EMPLOYMENT, GENDER AND HOUSEHOLD POLARIZATION IN A SINGLE INDUSTRY TOWN: THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING IN WINDSOR, QUEBEC

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ABSTRACT

This thesis, from a "locality studies" perspective, examines the impact of industrial restructuring and employment decline on the relationship between locality, gender and patriarchy at the household level in Windsor, a pulp and paper mill town in South-Eastern Quebec. A detailed questionnaire/survey was deployed in May and June 1987, during a period of massive reorganization and automation of production by Domtar Fine Paper Mill, the dominant local employer. The primary empirical focus of this work is on the household impacts of job losses, incurred directly or indirectly by this restructuring. Particular attention is paid to the relationship between gender, employment and income and how this relationship is manifested among the differing material circumstances of Windsor households, and to attempts to adapt to the socio-economic impacts of restructuring via self-conscious "coping strategies". A secondary focus is communal coping strategies aimed at combatting declining industrial employment. Findings indicate an exacerbation of economic polarization between economically stable households of the remaining Domtar employees and households enmeshed in unstable economic and employment conditions.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse, qui adopte l'approche theorique d'un "etude de localité", examine les impacts de la restructuration industrielle sur les rapports entre la localité, les rapports sociaux de sexe et le patriarchat à Windsor, une ville mono-industrielle axée sur la production du papier, située dans le sud-est du Québec. Un sondage detaillé fut effectué au cours des mois de mai et juin 1987, lors d'une periode de reorganisation et d'automatisation des methodes de production effectuée par Les Papiers Fins Domtar, l'employeur prédominant de la ville de Windsor. Les effets socio-économiques des pertes d'emploi (occasionnées par cette restructuration) sur le ménage font l'objet d'études approfondies. Une attention particulière est portée aux relations entre les rapports sociaux de sexe, l'emploi et les sources de revenue, et à la façon dont ces relations sont manifestées dans les ménages de diveres circonstances materiaux, ou leur manifestation dans les efforts déliberés des ménages de minimiser les chocs socio-economiques de la restructuration, y compris le dévellopement des "strategies de survie". Un intérêt secondaire est porté à l'égard des efforts menés par des organismes communautaires de minimiser les pertes d'emplois industriels. Les résultats de cette recherche indiquent la présence d'un processus de bipolarisation entre les ménages économiquement stables ayant un membre encore employé chez Domtar et d'autres ménages pris dans conditions d'emploi instables.

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PREFACE

This thesis could not have been completed without the help and support of.... clichéd, but true. Funding for materials, field research and the development and implementation of the questionnaire at the heart of this thesis was provided by the *Fonds pour la Formation de Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche* with a group research grant (EQ-2944, 1986 and 1988) to John Bradbury, Damaris Rose and Jeanne Wolfe. I wish to thank Sherry Olson, Chairperson of the Department of Geography, for funding at a time when my personal resources had run out. Susan Czarnocki at the Faculty of Arts Computing Lab not only provided me with part-time employment while writing this thesis, but made sure that I learned something about computing, and, moreover, created a truly pleasant work environment in spite of an often frenetic pace.

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The good qualities of this thesis owe a great deal to the criticism, support and love of all the above people and many others not mentioned; any weaknesses, omissions and faults in this work remain entirely my responsibility.

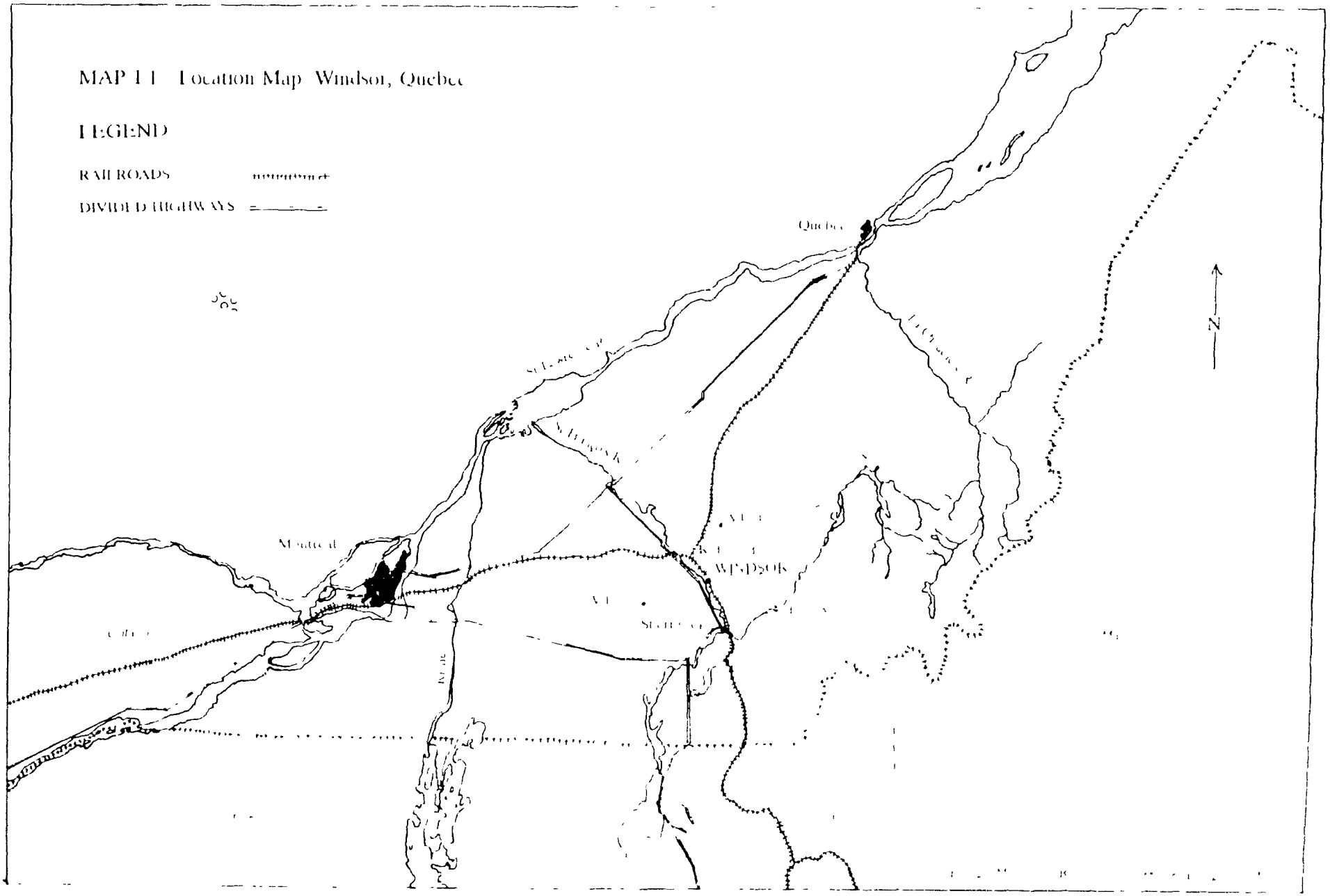
J.R.C.
Montreal, July 1990

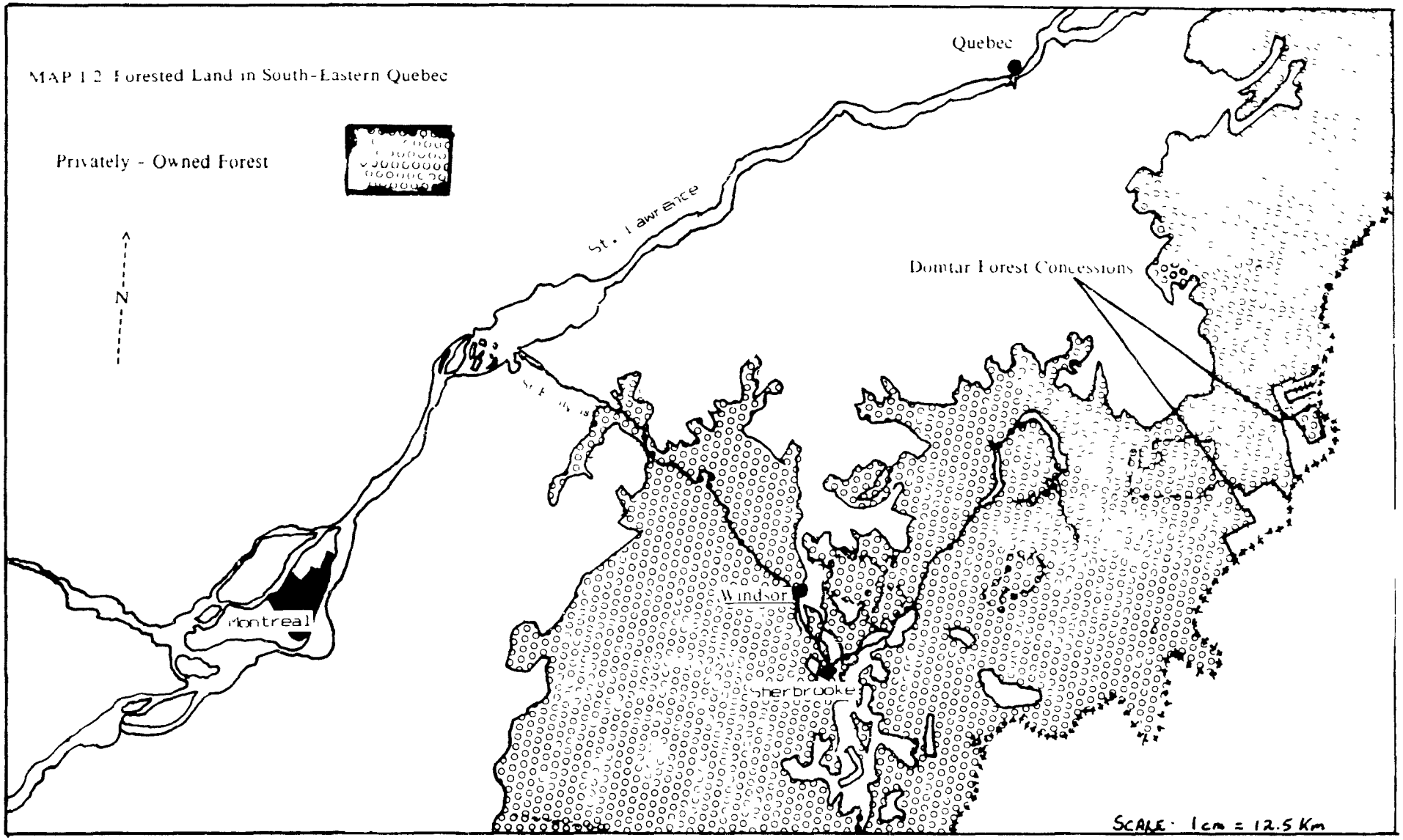
MAP 11 Location Map Windsor, Quebec

LEGEND

RAILROADS

DIVIDED HIGHWAYS





Source Tenure et Administration des Forêts, Quebec, Ministere de L'Energie et des Ressources, 1:1,250,000 Topographic Maps

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

"Notre papier d'identité... un papier fin de qualité
à l'image des gens qui la fabriquent."
(from a billboard in Windsor, Québec)

Introduction

For 100 years, the rhythm of daily life in the Eastern Townships community of Windsor, Québec, (1986 population: 5600; see Map 1.1) has been mandated by the three daily shifts of workers entering and leaving the paper mill, six days and 48 hours a week. The red brick mill stands astride the confluence of the Watopeka and St. François rivers, with the homes and businesses of the community built up around it. Until 1987, when production at this mill was stopped, the smoke and smell from the mill stacks could not be avoided anywhere in the town. Although the air is clean today, shift changes at the newly erected mill, at 8 a.m., 4 p.m. and midnight maintain the town's air of non-stop, frenetic activity centred on the production of vast reams of paper. Over 60% of the workforce living in Windsor depends on the mill for employment working either for Domtar or for small businesses and other services whose prosperity hinges on the presence of Domtar.

The paper mill dominates social relations within the town, as well. This is well-captured in a 1962 documentary, Jour après jour, on the social conditions of the community of Windsor (Dansereau et al. 1962), which provides clear visual

evidence of the limiting nature of employment in a single-industry town: people's perceptions of working life are blurred and their horizons limited by the paternalistic integration of the mill into the daily life of the community. As in many other single-industry towns across Canada (see Lucas 1971), the typical life-plan of a young male inhabitant of Windsor has, for several generations, been based on the expectation of an eventual fulltime and permanent job at the mill. Moreover there is a long tradition of labour force segmentation along gender lines, women being hired by garment manufacturers or hired by Domtar for unskilled work in clearly demarcated women's positions (the term "emball*euse*" was used in earlier collective agreements, for example (Domtar - Fédération des Travailleurs des Pates et des Papiers 1977 Collective Agreement)).

Yet there have been a number of important changes since 1962, when the documentary was made. Internationally, Domtar was facing increasingly stiff competition from new, more efficient and larger paper mills, and the corporation was rapidly losing its' competitive advantage of inexpensive wood and energy resources. Furthermore, the mill fell far below minimal pollution control requirements. To meet the requirements of competition in a rapidly globalizing industry and to meet with domestic regulations, in 1982 the decision was made to build a new pulp and paper mill, about two kilometres away from the old one, on a hill overlooking Windsor. For Domtar workers in the community, the immediate impact was the separation of employees between the old mill and the new, a situation that lasted until the spring of 1989 with the final closure and destruction

of the old mill (see Photographs). Some workers continued to produce paper at the old mill, adjusting pulping and paper machines with rudimentary control boxes from the shop floor, or with semi-automated machinery, combined with machinery designed to be set and adjusted manually. At the new mill, others were being trained to use the computerized consoles that will control production from isolated booths high above the shop floor. The people working at the new mill are the lucky ones, not solely in terms of their divorce from the grime and noise of the plant floor, but because they are among the 400 chosen, out of over 800 workers at the old mill, for full-time employment at the new, "world-class", Domtar fine paper mill. Hence the splitting of the workforce is suggestive of the impact of the rapid change on the relations of production and reproduction that occurred in Windsor between 1982 and 1988, and the economic polarization within the community heightened by restructuring.

This thesis will examine the consequences of the restructuring of production in this single industry town, for Windsor's households and for economic and social relations in the community, drawing upon two types of data: responses to a detailed interview schedule by members of households living in Windsor in May and June of 1987; and a range of primary and secondary sources used to document and explain the nature of economic restructuring in the town, as well as the ways that organized elements in the community have responded to it in the 1980s.

Two sets of questions will be addressed. The first set of questions addresses the relationships between wider processes of economic restructuring and changes in the local economy of Windsor. Namely, how has the global restructuring of pulp and paper production of the past decade or so influenced Domtar's strategy of capital investment and labour exploitation in its pulp and paper mills? What historically-produced and place-specific attributes of the Windsor area (including biotic characteristics, labour force and "work culture" and location) induced Domtar to select this particular town for a new mill when phasing out the old one? In other words, how did these attributes combine to produce the set of local geographic conditions that maintained Windsor's locational advantages for Domtar's purposes? Furthermore, what, if any, role did local social-political movements and state agencies play in this decision? What has happened to employment in the garment industry over the same period? What are the net aggregate effects of these changes on the composition of the local labour force by sector and branch of economic activity, by occupation and gender?

The second set of questions deals with the impact of these dominant economic processes on Windsor's households employed in manufacturing, and how these households have reacted. What forms of local social and economic relations have dominated in Windsor since the turn of the century, and have these been altered substantially by the process of restructuring over the past decade? At the household level, what actions, if any, have been taken to counteract the negative effects of job loss and economic instability brought about by this restructuring?

Are there substantial differences in the economic security and the material circumstances (housing tenure, savings and debt, tools, appliances and other goods) of households among the working class employed in manufacturing in Windsor? In particular, is there evidence to suggest a trend towards polarization of the material circumstances between households according to whether their "breadwinner(s)" are employed at the new mill, the old mill, in the garment industry or unemployed? Does the evidence suggest the same kind of polarization according to the real or perceived employment skills of Windsor residents?

These two sets of questions will be explored, the first in Chapter 3, the second in Chapters 4 and 5, these last forming the empirical core of this thesis. It is clear that these questions can be attacked in many different ways, depending on the method, concepts and beliefs guiding one's empirical analysis. In this thesis the empirical analysis has been informed and structured by recent debates in human geography concerning the conceptual frameworks that might be appropriate for understanding the dynamic interrelationships between "global restructuring" and "local social and economic change". These debates emerged, first in the British context and more belatedly in the United States of America and Canada, out of a dissatisfaction with the spate of "economic restructuring" studies that examine sectoral change within geographically delimited areas (for examples, see Martin and Rowthorn 1986; Moulaert and Salinas 1983; Thwaites and Oakey 1985; for critical reviews, see Lancaster Regionalism Group 1985 or Scott and Storper 1986).

In the literature concerned with economic restructuring, studies that examine sectoral change within a delimited area have not usually been aimed at uncovering the changes in the day-to-day life within communities affected nor with the modification of daily patterns of reproduction. What remains to be studied are the local geographical aspects of social change that accompany the reorganisation of production, with the understanding that wider-ranging processes of industrial restructuring are at the root of such local ferment, but with a simultaneous recognition that processes at the local level cannot be analytically reduced to, or empirically read off from a study of the wider determinants of change in capital investment strategies and labour process changes. The "locality study" orientation developed by British geographers in the 1980's is appropriate for such a focus and is used accordingly in this thesis (see Cooke 1989; Jonas 1988; Lancaster Regionalism Group 1985). Locality studies involve research at the scale of the individual: "...neighbourhoods, inner cities, small towns and villages" (Jonas 1988, 104), but, unlike the idiographic "community studies" social geography of the early to mid - twentieth century, locality studies seek to identify not only the historical development of social and economic relations within a confined geographic area as such, but also the non-local structural relations of production and reproduction.

Windsor, Industrial Restructuring, and the Canadian Spatial Division of Labour

In early 1985, newspaper accounts of public support favouring a $117 million federal subsidy of Domtar Inc.'s $1.2 billion proposed "refit" of its 19th

century Windsor mill suggested the mobilization of a territorially based coalition (The Globe and Mail, 4 March 1985; The Montreal Gazette, 4 March 1985). The central issue was an attempt to reverse the initial decision of the federal Department of Regional Industrial Expansion (D.R.I.E.), which refused to offer a grant for the renovation of production facilities to a profitable company (La Presse, 4 March 1985; The Globe and Mail, 15 March 1985). Furthermore, an additional $83 million dollar grant from the provincial government was contingent on aid from Ottawa (The Globe and Mail, 3 April 1985). Domtar executives declared that without such financial assistance, the old Windsor mill would not be replaced, thus occasioning an eventual end to production and bringing about critical employment loss in the town - in effect threatening a "capital strike" (La Presse, 7 March 1985).

As with similar coalitions in the United States (Deitch and Erickson 1987, 241-279; Kourchid 1987, 208-239; Lynd 1982) and Western Europe (Hudson and Sadler 1986, 172-194, Kourchid 1987, 208-239; Robinson and Sadler 1985, 109-120), mobilization in Windsor crystallized around the threat of closure to a long-established plant dominating the social and economic fabric of a locality. As in the above instances, a local coalition of classes - in this instance, the Comité de Survie de Windsor - composed of "..merchants, labour and citizens' groups..." (The Montreal Gazette, 15 March 1985) engaged in various forms of political lobbying to prevent closure (La Presse, 28 February 1985). This activism, in conjunction with Domtar's all-or-nothing stance, succeeded in generating sufficient pressure to

turn a run-of-the-mill D.R.I.E. refusal into a political issue for the government. Prime Minister Mulroney disavowed the firm denial of aid by the federal minister responsible, Sinclair Stevens, and stated the door was open to further discussion, ensuring negotiations for some form of financial aid would proceed (La Presse, 2 March 1985). Just over a month after the formation of the Comité de Survie, the federal government offered to cover the cost of loans made to Domtar, thus ensuring the construction of a new paper mill in Windsor (The Montreal Gazette, 4 April, 6 April 1985).

It is difficult to assess the degree to which construction of the new mill in Windsor was endangered by refusal of subsidies. The locational advantages attractive to the pulp and paper industry in the past have not disappeared: Domtar owns, or has obtained concessions for, substantial tracts of forest in the region, and there are numerous privately owned woodlots nearby (see Map 1.2), all with a species composition appropriate for pulp and paper production; there is a concentration of skilled workers knowledgeable in the production of paper; finally, Windsor is located between the two largest market regions in Eastern North America: the Boston - Washington megalopolis and the Windsor, Ontario - Québec City corridor (see Map 1.1). There is no doubt, however, that the local committee and the community in general mobilized in reaction to Domtar's apparently adamant stance, fearing the consequences of outright closure and remembering similar threats in the past. Local activism may have made the

difference, but none of their actions could prevent the permanent "demobilization" of 400 employees.

These events in Windsor captured our attention as we prepared a research project aimed at examining the local socio-economic impacts of different types of restructuring in Southern Québec manufacturing communities.[1] The towns of Valleyfield (southwest of Montréal), Bromont and Windsor (both in the Eastern Townships) were selected on the basis of indications of substantial changes in local employment structure, their apparent isolation from other communities that could provide employment for the inhabitants of the selected towns, and the differing economic base of each (Bradbury 1989, 168-169).

These conditions are important insofar as they are indicative of particular aspects of the Canadian spatial division of labour: the historical exploitation of site-specific resources, including hydraulic sources of energy; the economic and social isolation in part structured by the sheer scale of the country maintained, to some degree, by accrued years of economic dependence; finally, the relatively short period of settlement and industrialization. What this has resulted in is a scattering of large and small communities across Canada, often dependent on a single industry or sector for their livelihood. In a DREE study, 811 communities across Canada were classified as "single-sector communities"; southeastern Québec some 20 communities are designated as such (Department of Regional Economic Expansion 1979, 13). The fact that D.R.E.E. did not choose to speak in terms of

[1] This research project was conceived by John H Bradbury, Damaris Rose and Jeanne Wolfe, and funded by a 1986-1988 FCAR grant (EQ-2944).

areas or regions of single industry towns, or categorize them except by the nature of their dependency, is suggestive: the elements and the distribution of such towns are too varied to categorize except in such terms a brief overview.

This distinctive aspect of the spatial division of labour across Canada is accompanied, in many towns, a structured and place-bound economic dependency that is defined in idiosyncratic, community-level terms. For instance, most of the working population of Windsor was born, and continues to reside in the community. Furthermore, most Windsor residents also work in the community (see Map 2.1). Responses to restructuring and other economic threats to the community are often unique, tailored to a particular configuration of events and current structures of employment (See Bradbury and Wolfe 1983; Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council 1987; Dussault 1985; Mackenzie 1987). For instance, there is no doubt that the community of Windsor is strongly affected by any restructuring within Domtar, employer of some 60% of the local labour force. The relation between capital and labour is a substantive one that plays an immensely important role in determining the course of daily life in Windsor. Two of the corporation's decisions in this decade alone, the sale of its Windsor paper products plant in the early 1980s and the replacement of a century-old mill with the state-of-the-art integrated paper mill, are the direct cause of the loss of several hundred jobs in the community. Similarly, the concurrent decline of the garment industry has altered the day-to-day actions and relations of many women in the community.

There are other relations of greater scope, only indirectly related to class relations, that impose idiosyncratic limits on human action in Windsor. Notable among these is the patriarchal segregation of employment by gender which ensured the employment of males and only males at the mill and maintained the subordinate status of women in Windsor. Discrimination along gender lines is not original to Windsor, but it has taken a particular shape in Windsor, as the international reorganisation of production has altered that set of relations as well. The strong dividing line that had shown signs of breaking down in the late seventies and early eighties, as evidenced by attempts to introduce women into skilled positions at the pulp and paper mill (Domtar - FTPP Collective Agreements, various years; Statistics Canada, Census of 1981 Special Tabulations), has now been reinforced by technological changes in production that eliminated the positions traditionally held by women at the old mill. Furthermore, the union's guarantee of "fair" employment practices - the seniority system - ensured the departure of the remaining women once layoffs related to the opening of the new mill began. At the same time as this process took place, the local garment industry underwent a severe decline, further reducing the number of jobs available to women.

An important impact of restructuring in this locality on individual women has been to been to maintain their subordinate economic status especially with respect to their spouses, especially since very few local women have been able to obtain white-collar jobs in the town or any jobs further afield (e.g., in Sherbrooke)

This could, no doubt, been predicted without resorting to locality studies, but the exact nature of the causal relations could not. Quite simply, how have social and economic relations contributed to the difficulties may Windsor women have had in finding employment?. So we come back to the notion of idiosyncracy, and I would argue for the necessity of locality studies in order to understand the local consequences and local mediating factors of wider-ranging processes of restructuring and attendant social change.

Socio-economic Consequences of Restructuring in Windsor

Restructuring in Windsor today is accelerating and accentuating a trend in the loss of local employment that began in the early 1980s with the recession. Men and women have been faced with the difficulties of matching skills developed in the context of previously-existing local jobs to vacancies in a changed local labour market that no longer requires those skills, and the local social fabric has been altered as class relations established during previous "rounds of investment" disintegrate under the transmitted pressures of a changing global order of production (Clark 1986, 137-142; Coyle 1984, 50; Massey and Meegan 1982; Massey 1984). The economic impact of women's lack or loss of employment can be particularly acute among dual income households in Windsor. Many of the consequences depend on the employment status of the male wage-earner. Although not restricted to the study of such households, this thesis does focus on

those consequences and the role that gender and employment play in determining the socio-economic moment of the household.

The earlier spatial division of labour with its associated social structures had, until very recently, benefited the community by ensuring employment for local men and women. Restructuring shows that this spatial division of labour has a negative side that becomes increasingly evident with the decline of local manufacturing. According to our interviews, many women and men possessing only skills associated with local employment, who do not belong to social networks reaching outside the local community, and who are accustomed to the paternalistic ordering of employment, find it difficult to obtain employment beyond the boundaries of the community. Bradbury (1989, 179) suggests that "...the distance of space and culture blurs the vision of job opportunities elsewhere." We thus see a socially structured captivity of a local labour force, engendered by a history of relative spatial isolation, and a economic structure dependent on an overwhelmingly dominant employer.

This research project sought to examine how households were coping with rapid changes to the structure of the local economy, especially in some households in this small community where both spouses might be directly affected by the consequences of restructuring. We originally thought that coping strategies - a coherent process of conscious decisions made to ensure the continued economic stability of the household or, at a different scale, the community - would emerge to counterbalance the effects of deteriorating employment opportunities. Based

on this expectation, we expected to find greater numbers of women entering the workforce, and to see many households developing informal economic means of circumventing the impact of lost income, such as self-provisioning, under-the-table work and self-employment. Optimistic appraisals of the scope and the independence of the informal with respect to the formal economy were at the root of this expectation (Mattera 1985, Pahl 1980). Rather, much like Pahl and Wallace (1985), and Wallace and Pahl (1986), we found that organised, consciously-developed coping strategies were conspicuous primarily by their absence, especially in the households that arguably needed such activities the most. Pahl and Wallace (1985) have also documented the apparent difficulties unemployed families have in increasing the self-provisioning component of domestic labour. Self-provisioning takes place more with families in which someone is still employed and bringing in money in order to, for example, to buy car parts and tools to perform repairs at home for themselves and perhaps for others.

Yet empirical evidence gathered in Windsor in May and June of 1987 gives rise to a less optimistic view of the effects of this form of industrial change on the socio-economic structure of a community: there are indications of the creation of a polarized working class from an initially larger, more homogenous in economic terms and, on the whole, a better off group of working people. This finding is in accordance with recent empirical studies on household economies in other contexts of industrial decline (See Pahl 1984; Pahl 1988; Pahl and Wallace 1985).

There is a certain degree of activism and *ad hoc* strategies, but these are carried out only by households who can literally afford the time and the tools, such as those containing mill workers with sufficient seniority to be assured of permanent employment at the new Domtar mill and a spouse with employment outside the garment industry. Community activists' objectives reflect the dominant patriarchal occupational bias and thus their actions have been confined to the maintenance of the manufacturing vocation of Windsor, rather than towards changing the structural conditions of employment and the consequent process of polarization.

This polarization takes the form of a split between the relatively fortunate households with stably employed "core" workers with the time and money to develop coping strategies, and an increasingly marginalized number of households, unable to acquire or maintain the tools and the social contacts needed to cope with the impacts of lost income (Pahl 1988, 250. [illegible] Pahl 1986). Thus, although the original aim of this thesis was to [illegible]old and communal strategies in Windsor as they developed under the pressures of restructuring, the question of an increasing polarization within working class households employed and formerly employed in the manufacturing sector of Windsor has now become paramount to this thesis.

In order to proceed with this exploration of the impacts of restructuring in Windsor, the remainder of this thesis is structured as follows: the second chapter examines the literature pertinent to a discussion of local responses to restructuring, starting with Massey's (1984) elaboration of the dialectical and dynamic rela-

tionship between local variations of class and social structure and the spatial organisation of production; the chapter then passes to a review of the appropriateness of a "locality studies" perspective for structuring this account of rounds of restructuring in Windsor and ends with a discussion of the diverse class interests in Windsor and these interests affect different groups of workers.

The primary focus of Chapter Three is a review of the historical development of Windsor, since communal and household strategies, such as they are, are contingent upon local social relations unfolding within a spatial structure that is, in turn, altered by the very relations it helps establish This review is prefaced by an analysis of global change in the pulp and paper industry as it affected Domtar and, consequently, Windsor, and is followed by the analysis of the actions of a locally-based community development organization.

The empirical core of this thesis starts with Chapter Four, which examines the deteriorating state of employment across all sectors in Windsor over the past decade. It continues with an examination of differing chances of employment loss among Windsor residents and develops "skill/credential" categories (based on Wright 1987) in order to develop a clearer picture of socio-economic polarization in Windsor in the following chapter.

The process of economic polarization between working-class households is examined empirically in Chapter Five, via a depiction of household incomes, current employment and employment histories, and the material circumstances of households. Through this, and through brief case studies of particular households,

the presence of class fractions in Windsor will be illustrated. The critical line of division created by the occupational segregation by gender is also emphasized. Among the consequences of restructuring investigated are differences between an elite, well-paid, economically stable group of households and another group of households with members whose employment is unstable, living in relatively poor material circumstances. The concluding chapter, Chapter 6, reiterates the theoretical stance expanded on in Chapter 2, and contrasts and compares instances of socio-economic polarization in Windsor with other case studies. It ends with a critical evaluation of communal coping strategies and some suggestions for further avenues of research on single-industry towns in Canada.

CHAPTER TWO

LOCALITY STUDIES AS METHOD FOR UNDERSTANDING THE CONSEQUENCES OF RESTRUCTURING

Introduction

This chapter sets out the underlying theoretical approach adopted by this thesis via an examination of the literature related to the study of communities in the process of adaptation to an altered spatial division of labour. A "locality studies" approach is adopted. In contrast to earlier idiographic community studies, locality studies go beyond an acknowledgement of the locality as significant form of social organisation, in that they investigate how important, broader, social and economic processes are embedded within the locality in question (Urry and Warde 1985, 1). While localities are shaped and transformed by these wider relations, previous locally-specific and historically produced conditions shape the form taken by the next "round of restructuring" (Massey 1984). From this approach, three main investigative themes can be discerned in this thesis: analysis of geographic elements of the restructuring of capital via the concept of spatial divisions of labour; a rethinking of the community as a social force responding to changing social and economic conditions, and the alteration of local social relations under the pressures of restructuring. Unifying these three themes is the argument that

social and spatial changes are integral to each other, an argument developed by Massey (1984), and by the Lancaster Regionalism Group (1985). The chapter then offers both a review of recent studies of local responses to restructuring and some critiques of locality studies, as they relate both to community-level and to household-level responses: the former stressing the territoriality of such responses - "the right to live, learn and work in particular places..." (Hudson and Sadler 1986, 173); the latter examining the limiting elements of household responses to structural change.

Crisis, restructuring and the locality

Marxist arguments affirm not only that regional differences are actively produced by capitalist investment, but that regional characteristics are necessarily destroyed and reordered in a period of crisis, part of the process of renewing conditions for profitable accumulation (Harvey 1982, 416; Smith 1984, 124-130). Crisis is a systemic and inevitable feature of capitalism that occurs when the complex mix of social and economic characteristics - capitalism's structural features - that dominate a capitalist economy can no longer forward the process of productive expansion, and restructuring is the result of attempts to renew accumulation and profitability (Bradbury 1985, Harvey 1982, 191; Kolko 1988, 4, 8-10).

Restructuring is a conceptual vehicle used to describe and explain the effects of these periodic crises. Warde (1988, 77) has criticized the concept of

restructuring as unclear and applied indiscriminately to any number of major and minor changes in the process of production, and suggests that the term be reserved for what seems to be equally unclear instances of "severe and concentrated change..." instigated by entry into new periods of accumulation, or a new labour process. Social and political change are then explained as outcomes of these major changes bearing in mind, of course, the insights of restructuring (Warde 1988, 77, 82-84). Yet instead of avoiding the automatic and deterministic correspondence between economic structure and social relations, which Warde is attempting to do, his restrictive definition of restructuring has simply recast it with an additional caveat. Restructuring is a powerful concept that should not be unnecessarily restricted: Kolko (1988, 11) suggests that the idea of restructuring can be used dialectically to "...explore all the essentials of the crisis of accumulation, competition, the class struggle, the role of the state, the objective anarchy of the market and subjective planning or strategy." For her, the process of restructuring is interactive, with the systemic characteristics of capitalism (the "contradictions and antagonisms intrinsic to the capitalist system itself..." (Kolko 1988, 8) that bring on crisis immediately altering and, dialectically, being altered by, structural social processes. Restructuring has many guises in this formulation, including changes in state policy, changes in the composition of the working class and technological innovation: Kolko goes as far as including change in "...all the arrangements in the economy at a particular time that have a major influence on society" (Kolko 1988, 9).

It is this wider definition of restructuring - what Beauregard (1989, 211) terms "economic restructuring" - that has been the focus for many geographic and some other social scientific studies, as well as this thesis. Although theorizations on the link between capital shifts and the spatial nature of restructuring have been successfully advanced (Bradbury 1985; Frobel et al. 1980; Massey 1984; Smith 1984), almost paradoxically, it is the study of the local and regional consequences using this more encompassing definition of restructuring that have provided the clearest evidence of the changes in social relations (Anderson et al. 1983; Aydalot 1978, 1981; Bluestone and Harrison 1982; Bradbury and Wolfe 1981; Lee 1987; Massey and Meegan 1982; Pahl 1984; Scott and Storper, eds., 1986).

