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**RECONSIDERING STAPLE INSIGHTS:
CANADIAN FORESTRY AND MINING TOWNS**

by
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A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
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Abstract

The purpose of the thesis is essentially to elaborate, and to a lesser extent to test the relevance of a theoretical framework focussing simultaneously on the spheres of industry, work and community in staple-specific contexts, explicitly in Canadian forestry and mining single-industry towns (SITs). The framework builds two ideal types of these towns by drawing from the main approaches that have addressed the topic in political economy, labour and community studies. The core underlying argument is that a reconsideration of some neglected staple insights constitutes a legitimate endeavour.

The framework stresses that forestry SITs have more: of an elite model of power structure, separate work and community social arrangements, individualistic income strategies, as well as lower class consciousness and numerous contradictory class locations; while mining SITs have more: of a class model of power structure, overlapping work and community arrangements, income strategies framed in secondary relations terms, as well as a higher class consciousness and fewer contradictory class locations..

After a brief introductory chapter, the second, third and fourth ones extensively review and interpret the literature, gathering empirical material and theoretical considerations useful to the comparative theoretical framework. The latter is detailed and its claim circumscribed in Chapter five; its relevance is tested in the two last chapters by using it as a backdrop to explain staple specific patternings regarding the organization of work in the main resource sector and women's experience in the family.

Acknowledgements

I foremost wish to acknowledge the contribution of my supervisor, Wallace Clement, and members of my comprehensive examination committee, Bruce McFarlane and Pat Armstrong. The many formal as well as informal meetings leading to the presentation of this thesis allowed me to benefit from their cogent criticism and constructive advice; they helped me to clarify several issues and, in challenging ways, to stay focussed on both my empirical base and theoretical claim.

The writing of the thesis has been a lengthy process and over several years has profited from discussions with various scholars, in particular Terry Nosanchuk, John Harp, Charles Gordon, Allan Steeves and Caroline Andrew who provided me with both valuable ideas and encouragement during this endeavour.

Finally, I want to thank my husband, José Havet, who has been an unfailing source of support throughout the preparation and writing of the thesis, and has incited me to continue in difficult periods.

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Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

Historically, the explanation of Canada as a unique society — and namely different from the American frontier theory — has been coined around an identification with natural resource extraction, i.e., the staple theory as elaborated by H.A. Innis ([1930], 1956; 1936) and others (Lower, 1936; Mackintosh [1923], 1984; Creighton [1937], 1984; Fowke, 1946) from the 1920s to the 1940s.¹ So, resource features were considered relevant to the understanding of the shaping of the country, in particular of its settlement patterns, regional diversity, and growth and shifts in demand for staple products. The staple helped explain the broad configuration of the country’s “geography and history”; but it was also seen as specifically leaving its imprint on its “society” — most clearly on aspects such as stratification systems in the opening of new resource heartlands, institutional nets, workforce composition, and identities related to the way of life in early resource contexts (cod fishers, *coureurs des bois* of the fur trade, square timber barons and lumberjacks, colliers, prairie settlers, etc.).

The original staple authors, thus, combined many facets of Canadian society in a single theory, and for this reason remain benchmarks for many of the arts and social sciences disciplines. However, their relevance was questioned, first, indirectly in the 1950s and 1960s which marked a period where the country’s early history was examined through a narrowed economic scope; then directly, in the 1970s, when the “Canadian studies” tradition was redefined in a “new” political economy mode, where scholarship — again on a backdrop of contrasting Canada with the United States — adopted more critical and

multidisciplinary viewpoints that favoured a serious examination of dependency and class. This mode sprang from a “revisiting” of the early staple theory, and focussed on one of H.A. Innis’ key insights: his open-endedness regarding the outcomes of increasing specialization in one core resource (Watkins, 1977). This open-endedness regarding outcomes (i.e, development vs. underdevelopment) was given an essentially negative bent and seen as detrimental in the present and in the long term. As a result, Canada’s history was generally interpreted as one of dependency, and exploitation by American capital of the country’s resources, labour, and state.²

While the above Innisian key insight was kept although modified, another one of equal importance — at least in my view — was discarded: the relevance of the nature of the staple and the specificities of the staple environment in the examination of social phenomena. It was seen as incompatible with Marxism and, more pointedly, as commodity fetishism (McNally, 1981), therefore, as explaining these phenomena in a deterministic and static fashion by using geographic/physical/material features. The view is that the nature of the staple and the specificities of the staple environment do not impact on social outcomes, and therefore are irrelevant; only social relations matter. Staples have to be strictly examined within the frame of the latter, most notably of the social relations of production. For example, what role do staples play — if any — in the evolution from purely petty commodity to purely proletarian relations of production? This example is most defining in the sense that the exploitation of all staples are expected to evolve into the purely proletarian/monopoly capital stage; and so, staple features as such are not relevant since the rationale of capital not only always prevails, but is also ruthlessly constant. At

best, labour can react to this and mitigate outcomes, but its basis of action is the union and national/international union pressure; in other words, there are neither particular staple issues, nor significant responses from local bases of solidarity.

