The Anthropology of Postindustrialism

Ethnographies of Disconnection

Edited by
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Seth Murray

Routledge

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This volume explores how mechanisms of postindustrial capitalism affect places and people in peripheral regions and deindustrializing cities. While studies of globalization tend to emphasize localities newly connected to global systems, this collection, in contrast, analyzes the disconnection of communities away from the market, presenting a range of ethnographic case studies that scrutinize the framework of this transformative process, analyzing new social formations that are emerging in the voids left behind by the deindustrialization, and introducing a discussion on the potential impacts of the current economic and ecological crises on the hypermobile model that has characterized this recent phase of global capitalism and spatially uneven development.

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Foreword

Industrialization (with its associated rapid expansion of production, waged employment, and market integration) has long been treated as a universal process—a recognizable if complex set of transformations that presents certain regularities and patterns, even as it takes different, "path-dependent" forms in different times and places. Thus, we have become familiar with the topic of industrialization as a rich field for comparative inquiry, with the familiar (and often intellectually very productive) dialectic between sweeping big-picture narratives proposed by "grand theory" and the closely observed qualifications and counter-narratives generated by ethnographers.

In contrast, deindustrialization (and its associated processes of market de-linking, mass layoffs, and economic decline) has tended to appear as a kind of terrible accident—an interruption, an exception, or a temporary aberration. Perhaps as a result, we have nothing approaching the sort of comparative literature that is associated with the topic of industrialization. Rich literatures exist, to be sure, on the social suffering caused by such processes, and on specific egregious forms of disinvestment (such as "red-lining"), but we have for the most part not framed deindustrialization, disconnection, and decline themselves as central and general topics for anthropological investigation.

This volume is an attempt to alter this state of affairs. Disinvestment, deindustrialization, and economic decline, the editors point out, have long been important features of the uneven global landscape of capitalist development. Far from being accidental blips, such processes are essential to the process of capitalist accumulation, a process in which the withdrawal of capital from some sites and its entry into others are two sides of the same coin. What is more, the editors suggest that the current moment, in which a global "free trade" regime often allows capital to move from one nation or region to another more quickly and easily than in the past, is one in which disinvestment and deindustrialization are becoming both more important and more visible features of global capitalism.

If this is so, then the time is surely right for increased comparative attention to such processes, with an eye both to identifying patterns and regularities that cut across cases, and to recognizing how specific histories and

sociocultural contexts inform the way that disconnection and decline are experienced and responded to. The contributors to this volume are in this respect exemplary, attending as they do to the local specificities of their ethnographic cases while convincingly relating them to other phenomena that are less place-bound (but equally particular), such as capital flows and global commodity markets.

One especially valuable aspect of this volume's contribution is its recognition that zones of disinvestment and deindustrialization are always sites not only of loss and suffering but also of innovation and creativity. There is sometimes a perception (not least among the people who must live through such difficult times) that a time of decline and abjection involves simply "falling back"—returning to a backward past while losing a more stable and secure recent past (and perhaps also an anticipated prosperous future). Yet as the editors emphasize in their introduction, the transformed social, physical, and ecological landscapes of failed or aborted industry offer no possibility of really "going back." Instead, the interruption of the plotline of industrial development always opens up a new space, within which, as they put it, "something new has to emerge" (1). Here ethnography has a special role to play in tracing the emergence of these various forms of "something new." And as the contributions to this volume show very well, people make their way in these new landscapes both by improvising new sorts of livelihoods (ranging from the respectable provision of tourism services to quite dodgy or illegal forms of "informal economy") and, equally importantly, developing new forms of social and political mobilization that allow them to make new sorts of claims on resources (which again can take a range of forms, all the way from lobbying state agencies for subsidies to violent predation on the part of those experiencing economic exclusion).