Nearly all would agree that reserves of labour, wage rates, concentrations of particular skills and raw materials vary from place to place and that capitalist corporations seek out those geographical differences in the search for comparative advantages and profit, especially during periods of crisis. In the case of Domtar, the corporation decided to reinvest a substantial amount of capital in Windsor because of a uniquely located geographical constellation of current social, economic and biotic conditions that offers Domtar the greatest potential for profit under the changing national and international economic conditions under which the corporation must operate. But just as Domtar's decisions are strongly influenced by a set of locally-specific conditions, responses within the community are influenced in a like manner. Yet these local and spatial conditions are themselves the product of both a predisposing history and current social relations.

Consequently, what is needed to better understand the changes in social relations provoked by restructuring is a theoretical framework that is sympathetic to the historically produced particularities of place.

For example, Massey's (1984) exploration of "social structures and the geography of production" argues that locations of production (and changes in the location of production) are determined in part by social and economic conditions generated by past investment. She notes:

> Historically, of course, the process is a circular one. Distributions of class relations and different social groups over space are in part a product of these processes and operate as location factors in subsequent periods of investment. Reserves of labour, for instance, are the product of social relations; they don't just happen. And such local variations in class and social structure can in turn have significant effects on location (Massey 1984, 55).

Massey stresses the importance of particular groups within the working class as a location factor where the presence of a skilled group of labourers is a prerequisite to the location of industry (Massey 1984, 32). This was the case in Windsor, which had a stratum of labour skilled in the production of paper. These long-established labour skills required for different job descriptions at the paper mill were of great importance in shaping Domtar's decision to reinvest in Windsor.

Important though this factor may have been, Massey fails to acknowledge that the integration of the social and the spatial is not confined to the workplace, for as soon as we move to examine a wider range of social relations of the locality, other relations of production and reproduction can be seen to be influenced and constrained by a structural

relation of dependence. The intertwined nature of reproductive and productive relations under American corporatism is addressed in Gramscian terms by Nash, in an examination of the powerlessness of dependent communities to prevent job losses and economic dislocation:

> Corporate capitalist hegemony in its peak years promoted values of rationality, individualism, competition, specialization, mobility and equal opportunity. Patriarchal in outlook, it was predicated on a male wage earner and a single-worker household. When women entered the workforce, it was considered a temporary expedient.... The values expressed in the home and community were found in the workplace. Work at home and in the factory was sex-segregated...(Nash 1987, 278).

The link between locations of production and social relations within and without the workplace is a dynamic and multifaceted one. As Nash points out, sexual discrimination in hiring policy by a dominant employer reinforces a patriarchal sexual division of labour. In the case of Windsor, the garment industry was attracted to the community due to the presence of women, underemployed because of the patriarchal sex-segregation of labour that favours male employment at the paper mill.

In view of this gender-based analysis, Massey's theoretical framework, or any simple restructuring thesis, is rendered insufficient. Such formulations offer strong explanations at a regional, national or global level, as they are designed to examine the varying and varied geography of production (Massey 1984, 6). But what is missing is an appreciation of the immediate, day-to-day impact of local restructuring and of the responses (or lack thereof) that household members generate to counterbalance and absorb these changes. Below a certain level of spatial analysis, the grainy resolution of regional studies no longer provides

insights into how the link between production and other social relations operates to help create a community that is identifiable and idiosyncratic with respect to social and economic relations. Nonetheless, Massey's interpretation of restructuring remains explicitly sympathetic towards an examination of the local consequences of restructuring:

> ...the unique, the product of many determinations, is certainly amenable to analysis. It is indeed time that regional and local particularities were reinstated as a central focus of geographical thinking. This is not to argue for a return to "good old-fashioned regional studies" but to suggest that the same subject matter can now be approached within a rigorous analytical framework, with some understanding of the relation between the general and the particular and with an appreciation of how each local area fits into the wider scheme of capitalist production and social relations (Massey 1984, 120).

Locality Studies

Since the publication of Spatial Divisions of Labour by Massey, geographers have been working on and debating various aspects of a rigorous analytical framework for the study of local distinctiveness, or "locality". This body of work by geographers and social scientists in related fields has been grouped under the rubric of "locality studies", in part to differentiate this work from the earlier generation of idiographic community studies (for a good example of this work see Cooke 1989).

There exist at least three different theoretical approaches within the corpus of locality studies, according to Jonas (1988, 101-110). Structuration theory (see Gregory and Urry 1985; Hudson and Sadler 1986) and time geography (see Pred 1985) have re-

introduced at least the spirit of Vidal de la Blache's regional approaches. Another version is based upon a realist epistemology and this is perhaps the method with the most affinity for Massey's work. This may stem from the concern of Massey to specify the causal, two-way process that builds local particularities and specifies the local conditions to influence wider structural events and conditions.

A realist method demands the specification of the logical processes of causality or an intensive rather than an extensive approach. The latter finds it necessary to discover a number of empirical regularities for the purposes of explanation, while with the former it is possible to examine a single and perhaps singular event and uncover the processes (causal relations, in realist terms) leading to that event (Sayer 1985, 166). To date, nomothetic methods of explanation have met with limited success in making the leap from a method-laden detection of regularities to providing causal explanations (Sayer 1984; Sayer 1985, 162). Structuration theory falls short as well, but here the problem is the inverse, with a lack of method that distinguishes between event and cause (Jonas 1988, 105; see Pred 1985).

One result of the tight focus and concern with idiosyncratic causal links of realist locality studies has been a critique centred on the possibility of fragmentation and eclectic empiricism of such studies - a return to "...good old-fashioned regional studies..." (Archer 1987, 384). Archer suggests that some local studies of industrial restructuring and contextual monographs make "...no attempt to gain a better understanding of the wider context in which these industrial and local processes take place" (Archer 1987, 385). Similarly. Harvey (1987) and Smith (1987) are concerned with the apparent

"fragmentation" of realist-based locality studies that, in their view, do not link local socio-economic events and transformations with the greater, global movements of capital. Essentially, the manner in which space is emphasized in realist studies is seen as a privileging of unique aspects of the penetration of capital at the expense of the study of the overall structure of social relations under capitalism.

Yet, there are many locality studies that belie this particular critique. For example, the Lancaster Regionalism Group (1985) is certainly sensitive to the need to place their local investigations in a wider context. I would argue that the gap between wider ranging investigations of the structural processes of capital and locality studies is less than it would seem: the difference lies in how the concern with "outcomes" is phrased. For those who study the spatial processes of capital at a tightly focussed local level, the emphasis is not on how local variations are raised by social and economic change at a national or international scale, but on how localities, as significant forms of social organisation under capital, respond and alter, and are altered in turn, by the structure of capital.

As well, the collection of studies by Rees et al. (1985) demonstrates a concern with placing the restructuring of capital and the consequent reorganization of society in a valid theoretical context For example, Kendrick, Bechofer and McCrone make a strong case for the inappropriateness of a neo-marxist dependency framework for analyzing Scotland. In a sense, this work could be dismissed as just another contextual monograph, were it not for the concluding point of the authors:

> The point is not to try to account for Scotland's industrial and occupational structure either in terms of Scotland's position in the world economy, or in terms of an "occupational transition"

> common to all industrial societies, but to recognize that they both emphasize different aspects of the structuring process at a global level, and the interaction between them is likely to be complex (Kendrick et al. 1985, 100).

This passage can hardly be taken as a privileging of the local scale with an "ideological resistance to theorizing" (Smith 1987, 381). Urry and Warde, in the introduction to Localities, Class and Gender speak of the Lancaster Regionalism Group's analysis as "...challeng[ing] many conventional ways of understanding the structuring of social inequality and the planning and policy objectives designed to ameliorate such inequalities" (LRG 1985, 1). This hardly avoids a confrontation with "...the realities of political economy and the circumstances of...power" (Harvey 1987, 375).

Local area studies are vital insofar as they attempt to avoid the reduction of communities into classes and of firms into capital accumulation (Sayer 1987, 397-398). There is another reason for undertaking locality studies: if we seek to apply our geographical studies to help develop a class and gender consciousness that will engender profound, permanent changes in society, we are bound to investigate the local consequences of global movements and re-orderings of capital.

Locality studies focus on relations between individuals and between individuals and their immediate environment, beginning with a circumscription of space based on the sphere of daily action available to the subjects of the research. Perhaps the strongest contribution locality studies can make is in the exploration of complex interrelationships, such as the links between employment, patriarchal gender relations and the reorganisation or location of production (See Christopherson 1988; Mackenzie 1988; Murgatroyd and

Urry 1985, Ch. 3; Nelson 1986, Pahl 1985). The intricacies of class relations within and across spaces - the issues of territoriality and class alliances - have been examined at this level, as well (Hudson and Sadler 1986; Lee 1987; Scott and Storper 1986).

Intensive studies can examine a particular regional or communal dependence on a given sector or industry for employment and income, and focus on the alteration of place-specific social relations resulting from restructuring. For example, the transmutation of tasks formerly in the sphere of household labour into formal wage-labour relations in the Newfoundland fisheries is an illustration of how intensive studies can be effective in examining the full range of consequences arising from the reorganization of production. In the 1950s and early '60s, the Newfoundland government instigated resettlement programs. These programs moved people from the outports, where most of the drying and salting of cod had been done domestically by women, to so-called "employment centres" where the implementation of new techniques of freezing and processing fish resulted in the employment of women to clean, cut and package fish (Clement 1986, 29). In this instance, the transformation of a domestic labour process into regulated wage work, contingent upon a clearly place-specific period of restructuring, appears at an extensive level of analysis as an increase in the numbers of female workers engaged in non-durable manufacturing employment in the food and beverages sector. In contrast, an intensive study could show the disappearance of household labour strategies, evolved to meet the seasonal and irregular nature of the fisheries, and draw out the changing nature of productive and reproductive relations.

If the goal is to explore some of the consequences of restructuring, it is obvious that past rounds of investment and the legacy of social relations determine in part the future economic trajectory of the household. Within the community of Windsor, a patriarchal dependent structure of employment implies that as the relationship between the community and the corporation changes, so will social formations arising from that structure. And yet the employment structure that is changing rapidly in Windsor can aggravate or mitigate the impact among certain fractions of the working class. For someone working at a supply company cutting back employment as a result of mill renovation, the social and economic consequences are very different compared to a skilled, unionized employee being retrained for employment at the new mill. The ways people are coping with restructuring is differentiated according to their means and the opportunities (or lack thereof) arising from their skills, their gender, their education, and past and present material circumstances. It is clear then, that this thesis must deal with a pre-existing social formation arising in part from past rounds of investment in order to explain the range of responses that members of households are currently making in the face of the local restructuring of production.

Informal Activities as Responses to Declining Employment

The most visible alteration of social relations can be seen to accompany the transformation or the loss of employment.[1] Employment is probably the activity that

[1] Heron and Storey (1986) offer interpretations of historical and current change in the structure of the labour process in Canada Similarly, Burawoy (1979) offers an intensive examination of social relations in a Michigan machine shop In a slightly different vein, De Bresson (1987) has written a "how-to" guide to detecting, understanding and coping and/or resisting technolcgical change in the workplace Finally, there is the work of Braverman (1974), Labor and Monopoly Capital, dissecting the gross anatomy of capital-labour relations under conditions of mass production and job specialization

consumes the greatest single portion of the waking day of most adults and it certainly is the one that the state monitors most closely. In addition to being the most visible, it is arguably the most important for the individual involved. Loss of employment can bring about isolation, a sense of degradation and worthlessness for the individual and involve household members in conflict (See Allen et al. 1986; Coyle 1984). Furthermore, a simple examination of unemployment is insufficient because it does not take into account other forms of labour that may provide income or other resources to the household.

Some research has suggested that the "alternative" economy, or the shadow economy, provides both an emotional buffer and a source of income and work for those "officially unemployed" (Burns 1977; Pahl 1980). Reviewing this perspective on forms of productive and reproductive labour is highly pertinent to this thesis, since the development of a larger number of households involved in informal forms of labour in Windsor would signify an important change to household and communal social and economic relations as a local response to restructuring, the primary focus of this thesis.

In general, this literature on informal activity in developed industrial nations is divided into two camps, based on different assumptions concerning the degree of dependence of informal work on the formal economy There are those like Burns (1977), Pahl (1980), and Gershuny (1983) who see evidence for an essentially independent informal sector, assuming the existence of a parallel economy capable of supplanting the production (given the opportunity) of formal sector production of goods and services. Dissatisfaction with this dualist model of economic production has led others such as Lozano (1983), Connolly (1985), Mattera (1985), Mingione (1985; 1987; 1988) and Pahl, in his

more recent work, to stress aspects of dependence of the informal economy on the formal for many goods and services, as well as for under-the-table employment. These writers have also stressed the formal sector's dependence on informal workers as a supply of reserve and cheap labour. Connolly summarizes the problems inherent in the dualist model of informal activity when she states that the general category of informal does not imply its coherence as a system (Connolly 1985, 55-57).

Furthermore, optimistic appraisals of the scope and the nature of informal economy underestimate the difficulties involved in developing and maintaining informal activity. For instance, Pahl and Wallace (1986, 130) find that informal work is most easily managed by those already employed. Access to tools, the minimal amount of capital and, most importantly, the contacts needed to find informal tasks and income-producing opportunities are most easily found by those employed formally. McKee and Bell (1986) find further evidence of household isolation, and note that informal work is surrounded in secrecy, prompted by fears of discovery (and a subsequent loss of state unemployment and welfare benefits).

It can be argued that the conception of a full-blown informal economy paralleling the formal economy obscures structural relations between the realms of productive and reproductive work. Armstrong, in Labour Pains: Women's Work in Crisis (1984, 99-119) argues that economic crisis engenders conditions that increase women's work within and outside the home. She finds that during recessionary periods, households reduce expenditure on goods and services and increase labour to compensate for falling income. If the state cuts back on income support and other social services, as has been the case in

Canada, then the burden on households grows even heavier. Since women do most of the work in the household, the impact of economic crisis is shouldered disproportionately by them. Unfortunately, argues Armstrong, the flexibility of women's work is much less than in the previous severe crisis in the 1930s. The Canadian Consumer Price Index shows that prices for energy and housing, items that are most often paid for in cash, have risen at the greatest rates, thus further reducing the effectiveness of the increased home labour strategy (Armstrong 1984, 183-184).

Labour Pains is an illuminating and thoughtful overview of the constraints and the responses to the current economic crisis women must undertake both in the home and in the workplace in Canada. However, the very scope of her book and the aspatial nature of the Statistics Canada data she uses commits her to an analysis that ignores regional or local differences. These differences, as well as gender, class or state influences are critical to an understanding of the economic activity of the household, especially during periods of crisis.

Nonetheless, her interpretation of women's "double bind" in periods of crisis remains entirely valid. Armstrong argues that for many women the only strategy open to compensate falling household income is to seek wage labour. Armstrong suggests that, given a period of economic crisis and minimal state support for child care and income support, working for pay in the home becomes increasingly important. In this manner, cash is brought into the household and "domestic responsibilities" are maintained (Armstrong 1984, 106). Hence, when analyzing informal work, it is important to take note that entry into this domain is not necessarily an "alternative", but sometimes the only

strategy available to households given the structural constraints on employment and domestic labour. In Windsor, homeworkers are significant source of labour for the garment industry. As we shall see in more detail in Chapter Four, although "informal" (i.e undeclared employment, paid in cash), this labour constitutes a permanent source of cheap labour for the local garment manufacturers.

Mackenzie (1988) illustrates the dialectic interpenetration of the formal or "productive" and the household or "reproductive" sectors at a local level. Her discussion of coping strategies of people in Nelson and Trail, British Columbia, illustrates how the nature and structure of household labour can change as the formal sector is diminished in importance; furthermore, how what is understood as formal, valued work is changed as household/reproductive work comes to occupy the time and attention that formal employment did previously (Mackenzie 1988). The restructuring of the formal sector in Nelson has entailed an expansion of informal activities: increasingly, work activity is merged with the other aspects of peoples lives in order to make ends meet. Mackenzie suggests that the increasing importance of "women's work" in times of restructuring and economic crisis leads to its reevaluation.

The success of the replacement of the formal economy with the informal in Nelson also lies with the presence of several groups in the community whose particular values and histories were well-suited to ensuring communal survival. The unions' organizational abilities, solidaristic tendencies and "contacts" were of help, although their influence was waning with the retreat of the formal economy; a loose network of back-to-the-landers had skills and tools often useful to the community as a whole and brought a strong feminist

voice to local debates as well as more concrete forms of aid in setting up businesses for and by women and cooperative networks. Lastly, the presence of a group of Doukhoubors, with a background of values centred on self-sufficiency and communal living provided further skills, tools and knowledge that aided the entire community (Mackenzie 1988).

It is precisely this context - the local history, the built environment, ethnicity, culture and values - that is all important in determining the manner in which people respond to the local impacts of a generalized period of economic restructuring. Mackenzie's work shows the complexity of local response without falling into the trap of assuming a uniqueness that forbids or avoids theories of the wider economic and social structures that elicit place-specific responses.

The Role of Household Class In Determining Responses to Restructuring

Pahl spent six years studying work and community on the Isle of Sheppey, an island in the Thames estuary, some 100 kilometres east of London. Concerned with the context of all forms of work, he was investigating the household as a "working unit", using a materialist interpretation of work:

> For present purposes I am content to use a fundamentalist materialist position...and it goes something like this. People have to work to get by, to keep the rain out, to make tools and so forth. They are caught up in an endless cycle of "birth, copulation and death", in Eliot's phrase, and the relationship between the domestic cycle (and the social arrangements connected with it) and the material conditions of life are mediated by cultural practices, values and the constraints imposed by given social formations. The unit for getting by is the household, whose members can use their lab-

> our in distinctive ways (various forms of work or resource options) and can draw on distinctive sources of labour from outside (Pahl 1984, 126).

Understanding the nature of households' responses to crisis and restructuring comes as a result of examining employment and work in context. But the nature of economic crisis at any level is better understood via an intensive examination as well, suggest Pahl and Wallace (1985, 199): "It is simply that we see the actual practices of households as being a useful tracer of the effects of the restructuring of capital in specific milieux."

Methodologically, his work on the Isle of Sheppey reflects this concern with the intensive form of investigation and for the exposition of previous and the current "layers of investment" that give the Isle of Sheppey its particular weave of social relations (Pahl 1984, 155-177; Pahl and Wallace 1986, 200-202). Specifically, the empirical research focussed on, first, the nature of domestic tasks and, second, the sources of labour tapped to accomplish all these tasks (Pahl 1984, 232). The term domestic tasks is deliberately vague; Pahl is attempting to capture a very wide range of forms of labour, from the daily cleaning and tidying tasks to the extraordinary labour of home renovation, car repair or the preserving of fruits and other foodstuffs. The sources of labour that Pahl studies are equally varied, ranging from self-provisioning, to hiring a weekly cleaning woman or a professional renovation firm or simply buying prepared goods.

Two aspects of Pahl's work are of particular interest for this thesis: first, as in Windsor, conditions of restructuring are less catastrophic than in, for example, Mackenzie's account; second, there is an attempt to account for class as a mediating influence on household practices in general and to a specific examination of the role of class in

circumscribing the range of opportunities for a given household (Pahl 1984, Chapter 8). Because the situation is less dramatic in Windsor and in the Isle of Sheppey than in the towns of Nelson and Trail, British Columbia, changes in household practices and patterns of labour may be more subtle, less affected by the course of events. Hence, in spite of substantial social and economic differences between the two localities, the nature of household change and the range of adaptations - coping strategies - that can be empirically determined are akin in Windsor and the Isle of Sheppey.

The initial measure of class in Pahl's study was based on the occupations of all individuals, with allowances for variations in the perceived importance of certain sorts of employment and the structure of the local labour market (Pahl 1984, 203). To indicate the social class of households composed of more than a single person (usually couple-based), Pahl found a more accurate portrayal could be developed by amalgamating the social class of each partner (Pahl 1984, 204-206). In this manner, he was able to examine the range and number of tasks performed with the labour of household members versus other sources of labour according to total household income, household composition, economic activity (i.e. employment) by the social class of households. This allowed him to conclude that household composition, especially in terms of the numbers of income earners and the domestic cycle, is more statistically significant than class in explaining patterns of work and labour sources (Pahl 1984, 231).

Pahl is quick to point out that this does not signify a lessening of inequalities between classes, but rather that the household division of labour (i.e., the number of workers in a household and where they work) produces new inequalities (Pahl 1984, 231,

see also Chapter 10). The ability to develop coping strategies - making ends meet - is best met by households with multiple earners, with at least one member earning a relatively high income from stable employment. Polarization within the wide group of the working class is developing along lines of opportunity on the Isle of Sheppey, concludes Pahl, with busy households doing more (and earning more) partly because such households have greater chances of finding more opportunities to earn more income or to replace income with labour (Pahl 1984, 237, 313). Having several members of the household employed, with a range of tools and skills that can be used on the side or for self provisioning is much more common among households that need those resources the least (Pahl 1984, Tables 9.8, 9.9, 243-247). Pahl and Wallace (1986, 215) are less equivocal: "...employment and self-provisioning go together, rather than one being a substitute for another."; and further on, "[t]here appears to be a process of polarization... (Pahl and Wallace 1986, 217).

It is not a question of pulling oneself up by the bootstraps, either: poor material circumstances can not be accounted for by a lack of effort, entrepreneurial ability or skills Prolonged illness or a permanent layoff of the central wage-earner can set an entire household on a downward economic spiral, or strand it on a weekly or monthly treadmill of barely meeting costs with no hope of stopping the machine (Pahl 1984, 286, 292-304). What constitutes "polarization" is a mix of household characteristics that are individually confusing and contradictory, but, put together, offer this picture:

> This [the process of polarization] produces at one pole busy households with many workers, some of which are in employment, where a wide range of domestic tasks are done; they own their own homes and have the money to maintain and service them. At the other are the households with only one or no earner, which do not own a house or a car, or if they do,

> do not have the resources for the materials to maintain them adequately (Pahl and Wallace 1986, 217-218).

What Pahl shows is that when it comes to weathering the impact of restructuring, the household, not just the individual, is in the eye of the storm. Restructuring alters the social and economic conditions under which households must act to make ends meet, and households adapt according to their material conditions. But material conditions are not the sole arbiter of responses to restructuring. The process of household polarization within the working class that Pahl found on the Isle of Sheppey and, as I will argue in Chapter Five, in Windsor, takes place in the context of a local class structure. Put another way, there are groups and coalitions of groups (within both communities) with differing interests and a greater or lesser stake in the continuance of the status quo. For the purposes of this thesis, what is most notable is the manner in which identification of a particularly important group's interests is couched in communal - or territorial - terms, resulting in the glossing over of different interests, at least temporarily.

Class in Local Context: Territorial Responses to Restructuring as Class Formations

Wright (1987, 31) notes: "Class structures constitute the essential qualitative lines of social demarcation in the historical trajectories of social change". Drawing the lines of "social demarcation" is vital in studying Windsor, because past rounds of investment have resulted in the segregation and division of the local working class, differentiated primarily by employer and by gender and secondarily by occupation. These divisions have resulted in a diversity of interests and needs within the community, which combine to determine, in part, the direction of social change in Windsor.

Drawing the lines of demarcation is not unproblematic: the relationship between a class as it is determined structurally (class-in-itself) and the existence of an engaged collective consciousness of class (class-for-itself), is a *bête noire* that refuses to subside. Wright (1985, 123) notes the indeterminate nature of the process of collectivization, stating: "It is always problematic whether workers will be formed into a class or into some other collectivity based on religion, ethnicity, region, language, nationality, trade, etc." Rather than ignoring the problem, he chooses to highlight its contingent nature in order to explore the highly varied range of interests and actions that may arise:

> ...class structure should be viewed as a structure of social relations that generates a matrix of exploitation-based interests. But because many locations within the class structure have complex bundles of such exploitation interests, these interests should be viewed as constituting the material basis for a variety of potential class formations.... Which of these alternatives actually occurs will depend on a range of factors that are structurally contingent to the class structure itself (Wright 1985, 124-125).

These "complex bundles" of interests may make for strange bedfellows: when examining the case of Windsor, if we neglect gender in the analysis of local social relations, it is possible to view the territorially-based alliance of paperworkers and small businesses and manufacturers as representative of the entire community. Yet the garment industry is highly exploitative of the doubly dependent position of local women. Hence we see unionized, well-paid paperworkers in alliance with employers hiring women part-time at piece-work rates making garments, although nominally both paperworkers and garment-makers are of the working class engaged in manufacturing employment. In this case, then, Wright's analysis of class relations serves to highlight the particular - ie, the locality-based -

nature of the impact of restructuring. The exact nature of this alliance, its aims and strategies are the result of the local nature of relations of production and past rounds of capitalist accumulation and restructuring.

Summary

A broad definition of restructuring has been offered in the first section of this chapter and it is suggested that this apparently loose interpretation of economic events offers valuable insights into the concomitant alterations of local social relations. In a thesis such as this, concerned with one community and the households composing it, an intensive approach focusing solely on the local actors is most appropriate. Accordingly, discussion moves on to an overview of locality studies: specifically, those studies and theorizations concerned with the analysis of employment and work (or the lack of it) within the community. As the single most time-consuming social activity, paid and unpaid labour - who is doing it, for whom, and how the division of labour is established - provides the best optic for determining the household consequences of restructuring. Understanding the consequences of restructuring is best accomplished by an interpretation of class that builds on and updates marxist-based concepts and categorizations of social formations, such as Wright's concept of exploitation-based interpretations of class. Within the community, gender, differing material circumstances, skills and contingent locations in the local class structure result in a varied range of actions and needs on the part of households. Wright's class analysis brings out the link between such differences between households and local class structure. Differing interests may be overcome by territorially

based coalitions but these are often temporary coalitions and only partially representative In Chapter Three, we turn to the case study of Windsor to see how Wright's class analysis operates within the confines of a locality study, by first placing the community in the wider context of change in the global pulp and paper industry.

CHAPTER THREE

LINKING GLOBAL CHANGE AND LOCAL SOCIAL RELATIONS: THE PULP AND PAPER INDUSTRY AND WINDSOR, QUÉBEC

Introduction

The arguments in Chapter Three build upon the theoretical and methodological issues addressed in Chapter Two with the examination of the contingent social and economic structures that have formed and yet constrain communal action in the community of Windsor. The first part of Chapter Three establishes the particularities of social relations in Windsor - its economic development and the class and gender relations that have arisen in part because of the town's isolated single-industry status. Specifically, declining employment is examined in the wider context of the global reorganisation of production in the pulp and paper industry and the garment industry taking place up until the time of our study (1987). The geographical and historical factors that led to the development of local dependency are then outlined, again placing the "local" in a wider context, this time the regional economic development of the Eastern Townships. The chapter concludes with a description of the formation and actions of a worker-funded industrial development organization (entitled Fonds de Prévoyance d'Investissement de Windsor or FPIW) in attempting to counterbalance the local impact of restructuring and job loss.

Domtar's Shifting Market Strategy and Global Change in the Pulp and Paper Industry

The late 1960s and the 1970s saw the Quebec pulp and paper industry confronted with problems of over-production of global proportions. The conservative diversification strategy of the corporations, in part mandated by tariff structures favouring low value-added exports of pulp and newsprint, left Canadian pulp and paper producers with production facilities that were increasingly out of date (Forgacs and Styan 1977, 148). A new generation of American mills, processing fast-growing plantation softwoods in the southern states, was undermining the advantage of marginally lower labour and raw materials costs hitherto held by Quebec producers (Council of Pulp and Paper Producers of Quebec 1972, hereafter CPPPQ) Improved Scandinavian technology and forestry management practices were closing off Quebec exports to Europe by growing trees and producing paper efficiently enough to make up for the relatively small forest area (CPPPQ 1972). More recently, South America, New Zealand, Japan and Oceania have become important exporters of pulp and paper products, new integrated pulp and paper mills utilizing technological innovations in pulp processing are tapping hitherto unprofitable forest reserves (especially the hardwoods of Amazonia and the eucalyptus and Nothofagus species of Oceania) (Canadian Pulp and Paper Institute 1985, hereafter CPPI).

In the 1980s, the comparative advantages of ample forest reserves held by the Canadian pulp and paper industry in general continued to be eroded by suppliers in the USA, in Scandinavia, South America and the Pacific Rim (Banque Nationale 1986a; CPPI 1985). Hayter found that the Canadian share of forest-product exports has declined from over 30% in 1960 to approximately 19% in 1980 (Hayter 1988, 29). Because many Canadian producers still rely on older, smaller and less technically efficient mills, the Canadian share of the world's largest market (a shrinking North American newsprint and kraft paper market) is declining (Banque Nationale, 1986b). On the other hand, predictions for the late 1980s and the first half of the 1990s suggest that demand for paper and paper products other than newsprint will increase steadily (Banque Nationale 1986b). Furthermore, the policy of the federal government, as evinced by Department of Regional and Industrial Expansion pulp and paper mill modernization programs, generally encourages and subsidizes the installation of automated systems in order to maintain the competitive position of the Canadian forest-products sector, albeit within a reactive political framework (D.R.I.E. 1985; The Globe and Mail, 16 April 1985).

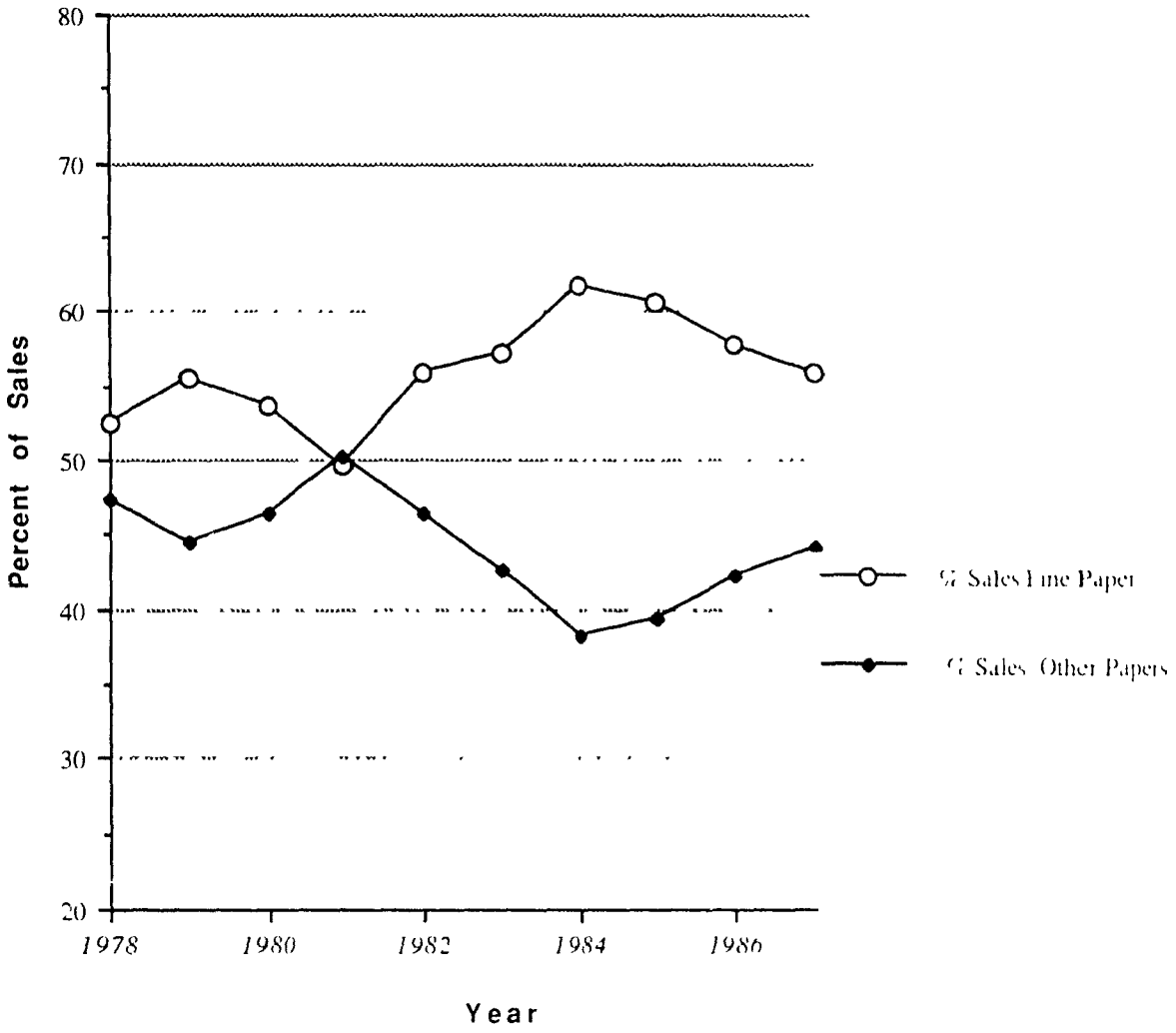
In spite of these global changes and attempts to encourage competitiveness, most pulp and paper production in Canada remains predicated on the exploitation of first-generation softwoods and the exportation of raw pulp and newsprint (Hayter 1988, 15). In short, the export of low value-added bulk commodities, seemingly a Canadian tradition. However, some of the larger corporations are in

the process of reviewing and altering production strategies to meet the altered market demand, including Domtar.