So, from the 1970s onwards, there has been a paradigm shift from the staple theory towards a Marxist, class, international capital, universalistic explanation of the economic and social history of the country. Within this general research context, the present work aims at retaining major contributions of the post-1970s political economy mode, while bringing back the staple specificity and elements related to it, such as the idea of variation in work arrangements, the relevance of the local community, as well as differences in sense of place, identities and systems of values. In concrete terms, this has many implications, most notably as well as broadly, to examine how monopoly capital articulates at the local level: what type(s) of managers does capital have and how do they act? How does the SITs' industry sphere associate and congeal with community elites? What types of work organization prevail and how do they evolve? etc.; which corresponds to examining how the nature of the staple and the specificities of its environment "colours" the outcomes of capital's domination in these towns.

The aim of combining major contributions of the staple theory and the post-1970s political economy is very general indeed, and as such corresponds more to an alternative research mood than to a theoretical perspective per se, a feature which may be enhanced by the fact that this work is not based on original primary data and consists essentially in an extensive critical discussion of the literature. So, in order to better delimit the endeavour, it will be informed by the following hypothesis: "in Canadian forestry and

mining single-industry towns (SITs)³, the nature of the staple⁴ impacts significantly on the features of these towns' work and community spheres, in particular on the latter's power structures, and on workers and/or residents' perception." This hypothesis considerably narrows the research's scope: the "bringing back of the staple specificity" referred to above is carried out through a comparison between two types of SITs, is limited to these, and in fact as much as possible to towns where the economic base rests on extractive activities. The focus is, thus, on logging SITs (even if the work generally refers to forestry ones) and on mining SITs (implying underground mining, yet recognizing that ore processing, as well as other secondary and tertiary sector activities may be a substantial part of their economic base).⁵

What is now the "significant impact" alluded to in the hypothesis; in other words, what is the work's major claim? In broad terms, first, that an elite model is more relevant to the examination of the power structure and social arrangements in forestry towns given the relative diversity of their power bases; while a class model is more relevant to such an examination in mining towns given that these bases are more exclusively economic, and besides more obviously linked to one dominant enterprise. Second, that the said power structure and social arrangements of the work and community spheres tend to be rather separate in forestry towns, but largely overlap in mining towns.

In more specific terms, the work's claim is that (1) in forestry towns, workers establish varied patron-client relationships and have more individualistic income strategies; the reverse applies to mining towns, where work and social relations are framed more strictly in secondary relations terms. (2) In forestry towns, social differentiation is more

pronounced, yet alienation is reduced at the local level, resulting in workers' and residents' lower class consciousness and social expectations; in mining towns, social differentiation is minimal, but alienation is high at the local level, resulting in workers' (and selectively in residents') antagonistic class views. (3) In forestry towns, the power structure in the work and community spheres is complex, which makes it more stable in spite (or because) of its relative independence from industry; in mining towns, this structure is more simple and more authoritarian, and lacks legitimacy because of its direct dependence in relation to industry. (4) In forestry towns, political and administrative authorities act in more rational/legal ways; this is less the case in mining towns, which increases the reality and perception of the domination of industry. (5) Forestry towns are characterized by a significant mix of traditional and modern modes of production, which obscures class interests, among other reasons because this mix tends to multiply contradictory class locations (E.O. Wright, 1978); mining towns are more characterized by a modern capital-industrial mode of production, which clarifies and polarizes class interests, among other reasons because there is a reduced number of contradictory class locations.

The above is, thus, a summary of the work's claim. Throughout the various chapters, its whole is usually referred to as the "comparative theoretical framework" or simply as the "framework" which, so, constitutes the claim per se.⁶ In spite of the summary form, it is hoped that it adequately evidences that the present endeavour is above all an exercise in theory construction. In other words, it does not intend to build empirical types of Canadian forestry and mining SITs, to be exhaustive in this or in related investigations, or to reflect and interpret the most recent data concerning these towns. This last point

needs to be underlined. Indeed, the last twenty years or so have witnessed a relative — but obvious — decline of “community studies”, which is well reflected in the fact that the most important efforts reviewed in this work tend to be dated. However, despite (or maybe because of) this decline, it is hoped that the work is relevant in theoretical as well as concrete terms given that (Canadian) SITs are still “there”, and remain important in varied contexts and ways.