As a final thought, I would like to suggest that both such new, improvised livelihoods and new mobilizations around the issue of the distribution of resources may become even more important in the years to come. One reason for this is what seems to be, in much of the world, a certain decoupling of economic growth from employment. The cases treated in this book, like most of the other literature on the topic of economic decline, deal mostly with industries that have declined or closed down, and with capital flows that have withered or dried up. Such withdrawals of capital, as the editors note, have long been a fundamental feature of global capitalism, with its characteristic "cycles of capitalist investment and disinvestment." There is another process, though, that can have equally devastating results without being balanced by any countervailing cycle. That is the process through which new capitalist investment itself (and not disinvestment) renders people "redundant," unemployed, and cast off. In South Africa, for instance, capital investment in mining and agriculture has in recent years facilitated not increased employment, but mechanization and modernization that has put hundreds of thousands out of work. Here, as in some other world regions, it is a certain kind of transformative economic investment, not disinvestment,

that is casting people adrift or rendering them "surplus" (Li 2010; Ferguson 2013). And the fact that deprivation and decline (for communities that formerly depended on a regular demand for low-skilled manual labor) are unfolding in the very midst of expanded production (and indeed enhanced prosperity for many) renders the sorts of new social and political mobilizations traced in this volume especially important, part of what I have termed a "new politics of distribution" (Ferguson 2015).

As we try to think through such new developments, we will need good ethnographic accounts that can track the ways that people in a range of different settings are actively responding to predicaments of disconnection and abandonment, creating that "something new" that may show us the way to something more hopeful. This volume provides us with such accounts. In doing so, it makes a valuable contribution to an area of investigation that could hardly be more timely or more important.

James Ferguson
Palo Alto, California
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1 The Anthropology of Postindustrialism
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Ismael Vaccaro, Krista Harper,
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THE POSTINDUSTRIAL MOMENT

How do the economic mechanisms of capitalism, characterized by a hyper-mobility of flows, affect actual places and people? The principal motivation or rationale that underlies these mechanisms is a quest to increase profits through market expansion, establishing favorable terms of trade, or cost reduction. This is most easily and commonly achieved by rapid relocation from place to place in search of a labor force with cheaper costs, new pools of resources or raw materials, or sites with weak environmental regulations. It is in this sense that mobility and commodification—be it of people, corporations, goods, or ideas—becomes the fundamental framework through which to understand late modernity, its new economic articulations, and their associated sovereignties (Steinberg 2009). Anthropology has often discussed and theorized the impact of market integration on local communities across the world (Ensminger 1992). This volume, in contrast, analyzes the disconnection of a community away from the market.

The goal of this collection is to create a framework through which to understand places affected by disinvestment after a period of capitalist integration, as well as the radical transformations resulting from industrialization and abandonment. How do communities respond to cycles of connection and disconnection from the markets that pushed their industrialization? Peripheral locales are radically transformed by sudden integration into an economic framework characterized by mass extraction and transformation of natural resources (Pels 1997; Peters 1994). In other cases, industries draw people into urban centers that decline within a generation or two as investors seek new fast-growth locales. Disconnected communities cannot go back to the world as it once existed, as society and environment have forever changed. Yet the model provided by the market integration becomes obsolete. In its place something new has to emerge, even if this means an abandoned landscape, a legacy of pollution, or the informalization of employment.

Our anthropology of postindustrialism examines how the retreat of market-oriented mass production produces diverse, but repeated patterns

in places around the world. Scholars have used the term "postindustrial" in a number of ways to characterize economic and social reconfigurations. Initially, "postindustrial" referred to a transition from manufacturing to service industries (Bell 1973). Many viewed this shift with optimism about the growth of skilled jobs in the new "knowledge economy" (Drucker 1994). Bluestone and Bennett viewed deindustrialization and postindustrialism more pessimistically, with industrial collapse leading to the decline of stable, unionized, and well-paid employment in manufacturing (1984). Others criticize the term "postindustrialism" because it seems to imply that the industrial era of capitalism is over, when in fact manufacturing continues to take place on a massive scale—in other places than Western "industrialized nations." Contributors in this volume, however, demonstrate that communities around the globe are confronting uneven development (Smith 2008), industrial booms and busts, and their attendant social dislocations. More popularly, "postindustrial" refers to the traces of previous industrial development and labor that appear in infrastructure, social relationships, and memory—a sense that we are living in postindustrial times (Ringel 2014). Scholars today are writing about postindustrial landscapes, archaeology, and heritage (Cowie and Heathcott 2003; Dawdy 2010; Edensor 2005; Storm 2014).

As with most anthropological definitions, we use the term postindustrialism more flexibly, as an entry point to comparisons that may trouble earlier, more evolutionary definitions. Katherine Verdery harnessed ethnography to the field of "postsocialism" as a way of deconstructing mainstream transitology and the idea that "shock therapy" could lead to a smooth and predictable transition to free markets (Verdery 1996). In Verdery's spirit, we use the term "postindustrial" not to refer to a predetermined development trajectory but as a way of imagining "what comes next" in different places facing the social, economic, and ecological legacies of prior industrial development that continue to influence people's present-day lives.