Domtar has been seeking to diversify paper production in an attempt to reduce its dependency on American consumption of newsprint and Kraft paper for almost two decades now, but without substantial increases in capacity and with minimal investment (Domtar Annual Report 1968). In 1969, corporate reorganization of production facilities occurred and the mill at Windsor began producing fine paper grades for export to the United States and Europe. In 1970, 20% of Domtar production was in the form of fine and specialty papers, compared to 13% of total tonnage produced in 1964 (Domtar Annual Report 1970, 24). Between 1978 and 1987, Domtar has continued to increase its dependence on fine papers, with over 50% of its sales accounted for by fine paper (Figure 3.1). Over the same period of time, income from fine paper has almost doubled, from about $325 million to just under $600 million, increasing steadily in contrast with the much more varied income from all other paper grades produced by Domtar (Figure 3.2). Unlike newsprint and market pulp, where cost minimization is essential to maintain profits in a market characterized by cyclic overproduction, fine papers tend to be priced according to performance (Forgacs and Styan 1977, 148). The Council of Pulp and Paper Producers of Quebec has long maintained that Canadian producers cannot match the lower labour price and wood prices of other paper-exporting countries (CPPPQ 1972). Clearly, Domtar has adopted a production strategy that involves a shift away from the

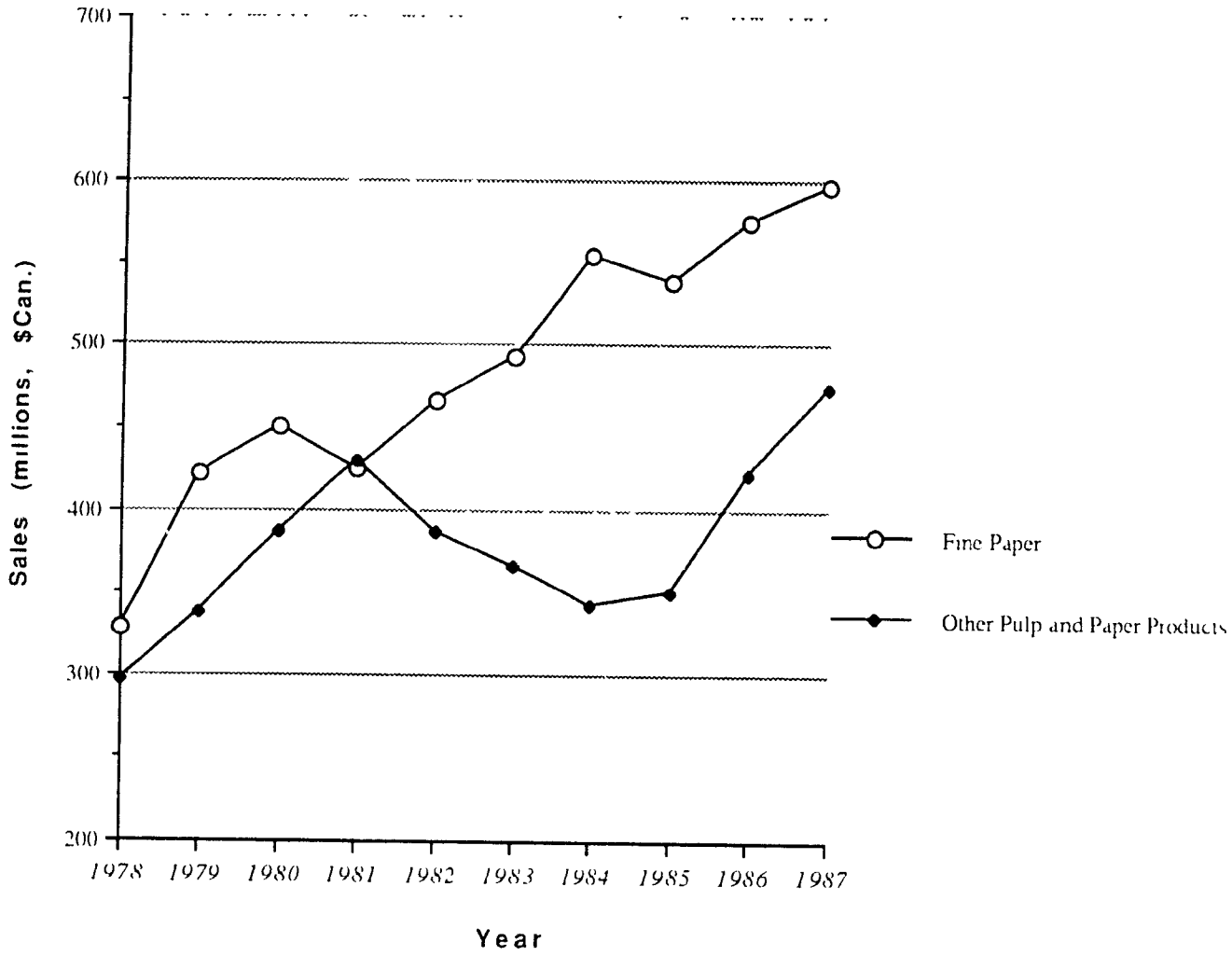
price-competitive and stagnant newsprint market, and towards satisfying North America's growing demand for fine paper. North American consumption of fine paper in 1986 was approximately 10 million metric tonnes; and the rate of consumption has been growing at approximately 3.0% annually (Banque Nationale 1986b). Newspaper demand, on the other hand, hereto the profitable mainstay of the Quebec pulp and paper industry, is stationary, having grown at an average rate of less than one-half of one percent since the mid-seventies (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2) (Banque Nationale 1986b).

Figure 3.1 DOMTAR Paper Products Group
Sales Percentages, Fine Paper vs. Other Papers



Source DOMTAR Annual Reports 1978-1987

Figure 3.2 DOMTAR Paper Products Group
Fine Paper Sales vs. All Other Papers



Source DOMTAR Annual Reports 1978-1987

The sheer amount of capital - $1.2 billion - required for a "refit", as it was initially phrased, suggests a continued reorganization of production within Domtar corporation for the 1980s and 1990s. Domtar is responding to increasing global competition in production and changes in North American demand for paper by incorporating technological innovations aimed at increasing capacity and improving productivity, thus substantially increasing the capital-intensiveness of production throughout its network of mills (Domtar Annual Report 1984, 5; Domtar Annual Report 1985, 4). The decline in productive employment at Domtar is one end-result of the corporation's need to maintain profits in a changing economic environment. Thus the loss of local employment can be linked to the implementation of a mill-wide integrated "expert system" in turn tied to the changing market demand for paper and Domtar's strategy to maintain profits via a switch in product emphasis (Domtar Annual Reports 1985; 1986).

And yet, as we have noted before, restructuring is a dialectical process: the decision to revamp the Windsor mill instead of another is the result of the particular geographical characteristics of Windsor developed over a century of industrial exploitation of forest resources and isolated village labour. For Domtar's purposes Windsor's location was near ideal: nearby second growth forest reserves were to provide a suitable mix of species for the raw material requirements of newer techniques of production, skill requirements at the new mill were to be met with the presence of an experienced yet essentially captive labour force in Windsor; finally, the Quebec government's controlling interest in Domtar,

through the Caisse de Dépot (44%) may have weighed heavily in favour of a Quebec-based plant (Domtar Annual Report 1984, 5; Domtar Annual Report 1985, 4).

For these reasons, the restructuring process in Windsor took the form of investment and technical change, where job loss was related to changes in the techniques of production that automate or eliminate a number of tasks (q.v. Massey and Meegan 1982, 17-18). Resolving the contradiction between Domtar's public assurance of "protection" (The Montréal Gazette, 6 April 1985) for all 725 production employees at the old mill and the requirement of only 400 at new mill helps us to understand the course and nature of restructuring undertaken at Domtar: the company cut back production at the old mill over a three year period from 1985 to 1988, gradually transferring workers to the new mill and training them on the state-of-the-art highly automated production system. The prolonged period of rationalization enabled Domtar to keep to the letter of its word, with some 400 workers "protected" from layoffs by their transfer to new mill and the elimination of over 300 positions accomplished by attrition through retirement and early retirement incentives. Layoffs did occur during this time, however, since an additional 120 mill workers were hired on two year contracts (from 1985 to 1987) and laid off as the new mill came onstream (Interview, P.P. Gingras, Director of Human Resources and Organizational Planning, Domtar-Windsor, 27 May 1987).

Establishment of Windsor and Early Regional Development

The decision to restructure production at the Windsor mill, instead of another, can also be understood from the contingent historical standpoint Massey (1984) adopts. Labour acts as a location factor: ". .some groups are at least particularised in the sense that they have skills and knowledge deriving from long association with the industry" (Massey 1984, 143). Thus, interplay between the raw material requirements of newer techniques of production, suitable forest reserves within trucking distance of the community (see map 1.2) and the presence of a skilled yet essentially captive labour force (see map 2.1) ensured the rebuilding of the mill.

The social organisation of the community has always centred on the paper mill. Windsor was the site of the first chemical pulp mill in Canada, and the community grew from a hamlet (established in the 1840s) around a saw-mill, to a single-industry town of 400 in 1873 (Booth 1971; Richmond County Historical Society 1968, 116). The first mill was built in 1863 and there has been constant paper production since, with occasional retoolings and enlargements of the mill.[1]

The rapid growth of the population of Windsor was due to a combination of events and structural changes in the economy of Lower Canada, including a prolonged agricultural crisis in Quebec that sent former "habitants" and their families in search of urban employment (MacAllum 1976). The construction of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic railroad along the St. François river was

[1] Interestingly enough, the location of the paper mill has changed at least twice before, and each local displacement has been marked by a fire destroying the older structure (Richmond County Historical Society 1968, 116-120)

instrumental in allowing the Townships region as a whole to gain access to the densely populated American cities of the Eastern Seaboard and Montréal (Booth 1982). For the pulp and paper industry, in addition to market access, the abundant hydraulic energy necessary for production and a near-monopoly over wood supplies available to manufacturers made locations in the Eastern Townships ideal (Roberge 1970, 123). The near-monopoly conditions of wood supply were met in the Eastern Townships because of the pre-industrial pattern of land ownership. Absentee ownership and sparse settlement left sizeable portions of forest untouched and available in large blocks for the pulp and paper industry and other wood-based industries (Blanchard 1947; Booth 1971). This combination of factors resulted in the premier position of the Eastern Townships pulp and paper industry between 1860 and 1890. During this time the Townships produced 14.1% of the pulp paper in Eastern Canada from four mills (Roberge 1970, 128). This situation was not to last very much longer, however, because of the relatively small size of the region and limited forest inventory. Consequently, by 1930, the Townships' share of production had fallen to less than 4%, although still growing in absolute terms (Roberge 1970, 136).

Growth, Economic Isolation and Dependence

Though their percentage of total Eastern Canadian production dropped, the mills of the Eastern Townships would continue to form a prominent part of the socio-economic landscape, because of the necessary longevity of paper mills

and the relative isolation of manufacturing establishments, spread through the small towns of the region.[2] Isolation stemmed from a combination of spatial distribution of resources and initial dependence on hydraulic sources of power. Most communities in the Eastern Townships grew rapidly in the latter half of the nineteenth century, centred around relatively well-paying manufacturing or resource-transformation establishments that did not encourage the development of widespread laboursheds (Cazalis 1964; Blanchard 1947; Dales 1957). In Windsor, the permanence of the mill, its high demand for labour - as early as 1900, a paper mill 600 employees strong was not unusual (Roberge 1970, 151) - and the economic isolation of the labour force brought about the development of local social relations centred on the production of paper. According to a number of informants, in the past such dependence was reinforced by mill owners with an unwritten policy of hiring the sons of mill workers. More recently, under the aegis of Domtar, local students have been hired for summer employment.

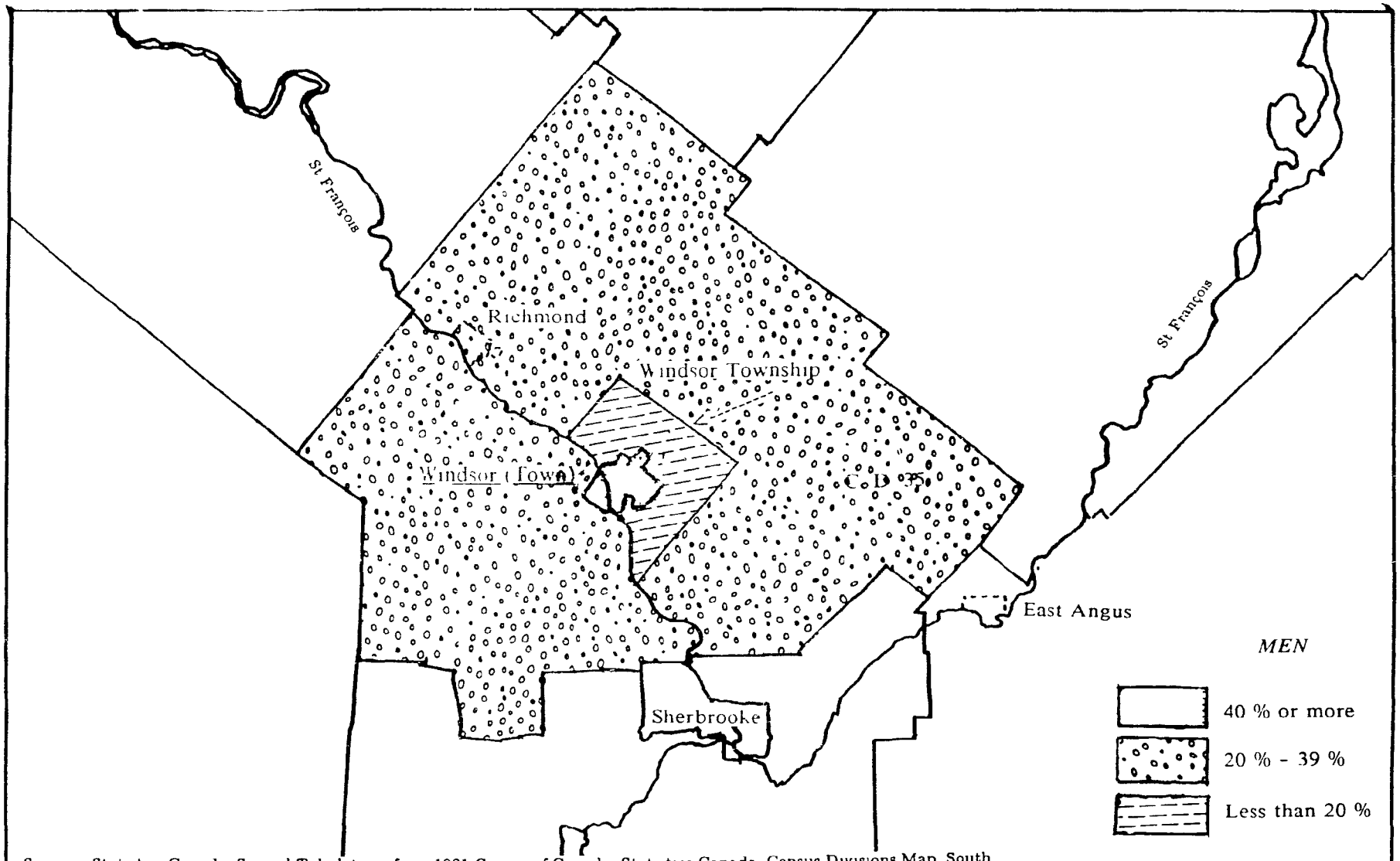
In the Townships, the pattern of isolated, locality-bound laboursheds has persisted for well over a century. In the nineteenth century, Windsor was already a single industry town. Locality-bound laboursheds were not confined to the smaller communities either, as Cazalis found. In the early 1960s, he noted that less than 4% of the Sherbrooke (the regional administrative and economic centre) labour force of 26,750 lived outside of the city limits. Only 36 (approximately 3%

[2] To recover the cost of capital invested in a paper mill, it was necessary to operate the mills for very long production runs At the turn of the century, it was estimated that the Fourdrinier process (the most commonly used paper making process, now being supplanted by the development of twin wireformer paper machines) required a capital investment of between $33,000 and $40,000 per ton of rated paper capacity (Roberge 1970, 114)

of the Windsor labour force) Windsor residents worked in Sherbrooke in 1963, although Windsor is well within commuting distance by rail or automobile, being barely 25 kilometres from Sherbrooke (Cazalis 1964, 172-175). This pattern of limited laboursheds has altered little since: place of work and place of residence tabulations taken from the 1981 census indicate that although local employment ties may be weakening, they still dominate the formation of laboursheds in this area. Of those working in Windsor, 66% live in the town or the surrounding township of Windsor and an additional 22% live within the census division (see Map 1.2) (Statistics Canada 1981, Special Tabulations of the Census of Canada).

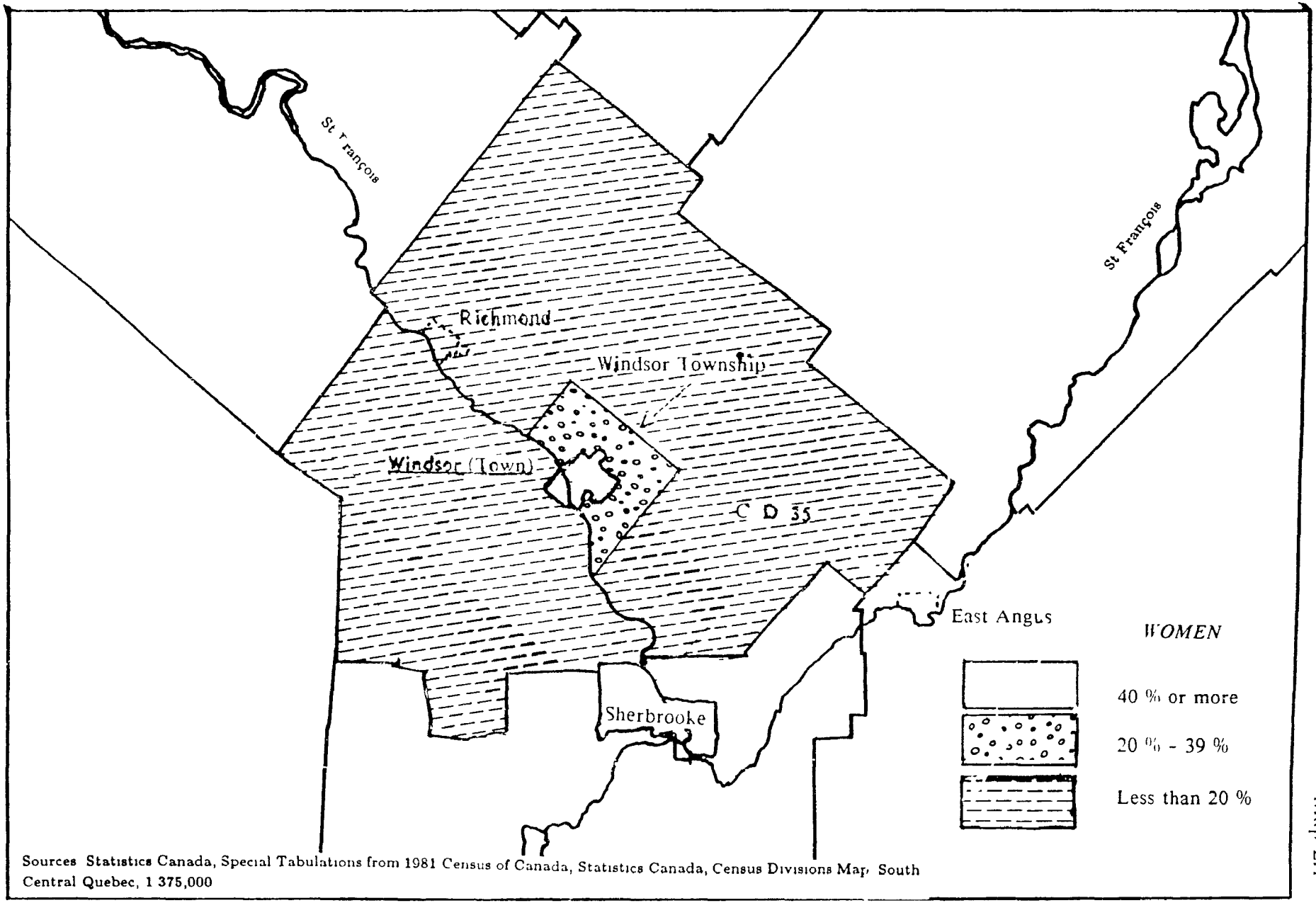
For women, to the conditions of dependence and isolation of the workforce were added the limitations of a patriarchal society. It was not until 1946, with the arrival of the Jack Spratt garment company, that women became a sought after labour source for manufacturing-sector employers in Windsor (Québec, Ministère de l'Industrie, du Tourisme et du Commerce 1985). Again, the presumed characteristics of the labour force acted as a significant location factor: the Quebec garment industry has a history of establishing plants in small communities such as Windsor because of high unemployment rates and a presumably docile labour force (Colgan 1985, 108). In spite of the ongoing decline of this industry (from 245 in 1978 to 155 production employees in 1986), the garment industry remains the second largest employer in Windsor, and it has been the largest single employer of local women since its establishment (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3).

Place of Residence of Male Workers in Windsor Manufacturing Industries



Sources Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations from 1981 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, Census Divisions Map South Central Quebec, 1 375,000

Place of Residence of Female Workers in Windsor Manufacturing Industries



Sources Statistics Canada, Special Tabulations from 1981 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, Census Divisions Map, South Central Quebec, 1 375,000

Map 2.1

Nonetheless, because of low rates of pay for women, little, if any, child care, and poor employment security, the patriarchal and paternalistic values of male workers earning a "family wage" have not been significantly displaced in Windsor. Furthermore, identification of mill employment with the good of the community in general and the household (the "family") in particular, continues to discount the importance of women's employment in Windsor. On the positive side, however, this identification of the presence of the mill with the community has led to well-organised protests and the creation of a "community chest" designed to maintain employment in Windsor.

Community Coping Strategies in Windsor

In 1977, a worker-funded "community chest", entitled the Fonds de Prévoyance d'Investissement de Windsor, or the FPIW (the Windsor Insurance Investment Fund) was created. The stated aim of this fund was to attract capital in order to wean Windsor away from dependency on Domtar, or at the very least, delay corporate disinvestment for as long as possible (FPIW 1976, 2). The FPIW is one instance of a reaction to the local consequences of industrial restructuring: the development of short-lived, territorially based, coalitions between classes, interest groups and occasionally politicians fighting to maintain or get jobs for "their" town. Hudson and Sadler (1986, 183) have pointed out that such actions have a darker side, as competition between communities to attract or maintain the presence of an important industry leads to severe competition between workers of

nominally the same class interests. With the overall decline in employment in the basic industries, workers in different communities end up competing for increasingly fewer jobs under the banner of a crusade to "save our town". Furthermore, such apparently communal actions mask the wide range of concerns and economic and social needs that already exist within even a very small community. While locality-based coalitions often act in the name of the entire community, the broad base of support often evaporates as interests become more focussed and as compromises are made between various actors seeking to satisfy an important fraction without addressing the needs of other coalition members.

Hudson and Sadler (1986, 182-183) cite the case of the Dortmund protests where "... the broad social base of the protest movement soon dissipated..., with the movement to contest the closure proposals becoming much more centred on the Dortmund works and steelworkers." The reason that the base of the movement was undercut is clear: the initial range of interests was very wide, not stopping at the preservation of the steelworks but branching out into the creation and provision of alternative employment. As negotiations between the steel corporation, the local and national state and unions proceeded, widespread support diminished as it became clear that many interests were being ignored, attention coming to focus solely on the preservation of employment at the steelworks and excluding other forms of economic development. Similarly, in Lancaster, the decline of largely unskilled manufacturing employment and the rise of service employment in the local economy resulted in the development of what

Murgatroyd and Urry (1985, 52) term "oppositional fragments", local groups with concerns unrepresented by labour unions. It was the inability of the Lancaster Trades Council to create a truly "communal" oppositional base that effectively undermined organized labour's attempts to promote a locality-based coalition to "Save Lancaster" after a series of layoffs were announced.

In the first of the two instances above, local organized labour arrived at an agreement with the state to ensure the continued presence of steel works in Dortmund, brushing aside the question of alternative employment, an issue that was manifestly important to a large number of people (Hudson and Sadler 1986, 183). In the second instance, in Lancaster, the unionized members of the working class supported a small firm development strategy and sought to present "their" city as an ideal site for investment, implying a degree of accommodation with capitalist firms. The paternalistic and patriarchal nature of production relations in Lancaster's past led the trades council to assume that this was in the best interests of the community. Again, the aims of other fractions of the working class (especially the unemployed and service sector employees) and oppositional fractions (women's groups, environmental groups, etc...) were not addressed. With respect to the service economy, organized labour had a "blind spot" because the overwhelming dominance of non-traditional and unorganized workers in this sector (Murgatroyd and Urry 1985, 52).

In Windsor, similar public assertions of local representativeness have been made at least twice in recent history, the first time in 1969 and the second time in

1985 (Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux 1970; Montreal Gazette, 15 March 1985). In each case, the occasion was the threatened closure of the paper plant or job losses. The potential disintegration of the local economy has always been put forth as the inevitable outcome of closure, hence the "representativeness" of coalitions dominated by the concerns of paper mill workers. While this claim of disintegration is true to a great extent, it does not necessarily follow that actions undertaken were community-wide, or that the interests being protected were those of the community as awhole or all segments of the community.

Two important investments by the FPIW illustrate further structural limitations on communal actions that tend to further fragment an already fragile set of communal interests. In 1981, the municipal council of Windsor approached the Fund's officers, seeking a buyer for $100,000 of municipal bonds. This bond issue was part of a complex deal Jack Spratt Jeans (employing nearly 200 local women at that time) sought to complete with the town. The company was seeking to expand production and was ready to buy a piece of municipal land for $100,000. However, Jack Spratt Jeans wanted the municipality to hold the mortgage and to reimburse the town over a twenty year period at a rate of 16.5 percent (at that time, a three to five year mortgage had an interest rate hovering between 18 and 20 percent). The municipality could not legally make such a deal, but they could sell bonds, using the eventual reimbursement by Jack Spratt as collateral. These bonds were offered to the FPIW and accepted, thus ensuring the enlargement of Jack Spratt Jeans (Dussault 1985, 156, 157). This action brought

the FPIW to the attention of the regulatory arm of the Québec Ministry of Financial Institutions. Buying these bonds had placed the FPIW in an untenable situation in the eyes of the Ministry: as a non-profit organization, it could not legally acquire municipal bonds, hence the FPIW was obliged to become an incorporated company, with each contributor becoming a voting shareholder in order to meet legislative requirements (Dussault 1985, 159).

In 1985 the Fund made an attempt to maintain the jobs of 100 women working at Vêtements Watopeka, a local garment factory. The employees each contributed $500 of "work-capital" and the Fund invested $51,000 of risk capital. In spite of these efforts, the worker-owned company shut down after eight months, unable to obtain enough contracts to meet payroll and other costs. This failure was mitigated by the fact that Vêtements Watopeka stayed open long enough to attract the attention of two investors in the garment industry, who now own and operate the company with about 40 employees (FPIW 1986, 2).

This investment of $51,000 brought out further legal and financial complications that have acted to restrain the effectiveness of the FPIW. Investments of the sort made with Vêtements Watopeka placed the Fund in a legal grey zone between a non-profit cooperative venture (in spite of its corporate charter) and a risk-capital, profit-oriented firm (FPIW 1986, 13). The Ministry of Finance suggested that the Fund be broken up and converted into SPEQs, a fiscal shelter for "small" amounts of capital. The central requirements for a SPEQ are a capitalization of $100,000 and a maximum of 49 shareholders. With 700 members

and a total capital nearing $800,000, it was clear that the Fund could not meet these requirements (FPIW 1986, 7).

With the increased activity of the FPIW, then, have come structural entanglements and limits imposed on a small non-profit capitalization fund. Clearly oriented towards community development, the FPIW has collided with the profit rationale underlying all corporate and fiscal legislation and has been forced to reorganise, compromising its goal of locally responsible economic development In 1987, it formed a close alliance with the industrial development organisation of the regional municipality of the Val St. François. Investment of the funds has been shifted into an entrepreneurial "incubator" (providing low cost warehouse, production and office space for new businesses in the new industrial park (see Photo 6)) and away from its original aims of employment development and maintenance (Corporation de Développement du Val St. François 1985; FPIW 1987). Of necessity, the fund has become a gambler, hoping that one of these businesses will take off and provide employment.

This loss of autonomy and the tight focus on entrepreneurial investment demanded of the Fonds de Prévoyance d'Investissement de Windsor has minimised the importance of the original goal of the Fund, that of developing and maintaining a stable economic climate for employment in Windsor. Hierarchical structures of control rather than cooperative decision-making are legitimised by state policy that emphasizes incorporation and a "business" approach to local development. State funding and fiscal controls that favour indirect services versus

community action (i.e., the industrial development offices of the Val St. François versus the direct infusion of the FPIW's capital into a faltering company) have also bent the original aim of the Fund: to develop a truly collective source of capital for the purposes of local development, independent of the state and of any corporation (FPIW 1977, 2).

This co-optation of a community development organisation is not uncommon in Canada. Ng (1989) noted that the aims of the state, and consequently funding and organizational criteria, are tightly defined. Groups that may need some form of aid, financial or otherwise, are often faced with a dilemma: does the group compromise and potentially restrict its range of activities in exchange for some form of subsidization, or continue with a limited amount of money and/or expertise that imposes different limits. The geographical fragmentation of efforts to develop a locality-bound development orientation further isolates community organizations from a common political struggle to validate (at least in the eyes of the state) an alternative version of community development.

Summary

In this chapter, it has been argued that technological and market-demand changes in the global pulp and paper industry of the 1980s have further compromised the comparative advantages held by Canadian producers until the 1960s. Domtar has attempted to maintain its international market and increase

profits by switching production of higher value-added fine papers and away from newsprint and raw pulp. In doing so, production has been substantially reorganized, engendering, in the case of Windsor, job losses. In other words, I am arguing that the global restructuring of production in the forest-products industry is linked to the community through the reorganization of production within Domtar corporation.

This chapter also reviews the establishment of the community of Windsor, and introduces its socio-economic isolation, placing it in the context of the economic development of the Eastern Townships of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Attempts by members of the community to develop alternative sources of employment and support local employers in difficulty are also noted, with an analysis of the structural limitations to these attempts, including legislative and class-linked limits.

The next chapter explores empirically the consequences of socialized isolation and examines the explanatory factors of gender and skill in assessing the impact of restructuring in Windsor.

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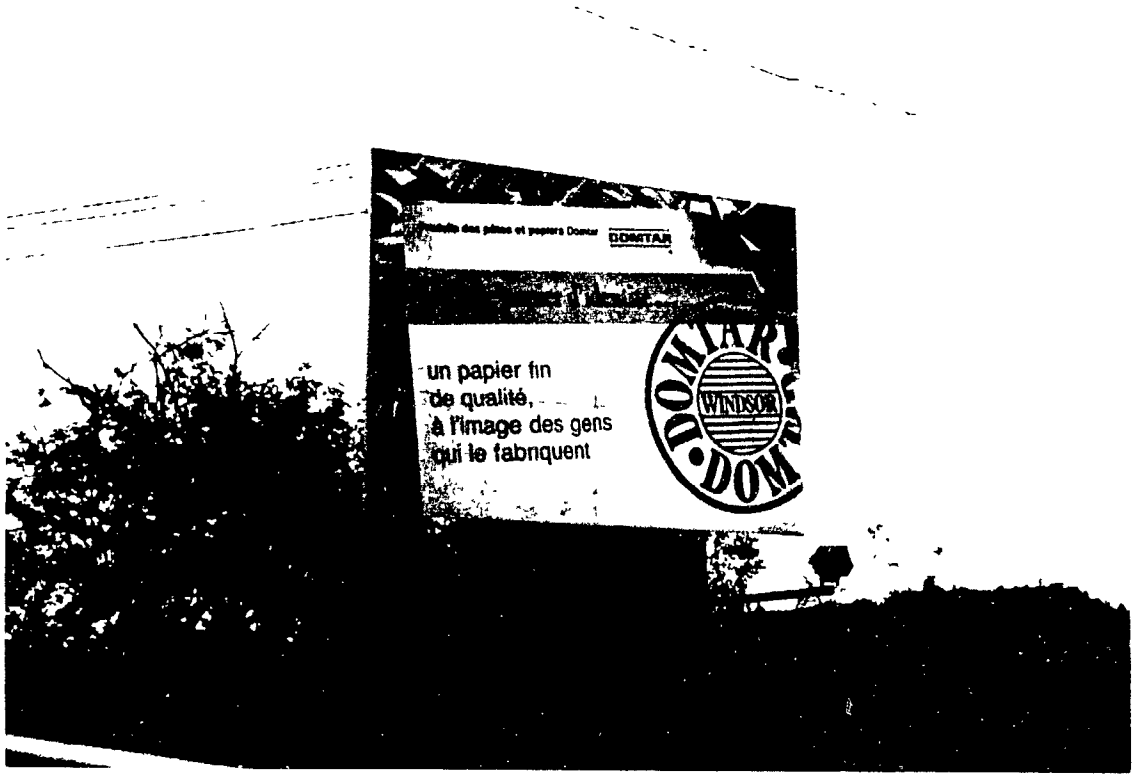
PHOTOGRAPHS[1]

(All photographs 1989)



1. Windsor, Quebec: a billboard on the main road to the mills.. an everyday reminder of the close link between Domtar and the community.