The preceding introductory pages have outlined that this work is: concerned with Canadian forestry and mining SITs, in particular with their work and community spheres; advancing that in both types of towns, these spheres are influenced in different fashions by the nature of the staple and the specificities of its environment; aiming at partially bridging the gap between the staple theory and the post-1970s political economy; essentially a theoretical discussion based on an extensive critical review of the literature; circumscribed by a broad hypothesis and informed by an explicit claim presented as a comparative theoretical framework. So, the topic, general methodology and theoretical underpinning of the work have been sketched, leaving as a last task of these introductory pages to present the work’s overall structure and comment on the shaping of its argument. Such an exercise must necessarily begin by dealing with the three sections of this introductory chapter: they successively further discuss the SIT topic, general methodology and theoretical underpinnings.

As suggested above, studies of Canadian SITs have definitely become less numerous and prominent during the last twenty years or so; thus, Section 1.1 points out the general importance of these towns, focussing particularly on forestry and mining SITs. Section 1.2

clarifies how this object of study will be dealt with: it legitimizes the literature review format of the work, and comments on the latter's features and purpose, i.e., it is empirically grounded, relies on ideal types, is comparative and aims to construct a middle range theory. Finally, Section 1.3 proposes a state of the art effort by organizing the literature into four broad approaches that have addressed the object of study.

The work's actual structure and shaping of the argument will now be addressed. They concern, thus, Chapters 2 to 7; and reflect a research process which has been lengthy, but has hopefully followed a logical sequence. It is the just-mentioned state of the art effort which started the entire endeavour. Given my initial lack of familiarity with the area of investigation as well as lack of a clear research agenda, I first tackled — somewhat randomly — the best known and most important authors who have examined the topic, i.e., those who *a posteriori* were regrouped under the heading “Institutions” and are, by and large, pertaining to political economy, labour history, and dependency research traditions; and “Collectivities”, and are, by and large, focussing on the study of social organizations and institution building (corresponding respectively to the Approaches 1 and 2 of Figure 1, p. 24). The authors under the heading “Institutions” are reviewed in Chapter 2, and those under “Collectivities” in Chapter 3. These reviews underline simultaneously the rigour of many of these investigations; but also their at times competing interpretations, contradictory insights and oversight of the implications of incidental observations, which are all the more challenging to consider given the investigations' very quality.

The need to reduce this empirical as well as theoretical tension led to the idea of an “informed staple-ization” of the study of the two types of SITs. This informed staple-

ization is made explicit in the work's hypothesis; and the discussion of its rationale and scope occupies Chapter 4 which makes use of (1) selected data and ideas gathered from authors regrouped under the headings "Class, Gender" and "Networks" (corresponding respectively to Approaches 3 and 4 of Figure 1, p. 24); (2) neglected staple insights gathered from authors regrouped under the headings "Institutions" and "Collectivities" (Approach 1 and 2); and a few specific aspects of H.A. Innis' contributions.

The wide review of the literature of Chapters 2 and 3, as well as de facto of Chapter 4, leads in Chapter 5 to a semi-formal theoretical comparative framework of the two types of SITs, focussing mainly on their work and community spheres, and on their differences rather than similarities. This framework constitutes the work's claim, which aims to be as rigorous as the "empirical theory" building allows, thus, its semi-formal format, as well as an extensive circumscribing of, both, the meaning of the main concepts of the hypothesis and the scope of the work's core aspects.

The two last chapters (6 and 7) selectively test the relevance of the framework by using it as a backdrop to explain the two types of staple specific patterning in regards to the organization of work in the main resource sector (especially the labour process) and women's experience in the family. Obviously, other SIT dimensions could have been fruitfully selected in order to identify such patternings, for instance, the general situation of seniors, law and order issues, migration or recruitment questions. While the selection of the two chosen dimensions is clearly arbitrary, their study is of interest because they (1) are referred to in the literature, yet their patternings are seldom contrasted in a systematic

fashion; (2) are central to daily life; and (3) point to subtle as well as decisive differences in those patternings.

The work ends by a brief “Conclusion” that summarizes it; then stresses that “space”, “nature” and related concepts are close to the notion of “nature of the staple and specificities of the staple environment” presented here, and argues that all are as socially constructed as are “time” and its related concepts. This defense relies on various sociologists, philosophers and geographers, pertaining, by and large, to the Marxist tradition; and essentially backs the idea that an informed staple-ization outlook is neither static nor essentialist.

