study of Insitu Change at the Powell River Paper Mill, 1980–1994," *Canadian Geographer* 41, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 26–40; John Holmes, "In Search of Competitive Efficiency: Labour Process Flexibility in Canadian Newsprint Mills," *Canadian Geographer* 41, no. 1 (Spring 1997); 7–25; and Glen Norcliffe and Judy Bates. "Implementing Lean Production in an Old Industrial Space: Restructuring at Corner Brook, Newfoundland, 1984–1994," *Canadian Geographer* 41, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 41–60. See also Maureen Reed, *Taking Stands: Gender and the Sustainability of Rural Communities* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003).

25. The most ambitious project on mine closures is the Elliot Lake Tracking Study, a longitudinal study, sponsored by the Institute for Northern Ontario Research and Development at Laurentian University in Sudbury, Ontario. The project tracked miners who lost their jobs in the closure of the Denison and Rio Algom Mines in the 1990s. Many of the project's working papers are available online at http:laurentian.ca/INORD. See also Anne-Marie Mawhiney and Jane Pitblado, eds. *Boom Town Blues: Elliot Lake Collapse and Revival in a Single-Industry Community* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1999). John Bradbury's work on mine closures, though conducted in the 1970s and 1980s, still looms large in the historiography of mine closures in Canada. See John H. Bradbury and Isabella St. Martin, "Winding Down in a Quebec Mining Town: A Case Study of Schefferville," *Canadian Geographer* 27, no. 2 (1983): 128–44; John H. Bradbury, "Declining Single Industry Communities in Quebec-Labrador, 1979–1983," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 19, no. 3 (1984): 125–39; and Cecily Neil, Markku Tykklainen, and John Bradbury, eds. *Coping with Closure: An International Comparison of Mine Town Experiences* (London: Routledge, 1992). Also useful is Bob Russell, *More with Less: Work Reorganization in the Canadian Mining Industry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

26. See Rosemary Ommer, ed. *The Resilient Outport: Ecology, Economy and Society in Rural Newfoundland* (St. John's: ISER, 2002); Dianne Newell and Rosemary E. Ommer, *Fishing Places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-scale Fisheries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); and Miriam Wright, *A Fishery for Modern Times: The State and the Industrialization of the Newfoundland Fishery, 1934–1968* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001). The underlying reasons for resource exhaustion are hotly debated. See, for example, Reginald Byron, ed., *Retrenchment and Regeneration in Rural Newfoundland* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

27. Bluestone and Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America*, 19.

28. One of the great exceptions to this statement is Christopher H. Johnson, *The Life and Death of Industrial Languedoc, 1700–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), as is John Lutz, "Losing Steam: The Boiler and Engine Industry as an Index of British Columbia's Deindustrialization, 1880–1915," *Historical Papers* (1988).

29. See, for example, Steven High, "Capital and Community Reconsidered: The Politics and Meaning of Deindustrialization," *Labour/Le Travail* 55 (Spring 2005): 187–196.

30. The production of place is central to individual and civic identity construction. British geographer Doreen Massey has greatly influenced my understanding of place as existing in time and space. Doreen Massey, "Places and Their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal* 39 (1995): 182–192.

31. The ecomuseum movement originated in France and took root in Quebec and Northern Ontario. See Serge Chaumier, "Les ambivalences du devenir d'un écomusée: entre repli identitaire et déposession," *Publics et Musées* 17–18 (Jan.–June 2000): 83–114; Octave Debary, "Deindustrialization and Museumification: From Exhibited Memory to Forgotten History," *Sociology of Education* 69, no. 2 (April 1996): 105–125; Alexandre Delarge, "Des écomusées, retour à la défin ition et évolution," *Publics et Musées* 17–18 (Jan.–June 2000): 139–156; and Francois Mairess, "La belle histoire, aux origins de la nouvelle muséologies," *Publics et Musées* 17–18 (Jan.–June 2000): 33–56.

32. The Workers Arts and Heritage Centre in Hamilton is explored in Craig Heron, "The Labour Historian and Public History," *Labour/Le Travail* 45 (Spring 2000): 171–197. Among the centre's exhibits that are relevant to this conversation is Wayne Lewchuk and CAW Local 525 Retirees' *Working and Motoring in a Steeltown: The History of CAW Local 525; 1948–1998.* (Hamilton: Ontario Workers Arts and Heritage Centre, 1998).

33. The Heritage Committee of the Ottawa District Labour Council, for example, produced an exhibition and video on the closing of Beach Foundry in the "Mechanicsville" district of the city. See also CAW Local 303 Heritage Committee, *You Can't Bring Back Yesterday: A History of CAW Local 303* (Halifax: Canadian Auto Workers, 1993).

34. For an outstanding example of how industrial museums can be creatively analyzed. See Lucy Taksa, "Haulingan Infinite Freight of Mental Imagery: Finding Labour's Heritage at the Swindon Railway Workshops' STEAM Museum," *Labour History Review* 68, no. 3 (December 2003): 391–410. See also Robert Summerby-Murray, "Interpreting Deindustrialised Landscapes of Atlantic Canada: Memory and Industrial Heritage in Sackville, New Brunswick," *Canadian Geographer* 46, no. 1 (2002): 48–62.

35. Mine frames and wooden grain elevators have received great popular attention. See, for example, Elizabeth McLachlan, *Gone But Not Forgotten: Tales of the Disappearing Grain Elevators* (Edmonton: NewWest, 2004). Abandoned mine frames have a similar mystique and majesty. See Louie Palu and Charlie Angus, *Industrial Cathedrals of the North* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999).

36. Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott, eds., *Beyond the Ruins: The Meaning of Deindustrialization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 1–2.

37. Kirk Savage, "Monuments to a Lost Cause: The Postindustrial Campaign to Commemorate Steel," in *Beyond the Ruins*, ed. Cowie and Heathcott, 237.

38. Ian McKay has shown that the tourism industry can just as easily erase a region's industrial past when it suited. Ian McKay, *The Quest for the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

39. *Le silo N° 5 du port de Montréal et on secteur: le passé, l'avenir; Actes d'une journée d'étude* (Montreal: Association québécoise pour le patrimoine industriel, 1998).

40. A few of the most recent studies include John Meligrana and Andrejs Skaburskis, "Extent, Location and Profiles of Continuing Gentrification in Canadian Metropolitan Areas, 1981–2001," *Urban Studies* 42, no. 9 (2005): 1569–1692; Mathieu VanCriekingen and Jean-Michel Decroly, "Revisiting the Diversity of Gentrification: Neighbourhood Renewal Processes in Brussels and Montreal," *Urban Studies* 40, no. 12 (2003): 2451–2468; and Jon Caulfield, *City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practices* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

David W. Lewis

Detail, Nipissing Refinery, Cobalt, ON