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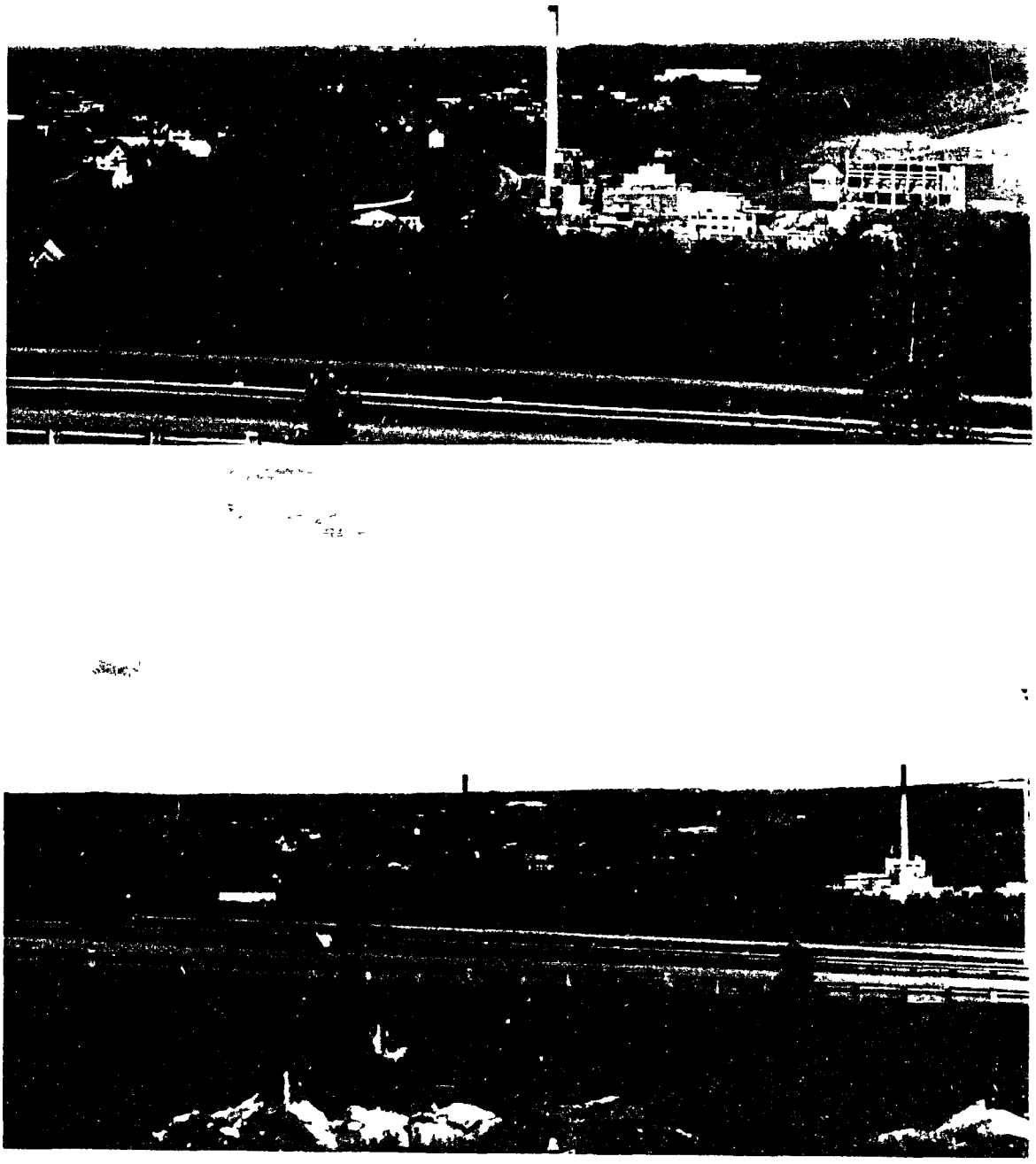
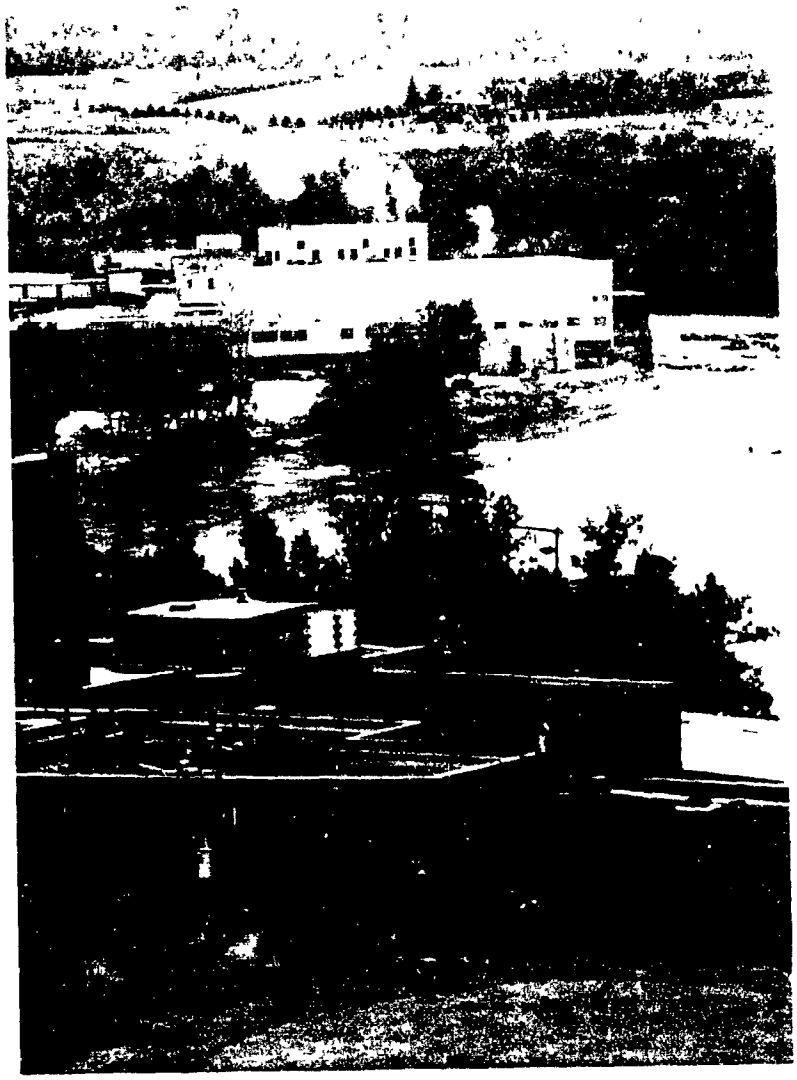
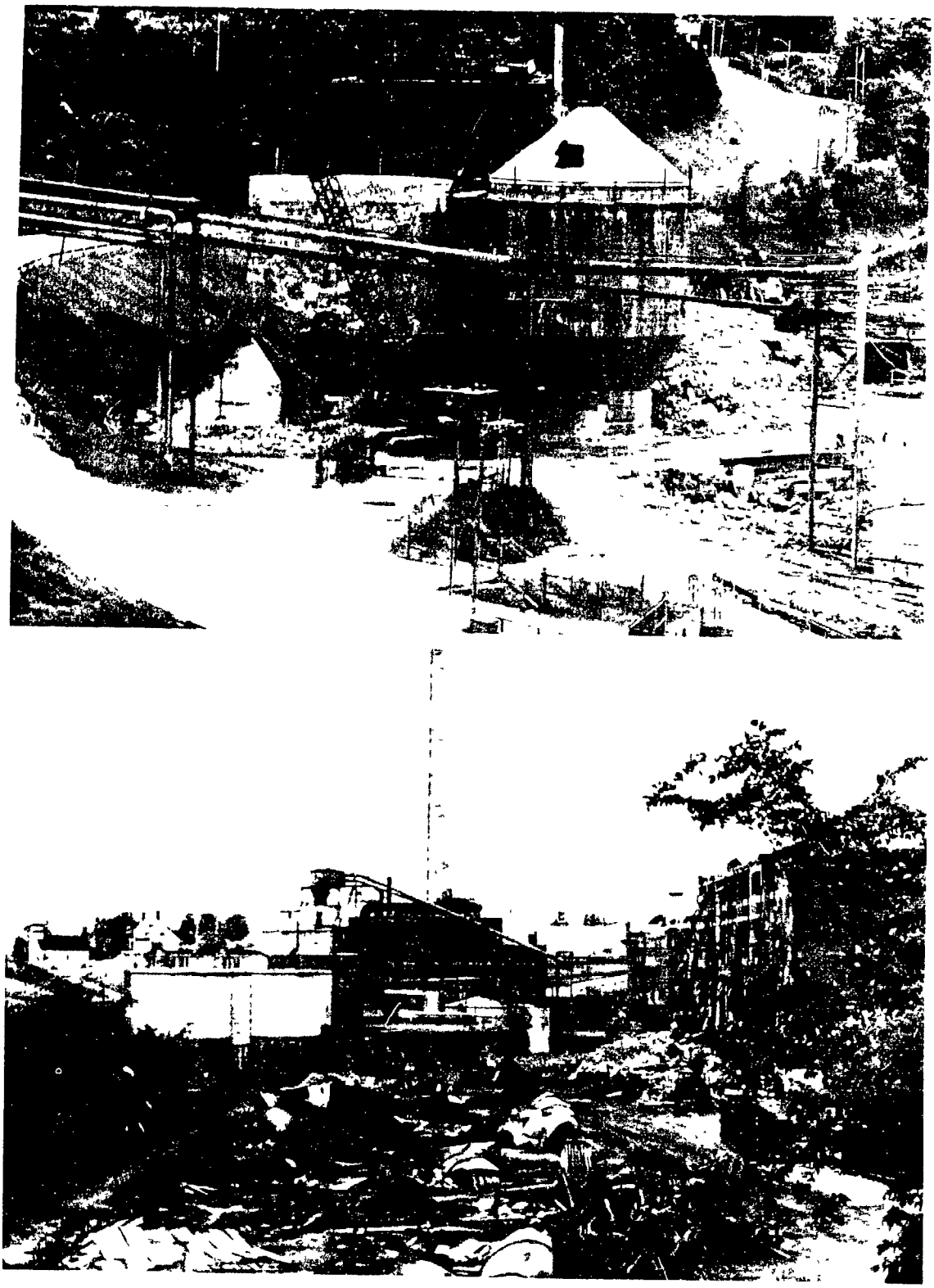
[1] Photos copyright Damaris Rose, 1989. Used by permission.



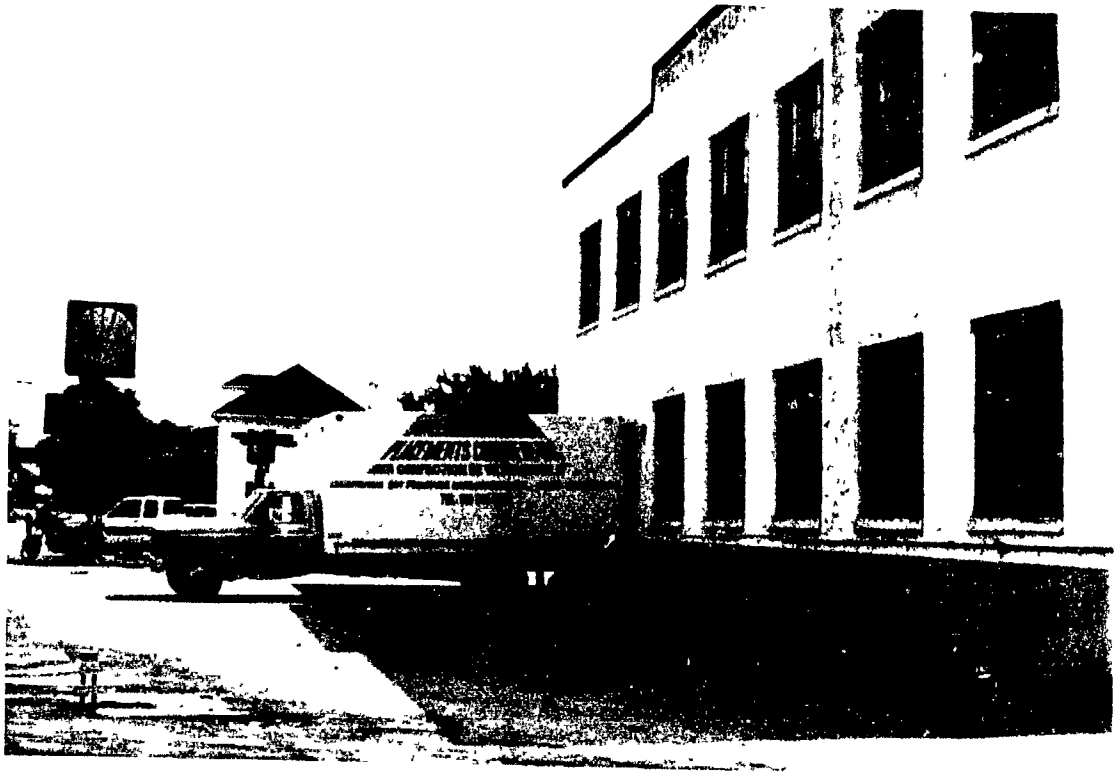
2. Two views of Windsor (background) and the two main buildings of the old mill site from across the St. François river. Demolition has begun on the older of the two structures.



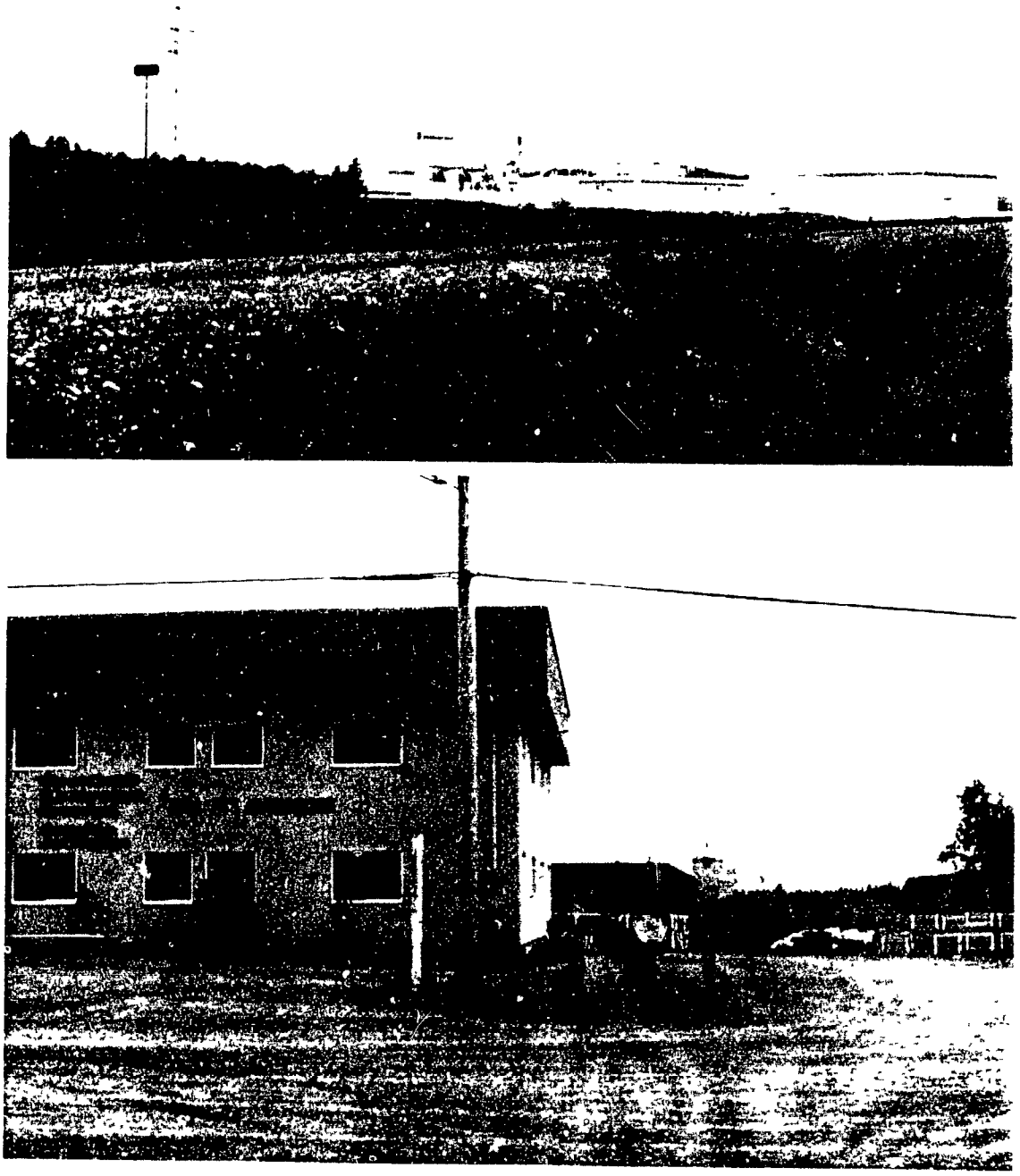
3. This view of the old mill site was from a high point on the top of the Domtar-owned golf course - note the red golf flag at the bottom of the frame. From this side, the demolished side of the red brick mill is not visible, although the relative cleanliness of the river indicates production has been stopped



4. Demolition of the pulp vats (above) the railyard (below), with the lines removed, is being used to store scrapped machinery and tanks. In the bottom picture, note the two churches of the community: white clapboard Anglican on the left, and the ornately steepled Roman Catholic church on the horizon.



5. Two of the tradional employers in Windsor. Above, Placements Corriveau, a small (10 full-time employees, an unknown number of homeworkers) garment maker. Below, the near-empty parking lot of the seasonally operated Atlantic Paper bag-making plant At full capacity, some 150 employees worked here, currently, 40 employees work about six months a year.



6. Windsor's future? Above, the new pulp and paper mill in operation, below, the near-empty "entrepreneurial incubator". Three were using a portion of the building, the unpaved parking is used as a municipal storage yard.

CHAPTER FOUR

DETERMINING CHANCES OF EMPLOYMENT LOSS IN WINDSOR: GENDER, SKILLS AND CREDENTIALS.

Introduction

Beginning with a portrait of the recent round of job losses and job creation in Windsor, and an examination of the socio-economic state of households using 1986 published census materials and special tabulations from the 1981 census, this chapter examines the differing chances of employment loss among different groups of manufacturing employees in Windsor. Then, using Wright's (1987) reformulation of the Marxist concept of social class in terms of "class location" as a basis for developing "skill/credential categories" within our sample group, the differing needs and concerns of Windsor mill workers, garment workers and many of the unemployed are brought out.

Changes in Manufacturing Employment in Windsor, 1981-1986

In order to understand the full range of consequences of the restructuring of production, we must take into account the extent to which Windsor residents depend on local jobs and the effects of employment change by gender. In 1981, 60 % of Windsor's resident male labour force, and 36% of Windsor's resident female labour force, were employed in local manufacturing (see Table 4.3). The

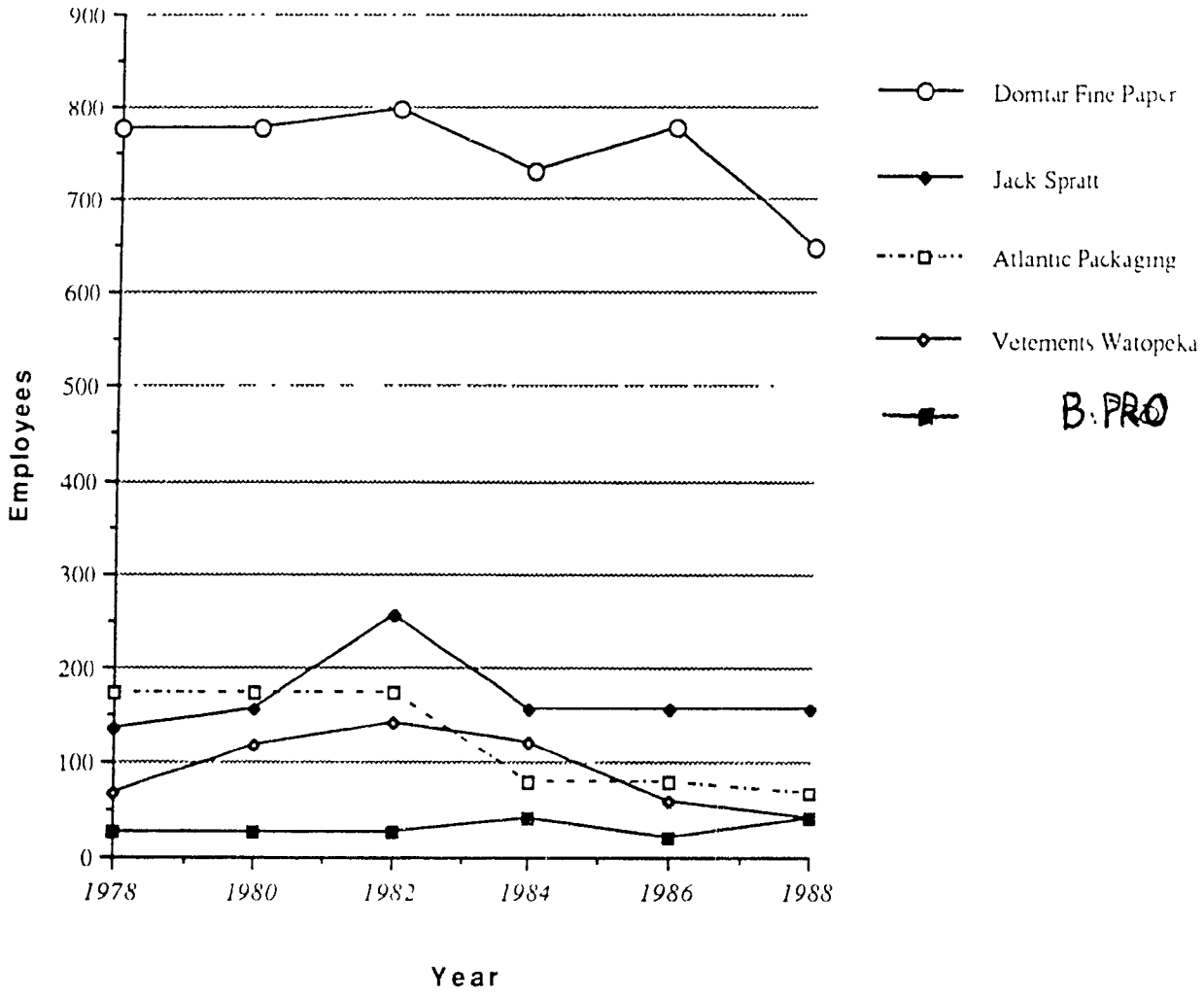
number of production jobs in manufacturing, traditionally the most secure and well-paid source of employment in the community, has been declining for about a decade (Figure 4.1). Male industrial employment hit a peak in 1981, but has been steadily dropping since then (Figure 4.3). Almost all of these job losses have been incurred at the Domtar paper mill or as a result of the partial closure of the paper-bag plant, evidence of both the dominance of the paper industry in Windsor and of the corporate restructuring of Domtar. For women working in the manufacturing sector, there is no such watershed point: instead there has been a slow decline in numbers spread over a number of years (Figure 4.2). There are certain exceptions to these trends: Figure 4.2 shows unusually high employment levels at the Jack Spratt Jeans garment factory due to a strike at the company's plants in Sherbrooke and Montréal, causing a large number of contracts to be sent to Windsor, pushing up the number of garment workers employed during 1981 and 1982; Figure 4.1 shows that B-Pro, a firm fabricating steel boilers and other metal components for the pulp and paper industry, steadily increased the number of employees, from twenty to forty between 1982 and 1988.[1]

Of the five largest manufacturing employers, shown in Figure 4.1, it can be seen that Domtar dominated local manufacturing employment by a wide margin. The next largest (in 1988), Jack Spratt Jeans, hired barely one-fourth the number of employees that Domtar did. The pulp and paper and garment industries are the overwhelmingly dominant sectors of industrial employment in Windsor, thus

[1] Apparently, B Pro has reoriented production away from the pulp and paper industry and now focuses on the production of propane and other, less specialized, steel tanks (personal communication, October 1989, Marcel Tremblay)

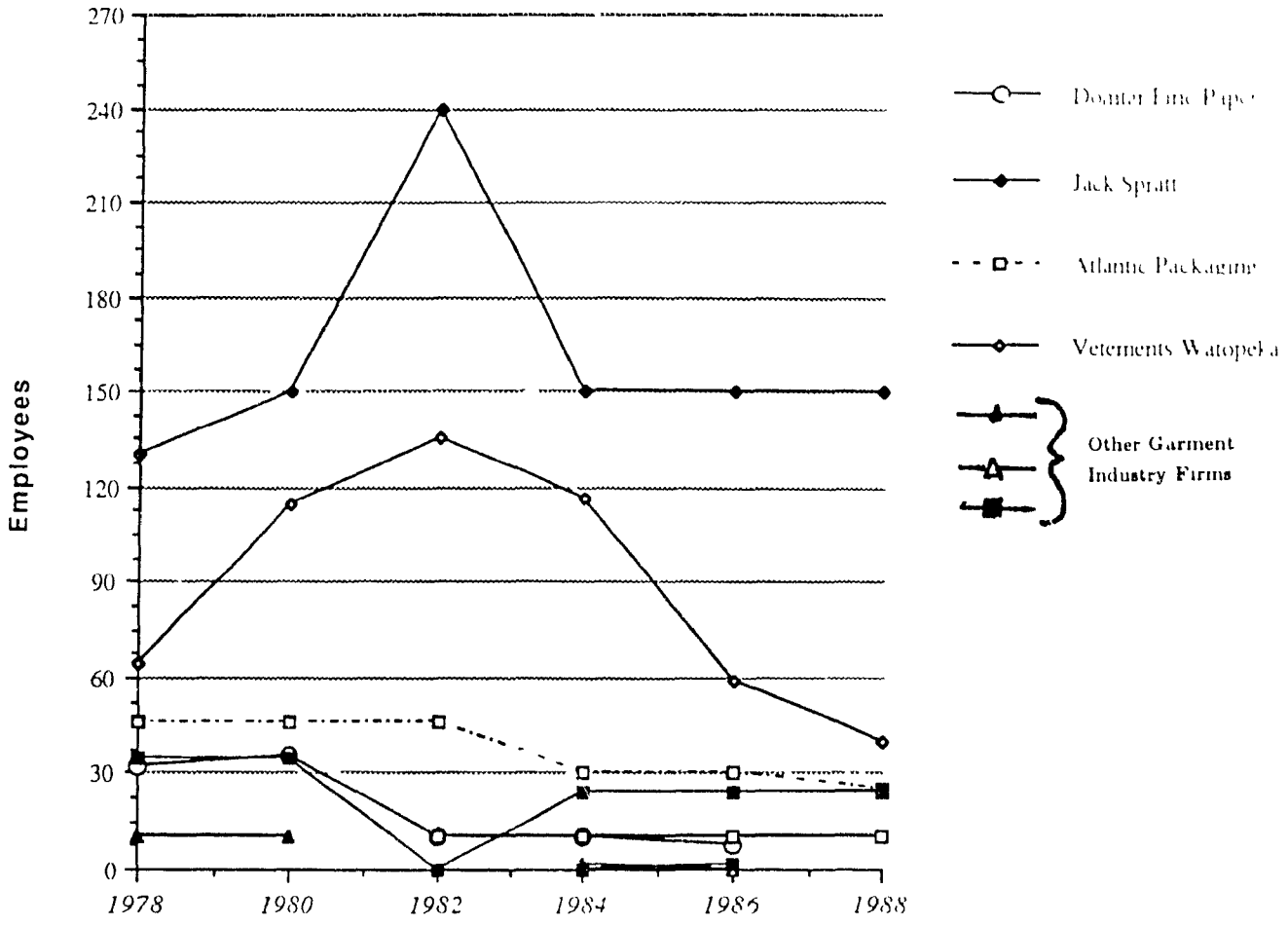
ensuring that declining employment at the mill and in the factories affect the community severely, given that these two industries accounted for 60% of all employment available in Windsor and 48% in 1986. However, the impact of declining employment does not affect members of the community equally, owing to both the gender-typed segregation of employment and to the high degree of job specialization associated with the detailed division of mill labour (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). Many of the skills men develop are useless beyond the plant walls (for example, beaterman, first and second machine hand: all refer to highly specialized positions associated with working with paper-making machinery), on the other hand, for female garment workers, the triple hurdles of a declining industry, the patriarchal discounting of their work, and the lack of training for white-collar jobs makes it difficult for these women not only to find alternative employment, but also to justify commuting to another town (e.g., Sherbrooke) where employment is available (See Bradbury 1988, 178-179).

Figure 4.1 Employment Among the Five Largest Companies in Windsor, 1978-88



Source Scott's Directory of Quebec Manufacturing, 1978-88, Corporation de Développement du Val St François

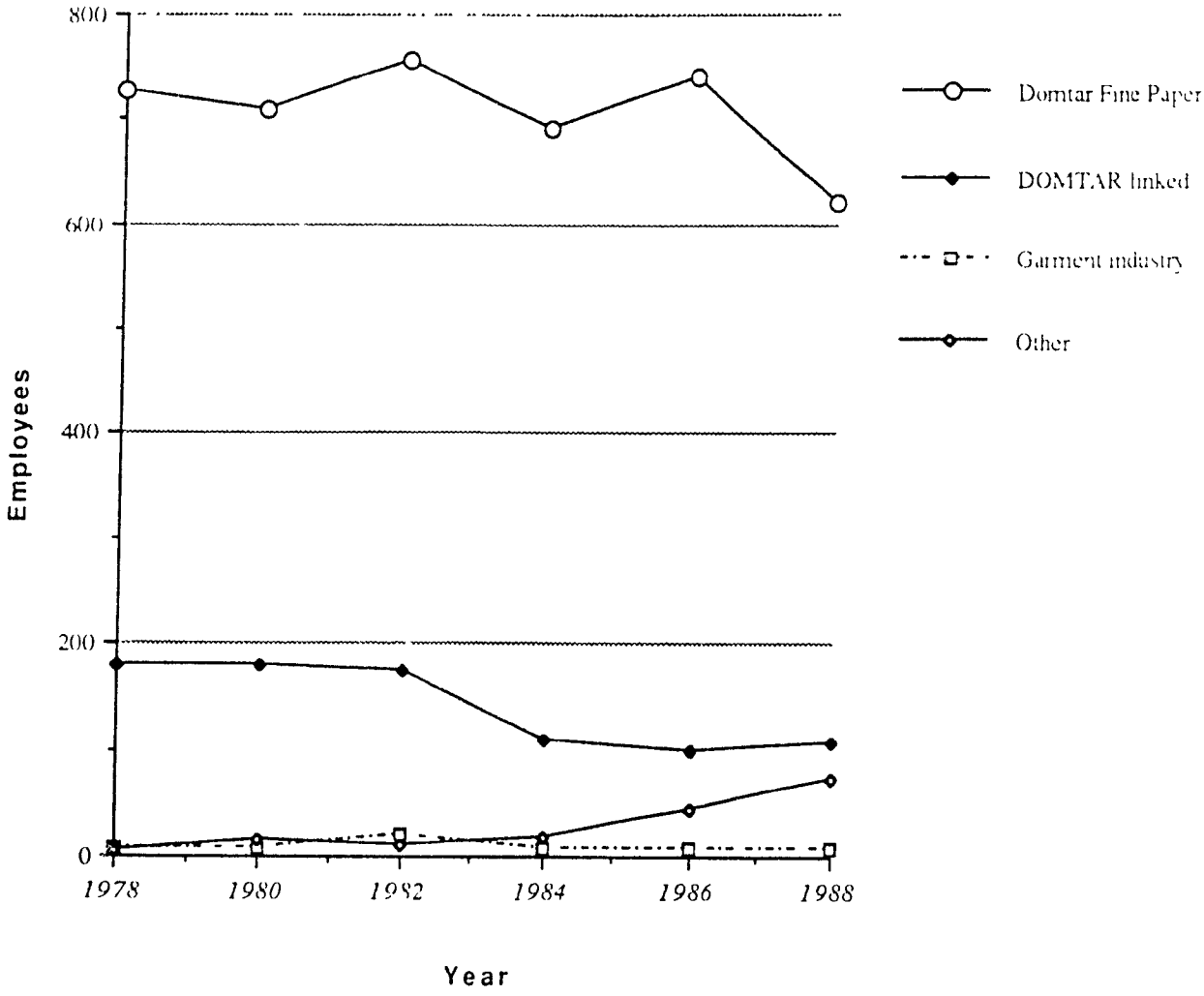
Figure 4.2 Female Production Employees, Windsor, 1978-1988



Note Closure of "OTHER GARMENT INDUSTRY" firms is indicated by lines ending abruptly

Source Scott's Directory of Quebec Manufacturing, 1978-88, Corporation de Développement du Val St François

Figure 4.3 Male Production Employees, Windsor, 1978-1988



Source Scott's Directory of Quebec Manufacturing, 1978-88, Corporation de Developpement du Val St François

In the primary, manufacturing and construction industries (the production sector), the decline has been substantial and permanent. Only the construction industry has seen an increase in numbers, arguably a temporary gain in light of the construction of the new mill. In addition, given the small numbers involved, the increased number of construction jobs does little to alleviate the consequences of the restructuring of production at Domtar.

Between 1981 and 1986, there was a net loss of 260 jobs. While 40 jobs were gained in the construction industry, and primary industries experienced no change, 350 jobs were lost in manufacturing. In the remaining divisions, there was a gain of 50 jobs. In other words, job losses among the five largest local employers noted above has not been compensated by gains in other sectors. Changes in patterns of sectoral employment between 1981 and 1986 can be noted in Table 4.1: financial and other exchange sector employment has increased marginally in the community, for example. This sector has absorbed some women seeking local employment, but it has been pointed out that the automation of financial transactions eventually eliminates many jobs traditionally held by women in this sector (Armstrong 1984, 148). Overall, it can be seen that growth in employment is confined to the financial and consumption sectors (with one exception, discussed below) and this growth is at best minimal in terms of absolute numbers.

Table 4.1: Employment in Windsor by Industry Division

Sector	1981	1986	Percent Change	SIC CODE
Production				
Primary	20	20	0%	A-D
Manufacturing	1280	930	-38%	E
Construction	70	110	36%	F
Distribution				
Transport, Communication, Utilities	45	50	10%	G,H
Trade	240	250	4%	I,J
Exchange				
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	20	60	67%	K,L
Consumption				
Community, Education, Other Services	365	370	1%	M,O,P-R
Regulation				
Public Administration	120	110	-9%	N
Total	**2160**	**1900**	**-14%**	

Sources Census of Canada 1981, 1986, sectoral divisions according to Villeneuve and Rose (1986) Figures are approximate, based on 20% sample data (not available by sex)

Table 4.2 Skill Levels, by Sample Group and Gender

	Domtar		Garment		Unemployed		
Skill Level	F	M	F	M	F	M	TOTAL
No response	0	5	4	0	3	3	**15**
Unskilled	0	12	19	0	11	11	**53**
Semi-skilled	0	2	1	0	1	1	**5**
Skilled	0	8	0	0	0	4	**12**
							85

Source: Windsor Household Interviews, May-June 1987.

Table 4.3: Occupations and Job Loss, By Sex

Manufacturing Occupations (Males)	**1981**	**1986**	**% Change**
Skilled (SOC group 87) Construction trades	105	95	---
Semi-skilled (SOC group 83,85, Machining, fabricating, etc...	330	250	-24%
Unskilled workers (SOC group 81,82) Processing occupations	310	275	-13%
Total - Manufacturing	815	685	-19%
% of Local Male Employment	60%	58%	
Manufacturing Occupations (Females)			
Skilled (SOC group 87) Construction trade	0	15	---
Semi-skilled workers (SOC group 83) Processing occupations	55	25	-120%
Unskilled (SOC group 81,82,85)* Machining, fabricating, etc...	235	155	-52%
Total - Manufacturing	290	195	-32%
% of Local Female employment	36%	29%	

*See text, below, for differing classifications of unskilled labour between men and women.
Source: Statistics Canada Census, Selected Characteristics for Census Divisions and Subdivisions, 1981, 1986. 20% Sample.