1.1 Historical and Empirical Relevance of the Topic

It is a truism to assert that forestry and mining have been — and still are — of great importance to Canada; but while the economic dimension of this importance is undisputed, the social, political and cultural dimensions remain controversial despite — or maybe because of — the central place that both have occupied in “Canadian studies”. This is evidently a broad issue and it would be impossible to address it here, even sketchily. However, it may be appropriate to underline at least one of its aspects: in spite of the economic importance of their work, presently as well as historically, loggers and miners constitute only a tiny minority of the country’s labour force. For the years 1901, 1921, 1941, and 1961, the respective percentages were 0.9, 1.2, 1.9 and 1.2 for loggers; and 1.6, 1.5, 1.7 and 1.0 for miners/quarrymen. Similarly, in 2002, the number of employed

individuals in forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas, represented 1.76 percent of workers employed in all industries.⁷

Such numbers obviously question the historical and empirical relevance of this work's topic. Nevertheless, one of the first sociologists in Canada, S.D. Clark, found this topic unavoidable to grasp the country's ethos, the SIT being a microcosm of Canadian society:

“there was much about the society of the northern industrial community [i.e., the SIT] that was not unlike the society of the Canadian community at large In the structure of its economic life, the country as a whole has had much of the character of a single-enterprise community.” (Clark, 1968: 248)

He attributes this similarity to: the exploitation of natural resources, a very narrow economic base, the requisite of large accumulations of capital, precocious corporate forms of business enterprise, and substantial state involvement. Even if this work only partially agrees with these causes, as well as the stated similarity, the latter was established — and confirmed by several authors, among both the original staple theorists and contemporary political economy scholars. Whatever the case may be, S.D. Clark's causes at least point to one clear fact: Canada's frontier period — and modern-day frontier — are not characterized by individualism, but are on the contrary very “structured”.

It is not surprising that Canadian social scientists (in history, political science, economics, sociology) have contributed remarkably to political economy given such a structured aspect of the frontier. So, Canada's frontier settlements have been — in relative and broad terms — “captured” early on by monopoly capital/metropolitan interests, being as a result more “modern” than the American frontier. Whereas the latter is often

interpreted as leading to the creation of entrepreneurship and private property, and eventually, large corporations; in Canada, it is large corporations — in collaboration with the state and occasionally the Church — that seized control and organized the frontier. In summary, the Canadian frontier, and SITs, were less individualistic, more modern and stratified. Such features make it readily fit into a class model (corporation/capital versus workers/labourers). Or again, the top-down and metropolitan institutional “transplants” reflecting, for instance, government intervention, Church action as well as capital’s policies, make the frontier readily fit into an elite-mass model. In any case, both models agree well with a general political economy framework, that is: top-down, homogenizing and unresponsive to local variations.

While the preceding paragraphs explained and legitimized the parallel being made between the Canadian frontier/SITs and society, it also pointed to some disagreement with the undifferentiated characterization of the former, notably with S.D. Clark’s causes of the stated parallel, and for this reason suggested competing class versus elite-mass interpretations of frontier society. As is manifest from the previously outlined claim of this work, this disagreement is rooted in a critical view of the assumption of uniformity of SITs and frontier social patterns, and in a hoped-for informed staple-ization of SIT studies. These towns have been characterized in many different ways by disciplines, theoretical approaches, statistical analyses, government agencies, for instance, according to income levels, isolation from metropolitan areas, regions, population size, etc. In other words, the advocated staple-ization constitutes only one potential way of questioning the said

uniformity, and it may not even be the most revealing. Still, it is the one that this work aims to explore, in combination with a low/micro-level of analysis.

S.D. Clark and others asserted, thus, that there are similarities between the frontier/SITs and Canada, which indeed gives the study of the former a significant historical and empirical relevance. Other similarities of the (Canadian) frontier/SITs which are equally relevant to consider are those with contemporary globalization.⁸ Indeed, both are characterized — again in a general way given the undifferentiated feature of the frontier/SITs — by: the centrality of transnational corporations; their penetration in peripheral areas that previously were mere hinterlands of the world system; the resurgence of comparative advantages as sole structuring factor; and the state's *de facto* incapacity or unwillingness to modify impacts or to orient change; and the resulting direct and unimpeded link between transnational corporations and the very local level.

In a postmodern world, there is an increased emphasis on differentiation between social groups (in terms of rights, identities, issues), increased differentiation between regions within states, and an increased polarization between centre and periphery at both the national and international levels. Such trends combined with the demise of the state and long-term planning have led to a degradation of work within industrial sectors as transnational corporations move to “cheaper” areas in less developed countries. The question here is to explore if a staple-ized outlook — specifically in forestry and mining — contribute to our understanding of these phenomena.