Regardless of terminology, the human burdens of disconnection and industrial transformation are unequally shared across people and places (Doussard et al. 2009). We discuss how communities are drawn into the mobile uneven networks of capitalism. Drawing from political ecology, we explore how industrialization and deindustrialization transform nature and landscapes. We then move to the scale of everyday life: how people experience "postindustrial time" (Ringel 2014) and space. Finally, we present several postindustrial pathways that resonate with the ethnographic case studies presented in this book.

MOBILE UNEVEN NETWORKS

The anthropology of disconnection is the study of the local impacts of the capricious unraveling of uneven transnational networks. This asymmetrical

unfolding is best understood through the lens of uneven development, in which volatile transnational networks spatially restructure economic and social life (Castells 1996; Harvey 2001; Smith 2008). Neil Smith points to the ways that unequal power relations fundamentally regulate these processes:

> The logic behind uneven development is that the development of one area creates barriers to further development, thus leading to underdevelopment, and that the underdevelopment of that area creates opportunities for a new phase of development. Geographically this leads to the possibility of what we might call a "locational seesaw": the successive development, underdevelopment, and redevelopment of given areas as capital jumps from one place to another, then back again, both creating and destroying its own opportunities for development. (Smith 2008: 151)

These pages describe a global network in a perpetual state of change and in which peripheries and centers are continuously made and unmade.

We present cases of rural and urban postindustrial regimes alongside one another. The central nodes of the networks tend to be cities because the gravitational pull of larger markets dominates network flows (Appadurai 1988; Bestor 2001; Freidberg 2001). But not all urban areas are created equal in the global capitalist system. Cities, or even sections of cities, might get disconnected from other cities and segments of the global networks of production and consumption. The auto-producing midwestern United States became the Rust Belt as Japanese car companies started to distribute equivalent and cheaper products in America and as American car companies started to outsource parts manufacturing to Mexico and other countries (Dudley 1994; High 2003; High and Lewis 2007). Parts of that industry then returned to the United States—not to Detroit, which remained in decline, but to lower-wage regions in the Appalachian states from whence an earlier generation of Detroit workers had come (Kingsolver 2011). The post-socialist industrial areas of eastern Europe also faced pressures following the end of state socialism. Heavy industrial regions like northern Hungary were consciously developed and integrated in state-planned economies (Burowoy and Lukács 1992). After 1989, the privatization of state-owned firms produced a landscape of small cities with unemployed workers and quiet, empty factories stripped of their machinery, which was sold and shipped to other regions (Harper 2012; Pickles and Smith 1998).

We also see the effects of rural disconnection in industrial agricultural and extractive sectors. Vaccaro's field site in the Catalan Pyrénées in the early twentieth century offered cheap coal, yet most mines closed as Spanish power plants switched to cheaper South African coal (Vaccaro 2006). Timber mills all over North America were outcompeted and abandoned due to the massive flows of transoceanic processed wood (Clark 2001; Power 2006).

Fish processing towns became ghost towns when processing ships took over and delocalized the fishing industry (Marchak et al. 1987; Sepez et al. 2007; see also Acheson and Acheson in this volume). Others have documented disconnection due to ecological destruction in the form of depleted fishing stocks resulting in abandoned canneries and quiet fishing ports (Schrank 2005; St. Martin 2005) or deforested and impoverished timber country (Mattey 1990; Raffles 1999). Social scientists have also examined plantation economies suffering the vagaries of the market (Mandle 1974; Wiley 2008) and decapitalized industrial farming economies (Dudley 2000; Tauxe 1993). In all these cases, the hypermobility of capital, people, information, commodities, ideas, and energy has had an important transformative effect on communities, landscapes, and regions all over the world (Inglehart 1997; Sivaramakrishnan and Vaccaro, 2006). When the strategic advantage of one such rural area disappeared, the productive activity vanished with it, leaving abandoned landscapes and communities behind.

These phenomena are not exclusive to the internal peripheries of the global North. Ferguson's *Expectations of Modernity* tracks how this process affected the Zambian copperbelt when extraction costs rose and global prices dropped (1999). The Amazonian rubber tapper industry evaporated once someone learned to cultivate the rubber tree and opened plantations in Asia (Dove 2002). The economies of entire countries in the global South collapsed when their main export markets failed because of significant shifts in global supply (Frynas et al. 2003).