Employment Loss: An Analysis Using Wright's Skill/Credential Framework

From Figures 4.1 through 4.3, a preliminary pattern emerged: job openings in manufacturing were declining quickly and not being replaced with the emergence of other firms, and Table 4.1 shows that other sectors of the local economy were not expanding employment, either. Yet data drawn from these sets do not distinguish between skill and/or occupational labour credentials: to determine how gender, skill levels and the occupations of individuals affect the chances of employment loss, a more intensive investigation was found to be necessary. To interpret the reactions to actual or possible job loss and to assume unvarying material circumstances among manufacturing workers as a uniform body would ensure that we lose the significance of Domtar's role in determining social relations within the community. Such wholesale categorization would obscure large differences in security of employment, wage rates and especially the status of occupations that are clearly important in Windsor. Regrouping workers employed in the production sector into qualitatively significant categories created on the basis of their job descriptions provides us with a means of clarifying how class differences and social relations in Windsor affect household adaptations to restructuring. One such method of categorizing occupations has been developed by Wright (1987). Wright's general framework of skills and credentials, used to establish exploitative relations, allows us to differentiate fractions within what could otherwise be interpreted as a monolithic group of manufacturing workers (Wright 1987, 88).

According to Wright (1987, 127), "credentials need not constitute real qualifications for a job; they simply need to restrict the supply of a particular kind of labour power". Such credentialization has played an important part in establishing the current state of relations between and within classes in Windsor. For example, the interests of Domtar workers may not always coincide with those of other working men and women. Historically, the 1942 strike for union recognition and the credentialization of all mill workers (initially all males) was instrumental in reinforcing the occupational segregation of employment in the community (Vanasse 1986, 120-122). While this skill and credential-based restriction of mill employment was beneficial to a significant fraction of men of the community, such action did not directly benefit the women of the community. Within the context of social relations in a patriarchal society acting in combination with a capitalist labour process that resulted in women entering the local workforce as "...inferior bearers of labour" (Redclift 1988, 438), women were shunted towards employment in the garment industry because of a presumed short employment career, the self-fulfilling prophecy of dependence on a male wage-earner and the supposed "natural" affinity of women for the tasks required of garment makers. Thus, through actions designed to improve working conditions of a male class fraction of the community, a restrictive social structure was reinforced in Windsor.

Hence, the local gender-typed division of employment, still found in Windsor today, is seen to be inextricably intertwined with a class fraction-linked

division of employment.[2] The differences and similarities between the household-level experiences, actions and material conditions - the household moment, if you will - of Domtar workers, garment workers and the unemployed are more clearly understandable if we recognize that the household moment is not simply a reaction to restructuring, but the outcome of both restructuring and the interwoven nature of the relations of gender, production and reproduction. The three skill/credential categories reflect to some degree the social relations and the material conditions which form and are formed by the fabric of relations that compose life in Windsor (including responses to restructuring).

I wish to establish an initial contiguity between the three samples of manufacturing workers and the three skill/credential categories, in order to refer to it extensively in Chapter Five. Individuals employed in manufacturing in Windsor can be placed into three categories (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled), according to the skills and credentials ascribed to occupations. These categories have been created according to occupational and task descriptions offered in our questionnaire (see Table 4.2). In the population we surveyed, "unskilled" workers form the largest segment with 63% (53 respondents). We included those describing themselves as assemblers, shippers, cleaners and others in processing occupations, all with tasks of clearly limited and repetitious scope. This group also included garment workers, in spite of the sewing skills required, because of the

[2] This is the first instance in this thesis where the dynamic interrelationship between wider-ranging social and economic processes (i.e., the increasing strength of the Québec labour movement during the 1940s) and local social relations (i.e., the durable and well-defined gender-typed segregation of labour) is delineated, and it is a relationship that will be highlighted with increasing frequency for the rest of this work

low rates of pay and lack of "credentials" (indicated by, among other characteristics, the ease of entry to this occupation, low security of employment and other aspects of gender-linked exploitation (Wright 1987, 126-128)). "Semi-skilled" employment comprises 5% of the 1987 sample population. Occupations typical of this group include truck drivers, construction and public works employees, and most product fabricating and assembling occupations, with the exception of garment workers. Finally, 14% of the sample households had a member in the category of "skilled workers". Most of this group were accredited by a union, a trade organization or apprenticeship system: plumbers, fitters, electricians, and the specialized paper workers. Wright terms these wage labourers "expert non-managers" and notes that this "class fraction" may find themselves at odds with others of nominally the same class (Wright 1987, 76, 88).

This division of the sample and the classifications of employment used by the census do not concord exactly, but it remains important to examine changes in manufacturing employment between 1981 and 1986 to establish the impact of restructuring on the households in our sample. In order to allow such comparisons, it was necessary to recategorize garment workers. In the census they are part of the "machining, product fabricating, assembling and repairing occupations". In the case of Windsor, this category becomes a manufacturing catchall, as it excludes only technicians and processing employment Currently, women in manufacturing invariably are employed at the Atlantic Paper Company or for the garment manufacturers, in both cases in "unskilled" positions. But

since the census does break down occupations by sex, it then becomes possible to assign women in the "machining, product fabricating, etc...." classification to our grouping "Unskilled workers", bringing census and sample data into rough concordance Pulp and paper mill employment does not lend itself to this manipulation: there is no manner of separating skilled paperworkers from others. Most fall into the "machining, etc...." category, a few into the processing occupations group. Nevertheless, the variations in employment levels are worth examining in order to, firstly, confirm that there has been a significant loss of employment in manufacturing in Windsor between 1981 and 1986, second, to show the uneven distribution of those losses between the rough groupings of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

There is stability of employment in the skilled trades. Many of these skilled workers perform maintenance and repairs at the Domtar mills, and their positions are apparently secure at the new mill. The greatest decline is among semi-skilled workers, as new technologies make certain positions redundant at the paper mill. Such losses arise from the automation or the reorganization of the handling and preparation of pulp logs and of finished or partially finished products (Interviews, P.P. Gingras, training director, Domtar-Windsor). Among those employed within industries servicing the mill, truck drivers, especially those handling the semi-articulated vehicles that transport the bulk of the pulpwood to the mill, seem to have found a safe niche (Scott's Directory of Quebec Manufacturers, various years; Statistics Canada 1981, 1986). The lack of women in the category of

"skilled workers" is not accidental: the long-standing demarcation of "men's work" and "women's work", with paper mill employment being a male enclave while garment industry employment (except for the "skilled" cloth-cutter's work) being reserved for women, is strongly evident once again. This demarcation is reinforced by the particular hiring practices of each industry, which is in part the subject matter of Chapter Five.

Summary

This review of localized conditions of employment demonstrates that job losses, concentrated in the manufacturing sector, have not been compensated for by corresponding increases in other sectors. Furthermore, these losses have had the greatest impact among unskilled and semiskilled workers. Owing to th. particular ways patriarchal and capitalist relations in the local geographical context of Windsor intersect, women had been affected to a much greater extent than men at the time of our survey was conducted (1987). In addition, in this chapter we have focussed on aggregate changes in local employment of men and women. But the social impacts of these changes can only be understood by focussing on how they affect Windsor households in terms of employment of households members, living standards and the strategies adopted to cope with industrial change.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIFFERING CONSEQUENCES OF RESTRUCTURING AMONG HOUSEHOLDS:

EMPLOYMENT, GENDER AND SKILL

Introduction

In Chapter Five, we examine the socio-economic state of three groups of Windsor households, surveyed in May and June of 1987, in order to determine how the immediate effects of restructuring are articulated in the household and examine how differing household compositions may adapt, change and possibly develop short-term forms of compensation for lost income. We shall examine some of the longer term effects that the gradual decline of manufacturing has had among households in Windsor.

Methodology

It has been argued that contingently-structured historical factors have culminated in a patriarchal and paternalistic dependence on a pulp mill, reinforced by the capitalist orientation of the state, resulting in a severely limited range and effectiveness of communal coping strategies in Windsor. We now turn to the analysis of household responses to restructuring, providing a backdrop for a subsequent in-depth examination of coping strategies among specific households in our three sample groups of the workforce: DOMTAR workers, garment industry

workers and the unemployed. These three groups, which comprise the majority of people living and working in Windsor most likely to be affected by local restructuring, albeit for different yet interconnected reasons. Case studies of households from different sample groups are presented here, and while these instances are not intended to be representative of the community as a whole, they do provide a valuable insight into the circumstances that lead to social differentiation and economic polarization as families and individuals confront the impacts of industrial change that are reshaping many aspects of daily life in Windsor.

Descriptive statistical measures of the economic state of households from our questionnaires and the more extensive aggregate figures from Statistics Canada census materials were used to determine if, and how, households in Windsor were affected by reorganization of production at Domtar. The survey questionnaire dropped off in Windsor households sought to elicit conciously-developed coping strategies - the end results of conscious decision-making guided and limited by learned experiences, ideology, class and gender relations. Largely inspired by Pahl (1984), we assumed coping strategies would affect the ways in which households use time and money, alter the location and frequency of daily and occasional activities, and cause modifications in the domestic division of labour.

In line with other findings, one of the central coping strategies we assumed we would find was that of additional members of the household entering or reentering the paid workforce as a result of job loss or increasing instability of

employment of the main "breadwinner" (Armstrong 1984; Philips and Philips 1983; Moore 1989). Furthermore, we chose not to treat the household as a "black box", an unproblematic unit: we sought to find which household members were likely to make the adjustments necessary to the success of coping strategies. Another initial assumption we made was that households with Domtar employees would develop a distinct set of deliberate coping strategies, because job losses had been announced by the company, because of the militant actions of workers to prevent full closure in 1985, and because of the mill workers' history of activism.

At the time of the survey (May and June 1987), not many workers had yet been laid off by Domtar. The first significant reduction of the workforce was due to take place at the end of August 1987 (it occurred as scheduled) with the layoff of 120 workers. This group of workers was fully cognizant of the impending job losses, having been hired on two-year contracts. Hence, although significant job losses resulting from restructuring had not yet occurred in May 1987, the responses to the questionnaire showed that, nonetheless, numerous households had plans or activities preparing them for potential job loss or a local economic decline. These preparations ranged from partly-formed plans to leave the community and the deliberate avoidance of debt, to the other extreme, where some households deliberately bought a house while their incomes still allowed such an action. Between these two extremes lay such actions as renovating a room or finishing a basement rather than buying a new or larger house, or delaying a major purchase (often a new car).

In order to uncover the nature and extent of these coping strategies and the various details of the material circumstances of workers and their families in Windsor, a self-administered questionnaire was developed (see Appendix).[1] Most questions were structured such that the respondents had the option of selecting one or more answer choices or providing their own detailed, open-ended responses. In some cases, respondents chose both options. Picking up a questionnaire left earlier in the week sometimes provided an opening for fruitful conversations: these conversations often dealt with matters tangential to the questionnaire, providing us with additional knowledge of local impacts of restructuring.

A total of 90 respondents was sought. This sample of 90 persons was stratified in the following manner: 30 Domtar mill workers, 30 garment workers and 30 persons unemployed at the time that our research team contacted them. This last group of persons had to be seeking suitable paid employment in order to be eligible for the survey. The first group, the mill workers, were contacted either through a list of names provided by the union local executive (17 households) or by passing from door to door throughout the community (13 households). The other 60 respondents (garment-workers and unemployed persons) were also contacted by passing from door to door in Windsor Mills. In the case of garment-industry workers, passing from door to door was necessary in part because these

[1] The questionnaire was developed collectively by J.F. Marchand, S. Martin, M. Tessier and myself under the supervision of J H Bradbury and D Rose. The questionnaire was developed and written in French, with an English version held in reserve In Windsor, all respondents spoke French both in the home and at the workplace, and all used the French version of the questionnaire A small number (5 of 86 households, or 6%) spoke both English and French either at home or in the workplace.

workers were not unionized, nor did any employment association exist.[2] In all cases involving door-to-door contact, we selected a street not previously covered and knocked on every door. Whenever we contacted a person, whether or not we obtained a survey-interview, we asked the individual for the name of someone who "...might be interested in speaking with us", and permission to use their name as an introduction. This approach sped up acceptance and seemingly increased households' willingness to answer our questionnaire. This phase of field work took place between May 19, 1987 and June 21, 1987, with myself and two others engaged in the community full-time.[3]

The questionnaire was subdivided into seven sections: the first section was destined for the "primary respondent" (i.e., a garment worker, a Domtar employee or an unemployed person), while the next five were addressed to particular subgroups among them who might have developed different strategies, and the last two sections were to be answered by the spouses of primary respondents, preferably without the potentially biasing presence of the primary respondent. It was not always possible to meet this last condition, but on the whole household members understood and respected our request.

The aim of the first section's questions was to establish the age, sex and civil status of the respondent, as well as housing tenure, migration and employment

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[2] It was initially very difficult to establish any contact at all with garment workers at Jack Spratt Jeans, with our requests for interviews or informal conversation brusquely refused. After a couple of weeks we were told that it was initially believed that we were union organizers, and the brusqueness was the result of intimations on the part of company officers that speaking to us would lead to immediate dismissal. With the confusion cleared up, we found ourselves welcomed into many homes for interviews.

[3] I personally contacted and interviewed just over a third of Windsor respondents, and carried out formal interviews with officers of DOMTAR, of the Corporation de Developement du Val St. Francois, the Centre des Femmes du Val St. Francois and I. Beaudet, president and co-founder of the FPIW.

history, sources of secondary income and consumption patterns. The second and third sections were similar but were oriented, respectively, to employed and unemployed persons. These persons, the primary respondents, were asked to answer questions on current or previous (if unemployed) working conditions and recent changes to those conditions brought about by alterations to the process of production. There was a series of questions on length and type of employment, on on-the-job training, the place of work and travel-to-work patterns. In addition, in the third section, unemployed persons were asked about budgetary and activity modifications made as a result of reduced income; other sources of monetary and non-monetary income developed; job searches and the type and location of employment sought, as well as constraints reducing the scope of potential employment.

The fourth section sought to determine the possibility of specific coping strategies having been developed previously to meet other permanent lay-offs and plant closures encountered by respondents. It was felt that this previous experience might result in household activities not found among more fortunate households. For example, a household might set aside savings to offset lost income, or call on family or friends for odd jobs. This section also asked questions about the role of the firm in preparing workers for layoffs and closures. The fifth section was quite similar in intent, but dealt with strikes instead of layoffs. Again, it was felt that different coping strategies might arise, with the difference that losses of income would be more or less voluntary in these instances, since no aid

from the corporation or the state could be expected during a strike. A description of working conditions before and after the strike was also asked for. The final two sections, six and seven, were addressed to the spouses of primary respondents. These sections were designed to meet the possibility of gender-biased answers about the importance of women's and men's incomes, domestic labour, and of changes in household budgets and activities. More importantly, we sought to determine whether the gender division of employment in Windsor led women to use strategies different from the men of the community in the search for employment and other sources of stable household income.

The responses to the questionnaires were formatted for computerized statistical analysis with SAS-PC. The analytic techniques used for the transformation of the data from Windsor are descriptive statistical treatments, such as averages, total number of responses and cross-tabulations of characteristics (e.g.. male mill workers over the age of 50 with two sources of income) and Chi-square tests on statistically sturdy aspects of the questionnaire. More sophisticated statistical treatments were not used because the small size and non-random nature of our sample. Furthermore, our aim was to investigate the major causal factors and the processes at work that led to a range of household responses to industrial restructuring occurring in Windsor. Intensive exploration of the range of different situations in which Windsor households found themselves and why, rather than the exposition of general statistical patterns, was the aim of the questionnaire and the aim of this thesis.

Analytically, gender, employment and skill and job classifications are used throughout this chapter to establish the initial socio-economic conditions with which households operated to meet the opportunities and difficulties of a changing local economy. The differences in employment conditions, even within a particular company (e.g.; permanent versus temporary workers at Domtar), and the overall material circumstances of households offered an overview of the potential for success of household coping strategies. It was assumed that a household in precarious economic circumstances would have different patterns of consumption and income-generating activities than a household in more stable circumstances. Similarly, a household facing the suddenly destabilizing impact of local restructuring might adopt different patterns of consumption and income-generating activities. The composition of the household, the number of wage-earners, the types of skills present, and other socio-economic characteristics, were also investigated, for these characteristics provided valuable insights into the nature of the many "exceptions" to the rule-of-thumb polarization process that is outlined above.

Of the 90 households we successfully approached, 86 provided us with usable, completed or mostly completed questionnaires. This left us with a total of 27 households where our primary respondent was a Domtar worker, 25 households where the respondent was unemployed and 24 where the primary respondent worked in the local garment industry. The remaining 10 overlapped,

falling into two of the three categories. All 86 respondents were between the ages of 15 and 64, 46 were male and 39 were female.

The following section offers an interpretation of several factors which we expected would influence household coping strategies among our three sample groups. These factors are linked to the development of skills present in the household, income. household size and a varied number of socio-economic characteristics. The term "socio-economic characteristics" is deliberately vague, because of the wide range of aspects of daily life in Windsor that enter into the development of a given household's character and social formation. However, there are two common threads that underlie all these varied socio-economic characteristics: first, the historical legacy of a century of dependence and, second, the differentiation of the manufacturing working class according to acknowledged skill and the credentialization of paper-mill workers. These two threads are common to all of the community, the first through the mill's dominance of economic activity and its reinforcement of patriarchal and paternalistic values, the second as the primary differentiator of the "haves" and the "have-nots" within the community. Finally, these threads are both materialist and contingent, for current local social and economic structures of Windsor are the combined result of over a century of households "getting by" and local industry and commerce, interacting with their wider-spread counterparts in the form of Quebec society and the national and international economy.

From this point of view, four household characteristics brought out in the questionnaire are of particular empirical value, as each reflects household adaptations in a different manner. A preliminary review of questionnaire data suggested that the socio-economic situation of the sample groups were related to these characteristics. First, education: generally, the level and nature of formal education attained affect future income and influence expectations, through the development of particular skills and general knowledge. Less directly, higher educational levels may allow the individual to develop more successful coping strategies to ameliorate the effects of local restructuring. Furthermore, educational attainment is increasingly important in determining who is employed in Windsor's shrinking labour market.

Second, household income levels: not surprisingly, this characteristic provides an important indicator of the material circumstances that households can maintain. They may also indicate whether coping strategies are likely to be found within a household, depending on the employer and employment conditions of household members. Closely related to household income levels is the third characteristic, alternative sources of income. Here, the skills that household members can bring into play gain increased importance.

The fourth characteristic, the domestic cycle, treats the household as a whole. The domestic cycle is Pahl's model (and is, as he states, an idealized model, subject to exceptions and counter-intuitive evidence) of the changing composition of a household over time, starting with a young couple, enlarging with

the birth of children, their growth and eventual departure and finishing with the couple alone again (Pahl 1984, 131-134). The nature and the amount of labour available in a household is closely related to its stage in the domestic cycle of a household. Accounting for differences in the labour available in a given household, as well as its nature, is important for this thesis because it can help explain otherwise unaccountable difficulties, and successes, in household coping strategies.

Formal Education

Examining education levels of respondents encapsulates many aspects of the problem involved in differentiating between the effects of gender relations and class relations. Just over half (47) of the respondents had not obtained a high school diploma as Table 5.1 demonstrates.

Table 5.1: Education

Schooling Completed	Male		Female		Windsor	
Less than High School	33%	15	59%	23	30%	1055
High School (no diploma)	7%	3	15%	6	28%	810
High School (general)	15%	7	8%	3	22%	765
High School (technical)	22%	10	8%	3	6%	215
Post Secondary Technical	17%	8	8%	3	14%	490
College and University	7%	3	0%	0	6%	220
TOTALS		46		38		3555

Sources: Windsor Household Survey 1987; Census of Canada 1986, Selected Characteristics for Census Divisions and Subdivisions (20% sample, not available by gender.

In our sample, statistically, obtaining a high school diploma played almost no role in determining who was employed and who was unemployed.[4] Lower levels of formal education did not necessarily bar persons from skilled employment in the past: it is only at the new mill that a completed secondary school diploma has become a minimal requirement for employment; However, there was a strong polarization by gender when it comes to educational attainment, with far more men than women receiving high school diplomas and other forms of higher education.[5] Careful interpretation of this particular aspect of polarization was needed: it is in part due to the garment industry's minimal requirements for employment, further highlighted by the selective nature of our sample households. Our sample contains workers from the garment industry which hires only women and does not have any educational prerequisites to entry and, on the other hand, our survey samples from the pulp and paper industry, with its steadily rising educational requirements. Nonetheless, this gender-related difference in educational levels was not merely a statistical artifact but is a contingent aspect of Windsor's social formation arising from the structure of employment in Windsor.

Examining educational levels cross-tabulated by skill level (Table 5.2) gives us a portrait of the same polarization within the community from a slightly different angle. The trend in the Windsor sample was clear - a lower level of education is related to a lower skill level of employment. Although this outcome

[4] Two-Sample Chi Square with 1 degree of freedom, critical value = 3.84 at a significance level of 95%, calculated value = .415.

[5] Chi Square with 3 degrees of freedom, critical value = 7.82 at a significance level of 955, calculated value = 14.04.

is self-evident, it does not stem from a singular cause: patriarchal gender relations, economic dominance by a mill employing males almost exclusively, and the relative isolation of small manufacturing towns have all contributed to the differentiation of educational levels in Windsor. Table 5.2 shows how the skill level of individuals was distributed among the three sample groups (bear in mind the rigid division of manufacturing employment by gender discussed earlier).

Table 5.2: Education Cross-tabulated by Skill Level

	Unskilled	Semi-skilled	Skilled	TOTAL
No High School	27	1	2	30
High School (no diploma)	8	1	0	9
High School (diploma)	9	0	0	9
High School (technical specialization)	4	3	5	12
Post Secondary Technical Training	2	0	5	7
College and University	2	0	0	2
TOTAL	53	5	12	75

Until fairly recently, stable manufacturing employment in Windsor has not required the completion of formal education, but it was also stated that a diploma of collegial studies will become a prerequisite for mill employment within a few years (Interview, May 1987, P.-P. Gingras, training director, Domtar) Given the proposed change in educational requirements for employment mentioned by Mr. Gingras, it is interesting to examine the perceived importance of education in our sample. The increasing importance of education was intuitively recognized by the population: we asked people to qualify the importance of ten factors affecting

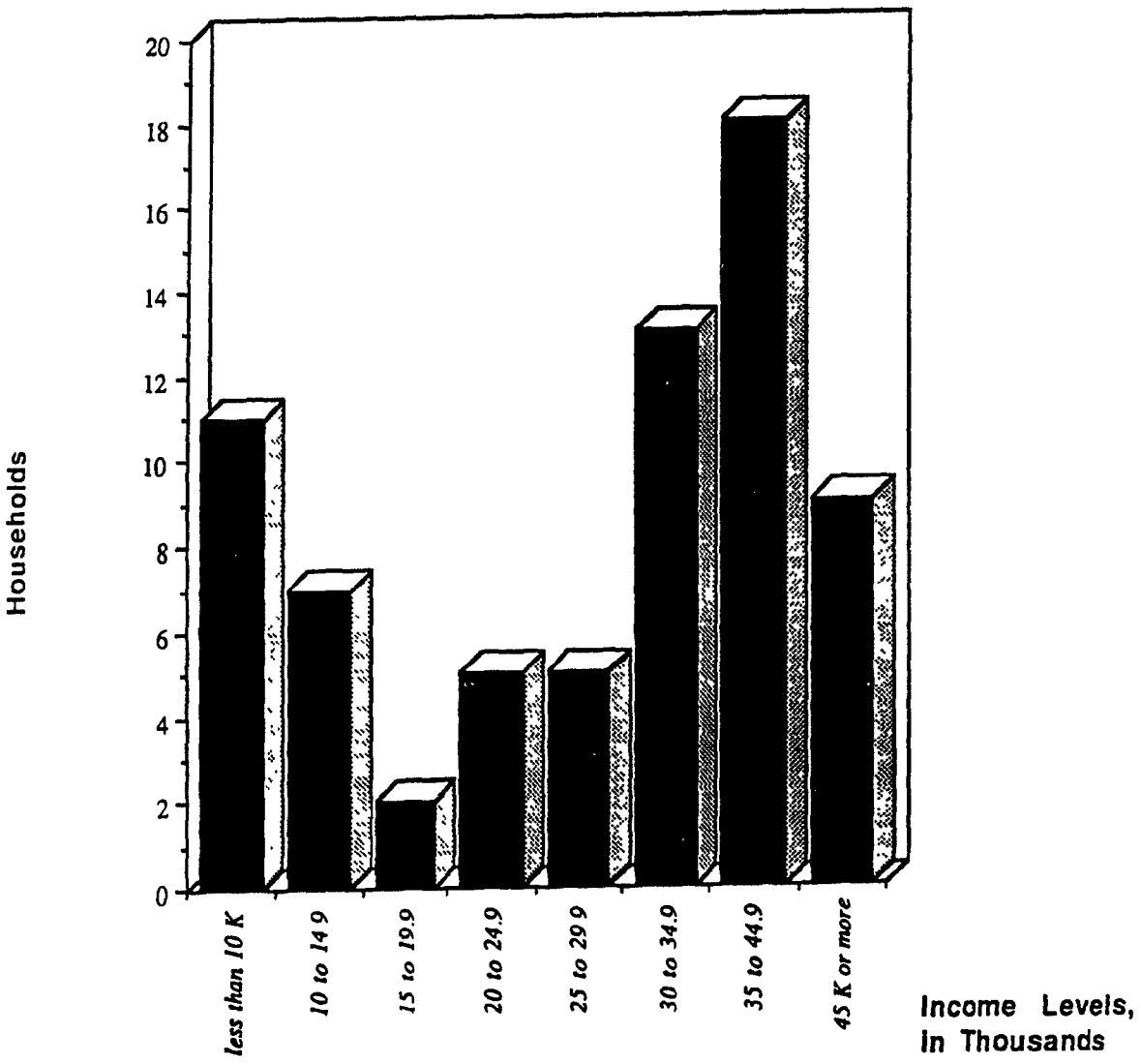
population: we asked people to qualify the importance of ten factors affecting chances of employment in Windsor (schooling, age, sex, mobility, employment history, family, the local economic situation and on the job training), and education was qualified as the most important factor by 31% (27) of respondents. By way of comparison, employment history was ranked as the most important factor by only 16% (14), followed by on-the-job training (11% or 9 persons) and gender (9% or 8). There were no significant differences in ranking between respondents of different skill levels nor between men and women.

Other studies, notably that of Picot and Wannell (1987, 95-96) noted that the likelihood of layoff was not strongly associated with education levels in their Statistics Canada special survey of the labour force on the consequences of job loss, although education levels did affect other aspects of the impact of job loss. They also found that the lower the level of education, the greater the chances of a subsequent job loss within two years of finding another job; and that the average number of weeks spent looking for employment was longer for persons with low education levels (Picot and Wannell 1987, 97-98). Furthermore, while education levels *per se* did not have any effect on salary level in new jobs, the longer the length of time spent searching for employment, the greater the chances of obtaining lower earnings upon reentry (Picot and Wannell 1987, 109).

Overall, how does education reflect aspects of past and present social relations in Windsor? The minimal degree of schooling that the majority of people in Windsor currently possess is in part the historical result of the

availability of employment not requiring a great deal of schooling, in turn maintaining their dependence on local manufacturing firms for employment. For earlier generations of workers in Windsor, a lack of education did not prevent an individual from obtaining a well-paid and stable job at the mill; corporate paternalism and a relative isolation from other manufacturing towns provided a mutual reinforcement of the path from an early exit from the school system to the mill gates. Furthermore, in spite of the stated importance of education, the locally contingent self-reinforcing effects of "...the distance of space and culture [that] sometimes blurs their vision of job opportunities elsewhere" (Bradbury 1989, 179) that have until recently minimized the immediate value of educational credentials in Windsor, especially for women. The lack of formal education continues, moreover, to be an important factor in maintaining and reinforcing the gender-linked segregation of the workforce arising from more generalized patriarchal relations, although this may change over the next decade as the importance of women's employment (especially in the service sector) increases, as traditionally male manufacturing positions become harder to obtain locally.

Figure 5.1: Distribution of Household Income Levels



Source: Windsor Household Survey 1987.

Household Income Levels

In this survey, we found a bimodal distribution of annual income levels for households as a whole (Figure 5.1). This bimodal distribution mirrors the differing income levels of households according to employer. Households with Domtar employees were found, with one exception, to earn more than $25,0000 annually, while households with an unemployed respondent earned, again with one exception, less than that amount. A Chi-Square test, involving regrouping respondents into three income levels (see Table 5.3), supports the suggestion that a polarization in household income levels exists within the sample population according to the gender of the respondent.[6] This mirrors the segregation of manufacturing employment, with women effectively excluded from work in any industry but the poorly-paying garment industry, and men occupying nearly all other domains.

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[6] Chi-Square, with 2 degrees of freedom, critical value = 5 99 at a significance level of 95%, calculated value = 6 34

Table 5.3: Distribution of Income & Low Income Cutoff Line

	Number of Household members							
	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more		
INCOME (thousands)								
LOW								
<10	3	2	4	1	1	0	11	11
10 - 14.9	0	1	2	2	2	0	0	7 18
MEDIUM								
15 - 19.9	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2
20 - 24.9	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	5 12
25 - 29.9	0	1	0	4	0	0	5 0	5
HIGH								
30 - 34.9	1	3	5	3	1	0	13 0	13
35 - 44.90	0	5	2	5	6	0	0	18 40
45 or more	0	1	3	5	0	0	9 0	9
TOTAL	4	13	18	21	13	0	70 1	

Missing = 16

*Annual household income levels: Low = less than $15,000/year; Medium = $15,000 to $30,000; High = $30,000 or more.
(The low income cutoff line is adapted from 1986 census low income cut-offs for family units residing in urban areas of less than 30,000 inhabitants.)

Source: Windsor Household Survey 1987.

Table 5.4: Skill Level by Employer and Gender

	Domtar		Garment		Unemployed		TOTAL
	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Unskilled	0	12	19	0	11	11	53
Semi-skilled	0	2	1	0	1	1	5
Skilled	0	8	0	0	0	4	12
TOTAL		20		20		28	68

Source: Windsor Household Survey 1987.

Table 5.5: Employment/Skill Levels of Respondents and Spouses

	Respondents' Employer			
	Domtar (males only)	Garment (females only)	Unemployed male	Unemployed female
Spouses' Occupations				
Managers	0	1	0	1
Professional	0	0	0	0
Supervisors	1	1	0	0
Technicians & Skilled "White Collar"	3	1	0	0
Skilled Labourers & Trades	3	4	1	0
Unskilled "White Collar" (sales & service)	6	2	0	0
Unskilled Labourers	2	7	0	1
Unemployed	7	3	5	2
Total Households	**22**	**19**	**6**	**4**

Source: Windsor Household Survey 1987.

Table 5.6: Household Income Levels, According to Respondent's Gender and the Presence of Other Wage-Earners

A) Female Respondents

	Low Income	Medium Income	High Income
With Other Wage-Earning Household Members			
Garment Workers	5	3	12
Unemployed	5	0	1
Female Respondents, Sole Wage-Earner			
Garment Workers	2	1	1
Unemployed	6	0	0
Sub-Total (A)	**18**	**4**	**14**
(n=36)	**50%**	**11%**	**39%**

B) Male Respondents

With Other Wage-Earning Household Members			
Domtar Workers	0	3	15
Unemployed	2	2	4
Male Respondents, Sole Wage-Earner			
Domtar Workers	1	2	5
Unemployed	5	2	1
Sub Total (B)	**8**	**9**	**21**
(n=38)	**21%**	**24%**	**55%**

*Annual household income levels: Low = less than $15,000/year; Medium = $15,000 to $30,000; High = $30,000 or more
Source: Windsor Household Survey 1987

Given the segregated nature of manufacturing employment, detailed in the previous chapter, it would not be surprising to find substantial differences between the wages of men and women; it was more surprising to find that income differences between male respondents and female respondents were not substantially diminished at the household level (see Table 5.6). The primary reason appears to be that the households we surveyed tended to be composed of individuals within approximately the same "class location" in terms of employment skills and credentialization, as Table 5.5 shows.

The unemployed households offer the most extreme example of this particular congruity between spouses: in seven of ten households, the unemployment of one spouse meant the unemployment of the other. Among the other two sample groups, the congruity between the respective class locations of spouses is less marked, but note that nearly half (9 of 19) the garment-industry households are composed of unskilled workers. Similarly, there is a greater tendency among the spouses of Domtar workers to occupy better-than-average positions compared to other Windsor women.

All the above tables show the continued importance of the male wage (and hence Domtar employment, it being the primary source of well-paid employment in Windsor) in determining the material circumstances and the more general socio-economic state of the household. For example, out of fourteen instances where the respondent was male and unemployed, household income fell into the

category "Low" (less than $15,000) thirteen times (see Table 5.6). The dominance of male income was equally visible in situations where the respondent was female and unemployed, and her spouse's income was nonetheless sufficient to push household income into the category "High" (greater than $30,000) in six households out of twenty-one (see Table 5.6).

Multiple-Earner Households

Multiple-earner households are definitely better off in Windsor: while the median annual income of a single-earner household was in the $15,000 to $19,000 range, the median income of a household with two or more wage-earners falls between $35,000 and $44,900. In most cases (73% or 38 of 52), having multiple earners means full-time employment for both spouses, and ten households (19%) were composed of one full-time and one part-time waged worker, with only five (8%) households with more than two wage earners. Armstrong (1984, 100-103) and Moore (1989) have noted the necessity of two incomes for many households across Canada in order to avoid poverty, and this study finds nothing different: of the 51 spouses of respondents in our sample, 34 were employed; of those not employed, only 10 were not employed by choice. Half our respondents indicated that two sources of income were essential for the household. Yet the presence of a second income-earner within the household does not greatly reduce the polarization of household incomes in Windsor, for several reasons. First, as set

out above, multiple-earner households are common across the sample groups of households. Second, the differences in employment stability and in pay scales of the principal manufacturers of Windsor, combined with the segregation of employment by gender, have brought about a polarization of incomes among the respondents. Furthermore, the relation between the skill and class locations of respondents and those of their spouses - and consequently of their incomes - serves to increase differences in income between households rather than compensating for these differences.