Political economy studies dealing with (Canadian) forestry issues (including SITs) have adopted a scope that until recently seldom exceeded the national level, their most

characteristic topic being: the impact that the issue at hand has “within” Canada, in particular how it affects the national internal economy. Typical examples are: the consequences of American — or foreign — corporate capital buying Canadian SITs (Marchak, 1983), the consequences of Japanese interests likewise buying Alberta pulp mills and controlling SITs (Pratt and Urqhart, 1996), the effect of excessive logging (Swift, 1983) and state regulation of crown lands (Tollefson, 1998). Presently, however, in a more globalized world and with a heightened postmodern outlook, the scope of the analyses becomes more international, specifically linking developed and less developed countries. For example, a global trade-off is seen between reducing logging in British Columbian soft-wood forests, and the expansion of eucalyptus and fast-growing tree plantations in Brazil; and for instance, P. Marchak (1995) is favourable to this “displacement” for economic and environmental reasons: to generalize eucalyptus plantations in the tropics in areas that have already been logged, “may save” British Columbian spruce and “national” crown lands, especially the remaining temperate old-growth forests (while simultaneously, one may add, easing the pressure on Indian lands and satisfying varied local demands). In sum, given a globalizing world and a heightened postmodern outlook, political economy studies dealing with forestry — in particular those addressing the degradation of work — have recently become more international in scope, preoccupied with environmental problems, and sensitive to indigenous claims and local “sustainable” models.

The contention is here that in spite of a relative similarity of research environments and pressures, political economy studies dealing with (Canadian) mining issues (including SITs) have — clearly, although moderately — evolved in a different way. Indeed, in these

studies, the internationalization of the scope of research appeared earlier (for example, M.H. Watkins, 1973; J. Swift, 1977; and W. Clement, 1981); and the broadening of issues which came to include environment considerations and indigenous (or local) claims, is weaker and more tardy. In other words, in mining studies, the referred-to internationalization began earlier, has been more pronounced, and has focussed above all on economics and labour rights; while in forestry studies, the internationalization is more recent, has been less pronounced, and tends to more readily include local considerations about the environment and indigenous claims.⁹ Thus, the nature of the staple colours forestry and mining SITs contexts, and this does transpire in political economy analyses of the globalization issues they confront.

If one assumes that these studies reflect the actual cases of forestry and mining, then, their differences hold some potential for characterizing new global patterns of local outcomes. For instance, mining may remain more in an international labour perspective and strategy, where problems of income, working conditions, workforce mobility, health and safety regulation — in developed *and* less developed countries — are predominant; thus, the rallying issues are closely linked to identity, and local reactions to globalization are canalized — and amplified — mainly through the channel of union/workers solidarity across borders. Whereas in forestry, the patterns of local reactions may tend more toward networks of allies whose focus inseparably combines resource and work issues (for instance, “environmentalists” seeking to globally preserve forests, organizations defending sustainable lifestyles, and pressure groups advocating the local governance of resources or indigenous rights); therefore, the rallying issues stem from the local and are more diverse,

leading to more negotiated and fragile solidarities. In sum, it is argued here that — in theoretical as well as concrete terms — it is valid to consider that the staple colours, and to some extent patterns, resource extractive economic activities and the social arrangements characterizing them, in forestry and mining at levels of analysis ranging from the local, to the national and global.

1.2. Methodological Orientations

Investigating a comparison between forestry and mining SITs could have been fruitfully done by conducting case studies or by statistical analysis; however, these are not the methodological orientations adopted in this work. Rather, it is a secondary research endeavour; and more specifically, a literature review and synthesis of mainly Canadian research efforts that have taken small resource towns as object of study or context. This endeavour draws together findings from many studies, pertaining to varied theoretical perspectives, methodological orientations, disciplines and areas of concern — among these, especially political economy, labour history, industrial sociology and community studies.

The rationale for favouring a literature review format is largely linked to the view held here of the relevance of Canadian SIT studies. As commented upon in the previous section, these towns' historical/empirical significance has been, and still is considerable for the country; and it may remain so in a globalized world. Parallely, it was suggested — and will be extensively argued in the work — that these studies have, simultaneously, generated and been the result of intense theoretical debating that evolved mainly from an Innisian

onset to a neo-Marxist debunking. Such empirical importance and theoretical debates explain the extensiveness, diversity and frequent quality of research efforts concerning Canadian SITs.

In order to prove this work's claim, contrasting two (or two sets of) case studies could, indeed, have been carried out. However, I resisted such an option, which may be explained by a sense of near futility when considering the very extensiveness, diversity and frequent quality of the relevant literature which is, furthermore, often comprised of case studies; i.e., would an additional two (or two sets of necessarily less detailed) case studies carry enough weight to make the work's claim convincing? At best, the answer did not appear as straightforward. A statistical analysis appeared likewise, i.e., its potential to cogently corroborate the work's claim did not look strong given, in particular: the diversity of the relevant research efforts; their frequent quality and rigour, but based on clearly focussed investigations and circumscribed empirical evidence; the discrepancies between available statistical variables (found in censuses, provincial surveys, federal agencies, corporate associations, etc.); and also because the aspects of the structures and relations — and ensuing perceptions — that interested me most are difficult to seize from statistical analyses.