The events studied here are not ontologically new: as E.P. Thompson observed, industrialization created similar boom and bust cycles all over the English countryside in the nineteenth century (Thompson 1968). The novelty lies in their frequency, speed, and range. The cases presented here look at how, on a local level, economic systems, institutions, demographic patterns, and individual and collective identities are reshaped in the conflictive process of connection and disconnection to and from productive and consumptive processes at a regional and global level. Each site faces well-known socioeconomic processes: market integration, expansion, hypermobility, abandonment, or reinvention (Charles and Lipovesky 2005; Hannerz 1996; Pred and Watts 1992). Financialization is also a fundamental feature of the current model, contributing to the speed and spread of speculative markets (Ho 2009; Holmes 2009; Van der Zwan 2014; Palomera 2014).

What happens with localities and their people that, after a period of capitalist integration and connection, suddenly find themselves on the wrong end of the seesaw? Usually, there is a crisis of social reproduction as material conditions and the range of possible livelihood strategies and life trajectories are recast. Industrialization requires higher densities of labor for the factories, which in turn increases the level of consumption in absolute terms due to the sheer number of people required and in relative terms due to the development of new needs associated with modern life. These needs are covered by a continual flow of cheap commodities produced elsewhere in other

peripheral nodes of the networks controlled from the urban centers. When mass production moves away from a given location, local communities tend to have reached dimensions beyond the carrying capacity of their local environments and are no longer self- sufficient productive regimes. At that point, however, nobody is interested in providing these community members with the products they have grown to desire because the community members no longer have wages to pay for them. In addition, the expectations, the perceived quintessential needs, the imagined futures of these postindustrial populations cannot be covered by the preindustrial local mode of production, which is neither developed nor diverse enough to do so.

Emerging postindustrial modernities, thus, are characterized by restructuring and, more often than not, different levels of scarcity and crises. As the global stock-market crash of September 2008 and the subsequent U.S. governmental plan to salvage the market should have proven to the last believers of the free market, state and big corporations work and exist in close articulation. Public national interest, as defined by the national centers of power, directs governmental agency. The achievement of the highest possible margin of economic benefit in the shortest possible time directs capital investment. We can only comprehend the paths taken by postindustrial locales by attending to the agency of state and major economic actors in shaping territories and resources.

POSTINDUSTRIAL POLITICAL ECOLOGY

While trying to understand a globalizing modernity through the idea of disconnection we are forced to unpack the workings of the late capitalistic territorial logic. The point of such logic is the generation of maximum profit by extracting or processing at the cheapest possible location with the goal of sending it for consumption to often distant affluent markets. Mainstream economists championed this model as an export-led development strategy for decades (Giles and Williams 2000). Other scholars have drawn attention to the vulnerabilities of this model: market crashes and ecological destruction (Boyce 2002; Martinez Alier 1991). The last thirty years of environmental social sciences have been devoted to the understanding of the interaction between production and consumption as well as its local social and ecological consequences. Because an important part of this research—i.e., political ecology—occurred initially in the global South where rampant spoliation and ecological collapse have been not uncommon, these questions were identified as postcolonial (Bryant and Bayley 1997): that is, that the rationality behind the inequalities, behind the exploitation, was mostly understandable as an outcome of the legacies of colonialism, of the tensions between metropolises and colonies. This tension, following the "world system" model provided by Wallerstein (1974), was articulated around the center and periphery axis in which countries or regions were

more or less connected with capitalistic centers that coincided with the old and new colonial centers.

Prior to co-editing the present volume, the three co-authors had separately conducted fieldwork in various locations in Europe. Our field research shared the grounding of a political ecology framework, and we had invariably encountered instances of inequality and dispossession that paralleled in many notable ways scenarios familiar to us from the anthropological literature focused on the global South (Bryant and Bailey 1997; Escobar 2008; Godoy 2001). However, as our analyses could not rely as unconditionally on colonial or postcolonial tensions to strengthen our explanatory frameworks, our interpretations of the territorial "behavior" of late capitalist modernity seemed to require something with a wider explanatory potential (McCarthy 2002). First of all, the old colonial capitalistic centers were quite heterogeneous, and a quick review of those countries' histories unveils radical processes of internal expropriation, rebellion, and repression as turbulent as anywhere else (Hobsbawn 1975, 1987; Thompson, 1968). Instead, the fault line that seemed to connect conflicts in the global South and North alike was the tension between resource-hungry capitalistic and urban populations and the disempowered rural hinterlands (Cronon 1991; Gandy 2002).