Gender and Employment

I have repeatedly made the point that women's employment is restricted and, as a rule, less well-paid and secure. In other words, in Windsor, local social relations of production are tailored along gender lines, with women generally working for less money and in lower status occupations. The question that remains is how does this carry over into the household? Tables 5.5 and 5.6 demonstrate how these general tendencies affect the household, in a material sense. Table 5.6 points to the substantial differences in the household incomes of solitary male and female wage-earners. In this instance, we can see how the gendered segregation of labour in Windsor is directly and intimately linked to the overall economic state of the household. Table 5.5 is more ambiguous to

interpret, but shows a tendency for households with members in the garment industry, or unemployed, to have spouses in less-skilled, less secure occupations.

Table 5.4, giving the distribution of skilled, semiskilled and unskilled workers according to employer and gender in our sample, supports the above interpretation, showing that all skilled employees are male Domtar workers. Yet Table 5.6 shows that some households achieve high income levels without the presence of a male Domtar worker, suggesting that there are other means of developing well-off material circumstances open to Windsor households. In the following section, I will proceed to examine other means of developing income in order to determine whether these provide a sufficient explanation of the above inconsistency.

Alternative Sources of Income

Home work with under-the-table payment, production in the home, barter or home retailing: none of these alternative sources of income is widespread in Windsor; furthermore, these alternative sources of income are evenly spread among Windsor households (see Table 5.7). Twenty percent (17) of households declared having another source of income; another 14 percent (12) declined to answer; but most, 64 percent or 55 respondents, had no alternative sources of income. Households with Domtar employees are best represented, but barely, with seven representatives, while households with garment industry respondents and

households with unemployed members had five households each declaring alternative sources of income. The incomes derived from these sources are relatively small, with nine (just over 50%) of the households estimating the income at less than $5,000 annually and six of these at $2,000 or less. Four other households placed a monetary value of between $5,000 and $10,000 on alternative income sources. However, two households reported an income between $10,000 and $15,000, while three claimed to earn more than $15,000. For two of these three high-earning households (all with unemployed respondents) this "alternative" source was the sole income. None of the respondents were willing to commit to paper the manner in which this alternative income was gained. However, the presence of heavy-duty sewing machines and bales of cloth and finished garments in many homes we visited provides at least one indication of home sewing as an important source of cash income.

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Table 5.7: Alternative Income Sources According to Skill and Gender

	No response		Skilled		Semi-skilled		Unskilled		TOTALS	
	F	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**
Other Income*	2	3	0	1	1	2	5	3	**7**	**9**
No Other Income*	3	3	0	10	0	2	18	18	**21**	**33**
No Response	2	2	0	0	0	0	7	2	**9**	**4**

*Other Income = from sources other than principal source (e.g., job, UIC, welfare).
Source: Windsor Household Survey 1987.

Unlike Pahl (1984), and Wallace and Pahl (1986), these findings do not suggest that income-producing activities outside of employment are most readily engaged in by skilled workers engaged in full-time employment in Windsor.

Modifications of the Domestic Cycle as a Household Strategy

The socio-economic status of a household is related to its position in the domestic cycle, as well as the other factors discussed above. The term domestic cycle refers to the changing composition of the household and the accompanying material circumstances and is closely related to the age of its members and the

size of the family. A newly married couple, a couple with school age children and a retired widow are all in different stages of the domestic cycle and each draws upon a different set of sources of labour for income and to accomplish household tasks. Furthermore, different stages in the domestic cycle are characterized by such actions as renting an apartment or a house, buying a house or a second automobile, and by an accumulation of a host of varied domestic tools and appliances. This means that in addition to drawing upon differing sources of labour, households are also drawing upon different physical resources to accomplish tasks. Of course, the domestic cycle is highly idealized, being rooted in the conceptualization of a household based on marriage, the raising of children to near-adulthood and a graceful retirement on the fruits of years of labour. In spite of the many households not conforming to this ideal portrait, the changing composition of any household over time plays a significant role in determining its economic state (Pahl 1984, 131-134).

There was no significant difference in age class between genders for this working-age population (Table 5.8). Hence, there is no undue weighting of a particular age group among men or women respondents, so differences in income and material circumstances between the two groups cannot be attributed solely to differences in the domestic cycle of households.

Table 5.8: Selected Demographic Characteristics

AGE	MALE		FEMALE	
15 to 25	8	17%	8	21%
26 to 35	20	44%	14	36%
36 to 45	10	22%	8	21%
46 to 55	6	13%	6	21%
56 to 64	2	4%	2	3%

n=74 (missing = 12)

CIVIL STATUS	MALE		FEMALE	
Married	70%	32	51%	20
Single	15%	7	15%	6
Common Law	11%	5	18%	7
Divorced, Single Parent or Widowed	4%	2	16%	6

n=85 (missing = 1)
Source: Windsor Household Survey 1987

Table 5.8 indicates that most households in our sample were composed of couples married or cohabiting, but close to 9% of respondents were the sole adult of a household. Exactly two-thirds (49) of households had dependent children, but none had other relatives living under the same roof. Sixteen couples had one child, 20 had two and 13 had three or more. In all but two cases, the children

living at home were too young (less than 16 years old) to leave school and seek full-time employment, removing this as a possible coping strategy for almost all households. Interestingly enough, 4 households composed of four or five members each had non-family members in the household, which suggests attempts to lower housing costs by letting rooms, but conversely there were no extended families present in our sample.

While common sense would suggest that households would find it to their advantage to increase the number of family members in order to create a bigger source of "free" labour, Pahl (1984, 131) has suggested that the universalization of market criteria leads families to monetize aspects of social relations extended to the wider circle of family members during more difficult economic circumstances. The presence of a reputable old age home in Windsor may lead households to carefully calculate the costs and benefits of keeping older family members at home versus paying for care, if we apply Pahl's argument to the case of Windsor. There are some difficulties with this argument, notably its assumption of sufficient room in the home for more family members and its neglect of family tensions as a factor encouraging separation, and the overly deterministic elements of the argument as a whole.

Other Aspects Of Coping Strategies

This brief section offers an overview of the socio-economic conditions of our three sample groups. Each of these groups possesses a distinct set of characteristics that offer households a range of material comfort and stability under conditions of restructuring. Our observations suggest that some households may end up relatively better off, in the long run. For others, restructuring was a process that precipitates a gloomy series of degrading changes in employment and material circumstances that cannot be overcome easily. This section concentrates on employment conditions of the principal respondents (i.e. Domtar, garment or unemployed workers), setting the stage for the following discussion of quantitative data taken from household questionnaire / schedules.

Domtar workers

For those with five years or more of seniority employed at the Domtar mills, the economic state of the household was not threatened by imminent layoffs. The same was true of those households with members close to retirement (less than five years away), and some laid off by Domtar prior to our arrival in the spring of 1987 were retired early with full benefits. In other words, only those Domtar employees with less than five years at Domtar were in a situation where the development of household coping strategies was an immediate necessity. Seniority was not as straightforward as it may appear - casual employment at the old mill (usually filling in for someone missing at an unskilled position) was the

rule for several years prior to being hired fulltime, hence seniority accumulates quite slowly. A person may work for Domtar for up to ten years before obtaining five years seniority.

No women are now employed in manufacturing positions, as the intertwined pressures of restructuring and technological change have resulted in the elimination of women from lucrative, unionized manufacturing positions at the plant. In 1978, 36 women worked on the shop floor, 26 as "emballeuses", a task apparently reserved for women. This position was eliminated with the introduction of automated wrapping machines in 1983. The 10 women remaining were all let go by 1987, "bumped" according to seniority, as the pace of job redundancies increased in preparation for the opening of the new mill (Domtar Collective Agreements 1977, -81, - 84, -87; Scott's Directory of Québec Manufacturers, 1978-1988).

Garment Workers

The decline of employment in the garment industry poses a different set of problems for women than the decline of employment at Domtar does for men. Seniority rules are non-existent - hiring and rehiring are based more on the individual relationship between manager and worker. While this may work in the worker's favour - women considered hard working and apt can take up employment intermittently - the overall decline in the number of positions renders these instances rare. It was usually the case for women to be taken on and let go

according to the employer's contractual obligations to his clients. With the retrenchment of the industry in Windsor, this means increased part-time and seasonal employment. For many of the garment workers, few other opportunities exist for employment. Other problems associated with employment in the garment industry include its valorization as "unskilled" labour. Although wages of $6.35 an hour plus a piece rate (above a certain level of productivity) at Jack Spratt were relatively good, especially compared to other "unskilled" employment rates in the service sector, intensification of production has made achieving piece rates increasingly difficult, according to one informant. The same women spoke to us about the incidence of bursitis, back pains and other injuries among garment workers brought about by the long hours spent stationary and the poor design of work tables. In a non-union plant attempting to increase production without substantial investment, coupled with the "captive" state of the workforce, these occupational injuries are likely to be ignored by the owners and workers alike, albeit for very different reasons. Other studies have found that the introduction of piece rates are a subtle form of intensification, reducing the labour costs of production (Coyle 1984; Massey and Meegan 1982).

Coupled with the absolute decrease in the number of jobs available was a more qualitative change in the conditions of work in the garment industry, in the form of an increasing segmentation of the workforce. With fewer full-time, permanent openings available, and an increased seasonality of employment, the

use of homeworkers was increasing. These workers are paid cash on piece-work basis, unlike their factory counterparts working for hourly wages plus a piece rate. We found it difficult to estimate the numbers of women involved in such work because it was a source of "undeclared" income and people are reluctant to discuss it. Nonetheless, we saw enough evidence (industrial-grade sewing machines, bales of cut cloth and finished garments) in people's homes to conservatively estimate that between 40 and 50 households in Windsor have at least one member occupied in home work. Ginette Grenier, director of the Centre des Femmes du Val St. François corroborated this impression, and pointed out that the lack of child care facilities, combined with the difficulty of getting children to and from daycare, was a major factor in determining who does home sewing (Interview, Ginette Grenier, May 1987).

Unemployment

An overview of the characteristics of unemployed persons suggested a varied range of experiences. In the 24 households with unemployed respondents that we interviewed the last date of employment varied considerably, from some time in 1972 to as recently as May 1987. There was no single lay-off date of significance, and 6 respondents did not give any date. Seven persons had been unemployed more than one year (4 had not worked after April 1985) and 11 less than one year. For the majority, the loss of employment was not a novelty: 58%

(14) had other experiences of job loss in the past. Nineteen of the twenty-four were not members of a union when they were laid off. The most striking feature of this group was the complete absence of former Domtar workers, suggesting a strong difference in the range of employment opportunities available to these groups. Furthermore, only two women had last been employed in the garment industry.

The evidence suggests that households with an unemployed respondent have not significantly changed their use of time, nor was there a particular activity that all or nearly all households augment or decrease. Nonetheless, there are specific modifications common to a majority of such households, the most common change in the allocation of time in the unemployed household being a decrease in the amount of time spent shopping. 58% (14 of 24) of households reported a decrease in the amount of time spent shopping. The second most common change was a decrease in the amount of time spent "going out" to restaurants, clubs, movies and in other forms of entertainment, with 46% stating a decline. Time spent participating in cultural and sporting activities declined for about a third of households. More troubling was the high number of households that reported a decrease in the amount of time spent with family and friends: a full third (8) noting such a decline. The implication is disturbing because the less time spent within a network of family, friends and acquaintances, the smaller the number of potential contacts for various forms of reciprocal exchange,

opportunities for jobs "on the side" or hearing about employment opportunities. As Pahl (1988, 250) notes: "Informal work, unsurprisingly, requires informal contacts...." Furthermore, as Wallace and Pahl (1986, 130) have found, sources of informal employment and forms of work that could substitute for a loss of income are limited, hence any decrease in opportunities to make informal contacts are significant.

The trend for unemployed household is towards an isolated existence, reinforcing the process of economic polarization. Unemployed household members spent more time performing activities in the home, especially daily domestic labour. And yet contradictions arise: for example, cooking was a daily task that decreased for the majority of unemployed households and equal numbers of households reported increases or decreases in the amount of time spent participating in voluntary organizations. As would be expected, the lack of money plays a important role in determining activities and plans that do not constitute part of the necessary round of domestic labour. Home maintenance decreases, although if there is money, there is the time to carry it out. Again these categorizations are not neat and tidy: we spoke to informants planning or engaged in household renovations, using their days and their savings to redo a room or carry out major repairs, yet half the households with an unemployed respondent reported abandoning plans for major expenditures, usually in the form acquiring a new car or vacation plans.

Household Case Studies

The descriptions of households below are intended to flesh out the statistical breakdowns of Windsor households and generalized descriptions found above, without implying that the households described below are ideal types, representative of a particular class or cross-section present in Windsor. However, each of these households has felt the impact of restructuring in some manner, and was adjusting as best as possible given their particular circumstances.

Household 15:

This household was composed of a couple in their early twenties, both brought up in the region. Neither pursued an education beyond high school. Both were employed in Windsor and, in 1986, they moved to Windsor from another small town, Richmond, 15 kilometres to the north, in order to reduce their travel time. At the time of the interview, in May 1987, the husband was working for Domtar as an unskilled labourer at the old mill, 16 months into an 18 month contract. Along with 119 others he was hired by the company to ease temporary labour shortages as permanent employees rotated in and out of the training program at the new mill. He knew he would be laid off with the others in August 1987; the short-term nature of employment was made clear at the outset.

Two aspects dominate the couple's plans for the future: the impending layoff and the wife's full-time employment as order clerk and cashier of a retail food store. They have not made plans to leave Windsor but buying a house in

Windsor was not a likely event in their life: they assumed that leaving Windsor to find employment elsewhere in the province was a near-certainty. In the meantime, expecting to have to rely on the wife's income for a while, they rent the upper floor of a old farmhouse on the edge of town.

In terms of the ideal domestic cycle, this household is delaying buying a home: while their income would permit such an act, the conditions of their employment led them to be very circumspect about shouldering such debt. The recognition of the effects of local restructuring by this young couple with no children takes the form of a deliberate minimization of all material and financial attachments that would limit their opportunities to move to new employment. The temporary employment "boom" engendered by the restructuring at the mill brought them to Windsor, but economically and socially their integration with the community was minimal. Although the income they earned (between $30,000 and $35,000 annually) was sufficient to place their household in the "High" category, they were wise enough to recognize its temporary nature and acted accordingly.

Their socio-economic situation stands in sharp contrast with the next household: this household is composed of two unskilled workers, precariously employed and deliberately maintaining a low level of material goods and debt; the following household is composed of two skilled workers with an assured employment future.

Household 41:

Unlike the household characterized above, this household was not likely to leave Windsor in the near future. They bought a house less than a year before the interview, and have a nine month old daughter. The birth of this child led the female spouse to take paid maternity leave from her teaching position. The keystone to the economic stability of this household lies in the twelve years of seniority acquired by the male spouse at the Domtar mill, working as a quality inspector. Given this seniority, he will definitely fill one of the permanent skilled positions at the new mill. The permanent status of the woman's teaching position is equally critical in shielding this household from the local decline of manufacturing.

The construction of the new mill has reassured this couple and closure was not feared as it was in the past. This confidence was reflected in some of their responses to the questionnaire: he dates improved working conditions back to 1985, when Domtar confirmed the rebuilding of the mill and threats of permanent mill closure could no longer hang over the workers' heads; her sense of confidence places emphasis on the seniority that ensured him of a job at the new mill.

Household 32:

As with the couple forming Household 15, the closure of the old mill represents a threat to income and economic stability for this household, for the male spouse has been hired by Domtar on a two year contract in an unskilled

position. However, this household has put down roots in Windsor. They bought a house two years ago, as the contract with Domtar began and while mortgage rates were relatively low. This willingness to burden the household budget with a mortgage, knowing good economic times are finite, may not appear financially sensible, but the household members believe that belts can tightened later and expenses cut to the bone to meet mortgage payments. This was possibly the most common household strategy in Windsor that we found in our survey population, a willingness to "batten down the hatches" and wait out the bad times.

In an informal discussion, begun while picking up the completed questionnaire, the respondents suggested that home ownership may act as a financial buffer, representing a possible source of collateral or the sole source of a sizeable amount of ready cash, if payments cannot be met. The ability of one spouse or the other - and hopefully both - to be employed is of paramount importance in these circumstances, with unemployment insurance providing a vital bridge over periods of low income. In this household, the female spouse has recently returned to work, knowing that a permanent layoff was coming. Even if all should go as planned, and the male spouse finds other employment rapidly, other factors remain that will keep this household teetering on the edge of financial stability. Should both be working, a sizeable proportion of income must go for child care. The couple's lack of education and other training suggests that the future of employment for them will be repetition of their past experiences, a

series of jobs with a minimal amount of security and of limited duration. The strategy this household has had, perforce, adopted offers few alternative paths, demanding dual employment or one singularly well-paying and secure position, located in or close to Windsor.

Household 14:

This household falls into the category of "Unemployed" households, but the manner in which this household makes ends meet was unique within the sample population. Self-employment of household members and conscious alterations in consumption habits parallel Pahl's case studies of a small number of households engaged in similar patterns of economic behaviour (Pahl 1984, 277-310). The female spouse had not been engaged in employment in the garment industry since 1985, about two years prior to this interview. After working three years employed stitching shoes in nearby Richmond and spending five years at Jack Spratt Jeans, she finished high school, specializing in accounting and bookkeeping procedures. To date, she has not found suitable employment, but does not seem overly concerned. The husband was a self-employed cabinet-maker and three children, aged 18, 16 and 12, live at home while attending school.

This household of five persons lives on an income of less than $20,000 a year, placing it below the low income cutoff line found in Table 5.3. Remarkably, this household was not in a difficult economic situation. The material circumstances and the skills present in this household suggests that such

independence from the dominant employers of Windsor was only possible in only exceptional instances. For instance, this household was one of the few that built their own home. Saving considerable money in this manner, they have no mortgage payments to make, fifteen years after moving in. Furthermore, with the exception of electrical work, they undertake all repairs and modifications to their house themselves. The ability to use their own labour and spend their money on tools and appliances was at the heart of their coping strategy. Acquiring a freezer and the use of domestic labour allows this household to buy a side of beef and other meats in bulk, cutting and freezing the meat themselves. Given the lump sums of cash derived from cabinet-making contracts, buying in bulk serves to tide the household through periods of time without income. The general tendency of this household was to attain the maximum possible self-sufficiency, to minimize cash outlays by using as much household labour as possible, and to acquire and use tools and goods that encourage self-provisioning.

This household represents the closest approximation we found to Pahl's early conception of household coping strategies based upon the utilization of purchased goods to perform work that might otherwise have to be bought (Pahl 1980, 3). Unfortunately, as Pahl came to realize, these households of formally "unemployed" but very busy people are the exception rather than the rule (Pahl 1984; Pahl 1988; Wallace and Pahl 1986). The majority of unemployed

households are, like the one below, at best paying the bills at the end of the month, and have a very loosely structured household labour strategy, if any.

Household 7:

This case study is also taken from the group of unemployed respondents, as was the previous case, but presents a striking contrast in terms of strategies used to cope with loss of employment income. In part, the lack of strategies may be a result of their small and irregular household income: there was no use having economic plans for next month if the central concern was meeting last month's bills. This household also shows some changes in domestic labour patterns by the spouses resulting from unemployment and adapting to irregular sources of employment.

One spouse was employed part-time by Confection Windsor; she works out of the home whenever the company needs her labour. The male spouse last worked on a Bombardier snowmobile assembly line in Valcourt (about 40 kilometres away), but was laid off in November of 1986 (in 1981, only 4% of Windsor's worked in the census division that includes Valcourt - see Map 1.2). At the time of the interview (May 1987), he was hoping that Bombardier's attempt to win a large subway car contract would lead to his recall. The household's income was about $22,000, derived from unemployment insurance and part-time sewing. With five young children, this household falls below the low-income cutoff line (see Table 5.3).

To make ends meet, this family uses credit cards extensively; they have seven that are used whenever cash was short for a wide range of purchases. They attempt to reduce their debt using the irregular income from home-sewing. Furthermore, 14% of their annual income was used to repay a car loan, and they are also making mortgage payments on their home, bought two years ago. They have cut down their expenses by going out very rarely (2 or 3 times a year, for movies) and by buying food and domestic goods on sale. Unlike the previous household, however, this household's budget does not allow for any big cash outlays, with each fragment of income going to meet immediate needs.

The new house was the pride and joy of this household: in spite of their low income and the rapid outflow of cash, they have been willing to spend significant amounts of time and any spare income to maintain and improve their house. The male spouse was confident enough to undertake major home renovations, with the exception of structural changes and electrical wiring. At the time of the interview, the stairs and the basement were being refinished.

Given that both spouses are now in the home and the part-time employment of the woman, some form of renegotiation of the domestic division of labour might be expected in this household. Morris (1985b, 233) found that food preparation, minding children and transport to shopping areas were aspects of domestic labour that husbands were most likely to engage in when unemployed. Indeed, the husband of this household estimated that he spent more time

shopping, cooking and minding the children. However, this did not diminish the amount of time the female spouse spent performing these tasks, and she estimated that her time spent shopping actually increased since her spouse's layoff. On the other hand, house cleaning and laundry were two tasks that were undertaken by the male whenever the wife was engaged in garment-making. This instance of a limited flexibility in the domestic division of labour was similar to those found by Morris (1985b) in her study of the renegotiation of domestic labour in households with unemployed male wage-earners.

These households show a wide and sometimes contradictory range of adaptations and methods of making ends meet. For example, Households 15 and 32 have taken diametrically opposed approaches to their impending layoffs from Domtar, the latter buying a house and firmly entrenching themselves in the community, the former was doing the exact opposite by renting a home and planning to move in the near future. These two households represent the extremes of coping strategies for households faced with an imminent loss of income: on the one hand, an attempt to minimize fixed investments and rely on a large cushion of cash savings and, on the other, conscious decisions to invest heavily while incomes are high and credit was good. Neither of these methods

make any attempt to reduce the reliance of the household on an employer for income: economic dependence remains an everyday aspect of life.

Both of these households stand in contrast with the self-employed status of Household 14. The aspect that most differentiates this household from all others that we studied are the skills possessed by the male wage-earner. As a cabinet-maker, his skills are not easily alienated, in contrast with those of a skilled paper-maker dependent on a vast capital-intensive infrastructure in order for his skills to be valued. Nonetheless, the relative independence of this household from the vagaries of employment loss - and therefore income loss - was only ascertained by conscious decisions to minimize the household's need for a steady flow of cash. Hence, the strategies of lowering the cost of housing by building, instead of buying a home, and buying food in bulk.

Finally, compare all the above employment situations with the situation of Household 41: the male wage-earner was assured of employment at the new mill, owing to his seniority, and his spouse was getting paid maternity leave from her teaching position. In a nutshell, this household's economic situation was stable and relatively secure, with a very high income. This household forms part of the new "elite" of the working class in Windsor, and this position stems in good part from the occupations of its two wage-earning members. The woman is a unionized professional, and the male is a skilled technician (paper quality inspector), also unionized; furthermore, both these positions have escaped

attempts to automate or otherwise eliminate them. This stands in contrast with the ease with which garment-industry jobs have been displaced from the factory floor to the home's basement and, correspondingly from full-time status to part-time, even occasional status.

In spite of these numerous contrasts, there remain a few areas of comparison where all the above households (and many others not examined in depth) more closely resemble one another. Notably, there was the increasing tendency of households to have one member looking for employment outside Windsor. Every one of the above households has, or has the potential for, having several wage-earners. Indeed, this local situation reflects a tendency common right across Canada and throughout the labour force (Moore 1989) and cannot be interpreted as a coping strategy particular to Windsor.

In this section, the domestic cycle has been used as a general gauge of the impact that the decline of manufacturing in Windsor has had on households. These case studies effectively illustrate the diversity of actions households undertake to meet the consequences of restructuring of manufacturing in Windsor, and underline the fact that no single coping strategy predominates in our sample of the community's households.

Summary

With the restructuring of Domtar and the simultaneous contraction of all manufacturing employment in Windsor, there is a trend toward the creation of two class fractions, a small cadre of skilled workers, who lend their households a relative immunity to the declining state of manufacturing employment, and a group of generally younger workers with increasingly restricted chances of entry into skilled employment in the local manufacturing workforce. But the structural division of employment in Windsor is cut along patriarchal lines, as well. There is a "paper ceiling" for women workers in Windsor, dividing the manufacturing workforce along gender lines and relegating women to unskilled labour, especially during this extended period of retrenchment of manufacturing employment.

This division of employment is reinforced by the division of labour in the domestic sphere - women are still expected to bear the brunt of reproductive labour. Allen et al. (1986), Armstrong and Armstrong (1978), Coyle (1984) and Morris (1987) have all noted that the renegotiation of domestic labour remains predicated on the perceived greater importance of male employment, resulting in greater demands on employed women's time and labour. What this means in terms of employment opportunities is that men's employment is seen as more important and that women are spatially restricted in their search for paid work. Women are tethered to the home both by patriarchal domestic expectations and

by the everyday manifestations of the structural devaluation of both paid and unpaid women's labour. For example, working outside the home in Windsor may not be worthwhile because of the lower wages paid to women and the cost of travel by car (there is no local public transport) and the rarity and expense of child care. This is especially true for those families with marginally adequate incomes. Other studies have found similar situations, where dual employment involves significant costs or the loss of benefits, where structural constraints are clearly restrain the ability of household members to break out of the cycle of poverty and/or repeated bouts of unemployment (Buckland and MacGregor 1986; MacKee and Bell 1986, 140; Morris 1985, 222).

Finally, the qualitative description and analysis of employment conditions in Windsor has other facets, and these qualitative aspects are further complicated by social relations outside the workplace that must be taken into account when examining "working life" in the community. The least measurable is the atmosphere surrounding the decline of manufacturing employment, but there was a general sense of unease about the future of work in Windsor among people employed in the community. For men working at Domtar, the source of such worries was obvious: construction of the new mill was not only resulting in the redundancy of half the workforce but, for those remaining, employment at the new mill necessitates the development of a new set of skills and tasks utterly alien to those trained with work processes at the century-old mill. Furthermore, in

discussions with some Domtar workers, active and retired, it became obvious that these people had developed a sense of the economic viability and the financial state of Domtar through their knowledge of operations at the old mill. Upswings and downswings in production, management's decisions to repair or replace machinery, temporary hirings and lay-offs, as well as contacts with foremen and plant management provided a barometer of sorts with which to predict the near future of the mill's operation. This barometer was invalidated at the new mill, hence an uneasy sense of not being able to judge, no longer being able to "take the pulse" of local economic activity set in.

Such evidence suggests an increasing polarization of employment and conditions for individuals seeking employment in the community, perhaps most visible in the complete absence of former garment industry and Domtar workers among the unemployed.[7] In addition, considering the households as a whole, a significant indicator of polarization was the occurrence of a very high rate of unemployment of both wage-earners among "unemployed" households (9 of 18). This should be compared to the one "garment industry" household (out of 20) where a wage-earner was out of work and the 6 of 22 among "Domtar" households. Further evidence from the household questionnaire/interview schedules fleshes out the above impressions and suggests that the process is a complex one, riddled by exceptions arising from the particular mix of households

[7] However, had we undertaken our fieldwork six months later, after more layoffs at the paper mill, the presence of ex-Domtar employees among the ranks of the unemployed would have undoubtedly been significantly greater.

characteristics. Hence the importance of focussing on the household, rather than inferring household characteristics or living standards from information about one household member.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This thesis began with a quote from a billboard advertising DOMTAR fine paper products, with a phrase that seeks to qualitatively link workers and the product of their labour (see Photo 1). Ironically, this billboard has appeared at a time when Domtar, via a permanent reduction of its labour force, is unilaterally dismantling some of the relations that have bound this community and the paper mill together for over a century. In this thesis, I have sought to bring out and clarify some of the social consequences of this rapid change of relations of production, via an intensive case study of the single industry town of Windsor, Québec.

This thesis has attempted to determine how small-scale events are related to large social processes. Hence the focus on particular aspects of social change - or changes in reproductive relations - accompanying a local reorganisation of production. The general line of argument adopted here has been that the tripartite links between employment, gender relations and the household economy in Windsor, Quebec, are made clearer by placing these small-scale events in the wider context of wholesale restructuring of the global pulp and paper industry, and in the historical context of a community that has grown and evolved with a paper mill.

Specifically, many households of Windsor have altered their everyday patterns of activity because Domtar, like many other resource-transformation companies, has found it unavoidably necessary to adopt innovative and more capital-intensive production techniques in order to compete globally and take advantage of local variations in labour, of past investments and of the biotic and physical characteristics of regions and towns. In the pulp and paper industry, the scale and the flexibility of profitable production have been changed by the meshing of modern technology with local variations, as is the case for many other basic industries (Storper and Scott 1989). In Windsor, an immediate result has been a substantial decline in labour requirements at the mill - a "small-scale" event resulting from the reconfiguration of Domtar's productive capacity which, in turn, is one result of global ("large-scale") changes in the pulp and paper industry.

In a single industry town such as Windsor, examining the consequences of these restricted employment opportunities arising from restructuring is simplified by the socialized isolation of that community. It has been argued that, over time, in a self-reinforcing fashion, the restricted availability of employment in Windsor and the surrounding region has brought about a restriction of workers' skills and, as a result, a high degree of dependency on local employment. Evidence supporting this argument is seen in the difficulties that many women and men of Windsor find in matching skills developed under previous rounds of investment to vacancies, as the decline in the number of local jobs continues.

Currently, this continuing dependency on local employment, while the number of positions is being severely and quickly reduced, is disrupting and permanently altering the means by which households make ends meet. In other words, the local impacts of restructuring are manifested at the level of the household, and are not solely restricted to the individual's loss of employment and income. But this manifestation is not spread evenly throughout among Windsor manufacturing employees: there are large differences in the material circumstances of households, especially between households with paper mill employees (always male) and those without. Moreover, as I have shown in the brief case studies, two households of similar composition may find themselves in sharply different material circumstances, the difference being a few years seniority at the mill or the employment of a spouse outside of Windsor.

In good part, the reasons for such differences are historical and patriarchal in nature. A patriarchal division of labour that devalues women's employment has resulted a ghettoization of female wage-earners in the garment industry, in ill-paid and insecure employment, considered of secondary importance compared to male manufacturing employment. I have shown that the differing material circumstances of Windsor households clearly reflect this dual segregation of employment: households with a (male) wage-earner working at Domtar were consistently better off. Furthermore, members of households with Domtar workers in a permanent position tended to be better educated and in less vulnerable positions with respect to the decline of local employment. It is

important to note this contradictory aspect of local dependence: the members of households that were securely employed with Domtar - the prime mover in the restructuring process occurring in Windsor - were, in many instances, those that could best afford the time and had the skills necessary to maintain their material circumstances. This suggests that the needs and interests of this elite group of Domtar workers were being met while other groups were left adrift. I argue this is a result of the patriarchal and paternalistic values that dominated employment and communal coping strategies, thus leaving out the needs of people not employed by Domtar, especially women, when attempting to alter and develop the employment base of Windsor.

These values, in conjunction with the socialized isolation of employment and the few opportunities of developing employment skills useful outside Windsor's historically dominant industries that now need fewer and fewer workers, leaves a paucity of household coping strategies open for non-Domtar Windsor residents. Garment-making skills, which might be an exception, are not "portable" because of other factors. As I pointed out, working as a seamstress is considered of secondary importance to a male wage-earner's employment, and this is reflected in wage levels; patriarchal attitudes make it unlikely that the household will move for the sake of the wife's job. The end result is a strong tendency towards a polarization of socio-economic status between households with, at one end of the spectrum, well-off, "busy" households with more than wage-earner and, at the other, households with no wage-earners and few prospects for local employment.

Coping Strategies

The households affected most negatively by local restructuring possess certain characteristics in common: they tend to be composed of younger couples with a checkered and intermittent history of employment and a minimal education. Employment at Domtar is, for them, on a temporary contractual basis, with few prospects for permanent employment there, especially in view of the steadily increasing educational requirements. It is not unusual for at least one wage-earner to be unemployed in such households, hence the household may be relying on a single wage-earner most of the time.

At the other end of the spectrum, a thumbnail sketch suggests a slightly older couple, with a wage-earner employed at Domtar long enough to have obtained enough seniority to be assured of a position at the new mill. It is likely that both spouses are engaged in full-time employment, have children in secondary or post-secondary education, and are usually home-owners. In contrast with other less well-established households, restructuring of the mill in Windsor has brought a sense of greater stability and future prosperity.

The evidence shows that conciously developed coping strategies, those full-blown and coherent ways of making ends meet in the face of employment loss and the restructuring of manufacturing, were not widespread in Windsor, at least not in the form I originally conceptualized them. Those who need to develop coping strategies the most (in the sample groups, the unemployed and garment-industry households) were the least likely to have the means or the skills to

implement them. This is similar to what Wallace and Pahl (1986), studying a similar situation on the Isle of Sheppey, Kent, noted that the unemployed and the working poor were the most isolated from opportunities to develop cash-producing activities (Pahl and Wallace 1985, 218-222; Wallace and Pahl 1986, 130).

I wrote that I have not found coping strategies of the form I expected: the kinds of coping strategies that were found in Windsor were not attempts to develop alternative sources of cash income, nor were changes in domestic labour patterns designed to supplant household expenses (e.g., a vegetable garden), but rather a series of retrenchments in expenses. "Battening down the hatches" in an attempt to ride out the storm is probably the most appropriate metaphor for these low key coping strategies.

One of the reasons for this cautious approach to refashioning social relations of production and reproduction is the relatively moderate impact of restructuring, unlike other communities where the local economic base has been shut down and the isolation is greater (see Mackenzie 1988). A common (and somewhat fatalistic) attitude in Windsor goes something like this: there is always the chance that a new job position will open up locally; there were other towns with employment near enough to commute to, if worst comes to worst; finally, if we can just hang on long enough, things are bound to work out.