It may be argued that the above rationale for resisting the case studies and statistical analysis options is grounded in essentially negative terms, and does not present definitive reasons to reject them. Whatever it may be, in contrast, a literature review format looked more promising, and this for the very reasons that rendered the two other options questionable. In effect, the extensiveness, diversity and frequent quality of the many

relevant research efforts, as well as the intensity of, and considerable shifts in theoretical debates suggest that an extensive literature review could be of interest: generally, as a state-of-the-art exercise allowing a pause and possibility to think afresh; and specifically, as a means to corroborate the work's claim thanks to such pause and reflection.

As mentioned earlier, the work is empirically grounded, relies on ideal types, is comparative and aims to construct a middle-range theory. As far as the first feature is concerned, this means identifying concepts, insights and ideas that contribute to the building of the work's comparative theoretical framework, but only considering them if backed in the reviewed literature by carefully outlined empirical evidence. It should be noted that this evidence has been occasionally drawn from efforts that did not deal with Canadian forestry and mining SITs. Indeed, a few classic American community studies, or again selected textile, fishing or agricultural towns have been regarded as relevant because they address aspects that need to be conceptualized, such as the SITs' single-industrial base, resource environment, labour organization, community sphere and family relations.

The second feature of the work to be dealt with here is that it relies at its core on ideal types of forestry and mining SITs. As viewed by M. Weber, such types are:

“conscious deviations from concrete experience. They [are] structured in such a way as to accentuate some attribute or group of attributes relevant to [the] research purpose or interest. In a sense, they [are] a distortion of the concrete in that all empirical occurrences appear[] as deviations from the theoretically conceived ideal type. This is the real core and basic significance of the ideal type.” (McKinney, 1966: 23)

Consequently, this work does not intend to be a compilation of what has already been examined about Canadian forestry and mining SITs, or a detailed description of their respective characteristics; and its theoretical framework is not intended to apply to a statistical or even empirical generalization (which does not contradict the “empirical” feature of the work as such). The purpose is to diverge from, and in a way go beyond such compilation or description: (1) in order to attain a typology that does not contrast what these towns are or eventually what they should be, but what they might be if their structures and relations were entirely rational within the frame of the typology; and (2) based on the latter, to build a comparative theoretical framework that is conducive to a better understanding of the identified differences between the two types of SITs.

What are now the links between the identified ideal types (and subsequent comparative theoretical framework) and, on the one hand, the author’s normative leanings and, on the other hand, the eventual elaboration of a generalized analytical theory. As far as the former is concerned, M. Weber is straightforward when stating that:

“From the logical point of view, ... the normative ‘correctness’ of these [ideal-] types is not essential. ... [T]he investigator may construct either an ideal-type which is identical with his own personal ... norms, and in this sense objectively ‘correct’, or one which ... is thoroughly in conflict with his own normative attitudes ... Or else he may construct an ideal-[type] of which he has neither positive nor negative evaluations. Normative ‘correctness’ has no monopoly for such purposes.” (Weber; ed. and transl. by Shils and Finch, 1949: 43)

M. Weber deals here essentially with the ethical neutrality. But whatever the dimension considered, the said neutrality is the attitude strictly adopted in this work: its ideal types of forestry and mining SITs have no “positive or negative evaluations”, be it theoretically,

ideologically, ethically or otherwise. Indeed, one of the core purposes of this investigation is to show that *both* ideal types are relevant when interpreting such towns' social arrangements, and this, in contrast to the concerned literature that has frequently tended to exclude either one or the other.

The claim to the simultaneous relevance of both ideal types directly points to the issue of the link between these types (and subsequent theoretical framework), and the eventual elaboration of a generalized analytical theory. If one reconsiders M. Weber's work in this respect, he:

“did not ... confine himself to ideal-type theory. Indeed he could not without leaving his types entirely unrelated to each other. The attempt, which constitutes the principal theoretical aspect of his work, to construct a systematic classification of ideal types, really involved him by implication in generalized analytical theory. His sociological theory is neither the one nor the other but a mixture of both.” (Parsons, 1968: 626)

In line with such a perspective and endeavour, the thesis aims at relating as often as possible the two ideal types, thus, the elaboration of a *comparative* theoretical framework. As well and as constantly, it hints at ideas pointing to a generalized analytical theory, which however remains largely implicit and whose insights are loosely scattered throughout the thesis.

It has frequently been asserted that sociology, as a discipline, is necessarily comparative given that the study of any social phenomenon implies that it be held as either typical, representative or unique; hence, recalling the classic quotation by E. Durkheim that “comparative sociology is not a particular branch of sociology; it is sociology itself, insofar as it ceases to be purely descriptive ... ” (1895; as cited in Marshall, 1998: 102). The

comparative character of sociological investigations may be broadly categorized in accordance to two contrasted polarities. At one extreme, there are investigations that seek similarity, usually starting from some well-defined a priori theory which is then tested in different social (and possibly historical) contexts; for example, modernization or dependency analyses often adopt this form. At the other extreme, there are investigations that seek variance, trying to shed light on the difference between social (and possibly historical) contexts in order to understand better the particular arrangement that are found within each; as shown above, M. Weber's comparative studies offer a good example.