Postindustrial landscapes are often characterized by depopulation and economic recession, and, consequently, important ecological transformations are associated with these changes based on the variations of the level of human pressure. Idealized versions of culture and nature emerge in this situation. The state expands the idea of national patrimony to the realms of nature and culture, allowing for public agency intervention. Nature is culturalized through conservation as it becomes a symbol and a commodity. Culture is naturalized through its preservation and consumption as an ideal form in museums and other cultural heritage sites (Vaccaro and Beltran 2007). This patrimonialization happens in parallel to a commoditization of the environment. The enjoyment of the environment has become a multimillion-dollar business, sustained on the consolidation at all strata of western society of post-materialistic values (Inglehart 1997). Even the environmental discourse has become a commodity in itself, just another link in the mass consumptive behavior of enlightened contemporary households (Guha 2000; Santamarina 2006). In many rural peripheries affected by depopulation and economic crises, the revalorization associated with patrimonialization and commoditization has opened new venues to market integration, in order to reconnect with different regional, national, or international networks (Escobar 2008; Zanotti 2009; Zimmerer 2006).

This revaluing of nature and landscapes has a history. During the nineteenth century, industrial elites reinvented the concept of leisure (Plumb 1973; Veblen 1998), turning non-productive activities into an identity marker, a distinction that is part of a habitus (Bourdieu 1984). The consumer preferences, cash availability, and easy mobility enjoyed by the urban

masses made it possible for more people to become "nature lovers" (Carr 1999; West et al., 2006). The enormous creation of wealth associated with the consolidation of post-World War II capitalism resulted in the spreading out of post-materialistic values from the elite to the rest of the social structure (Galbraith 1958; Inglehart 1997). In this way, leisure then became a quintessential post-materialistic economic sector that was expanded as a social and cultural right across western societies (Galbraith, 1993). The consumptive domains were expanded because of new leisure preferences. In the post-scarcity society that consolidated during late industrial capitalism, leisure became a central social domain (Giddens 1995; MacCannell 1999; Nazareth 2007). The consolidation of post-materialistic values and leisure as an economic sector have had a fundamental influence on the paths taken by many rural areas experiencing the decay that follows industrial abandonment.

The economic and cultural shifts that accompanied the unfolding of modernity became associated with important new legislative developments as well. The construction of the idea of national interest, the public good that characterizes the emergence of the modern states, and their consecution of the governmental and coercive monopoly (Dean 1999; Foucault 2007) evolved to include environmental protection (Gottlieb 1993; Guha 2000) and cultural collective heritage. This new type of governmentality began to be implemented at the end of the nineteenth century with the first territorially based protected areas (United States in 1872, Canada in 1885, and South Africa in 1902–1926). Since then it has become a massive worldwide phenomenon. The increased value attributed to nature as a space of contemplation and leisure has gone, thus, hand in hand with increased penetration of public agency into environmental protection. In 2005, 6.1 percent of the world, 1,506,436 hectares, was under some level of IUCN protection. This process has resulted in the conversion of the environment into public patrimony (Cooper 2000). The intellectual introduction of the environment into the realm of the public dominion prepares the redefinition, via conservation, of landscape and territory from private (individual or communal) to public, thereby making it susceptible to being expropriated by governmental agencies (Agrawal 2005; Haenn 2005; Hayden 2003, Li 2007).

Nature, as a hot commodity, has paid off in numerous locales across the globe that are transitioning away from an industrial, mass-oriented, productive system. In the Spanish Pyrenees, the closure of mines and factories, combined with the near-disappearance of traditional mountainous agro-pastoralism, resulted in a process of accelerated depopulation and reduced human pressures on the environment. Ironically, depopulation and environmental recovery set the stage for social and economic revival. The landscape, with its natural values and beauty, became the next commodity that these areas could offer to the urban customers (Vaccaro and Beltran 2010). Protected areas, ski resorts, and second residences became powerful economic forces in the renewal of mountain economies.

Not everyone benefits from the shift to nature tourism, however. In South Africa, former Afrikaans farms around Kruger National Park have been converted into thriving safari enclosures in which the veld—the bush—is recreated, and wild animals are unleashed for the pleasure of European and American tourists or hunters. The social impacts of such shifts are numerous, however. Game farms require a smaller labor force from neighboring Black communities than did industrialized farms. These new, smaller productive units produce money (remunerated services) instead of food that could fulfill basic household needs in the area.