Yet as pessimistic as these findings are, this research also shows that the flexibility, ingenuity and sheer hard work of individuals, acting in the context of family-based households, still makes an economic difference if - and it is an

important condition - a way around the dominance of local manufacturing employment can be found. These actions cannot be termed full-blown coping strategies, altering the structure of reproductive relations within the household, of the sort I set out to find; nonetheless, they are a continuous stream of decisions to modify budgets, household activities and redeploy the pool of labour available to the household, and as such they qualify as coping strategies. These decisions are filtered and modified by the differing interests and needs that arise from the particular material conditions and the constitution of households. And yet the current material circumstances in which households find themselves are largely dependent on previous and current employment and other forms of work (especially domestic labour). Hence the extent and viability of a particular household's coping strategies were in good part determined by previous employment, the number of wage-earners in the household and their working skills and level of education. The relations that seem to make a difference in Windsor as to households' abilities to weather economic turbulence are those that affect the combinations of employment present in a household.

A striking example of this, shown in Chapters Four and Five, is the lack of overlap between households with Domtar employees and households with garment-industry workers or unemployed workers. I have shown that a household with a permanent Domtar employee has a much better chance of, first, having a second wage-earner with a well-paid and stable job; second, being permanently settled in Windsor; last, being in the best position to use income and skills to cope

with difficult economic conditions. Although garment-industry households also tend to have two wage-earners, their position is more precarious. In garment industry households, employment for both spouses tends to be in domains that offer less stable employment than a permanent position in the pulp and paper industry: for men, working on short term contracts for Bombardier in nearby Valcourt, or, especially for women, in the economically troubled leather-goods industry (for example, Brown Shoes in Richmond, less than 10 kilometres down-river). For the principal respondents with jobs in the garment industry, the garment factories in Windsor have been notoriously unreliable sources of employment, with recent closures, longer and longer layoffs and a decreasing number of full-time positions coupled with an increasing amount of work being contracted out to home sewers. Finally, the situation of our sample of unemployed workers is, not surprisingly, the most dismal. Unemployment of one spouse means there is a very good chance that the other spouse is unemployed as well. As a group, their material circumstances were the worst of the three, with virtually no income, rented housing and few instances where there are skills and tools present in the household that can be used to create income or reduce expenses. Similarly, and as noted in Chapter Two, Wallace and Pahl (1986), MacKee and Bell (1986) and Lozano (1983) all found that being unemployed severely reduces the economic options a household has to create income; such households cannot maintain social contacts nor do they have the skills and money necessary to have alternative sources of income.

In Windsor, the unemployed households have been hit hardest by local economic restructuring, owing to the disappearance or downsizing of the smaller companies in Windsor serving the mill or mill employees. The employment skills that served them well until recently were rendered irrelevant with the reorganization of production at the mill eliminating the need for many local suppliers and subcontractors. In the final analysis, the well-off economic status of households with steady employment at Domtar is an indication that despite the steep decline of paper mill employment, Windsor remains a single-industry town dependent on Domtar for employment. It is clear that other sources of manufacturing employment in Windsor cannot make up for the consequences of the permanent reduction of the labour force working at the paper mill. Attempts to develop an alternative industrial base have, to date, not been successful (see Photo 6).

These relations between occupations of wage-earners within a single household, and the wider context of local restructuring in which households are immersed underline the pertinence of the theoretical stance I took in the second chapter. That is to say, the circular causality of the concentration and segregation of particular labour skills, male dependency on Domtar and female dependency on the garment industry, coupled with the historically-rooted, place-specific nature of social relations of production and reproduction in Windsor, make a locality studies approach most appropriate to understand the differences in the material circumstances of households and the development or, rather, the lack thereof, of

highly organized household coping strategies observed in Windsor. Locality studies are another step along the road towards an adequate theorization of "... the spatial constitution of social processes", because of the recognition of the importance of historically-constituted local geographical variations in determining the make-up of intertwined social and economic relations (Massey 1985, 18). This can be phrased in a more "structured" manner: households are immersed in the wider context of social relations and differing households have occasionally conflicting needs according to their "structural location" in the class structure arising from these social relations (see Wright 1984, esp. 123-128; also Chapter Two in this thesis).

Communal Coping Strategies: a critical evaluation

In concrete terms, local restructuring can bring about the formation of territorially-based coalitions which attempt to maintain a particular structure of social relations through what can be called communal coping strategies. In the light of what Wright has written about the conflicting needs and interests of different groups within a given class, it is not surprising to find that such communal coping strategies are not always in the best interests of individuals and households nominally represented in these territorial coalitions.

In Chapter Three I compared the mass protests of the Dortmund and Lancaster manufacturing regions, noting the inability of these coalitions to overcome the factionalism brought about by diverse interests. In the same chapter

then explored a similar, albeit smaller scale, coalition that arose in Windsor in 1985 when permanent shutdown of the pulp and paper mill seemed imminent. I expected that the coalition, being smaller, would not have the varied interests that proved to be the downfall of the larger regional coalitions.

At this superficial level, my expectations were correct, by and large. No other interests surfaced to mar the united front that Windsor citizens presented to the media, the state and Domtar during the month-long campaign to save the mill. However, this unity cannot be interpreted as evidence of an essentially monolithic community. The single-issue campaign was orchestrated by the leading members of the FPIW and the local paper-workers' union, which unequivocally supported the building of the new paper mill. The campaign's singular focus, coupled with the urgency of staving off permanent closure, did not allow for the representation of other employment needs to surface. Yet differing needs and interests were strongly in evidence among the Windsor population, as I have pointed out, even within the restricted group of manufacturing employees. Witness the difficulties among the sample of unemployed workers to find steady and adequately paid employment in Windsor, the precarious employment situation of younger Domtar employees and, for women, the steady decline of openings in the garment industry. This stands in strong contrast with the current (1990) situation of the 400

remaining mill workers, who can expect to remain employed at the brand-new mill for the rest of their working lives, should they so choose.[1]

This is not to say that the needs of other groups in the community have been totally ignored in the past. Unfortunately, attempts to address and satisfy employment needs have not been successful. For example, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the FPIW did invest substantial risk capital in a foundering garment firm in an attempt to save women's jobs, but this only postponed the business failure by six months. The creation of a "entrepreneurial incubator", by the FPIW and the Corporation de Développement du Val St. François, is another attempt to broaden the employment base of the community, again with a very limited amount of success for creating employment.

The heart of the problem with the communal coping strategies elaborated by the FPIW, and its regional partner the Corporation de Développement du Val St. François, is that the creation of jobs envisaged by the strategies remains wedded to the concept of encouraging the traditional forms of industrial employment at a time when the Eastern Townships as a whole were steadily moving away from this sector. For example, Bromont attracted "high-tech" companies such as IBM, and diversified its industrial base with such companies as Hyundai Automobiles, while Sherbrooke has placed the accent on its role as a regional, tertiary-level, centre. In both cases, job opportunities for women have

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[1] It has recently come to my attention that, two years after going on-line, the new mill in Windsor is plagued with unexpected problems: boiler explosions, unexpected shutdowns and an abundance of fine paper on the market, combined with public pressure to recycle paper are casting some doubt on whether the corporation will go ahead with its plan (dating from 1983) to start up a second fine paper machine at the new mill, at least in the near future.

been greatly increased (Bradbury 1989). By contrast, Windsor and the surrounding area of Val St. François have continued to emphasize the development of traditional sectors of employment, aimed at creating jobs for men, by men.

This is more than an oversight, it is a blind spot: the patriarchal and paternalistic local work culture has, by and large, resulted in the following employment situation: men have the sole access to the few local "good jobs" remaining, while women's employment is essentially confined to the garment industry, with no opportunities to develop the skills necessary for white-collar jobs. This situation is further complicated by the lack of attempts to develop daycare or other service industries that would enable women of households to range further afield to obtain employment, a move that would greatly diminish women's dependency on the local garment industry.

This may appear as though I am "blaming the victim", so I should re-emphasize the point made in Chapter 3: that the FPIW has been straitjacketed in its attempts to develop locally responsible businesses and employment by financial legislation and the entrepreneurial ethic of government programs that do not accommodate a vision of industry and employment as local lifeblood, integral to social relations, rather than solely profit-oriented.

Concluding Remarks

In the final analysis, there is a "paper ceiling" in Windsor, Quebec, similar to the glass ceiling that many women come up against in their working life. For the community's households, job security and the ability of a household to combat a decline in material circumstances are clearly linked to the ability to pierce that thin, yet very solid, barrier that separates neighbour from neighbour. A century of social relations of reproduction, intimately interconnected with a patriarchal and paternalistic pattern of male employment at the mill, was not easily compensated for when the relations of production began to unravel. For this reason, the "Matthew effect", cited by Wallace and Pahl (1985), still applies: "To him that hath, more shall be given." The male pronoun is highly appropriate in this instance.

The structural limits imposed by the social relations dominant in Windsor that women face in Windsor when seeking to provide for a household suggest an important direction for further research: the need to fully explore the relationship between locality, work and patriarchy. How is this complex tripartite relationship reproduced? How is the everyday act of accommodation to local economic circumstances, e.g. deciding at a household level who does which work, and where (in the home, in the workplace?) linked to the reproduction of patriarchy? Related questions include how, and why, do attempts to change local relations of reproduction and production come forth; why do they succeed or fail; and who do these changes serve?

At a more tangible level of analysis, directions for future research could include an investigation of the socio-economic state of comparable small towns across Canada and their future prospects. Socio-economic crises are occurring across the nation: no region is spared - the restructuring of Windsor's local economy is just one example, and that community, unlike most others, has emerged from that crisis with some kind of a future. In the west, the forestry and mining industries continue their decade-long stagnation; on the prairies, there are estimates that a third of Saskatchewan's farmers could not afford to buy seed grain for the 1990 growing season; Ontario's northland has not participated in the benefits of Toronto's "over-heated" economy; the North is torn between the need to develop "southern-type" income sources for a rapidly increasing population and the need to maintain a distinctive aboriginal culture centred on hunting and trapping; Gaspé, the North Shore and the Abitibi regions of Québec, as well as New Brunswick and parts of British Columbia all share the same problems of declining resource-based employment; finally, the rapid dwindling of East Coast fish stocks and the consequent closing of fish processing plants brings fears that entire communities will wither away as the only jobs disappear.

The consequences of forcing Canadian communities - especially the older, established manufacturing towns - to "compete" globally, without adequate measures of state and corporate support preparing these towns for the inevitable changes that follow, are dire. The research results of this thesis suggest that unless we rethink our notions of economic development and stability, we will see

the increasing polarization of formerly tightly knit communities into haves and have-nots, and patriarchal forms of capitalist development will continue to exploit the vulnerable position of women in small towns, and we will continue to see the decline and death of small towns across Canada. Canadian corporations may be thinking globally in their search for profit, but their local actions have high human costs.

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Interviews

Irenée Beaudet, Co-founder and President of Fonds de Prevoyance Industrielle de Windsor, electrician at DOMTAR, 24 May 1987.

P.P. Gingras, Director of Human Resources and Organizational Planning, DOMTAR-Windsor, 27 May 1987.

Ginette Grenier, director of the Centre des Femmes du Val St. François, Windsor, Québec, 25 May 1987.

Appendix: Questionnaire, 1987 Windsor Survey

No du répondant/__ _____

SECTION 1

À TOUS LES RÉPONDANTS

(010) 1. Dans quelle catégorie d'âge vous situez-vous ?

(011) 16-25 ans ____
(012) 26-35 ans ____
(013) 36-45 ans ____
(014) 46-55 ans ____
(015) 56-65 ans ____
(016) Plus de 65 ans ____

(010) 2. Sexe : (011) M _ (012) F ____

(010) 3. Statut civil :

(011) Marié(e) ____
(012) Célibataire ____
(013) Divorcé(e) ____
(014) Séparé(e) ____
(015) Partenaire en union libre ____
(016) Famille monoparentale ____
(017) Veuf(ve) ____

(010) 4. Langue parlée :

(020) À la maison :

(021) Français ____
(022) Anglais ____
(023) Autre (spécifiez) _____

(030) Au travail :

(031) Français ____
(032) Anglais ____
(033) Autre (spécifiez) _____

(010) 5. Scolarité

(011) Moins d'une 11e année (sec. V) ____
(012) 11e année complétée sans diplôme ____
(013) 11e année complétée avec diplôme ____
(014) Spécialisation _____
(015) Formation technique post-secondaire ____
(016) Études collégiales complétées ____
(017) Spécialisation _____
(018) Études universitaires ____ complétées ____
(019) Spécialisation _____
(020) Études post-graduées _____

(010) 6. Quel est votre lieu de naissance ?

(011) Ville :_____ _____
(012) Province :_____ _____
(013) Pays :_____ ____ _____

(010) 7. Avez-vous vécu la majeure partie de votre enfance et de votre jeunesse dans un milieu :

(011) Rural ____
(012) Urbain ____
(013) Banlieue ____
(014) Autre (préciser) _____

(010) 8. Avez-vous vécu la majeure partie de votre vie adulte dans un milieu :

(011) Rural ____
(012) Urbain ____
(013) Banlieue ____
(014) Autre (préciser) _____

No du répondant _____

(010) 9. Vous habitez la ville de (011) _____ depuis combien de temps (012) _____ ?

(020) 9a) Avez-vous habité une autre ville avant celle-ci ?

(021) Oui ____ (022) Non ____

(030) Si OUI, laquelle ? (031) _____

(040) 9b) Quelle est la raison principale dans votre choix de venir habiter cette ville-ci ? (041) _____

(010) 10. Depuis combien de temps habitez-vous votre logis actuel ? (011) _____

(010) 11. Êtes-vous :

(011) Propriétaire ____ (passez à la question 12)
(012) Locataire ____ (passez à la question 13)

(010) 12. Si vous êtes PROPRIÉTAIRE :

(020) a) Est-ce la seule maison que vous avez possédé ?

(021) OUI ____ (022) NON ____

(030) b) Si NON, de combien de maisons êtes-vous ou étiez-vous le propriétaire ?

(031) _____

(040) c) Avez-vous construit la maison que vous habitez ?

(041) OUI ____ (042) NON ____

(050) d) Si NON, avez-vous construit d'autres maisons qui vous appartenaient ?

(051) OUI ____ (052) NON ____

(060) e) Faites-vous présentement des remboursements sur une hypothèque ?

(061) OUI ____ (062) NON ____

JAMAIS EU D'HYPOTHÈQUE _____ (063)

(070) f) Feriez-vous appel à un contracteur ou à un spécialiste pour les réparations suivantes :

(071) À la structure de la maison ____
(072) À la plomberie ____
(073) À l'électricité ____
(074) Rénover une pièce ____
(075) Peinturer l'extérieur ____
(076) Faire du jardin ____
(077) Isoler la maison ____
(078) Autre (spécifiez) _____

_____

(010) 13. Avez-vous déménagé à l'intérieur de la ville ?

(011) OUI ____ (012) NON ____

(020) 13a) Avez-vous l'intention de déménager à l'intérieur de la ville ?
(021) OUI ____ (022) NON ____

(030) Pourquoi ? (031) _____

No du répondant _____

TRAVAIL

(010) 14. Depuis combien d'années AU TOTAL êtes-vous sur le marché du travail ?

(011) Moins d'un an ____
(012) 1 à 7 ans ____ (015) 24 à 31 ans ____
(013) 8 à 15 ans ____ (016) 32 à 39 ans ____
(014) 16 à 23 ans ____ (017) Plus de 40 ans ____

(020) 14a) Avez-vous quitté le marché du travail pour une ou plusieurs années ?

(021) OUI ____ (022) NON ____

(030) 14b) Si OUI, indiquez la période : (031) _____

(010) 15. Quel âge aviez-vous à votre premier emploi ? (011) _____

(010) 16. Dans quel domaine avez-vous acquis votre première expérience de travail ?

(011) Type d'industrie _____
(012) Poste occupé _____

(010) 17. Pourriez-vous dresser un tableau sommaire de vos emplois entre 1980 et 1987, en commençant par le plus récent ou celui que vous avez actuellement :

(020) (A) De (021)(mois) (022)(année) au (023)(mois) (024)(année) avec la compagnie (nom officiel) _____ (025), en tant que (titre du poste) _____ (026), faisant les tâches de (description) _____ (027), il fallait travailler _____ (028) heures par semaine, _____ (029) semaines par année.

(030) Raison du départ

(031) - mise à pied ____
(032) - abandon volontaire ____
(033) - fermeture de compagnie ____
(034) - raison de santé ____
(035) - contrat complété ____
(036) - travail saisonnier ____
(037) - enfants à la maison ____
(038) - enceinte ____
(039) - Autre _____

(040) (B) De (041)(mois) (042)(année) au (043)(mois) (044)(année) avec la compagnie (nom officiel) _____ (045), en tant que (titre du poste) _____ (046), faisant les tâches de (description) _____ (047), il fallait travailler _____ (048) heures par semaine, _____ (049) semaines par année.

(050) Raison du départ

(051) - mise à pied ____
(052) - abandon volontaire ____
(053) - fermeture de compagnie ____
(054) - raison de santé ____
(055) - contrat complété ____
(056) - travail saisonnier ____
(057) - enfants à la maison ____
(058) - enceinte ____
(059) - Autre ____

No du répondant _____

(060) (C) De (061) ___(mois) (062) ___(année) au (063) ___(mois) (064) ____(année) avec la compagnie (nom officiel) _____ (065), en tant que (titre du poste) _____ (066), faisant les tâches de (description) _____ _____ (067), il fallait travailler ___ (068) heures par semaine, _____ (069) semaines par année.

(070) Raison du départ

(071) - mise à pied ____
(072) - abandon volontaire ____
(073) - fermeture de compagnie ____
(074) - raison de santé ____
(075) - contrat complété ____
(076) - travail saisonnier ____
(077) - enfants à la maison ____
(078) - enceinte ____
(079) - Autre _____
_____

SI VOUS AVEZ EU D'AUTRES EMPLOIS DEPUIS 1980, UTILISEZ LE VERSO DE CETTE FEUILLE

(010) 18. Aux fins de la présente étude il est important de connaître le revenu total annuel de votre ménage. Il se situe dans quelle catégorie ?

(011) 0 à 9999 $ ____
(012) 10 000 à 14 999 $ ____
(013) 15 000 à 19 999 $ ____
(014) 20 000 à 24 999 $ ____
(015) 25 000 à 29 999 $ ____
(016) 30 000 à 34 999 $ ____
(017) 35 000 à 44 999 $ ____
(018) 45 000 $ et plus ____

(010) 19. Avez-vous un revenu d'appoint ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(010) 20. Si OUI, pouvez-vous estimer le montant annuel total qu'il représente ?

(011) 0 à 499 $ ____
(012) 500 à 1999 $ ____
(013) 2000 à 4999 $ ____
(014) 5000 à 9999 $ ____
(015) 10 000 à 14 999 $ ____
(016) 15 000 $ et plus ____

(010) 21. Est-ce une occupation que vous effectuez :

(011) à la maison ____
(012) selon des ententes contractuelles ____
(013) à la ferme ou sur vos terres ____
(014) de façon saisonnière ____
(015) échange de biens ou de services ____
(016) héritage ____
(017) autres (précisez) _____

(010) 22. Avez-vous déjà envisagé de mettre sur pied votre propre commerce ou entreprise ? OUI ____ (011) NON ____ (012)

(020) Pourquoi ? _____
_____ (021)

(010) 23. Combien de personnes vivent avec vous ? _____ (011)

Si aucune personne ne demeure chez vous, PASSEZ à la question 36.

(010) 24. Donnez l'âge et le sexe de chacune de ces personnes :

Âge ____ (011) - Sexe ____ (012) Âge ____ (015) - Sexe ____ (016)
Âge ____ (013) - Sexe ____ (014) Âge ____ (017) - Sexe ____ (018)

(010) 25. Avez-vous des enfants vivant avec vous ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

No du répondant _____

(010) 26. Avez-vous des parents vivant avec vous ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Combien ? ____ (021)

(010) 27. Y a-t-il d'autres membres du logis (ménage) qui travaillent actuellement ? OUI ____ (011) NON ____ (012)

(010) 28. Si OUI, combien à temps plein ? ____ (011)

(010) 29. Si OUI, combien à temps partiel ? ____ (011)

(010) 30. Parmi ces personnes, est-ce qu'il y en a qui travaillent pour la compagnie qui vous embauche (embauchait) ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(010) 31. Si OUI, combien ? ____ (011)

(010) 32. Est-ce que chaque membre de la famille (ménage) garde ce qu'il (elle) gagne, ou est-ce que tous les revenus sont mis ensemble ?

SÉPARÉS ____(011) ENSEMBLE ____(012)

(010) 33. Si les revenus sont gardés séparément, est-ce qu'il y a des membres du logis qui offrent une portion de leur salaire pour aider avec les frais domestiques ? OUI ____ (011) NON ____ (012)

(020) Pourquoi ? _____

_____ (021)

(010) 34. Est-ce qu'il y a des membres du logis qui sont sans emploi ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Combien ? ____ (021)

(030) Pour quelle compagnie travaille(nt) ou travaillait(ent)-il(s) ?

_____ (031)

(010) 35. Combien de personnes sont à votre charge ? _____ (011)

(010) 36. Suivez-vous présentement des cours de formation des adultes ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) En avez-vous déjà suivi ? OUI ____(021) NON ____(022)

(030) Pourquoi ? _____

_____(031)

(010) 37. Étant donné la situation économique de votre localité, croyez-vous que les éléments suivants peuvent aider dans la recherche d'un emploi ?
RÉPONDEZ à l'aide des chiffres 1 à 7
1 = «Aide énormément»
2 = «Aide beaucoup» 5 = «N'aide pas»
3 = «Aide moyennement» 6 = «Ne sait pas»
4 = «Aide peu» 7 = «N'a pas d'influence»

(020) scolarité ____
(030) âge ____
(040) sexe ____
(050) capacité de déplacement local ____
(060) expériences antérieures ____
(070) responsabilités familiales ____
(080) situation économique locale ____
(090) entraînement reçu chez un employeur ____
(100) formation continue ou cours aux adultes ____
(110) autres (précisez) _____

No du répondant _____

SECTION CONSOMMATION

(010) 38. Indiquez à quel degré vous pratiquez les activités suivantes :

		SOUVENT	À L'OCCASION	JAMAIS
(020)	- lire la revue «Protégez-vous»	____(021)	____(022)	____(023)
(030)	- d'autres revues spécialisées de consommation	____(031)	____(032)	____(033)
(040)	- écouter des émissions spécialisées à la télévision (par exemple : Télé-services)	____(041)	____(042)	____(043)
(050)	- ...des émissions à la radio	____(051)	____(052)	____(053)
(060)	- attendre et profiter des ventes	____(061)	____(062)	____(063)
(070)	- consulter les circulaires des magasins d'alimentation	____(071)	____(072)	____(073)
(080)	- faire des provisions d'un produit en solde	____(081)	____(082)	____(083)
(090)	- autre activité (précisez): _____	____(091)	____(092)	____(093)

(010) 39. Combien de cartes de crédit détenez-vous ? _____ (011)

Si vous n'en avez pas, PASSEZ à la question 43

(010) 40. Dans quelles circonstances utilisez-vous cette ou ces cartes ?

(011) - pour ne pas avoir à transporter trop d'argent ____
(012) - de façon régulière pour des achats précis ____
(013) - en cas d'urgence, pour me dépanner ____
(014) - pour me payer des extravagances ____

(010) 41. Qu'est-ce que vous achetez avec vos cartes habituellement ?

(011) _____ _____

_____

(010) 42. Trouvez-vous cela utile d'avoir une carte de crédit ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Pourquoi ? _____ (021)

(010) 43. Êtes-vous présentement responsable d'un prêt

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

Si NON, PASSEZ à la question 47

(010) 44. Il vous reste combien de temps à effectuer des paiements sur ce prêt ?

_____ _____ (011)

(010) 45. Pouvez-vous estimer le pourcentage de votre revenu mensuel que ce paiement représente ? ____ ____ % (011)

(010) 46. Quelles sont d'après vous les motifs valables pour contracter un prêt personnel ?

(011) - automobile ____
(012) - vacances ____
(013) - vêtements ____
(014) - meubles ____
(015) - équipement de sport ____
(016) - études ____
(017) - démarrer une entreprise ____
(018) - payer des dettes contractées antérieurement ____
(020) - autre (précisez) _____ ____ (021)

No du répondant _____

(010) 47. Achetez-vous vos biens de consommation courante (aliments, boissons, vêtements, médicaments, tabac, journaux, etc.) dans :
(vous pouvez cochez plusieurs réponses)

(011) - la ville ou vous habitez ____
(012) - la ville ou vous travaillez ____
(013) - la ville sur le trajet entre ces deux villes ____
(014) - une autre ville, précisez _____

(010) 48. Les amis que vous visitez ou à qui vous téléphonez le plus souvent habitent-ils dans la même ville que vous ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) - dans quelle(s) ville(s) ? _____ (021)

(010) 49. Les parents que vous visitez ou à qui vous télephonez le plus souvent habitent-ils dans la même ville que vous ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____ (12)

(010) 50. Pour les achats de biens durables ou semi durables pouvez-vous identifier les villes où vous avez fait vos derniers achats ?

	PRODUITS	VILLES	
(020)	- appareils électroménagers	_____	(021)
(030)	- appareils électroniques (téléviseur, vidéo, etc.)	_____	(031)
(040)	- équipements de sport	_____	(041)
(050)	- automobile	_____	(051)
(060)	- matériaux de rénovation	_____	(061)

(010) 51. Pour vos loisirs culturels, vous déplacez-vous vers :

		Oui	Non	nombre de fois/an	
(020)	- Montréal	___(021)	___(022)	_____	(023)
(030)	- Sherbrooke	___(031)	___(032)	_____	(033)
(040)	- Granby	___(041)	___(042)	_____	(043)
(050)	- Cowansville	___(051)	___(052)	_____	(053)
(060)	- Autre(s), précisez _____	___(061)	___(062)	_____	(063)

(010) 52. Quels sont les équipements culturels, sportifs ou éducatifs que vous utilisez régulièrement et dans quelles villes sont-ils situés ?

(020)	ÉQUIPEMENTS	(030)	VILLES
(021)	_____	(031)	_____
(022)	_____	(032)	_____
(023)	_____	(033)	_____
(024)	_____	(034)	_____

(010) 53. Êtes-vous membre d'une coopérative ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Si OUI, depuis quand êtes-vous membre ? _____ (021)

(030) De quelle genre de coopérative s'agit-il ?

(031) - consommation ____
(032) - financière ____
(033) - agricole ____
(034) - logement ____
(035) - autre(s), précisez _____

No du répondant _ _____

SECTION 2

TRAVAILLEURS(EUSES)

(010) 1. Êtes-vous membre d'un syndicat ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) 2. Si OUI, croyez-vous que ce dernier représente bien vos intérêts ?

OUI ____(021) NON ____(022)

(030) Pourquoi ? ____ _____ _____ (031)

(010) 3. Pour remplir les fonctions exigées pour le poste que vous occupez, avez-vous reçu un entraînement ou formation de votre employeur ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

Si NON, PASSEZ à la question 7.

(020) 3a) Si OUI, de quelle durée ? _ _ semaines ou _____ mois (021)

(030) 3b) Étiez-vous rémunéré pendant cette période ? OUI _ _(031) NON ___(032)

(040) 3c) Au plein salaire ? OUI _ _(041) NON ____ (042)

(050) 3d) Si NON, cochez la portion (environ) du plein salaire ?

0/5	1/5	2/5	3/5	4/5	5/5
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(051)	(052)	(053)	(054)	(055)	

(010) 4. Avez-vous bénéficié d'un programme gouvernemental pour cet entraînement/formation ? OUI ____ (011) NON _ _(012)

(020) 4a) Si OUI, de quel programme s'agissait-il ? _____ (021)

(010) 5. Est-ce que VOTRE EMPLOYEUR a bénéficié d'un programme gouvernemental pour cet entraînement/formation ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) 5a) Si OUI, de quel programme s'agissait-il ? _____ (021)

(010) 6. Croyez-vous que cet entraînement pourrait vous être utile pour vous trouver un autre emploi si, soudainement, vous perdiez le vôtre ?

OUI _ _(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Pourquoi ? _ _____ (021)

(010) 7. Est-ce que votre dernier emploi correspondait à votre expérience personnelle de travail ? OUI ____(011) NON _ _(012)

(020) Précisez, s.v.p. : _____ (021)

(010) 8. Depuis combien de temps travaillez-vous pour votre employeur actuel ?

(011) Moins d'un an ____
(012) 1 à 7 ans ____
(013) 8 à 15 ans ____
(014) 16 à 23 ans ____
(015) 24 à 31 ans ____
(016) 32 à 39 ans ____
(017) Plus de 40 ans ____

No du répondant _____

(010) 9. Est-ce un emploi .

(011) - à temps plein ____
(012) - à temps partiel ____
(013) - occasionnel ____

(020) Nombre d'heures par semaine · ____ (021)

(030) Nombre de jours par semaine · ____ (031)

(040) Est-ce un horaire variable ? OUI ____(041) NON ____(042)

(010) 10. Votre statut (temps plein, temps partiel ou occasionnel) résulte-t-il de :

(011) - votre décision
(012) - décision de la compagnie
Précisez : _____ (013)

(010) 11. Dans quel genre d'établissement travaillez-vous ?

(011) - siège social + usine de production adjacente ____
(012) - entrepôt ____
(013) - usine de production ____
(014) - usine de montage ____
(015) - autre (précisez) _____

(010) 11a) Quel poste occupez-vous actuellement au sein de cet établissement ?

_____ _____ (011)

(010) 11b) Description de vos tâches : _____ _____

_____ _____

(010) 12. Quel(s) bien ou service(s) produit ou vend la compagnie qui vous emploie ? ____ _____ (011)

(010) 13. Par qui avez-vous obtenu cet emploi ? Par le biais de :

(011) - centre d'emploi du Canada ____
(012) - service privé de placement ____
(013) - local syndical ____
(014) - annonce dans les journaux ____
(015) - visites au service du personnel ____
(016) - des amis/parents m'ont indiqué des postes disponibles (pushing) ____
(017) autres (précisez) _____

(010) 14. Préferiez-vous habiter :

(011) - plus près de votre travail
(012) - plus loin de votre travail
(013) - indifférent(e)

(020) Pourquoi ? _____ (021)

(010) 15. Souhaitez-vous changer d'emploi et faites-vous des démarches en ce sens ? OUI ____ 011) NON ____(012)

(020) 16. Si OUI, pour quelles raisons ?

(021) - santé et bien-être personnel ____
(022) - occasion de promotion ____
(023) - pour obtenir un meilleur salaire ____
(024) - je risque de perdre mon emploi ____
(025) - à cause de mes responsabilités familiales ____
(026) - besoin de changement ____
(027) - à cause de mon âge ____
(028) - autre(s) raison(s) _____ ____

No du répondant _____

(010) 17. À quelle distance de votre domicile est situé votre lieu de travail ?

(011) _____ kilomètres

(010) 18. Qu'est-ce que cela représente en terme de temps pour s'y rendre en voiture ? (011) _____ minutes

(010) 19. Vous rendez-vous directement de votre domicile à votre lieu de travail ? OUI __(011) NON ____(012)

(010) 20. Si NON, que devez-vous faire avant de vous y rendre ? (Par exemple, emmener les enfants à la garderie)
Précisez, s.v.p. : _____

_____ (011)

(010) 21. Quel mode de transport utilisez-vous pour vous rendre au travail ?

(011) Voiture ____ (passez à la question 22)
(012) Transport en commun ____ (passez à la question 25)
(013) Tout autre moyen ____ (passez à la question 26)

(010) 22. Si vous voyagez en VOITURE :
Êtes-vous conducteur, passager ou faites-vous du covoiturage ?

(011) - conducteur ____ (répondez à la question 23)

(012) - passager ____ (répondez à la question 24)

(013) - covoiturage ____

(010) 23. Si vous êtes conducteur, conduisez-vous seul ?

(011) Oui __

(012) - Ou avec des passagers réguliers ____

(020) Est-ce que ces passagers vous paient un certain montant ?

OUI ____(021) NON ____(022)

(010) 24. Si vous êtes passager, devez-vous payer le conducteur ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(010) 25. Si vous voyagez par le TRANSPORT EN COMMUN :

25a) S'agit-il :
(011) - du train ____
(012) - de l'autobus ____
(013) - d'un autre moyen de transport en commun ? ____

(020) Lequel ? _____ (021)

(010) 26. Autres moyens de transport :
(011) marcher __
(012) moto ____
(013) bicyclette ____
(014) faire du pouce ____
(015) autre moyen ? ____

(020) Lequel ? ____ (021)

(010) 27. Quel mode de transport utilisez-vous pour les activités autres que le travail ? VOITURE PERSONNELLE (011)

(010) 28. Croyez-vous que le mode de transport dont vous disposez limite vos possibilités d'emploi ? OUI ____(011) NON __(012)

(020) Pourquoi ? _____

_____ (021)

No du répondant _____

(010) 29. Est-ce que votre emploi actuel vous limite :
(011) - à faire des projets à long terme ___
(012) - à faire des voyages ___
(013) - à vous marier ___
(014) - à acheter une maison ___
(015) - à avoir des enfants ___
(016) - à retourner aux études ___
(020) - autre _____ (021)

(010) 30. Comment qualifieriez-vous les relations de travail à la compagnie où vous travaillez présentement ?