This work adopts a comparative method that looks for variance between forestry and mining SITs. Obviously, such units of analysis are much smaller than the nation-states of many comparative sociological investigations; and the SIT context is not as historically grounded as is frequently the case in the latter. Still, the major critique that has been addressed to comparative investigations may equally pertain to this work: a tendency to overlook sociological explanations and overemphasize context, i.e., does the forestry/mining SIT comparison not overemphasize context?; and given its staple focus, does it not overemphasize spatially grounded variables? Besides stating my awareness of the problem, the best defence against such possible criticisms is to show that the variance within each type of SITs is clearly outweighed by the variance between them, a point that is repeatedly stressed in the work.

The last feature to be addressed is that the overall aim is to construct a middle-range theory, which R. Merton views as:

“intermediate to general theories of social systems which are too remote from particular classes of social behavior, organization and change to account for what is observed and those detailed orderly descriptions of particulars that are not generalized at all.” (Merton, 1967: 39)

So, for this author — who coined the concept — such a theory is neither totally comprehensive and abstract, nor is it singularly empirical. As far as the former characteristics are concerned, they refer to theories where explanations tend to situate every case in an all-encompassing perspective; the (sociological) research tradition being that such explanations, by and large, favour structural factors as well as broad historical progressions and/or socio-economic environments. As far as the latter characteristic is concerned, it refers to theories where explanations tend to be only applicable in rigorously circumscribed conditions; the (sociological) research tradition being that such explanations, by and large, favour the inclusion of aspects of subjectivity and action, including individual ones.

In accordance to the above characteristics, the work’s comparative theoretical framework gives causal priority to structural factors, but links them to locality and specificity; as well, it accepts the general underpinning of political economy, but *de facto* contests the relevance of some of its replications. As a result, the framework cannot, and does not, aim at a clear-cut powerful argument, such as Marxism, for instance: it attempts to link structure and agency bringing in some aspects of social action and consciousness, without being cognitive in nature (which is parallel to C.W. Mills’ view of middle-range, as linking history and biography; Mills, 1957: 7). It is especially these features that the work’s two last chapters illustrate in the areas of concern.

In summary, it is hoped that the literature review format, “empirical” groundedness, reliance on ideal types, comparative method and middle-range theoretical scope are, indeed, well suited to back the work’s claim.

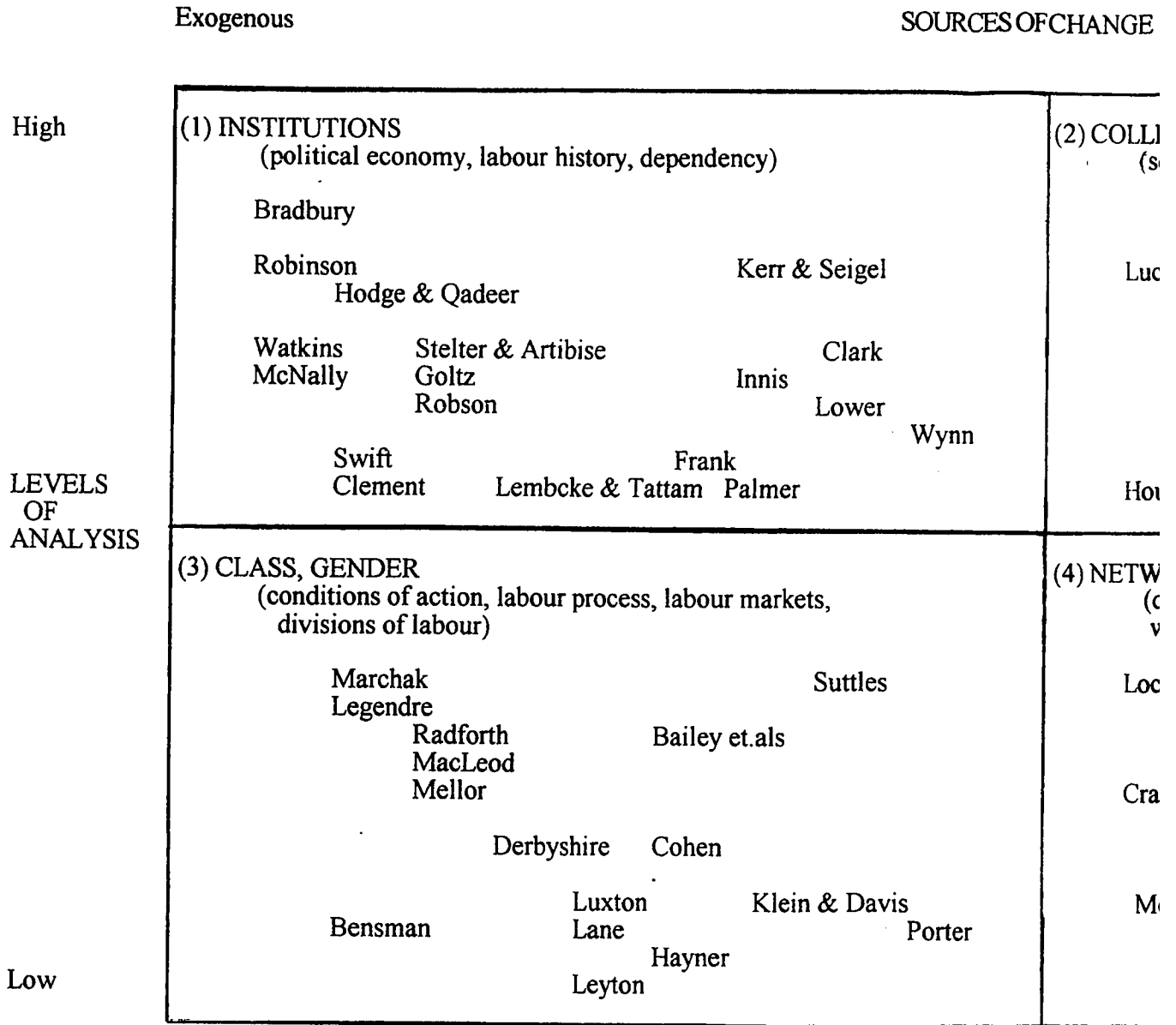
1.3 Four Approaches Addressing SIT Issues