Citizens around the world are starting to question the wisdom of the current economic model as a result of the global financial crisis, the volatility of energy prices, and the visible consequences of climate change. Serious consideration of relocating productive centers has coincided with the consolidation, in the West, of a pool of consumers interested in high-quality local food, *terroir* products, and organic agriculture (Welch-Devine and Murray 2011). These trends may yet alter the global economic market and provide incentives for the relocation, once again, of the productive poles closer to their markets.

AT LIFE SCALE: ETHNOGRAPHIES OF EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE

As ethnographers of postindustrial contexts, we must simultaneously attend to temporal and spatial scale. In the previous section, we presented how communities and regions embedded in national- and global-scale political economic processes experienced industrialization and de-industrialization over the course of time. The rise of industries and the new connections they foster across global space are often strikingly visible in new buildings and industrial complexes, consumer goods from faraway places, and influxes of workers from other places. The process of deindustrialization can be seen in abandoned landscapes and depopulated homes, but the evidence of disconnection can be more difficult for scholars to discern. At this scale, the analytic task is to render the connections and disconnections occurring across space and generations visible. As Friedman and Ekholm Friedman write, "Ordinary lives do not confront the global as such. They face more immediate issues" (2013: 249). Ethnographers come to understand cultural change across geographic distance and time by attending to people's everyday practices and sense-making.

Spatial scales become visible in everyday life in many forms: in the built environment and infrastructure where people live and work; in the goods they consume; and in people's consciousness and ways of thinking about connection to "other places." Roads and railroads, factories and warehouses, workers' neighborhoods with homes and public spaces—all these facilitate some kinds of connections while discouraging others. Infrastructure communicates spatial connections that encompass but also exceed

production. In Harper's field site in northern Hungary, railroads carried materials into the state-socialist era glass factory and transported finished products out. Locals took pride in the fact that people throughout the country used jars and glasses produced there. But the factory and railroads facilitated other spatial connections as well: ethnic Hungarians worked alongside Roma from the "Gypsy Row" on the other side of town, and factory workers competed in integrated boxing and football leagues against opponents from other counties. Following the collapse of state socialism, the factory closed and residents without motivation or means to travel beyond their neighborhoods now live in ethnic segregation (Harper 2012; Szelenyi and Ladanyi 2006). This is in fact an example of disconnection, not only from a market perspective, but also from the state apparatus, which has its own set of social and ecological consequences.

In the United States, Carbonella looks at infrastructure through the history of Fordist workers' housing projects built by industrialists. These developments elevated an idealized form of the "New England village" as a model for garden cities but eliminated public buildings, such as union halls, that characterized many historical New England mill towns with histories of labor activism (Carbonella 2006). In today's deindustrializing cities, the project of Fordist urban planning and garden cities is over. Some cities and regions have converted industrial workspace into postindustrial leisure space—Manchester United fans now may watch televised games at pubs overlooking the city's late nineteenth century canals built to transport cotton to the textile mills. Many deindustrializing cities, however, have not made the shift to the postindustrial service and information economy that Bell (1973) predicted. Economist Edward Glaeser has proposed that cities like Buffalo and Detroit should stop building infrastructure and instead aim for "shrinking to greatness," even if it means encouraging residents to leave (Glaeser 2007). Yet even in the fastest-shrinking cities, some residents stay on, struggling to endure in the places that are most meaningful to them (Ringel 2014).

In everyday life, one also experiences spatial scales through consumption. Ferguson's "ethnography of decline" pays close attention to the forms of cosmopolitan consumption and sociability adopted by Zambian mineworkers, and their sense of loss when their urban livelihoods collapsed. The Zambian economy of the 1960s and 1970s had been a model of national modernization via export of a single commodity, copper. Zambian mineworkers migrated to the city, where they worked in unionized enterprises and became accustomed to middle-class consumption patterns—wearing British suits, enjoying international jazz and blues music during leisure hours, living in city apartments with electricity and running water, and eventually, moving through an expanding range of city spaces after the end of colonial rule. All this ended during the 1980s due to a worldwide bust in copper prices and exports. The emergent Copperbelt urban society collapsed, too, and the cosmopolitan networks connecting Zambian workers