(011) - excellentes
(012) - bonnes
(013) - passables
(014) - laissent à désirer
(015) - mauvaises

(010) 31. Est-ce que les relations de travail sont meilleures ou pires, si vous les comparez aux relations de travail qui existaient il y a :

		Meilleures	Pires	Inchangées
(020)	6 mois	___(021)	___(022)	___(023)
(030)	Un an	___(031)	___(032)	___(033)
(040)	3 ans	___(041)	___(042)	___(043)
(050)	7 ans	___(051)	___(052)	___(053)
(060)	15 ans	___(061)	___(062)	___(063)

(070) 32. Pourquoi à votre avis ? _____ _____ _____ _____

_____ _____

_____ (071)

(010) 33. Est-ce que d'autres changements majeurs sont intervenus, au cours des dernières années, au sein de la compagnie qui vous emploie ?
Si OUI, cochez (020) :

Y a-t-il eu :

(011) - ralentissement du rythme de production ___
(012) - - augmentation du rythme de production

(013) - modernisation des techniques de production ___
(014) - automatisation/robotisation ___

(015) - hausse dans le nombre de travailleurs(euses) à temps plein ___
(016) - baisse dans le nombre de travailleurs(euses) à temps plein ___

(017) - hausse dans le nombre de travailleurs(es) à temps partiel ___
(018) - baisse dans le nombre de travailleurs(es) à temps partiel ___

(019) - augmentation du nombre requis des tâches de chacun ___
(120) - baisse du nombre requis des tâches de chacun ___

(121) - autre(s) (précisez) _____ _____

(010) 34. Est-ce que ces changements à votre emploi ont eu des effets positifs, négatifs, ou aucun effet sur votre : (011)

		Positif	Négatif	Aucun
(020)	(021) - salaire	___(022)	___(023)	___(024)
(030)	(031) - charge total de travail	___(032)	___(033)	___(034)
(040)	(041) - horaire de travail	___(042)	___(043)	___(044)
(050)	(051) - classification	___(052)	___(053)	___(054)
(060)	(061) - isolation au travail	___(062)	___(063)	___(064)
(070)	(071) - motivation face au travail	___(072)	___(073)	___(074)

No du répondant _____

(010) 35. Est-ce que la direction de la compagnie organise ou supporte : (si OUI, cochez)

(020) (021) - des activités sportives ____
(030) (022) - des activités communautaires (festivités locales, etc.) ____
(040) (023) - des services municipaux ____
(050) (024) - des activités scolaires ____
(060) (025) - autre(s) (spécifiez) _____

(010) 36. Est-ce que la direction de la compagnie : (si OUI, cochez)

(020) (021) - organise des réunions avec ses employés pour les tenir au courant de ses états financiers ____

(030) (031) - invite les employés à lui faire part de suggestions ou de commentaires face à l'organisation du travail ou la production ____

(040) (041) - invite la communauté à participer à ses réunions ____

(010) 37. Y a-t-il eu plus ou moins de services offerts aux employés au cours de ces dernières années ? (exemple : cafétéria, garderie, chambre de repos, activités sportives/récréation, transport, etc.)

(011) Plus ____
(012) Moins ____
(013) Inchangé ____

(010) 38. Craignez-vous pour votre emploi actuel ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Pourquoi ? _____

_____(021)

(010) 39. Croyez-vous que la compagnie pour laquelle vous travaillez se porte bien ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Pourquoi ? _____

_____(021)

No du répondant _____ _____ ___

SECTION 3

SANS EMPLOI

INFORMATIONS GÉNÉRALES

(010) 1. Quelle était la date de votre dernier jour de travail rémunéré ?

(011) jour ___ (012) ___ mois (013) ___ an

(010) 2. Est-ce la première fois que vous vous trouvez sans emploi depuis 1980 ? OUI ___(011) NON ___(012)

(020) 2a) Si NON, combien de fois avez-vous été sans emploi depuis 1980 ?

(021) Une (1) autre fois ___
(022) Deux (2) autres fois ___
(023) Trois (3) autres fois ___
(024) Quatre (4) autres fois ___
(025) Cinq (5) autres fois ___
(026) Six (6) autres fois ___
(027) Sept (7) autres fois ___
(028) Plus que 7 autres fois ___

À PROPOS DE VOTRE EMPLOI LE PLUS RÉCENT :

(010) 3. Étiez-vous membre d'un syndicat ? OUI ___(011) NON ___(012)

(020) 3a) Croyez-vous que ce dernier représentait bien vos intérêts ?

OUI ___(021) NON ___(022)

(030) 3b) Pourquoi ou dans quel sens ? _____

_____ (031)

(010) 4. Pour remplir les fonctions exigées pour le poste que vous occupiez, avez-vous reçu un entraînement ou formation de votre employeur ?

OUI ___(011) NON ___(012)

Si NON, PASSEZ à la question 7.

(020) 4a) Si OUI, de quelle durée ? ___ semaines ou ___ mois (021)

(030) 4b) Étiez-vous rémunéré pendant cette période ?

OUI ___(031) NON ___(032)

(040) 4c) Au plein salaire ? OUI ___(041) NON ___(042)

(050) 4d) Si NON, cochez la portion (environ) du plein salaire ?

0/5 1/5 2/5 3/5 4/5 5/5

___ _____

(051) (052) (053) (054) (055)

No du répondant _____ _____

(010) 5. Aviez-vous bénéficié d'un programme gouvernemental pour cet entraînement/formation ? OUI ____(011) NON____(012)

(020) 5a) Si OUI, de quel programme s'agissait-il ? _____
_____ (021)

(010) 6. Est-ce que VOTRE EMPLOYEUR a bénéficié d'un programme gouvernemental pour cet entraînement/formation ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) 6a) Si OUI, de quel programme s'agissait-il ? _____
_____ (021)

(010) 7. Est-ce que votre dernier emploi correspondait à votre expérience de travail personnelle ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Précisez, s.v.p. _____
_____ (021)

TRANSPORT

(010) 8. À quelle distance de votre domicile était situé votre lieu de travail ? (011) _____kilomètres

(010) 9. Qu'est-ce que cela représentait en terme de temps pour s'y rendre en voiture ? (011) _____ _____ minutes

(010) 10. Vous rendiez-vous directement de votre domicile à votre lieu de travail ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(010) 11. Si NON, que deviez-vous faire avant de vous y rendre ? (Par exemple, emmener les enfants à la garderie)
Précisez, s.v.p. : _____
_____ (011)

(010) 12. Quel mode de transport utilisiez-vous pour vous rendre au travail ?
(011) Voiture ____ (passez à la question 13)
(012) Transport en commun ____ (passez à la question 16)
(013) Tout autre moyen ____ (passez à la question 17)

(010) 13. Si vous voyagiez en VOITURE :
Étiez-vous conducteur, passager ou faisiez-vous du covoiturage ?
(011) - conducteur ____ (répondez à la question 14)
(012) - passager ____ (répondez à la question 15)
(013) - covoiturage ____

(010) 14. Si vous étiez conducteur, conduisiez-vous seul ?
(011) Oui ____
(012) - Ou avec des passagers réguliers ____

(020) Est-ce que ces passagers vous payaient un certain montant ?
OUI ____(021) NON ____(022)

(010) 15. Si vous étiez passager, deviez-vous payer le conducteur ?
OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

No du répondant _____

(010) 16. Si vous voyagiez par le TRANSPORT EN COMMUN :

16a) S'agissait-il :

(011) - du train ___

(012) - de l'autobus ____

(013) - d'un autre moyen de transport en commun ? ____

(020) Lequel ? _____ (021)

(010) 17. Autres moyens de transport :
(011) marcher ____
(012) moto ____
(013) bicyclette ____
(014) faire du pouce ____
(015) autre moyen ? ____

(020) Lequel ? _____ (021)

(010) 18. Quel mode de transport utilisiez-vous pour les activités autres que le travail ? _____ _____ _____ (011)

(010) 19. Croyez-vous que le mode de transport dont vous disposiez vous limitait dans vos recherches d'emploi ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Pourquoi ? _____
_____ (021)

(010) 20. Pendant cette période, bénéficiez-vous de prestations d'assurance-chômage ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Si NON, receviez-vous des prestations de bien-être social ?

OUI ____(021) NON ____(022)

(030) Si NON, receviez-vous une autre forme d'aide ? _____
_____ (031)

LA SECTION SUIVANTE VOUS DEMANDE DE CONSIDÉRER LES AJUSTEMENTS BUDGÉTAIRES QUE VOUS AVEZ DÛ ENTREPRENDRE SUITE À LA PERTE DE VOTRE EMPLOI

(010) 21. Depuis que vous êtez sans emploi avez-vous modifié (précisez s'il s'agit d'une augmentation ou d'une diminution) le temps alloué à chacune de ces activités ?

			Augmenté	réduit	inchangé
(020)	-	magasinage	____(021)	____(022)	____(023)
(030)	-	visite à des amis	____(031)	____(032)	____(033)
(040)	-	visite à des parents	____(041)	____(042)	____(043)
(050)	-	éducation des enfants	____(051)	____(052)	____(053)
(060)	-	entretien du logement	____(061)	____(062)	____(063)
(070)	-	cuisine	____(071)	____(072)	____(073)
(080)	-	couture	____(081)	____(082)	____(083)
(090)	-	jardinage	____(091)	____(092)	____(093)
(100)	-	sorties culturelles	____(101)	____(102)	____(103)
(110)	-	sorties sportives	____(111)	____(112)	____(113)
(120)	-	sorties dans les bars, club, restaurants...	____(121)	____(122)	____(123)

No du répondant _____ _____

(Suite de la question 21)

(130) - participation aux comités ou organismes... ____(131) ____(132) ____(133)

(140) - travail domestique ____(141) ____(142) ____(143)

(150) - Autre, spécifiez _____ ____(151) ____(152) ____(153)

(010) 22. Depuis que vous vous trouvez sans emploi, avez-vous commencé à vous impliquer dans les activités d'un groupe communautaire ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Si OUI, quel groupe ? _____ (021)

(010) 23. Est-ce que ce groupe est relié à :
Une recherche d'emploi ? OUI ____ (011) NON ____(012)

(020) La formation d'une coopérative de travail ?

OUI ____(021) NON ____(022)

(030) La formation d'une coopérative de consommation ?

OUI ____(031) NON ____(032)

(040) La formation d'une entreprise individuelle ?

OUI ____(041) NON ____(042)

(050) Autre fonction ? Laquelle ? _____
_____ (051)

(010) 24. Est-ce que des projets de vacances ou d'achats importants ont dû être abandonnés à cause de votre arrêt de rémunération ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Spécifiez lequel (lesquels), s.v.p. ? _____ (021)

(010) 25. Depuis que vous êtes sans emploi, identifiez les nouveaux éléments qui vous assurent un revenu :

(020) (021) - agriculture et vente de ces produits ____

(030) (031) - gardiennage ____

(040) (041) - un des époux a commencé à travailler ____

(050) (051) - prêt d'un ami/parent ____

(060) (061) - les enfants ont commencé à travailler ____

(070) (071) - économies personnelles

(080) (081) - «vente de garage» ____

(090) (091) - échanges de biens ou de services ____
Spécifiez lesquels ? _____ (092)

(100) (101) - travail «sous la table» ____
Spécifiez le travail : _____
_____ (102)

(110) (111) - Autre _____
Spécifiez _____ (112)

No du répondant _____

(010) 26. Depuis que vous êtes sans emploi, comment ces différents éléments du budget familial ont-ils été modifiés ?

		Hausse	Baisse	Aucun changement
(020)	- aliments	____(021)	____(022)	____(023)
(030)	- vêtements	____(031)	____(032)	____(033)
(040)	- transport	____(041)	____(042)	____(043)
(050)	- alcool et tabac	____(051)	____(052)	____(053)
(060)	- médicaments	____(061)	____(062)	____(063)
(070)	- loisirs	____(071)	____(072)	____(073)
(080)	- sports	____(081)	____(082)	____(083)
(090)	- garde des enfants	____(091)	____(092)	____(093)
(100)	- autre (spécifiez)			
	_____	____(101)	____(102)	____(103)

(010) 27. Si vous êtes PROPRIÉTAIRE, avez-vous tenté de renégocier votre hypothèque ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012) NE S'APPLIQUE PAS ____ (013)

(020) Pourquoi ? _____

_____ (021)

(010) 28. Si vous êtes LOCATAIRE, avez-vous déménagé afin de baisser vos dépenses de logement ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012) NE S'APPLIQUE PAS ____(013)

(010) 29. ENVISAGEZ-VOUS de déménager afin de baisser vos dépenses de logement ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(010) 30. Avez-vous été obligés de vendre certains de vos biens pour en tirer un revenu ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Spécifiez lequel (lesquels), s.v.p. : _____ (021)

(010) 31. Depuis que vous êtes sans emploi avez-vous davantage envisagé de mettre sur pied votre propre commerce ou entreprise ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Quel type d'entreprise ? _____ (021)

(010) 32. Avez-vous commencé à chercher du travail ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

Si NON, PASSEZ à la question 40.

(010) 33. Combien de temps, après avoir perdu votre emploi, avez-vous commencé à en chercher un nouveau ? _____ (011)

(010) 34. Jusqu'à présent vos recherches d'emploi visaient quel type de travail et se concentraient dans quelle(s) localités ?

(011) emploi(s) _____

(012) localité(s) _____

No du répondant _____ _____

(010) 35. Quand vous vous cherchez un emploi, vers lequel ou lesquels des éléments suivants dirigez-vous vos recherches ? Indiquez ceux qui vous ont déjà permi d'obtenir une entrevue.

ENTREVUE

(020) (021) - centre d'emploi du Canada ___ ___(022)

(030) (031) - service privé de placement ___ ___(032)

(040) (041) - local syndical ___ ___(042)

(050) (051) - annonce dans les journaux ___ ___(052)

(060) (061) - visite au service du personnel de différentes compagnies ___ ___(062)

(070) (071) - des amis ou famille m'ont indiqué des postes disponibles ___ ___(072)

(080) (081) - participation aux activités d'un groupe communautaire ___ ___(082)

(010) 36. Accepteriez-vous de déménager pour un emploi dans un domaine qui vous intéresse ?

(020) (021) - dans une autre ville ? OUI ___(021) NON___(022)

(030) (031) - dans une autre province ? OUI ___(031) NON ___(032)

(040) (041) - dans un autre pays ? OUI ___(041) NON ___(042)

(050) Précisez : _____ (051)

(010) 37. Accepteriez-vous de travailler selon un horaire de travail variable ?

OUI ___ (011) NON ___(012)

(010) 38. Avez-vous déjà accepté un emploi qui vous demandait de vivre loin de la maison ? OUI ___(011) NON ___ (012)

(020) Si OUI, quelle était la compagnie ? _____(021)

(030) À quelle distance étiez-vous ? _____(031)

(040) Étiez-vous absent pour plusieurs jours ? _____(041)

semaines _____(042) mois _____(043)

(050) Pourquoi aviez-vous accepter cet emploi ? _____

_____ (051)

(060) Accepteriez-vous de refaire ce type d'emploi aujourd'hui ?

OUI ___(061) NON ___(062)

(070) Pourquoi ? _____

_____ (071)

(010) 39. Parmi les alternatives d'emploi suivantes, lesquelles sont acceptables pour vous ?

(020) - (021) Faire le même type de travail dans la même ville ___

(030) - (031) Faire un travail différent dans la même ville ___

(040) - (041) Faire le même travail mais dans une ville différente ___

(050) - (051) Faire un travail différent dans une ville différente ___

(010) 40. Êtes-vous présentement impliqué dans un programme de perfectionnement ?

OUI ___(011) NON ___(012)

No du répondant _____

(020) 40a) Si OUI, quel est le nom du programme et de l'organisme qui le dispense ?

(030) (031) Nom du programme _____

(040) (041) Nom de L'organisme _____

(010) 41. Accepteriez-vous un emploi qui nécessiterait une nouvelle formation (retraining) ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

Si NON, PASSEZ à la question 44.

(010) 42. Dans quelles conditions accepteriez-vous de vous engager dans une nouvelle formation ?

(011) durée _____ semaines

(012) formation en usine ____

(013) formation à l'école ____

(010) 43. Quel devrait être le montant minimum ou le % minimum du salaire habituellement payé ?

(020) (021) _____ $

(030) (031) _____ %

(010) 44. Étant donné la situation économique locale, quel emploi souhaiteriez-vous obtenir et chez quel employeur ?

(020) (021) - Emploi-titre du poste _____
(030) (031) - Nom de la compagnie _____
(040) (041) - Titre d'industrie _____

(010) 45. Croyez-vous qu'il serait intéressant pour vous de réintégrer votre ancien poste chez votre ex-employeur ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

Pourquoi ? _____ (021)

(010) 46. Souhaitez-vous travailler dans une usine ou un bureau où les employés sont syndiqués ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012) INDIFFÉRENT ____(013)

(020) Pourquoi ? _____

_____ (021)

(010) 47. Seriez-vous prêt à participer à l'implantation d'un syndicat ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(010) 48. Vous est-il déjà arrivé de refuser un emploi ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Pourquoi ? _____ (021)

(010) 49. Est-ce que vous attendez une réponse positive d'un employeur (ou quelques employeurs) auprès desquels vous avez effectué des démarches ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012) NE SAIT PAS ____(013)

(020) (021) - Si OUI, de quel employeur ? _____

(030) (031) - Type d'entreprise ? _____

No du répondant _____

SECTION 4

MISE À PIED ET FERMETURE

(010) 1 Combien de fois avez-vous été mis à pied depuis que vous êtes sur le marché du travail ? _____ (011)

(010) 2. Quelle est la date de votre dernière mise à pied ? _____ (011)

(010) 3. (020) Quel était le nom de la compagnie ? _____ (021)

(030) - Quel était votre poste ? _____ (031)

(040) - Quel était le lieu de travail ? _____ (041)

(050) - Quel type d'industrie était-ce ? _____ (051)

(010) 4. Quelles ont été les raisons évoquées par la compagnie pour justifier cette mise à pied ? (011)

(012) - ralentissement de production
(013) - automatisation et/ou robotisation
(014) - problèmes financiers
(015) - l'usine ou le plan n'est plus rentable
(016) - baisse de la demande pour le produit manufacturé
(017) - autres (spécifiez) _____

(010) 5. Combien de temps, avant votre mise à pied, la compagnie vous a-t-elle informée de votre sort ?

(011) _____jours (012) _____mois (013) _____ans

(050) (051) cette mise à pied était temporaire ou définitive ? _____ (052)

(010) 6. Avant l'annonce de votre mise à pied, avez-vous subi une diminution de vos heures de travail ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Si OUI, précisez : _____

_____ (021)

(010) 7. Avez-vous eu la possibilité de prendre des journées ou demi-journées pour vous chercher un nouvel emploi ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Si OUI, étiez-vous rémunéré à votre plein salaire ?

OUI ____ (021) NON ____(022)

(010) 8. Êtes ou étiez-vous membre d'un syndicat ? OUI ____(011) NON____(012)

Si NON, PASSEZ à la question 9.

(020) 8a) Avez-vous reçu de la part de votre syndicat, une aide pour vous trouver un nouvel emploi ?

OUI ____(021) NON ____(022)

(030) 8b) Si OUI, de quelle forme d'aide s'agit-il ? _____

_____ (031)

(010) 9. Avez-vous reçu de la part de votre employeur une aide dans le but de vous procurer un autre emploi ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Si OUI, de quelle forme d'aide s'agit-il ? _____

_____ (021)

No du répondant _____

(010) 10. Comment qualifieriez-vous votre réaction suite à l'annonce de la fermeture ou à votre mise à pied ? (vous pouvez cocher plus d'un élément)

(011) - surprise ____ (016) - culpabilité ____
(012) - colère ____ (017) - angoisse ____
(013) - soumission ____ (018) - sentiment d'échec ____
(014) - frustration ____ (019) - indifférence ____
(015) - soulagement ____ (020) - joie ____

(021) Autre(s) ____ ____ _____

(010) 11. Votre syndicat ou la communauté dans laquelle vous vivez vous ont-ils manifesté une aide quelconque durant cette mise à pied ?

(020) 11a) Si OUI, de quelle façon ?
(021) - fonds de grève ____
(022) - soupers gratuits ____
(023) - paniers de Noël ____
(024) - aide à la recherche d'un autre emploi ____
(025) - aide à la recherche d'un salaire d'appoint ____
(026) - autres (précisez) _____

(010) 12. Est-ce que des projets de vacances ou d'achats importants ont dû être abandonnés à cause de cette grève ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) 12a) En quoi consistait ces projets ? _____ __
_____ ____ ____ _____ (021)

(010) 13. À cause de cette mise à pied, avez-vous été obligé de vous départir de certains de vos biens afin d'en tirer un revenu ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Si OUI, de quel genre de biens s'agissait-il ? _____(021)

(010) 14. Avez-vous été réembauché ? OUI ____(011) NON __(012)

Si NON, PASSEZ à la question 15.

(020) 14a) Si OUI, avez-vous été reclassé ? OUI ____(021) NON ____(022)

(030) À quelle date avez-vous recommencé ? _____ (031)

(040) Avez-vous retrouvé le même poste aux mêmes conditions ?

OUI ____(041) NON ____(042)

(050) Avez-vous subi un changement de vos heures de travail ?

(051) - plus d'heures ____
(052) - moins d'heures ____
(053) - aucun changement ____

(060) Autres changements (spécifier) _____ (061)

(010) 15. Avez-vous trouvé un emploi ailleurs ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Si OUI, quel est le nom de la compagnie ? _____ (021)

(030) Poste occupé ? _____ _____ (031)

(040) Date d'embauche : _____ ___ _____ (041)

(010) 16. Y a-t-il eu formation d'un comité de reclassement ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Si OUI, est-ce que le comité vous a déjà contacté à propos d'un emploi ? OUI ____(021) NON ____(022)

(030) Si OUI, combien de fois ? _____(031)

No du répondant _____

SECTION 5 E

SECTION GRÈVE

E1 1. Combien de fois avez-vous été impliqué dans une grève ? ____

E2 2. Quelle est la date du début de la grève dans laquelle vous avez été impliqué ? _____

E3 3. De quelle compagnie s'agit ou s'agissait-il ? _____
Liste 10

E4 - le titre de votre poste Liste 5

E5 - le lieu de travail Liste 3

E6 - le type de biens produits Liste 4

E7 - le genre d'entreprise Liste 2

4. Quelle était la nature du conflit ?

E8 - salarial ____
E9 - congé de vacances/santé/maternité ____
E10 - conditions d'emploi ____
E11 autres (précisez) _____ Code = 77

5. Combien de temps le conflit a-t-il duré ?
E12 EN _____ SEMAINES

E13 La grève est en cours actuellement ? _____

E14 6. Est-ce qu'une entente a réglé le conflit ? OUI ___(01) NON ___(02)

Si OUI :

E15 Avez-vous été reclassé ? OUI ____(C1) NON ____(02)

E16 Avez-vous réintégré le même poste aux mêmes conditions ?
OUI ____(C1) NON ____(C2)

E17 Si NON, pourquoi ? _____

E18 Si OUI, avez-vous subi un changement de vos heures de travail ?
(01) - plus d'heures ____
(02) - moins d'heures ____
(03) - heures inchangées ____

E19 - Y a-t-il eu d'autres changements ? (précisez)
_____

E20 Après la grève, diriez-vous que les conditions de travail étaient meilleures ou pires ? _____

E21 Si NON, Avez-vous trouvé un autre emploi ailleurs ?
OUI ____(01) NON ____(02)

Si OUI,

E22 - Quel est le poste occupé ? _____

E23 - Quel est le lieu de travail ? _____

E24 Si NON, que vous est-il arrivé ? _____

E7

No du répondant _____

E25 7. Lors de la grève, votre syndicat ou la communauté dans laquelle vous vivez vous ont-ils manifesté une aide quelconque ?

OUI ____(01) NON ____(02)

Comment : _____

7a) E24 - fonds de grève ____
E27 - soupers gratuits ____
E28 - panier de Noël ____
E29 - aide à la recherche d'un autre emploi ____
E26 - aide à la recherche d'un salaire d'appoint ____
E31 - autres (précisez) _____

E32 ✓8. Est-ce que des projets de vacances ou d'achats importants ont dû être abandonnés à cause de cette grève ?

OUI ____ (01) NON ____ (02)

E33 En quoi consistait ces projets ? _____

_____

E34 ✓9. À cause de cette grève, avez-vous été obligés de vous départir de certains de vos bien afin d'en tirer un revenu ?

OUI ____(01) NON ____ (02)

E35 Si OUI, quel genre de biens ? _____

_____

No du répondant _____

SECTION 6

QUESTIONNAIRE S'ADRESSANT AUX CONJOINT(E) DES PERSONNES QUI ONT ACTUELLEMENT UN EMPLOI

(010) 1. Détenez-vous actuellement un emploi ? OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

Si NON, passez à la question 6.

(010) 2. Si OUI, pouvez-vous nous donner quelques informations sur votre emploi ?

(020) (021) - le nom de la compagnie _____

(030) (031) - lieu de travail _____

(040) (041) - type d'industrie _____

(050) (051) - position occupée _____

(060) (061) - régime : à temps plein ____ OU (062) à temps partiel ____ ?

(070) (071) - description des tâches _____

(010) 3. Depuis combien de temps occupez-vous cet emploi ?

(011) _____années (012) _____mois

(010) 4. Depuis que vous travaillez, est-ce que vous ou votre ménage avez modifié le temps alloué à chacune de ces activités ?

			Augmenté	réduit	inchangé
(020)	-	magasinage	____(021)	____(022)	____(023)
(030)	-	visite à des amis	____(031)	____(032)	____(033)
(040)	-	visite à des parents	____(041)	____(042)	____(043)
(050)	-	éducation des enfants	____(051)	____(052)	____(053)
(060)	-	sortie avec les enfants	____(061)	____(062)	____(063)
(070)	-	entretien du logement	____(071)	____(072)	____(073)
(080)	-	cuisine/bricolage/jardinage	____(081)	____(082)	____(083)
(090)	-	sorties culturelles	____(091)	____(092)	____(093)
(100)	-	sorties sportives	____(101)	____(102)	____(103)
(110)	-	sorties dans les bars, club, restaurants...	____(111)	____(112)	____(113)
(120)	-	chasse et pêche	____(121)	____(122)	____(123)
(130)	-	participation à des comités ou organismes communautaire	____(131)	____(132)	____(133)
(140)	-	travaux domestiques	____(141)	____(142)	____(143)
(150)	-	participation religieuse	____(151)	____(152)	____(153)
(160)	-	éducation personnelle	____(161)	____(162)	____(163)
(170)	-	Autres (précisez)	____(171)	____(172)	____(173)

No du répondant __ _____

(010) 5. Votre salaire vous permet de participer au paiement de :
(En vous servant de l'échelle suivante, indiquez le degré de votre participation financière)

1 = totalement
2 = en grande partie
3 = à moitié
4 = un peu
5 = aucune participation monétaire

(020) - votre loyer ou hypothèque ____

(030) - votre voiture (achat, entretien, réparations) ____

(040) - les frais de transport ____

(050) - comptes domestiques (Bell, Hydro, etc.) ____

(060) - assurances ____

(070) - vêtements des enfants

(080) - éducation des enfants ____

(090) - effets personnels ____

(100) - vacances ____

(110) - loisirs familiaux _

(120) - régime d'épargne familial ____

(130) - régime d'épargne personnel ____

(010) 6. Êtes-vous actuellement à la recherche d'un emploi ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

Si NON, passez à la question 8.

(010) 7. Si OUI, quelles sont vos motivations face à cette recherche d'emploi ?

(011) - augmenter le revenu total du ménage ____

(012) - augmenter mon revenu personnel ____

(013) - satisfaction personnelle ____

(014) - sortir de la maison ____

(015) - les enfants n'ont plus besoin que je reste à la maison ____

(016) - mon époux(se) avait subi une baisse de salaire ____

(020) Autres, précisez _____ (021)

(010) 8. SI vous ne recherchez pas actuellement un emploi, pourquoi ?

(011) - je ne peux pas obtenir un salaire suffisant pour compenser les dépenses encourrues pour aller travailler ____

(012) - question de santé ____

(013) - je préfère rester à la maison pour l'éducation des enfants ____

(014) - pour le bon fonctionnement de mon ménage ____

(015) - financièrement je n'en ai pas besoin ____

(016) - choix personnel ____

(017) - découragement des recherches d'emploi ____

(018) - les emplois possibles ne me conviennent pas ____

(020) Autres, précisez ____ _____ _____ _____ (021)

du répondant ______ ______________

(010) 9. Quelle est, d'après vous, l'importance de votre revenu dans l'ensemble du revenu total de votre ménage ?

(011) - essentiel ____

(012) - aide beaucoup ____

(013) - représente un supplément __

(010) 10. Pouvez-vous quantifier de façon approximative la proportion de votre revenu sur le revenu total de votre ménage ?

______ __________ % (011)

(010) 11. Croyez-vous que l'emploi de votre conjoint(e) soit menacé ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012) NE SAIT PAS ____(013)

(020) Pourquoi à votre avis ? ______________________________

______ ____(021)

(010) 12. Si OUI, est-ce que vous croyez que face à une telle situation, vous devriez participer plus activement au soutien financier ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(010) 13. Selon vous, est-ce que les conditions de travail de votre conjoint(e) vous permettent une vie de couple ou de famille intéressante ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Dans quel sens ? ______________________________

____(021)

(010) 14. Votre conjoint(e) semble-t-il(elle) satisfait(e) de son emploi ?

Oui ____(011) NON ____(012)

(020) Dans quel sens ? ______________________________(021)

(010) 15. Si NON, a-t-il(elle) l'intention de se chercher un nouvel emploi ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

No du répondant _____ _____

SECTION 7

QUESTIONNAIRE S'ADRESSANT AUX CONJOINT(E) DES PERSONNES EN SITUATION DE NON-EMPLOI

(010) 1. Détenez-vous actuellement un emploi ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

Si NON, PASSEZ à la question 5

(010) 2. Si OUI, pouvez-vous nous donner quelques informations sur votre emploi ?

(020) (021) - le nom de la compagnie _____

(030) (031) - lieu de travail _____

(040) (041) - type d'industrie _____

(050) (051) - position occupée _____

(060) (061) - régime à temps plein ____ ou à temps partiel ____(062)

(070) (071) - description des tâches _____

_____

(010) 3. Depuis combien de temps occupez-vous cet emploi ?

_ années (011) _____mois (012)

(010) 4. Depuis que votre conjoint(e) est sans emploi, votre participation financière a augmenté pour le paiement de Indiquez en notant :

1 = totalement
2 = en grande partie
3 = à moitié
4 = un peu
5 = aucune participation monétaire

(020) - votre loyer ou hypothèque ____

(030) - votre voiture (achat, entretien, réparations) ____

(040) - les frais de transport ____

(050) - comptes domestiques (Bell, Hydro, etc.) ____

(060) - assurances ____

(070) - vêtements des enfants ____

(080) - éducation des enfants ____

(090) - effets personnels ____

(100) - vacances ____

(110) - loisirs familiaux ____

(120) - régime d'épargne familial ____

(130) - régime d'épargne personnel ____

(010) 5. Êtes-vous actuellement à la recherche d'un emploi ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

Si NON, PASSEZ à la question 8

(010) 6. Si OUI, aviez-vous entrepris des démarches de recherche d'emploi avant que votre conjoint(e) se retrouve sans emploi ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

Si NON, PASSEZ à la question 9.

(010) 7. Si OUI, quelles étaient vos motivations face à cette recherche d'emploi ?

(011) - augmenter le revenu total du ménage ____
(012) - augmenter mon revenu personnel ____
(013) - satisfaction personnelle ____
(014) - sortir de la maison ____
(015) - les enfants n'ont plus besoin que je reste à la maison ____
(016) - mon époux(se) avait subi une baisse de salaire ____

(020) Autre, précisez _____ (021)

No du répondant _____

(010) 8 Si vous ne recherchez pas actuellement un emploi, pourquoi ?

(011) - je ne peux pas obtenir un salaire suffisant pour compenser les dépenses encourrues pour aller travailler ____

(012) - question de santé ____

(013) - je préfère rester à la maison pour l'éducation des enfants ____

(014) - pour le bon fonctionnement de mon ménage ____

(015) - financièrement je n'en ai pas besoin ____

(016) - choix personnel ____

(017) - découragement des recherches d'emploi ____

(018) - les emplois possibles ne me conviennent pas ____

(020) Autres, précisez ____ _____ (021)

(010) 9. Parmi les éléments suivants, identifiez par un «+» ceux qui se sont améliorés par un «-» ceux qui se sont dégradés dans votre vie familiale. Marquez un «0» pour ceux qui n'ont pas changé

(020) - communication entre vous et votre conjoint ____

(030) - éducation des enfants ____

(040) - relation avec les enfants ____

(050) - relation avec les parents ____

(060) - relation avec les amis ____

(070) - vie culturelle ou sportive ____

(080) - votre rôle au sein de la famille ou du ménage ____

(090) - votre position sociale ____

(010) 10. Le revenu du ménage a-t-il diminué depuis que votre conjoint ne travaille plus ?

OUI ____(011) NON ____(012)

Si NON, pourquoi ? _____

_____ (013)

(010) 11. Suite à l'arrêt de travail de votre conjoint, comment vous êtes-vous ajusté (en tant que ménage ou famille) pour vivre avec un revenu total diminué ?

(020) Cochez les éléments qui vous procurent un revenu d'appoint

(021) - travaux domestiques ____
(022) - agriculture et ventes des produits ____
(023) - produits (spécifiez) _____
(024) - gardiennage ____
(025) - autres _____

(030) Indiquez avec un + ou - les ajustements de dépenses que vous avez dû faire

(031) - alimentaires ____
(032) - vestimentaires ____
(033) - loisirs et sports ____
(034) - transport ____
(035) - logement ____
(036) - autres _____ _____

No du répondant _____

(010) 12. Depuis que votre conjoint est sans emploi, avez-vous modifié le temps alloué par votre ménage et par vous personnellement à chacune de ces activités ?

			Augmenté	réduit	inchangé
(020)	-	magasinage	____(021)	____(022)	____(023)
(030)	-	visites à des amis	____(031)	____(032)	____(033)
(040)	-	visites à des parents	____(041)	____(042)	____(043)
(050)	-	éducation des enfants	____(051)	____(052)	____(053)
(060)	-	sorties avec les enfants	____(061)	____(062)	____(063)
(070)	-	entretien du logement	____(071)	____(072)	____(073)
(080)	-	cuisine/bricolage/jardinage	____(081)	____(082)	____(083)
(090)	-	sorties culturelles	____(091)	____(092)	____(093)
(100)	-	sorties sportives	____(101)	____(102)	____(103)
(110)	-	sorties dans les bars, club, restaurants...	____(111)	____(112)	____(113)
(120)	-	chasse et pêche	____(121)	____(122)	____(123)
(130)	-	participation à des comités ou organismes communautaires	____(131)	____(132)	____(133)
(140)	-	travaux domestiques	____(141)	____(142)	____(143)
(150)	-	participation religieuse	____(151)	____(152)	____(153)
(160)	-	éducation personnelle	____(161)	____(162)	____(163)
(170)	-	Autres (précisez) _____	____(171)	____(172)	____(173)