This section presents a broad categorization organizing the literature dealing with Canadian SIT issues. As suggested earlier, this literature is extensive and well justified, above all for economic reasons but also for social ones, be they historical or actual. It contains competing theoretical views, particularly regarding the degree to which economic variables prevail over others in shaping social structures, actions and values at local (and national) levels. So, for instance, when discussing the dominant values of SIT workers (and residents), the interpretations range from viewing them as determined by situations termed as “industrial feudalism” (Institute of Local Government, 1953: 33) and characterized by perceptions of dependence and passivity (Freudenburg, 1992: 306; Gartrell et als., 1984: 85-87) , to viewing them as explaining something close to grass-roots industrial avant-guard behaviours (Johnson, 1978: 46-81), and characterized by assertiveness and action-oriented attitudes (Sandberg, 1992: 2; Hodgins et al., 1989: 249-66). While the contradictory aspect of various similar polarized views could be debated, there is no question that, in the field of study, theoretical assumptions underlying investigations frequently tend to give overriding importance to certain variables and processes, and to an extent predict the outcomes of research or at least narrow the scope of reality to a limited range of

possibilities. This may be considered as unavoidable and even as the purpose of theoretical assumptions, but the issue here is one of degree. As previously suggested, the following literature review (as well as the categorization organizing the literature) has some exploratory and state-of-the-art features; as a result and contrary to the above-mentioned investigations, it seeks to avoid a narrowing of scope and selects elements of explanation reflecting the diversity within SITs rather than elements situating these towns in global processes which are more conducive to outlooks that standardize and reduce the complexity of the SITs social realities.

It is my contention that efforts which have addressed these social realities can best be regrouped into four broad sociological approaches demarcated by the axes of “sources of social change” and “levels of analysis” (See Figure 1, p. 24).¹⁰ The social change considered here occurs within the towns; and its sources may either be exogenous (originating outside the locality, mainly from broad economic and political forces) or endogenous (originating within the locality, in the sense of a significant range of auto-determination or adaptation at the local level). As far as the levels of analysis are concerned, higher level studies focus on the towns’ social structure, either on their social institutions and particularly their industries (when change is exogenous: Approach 1) or on local collectivities of actors (when change is endogenous: Approach 2). Studies adopting lower levels of analysis tend to centre on social actions occurring within the towns, either on the social conditions of these actions (when change is exogenous: Approach 3) or on the actors’ ends and definitions of specific situations (when change is endogenous: Approach 4). In terms of the theoretical orientations of these studies, Approach 1 situates SITs within

Figure 1. Location of a Set of Authors Addressing Single -Industry Town Topics Along the Axes of Social Change Sources and Levels of Analysis



Addressing Single - Industry Town Topics
 ge Sources and Levels of Analysis

SOURCES OF CHANGE

Endogenous

<p>dependency)</p> <p>Kerr & Seigel</p> <p>Innis Clark</p> <p>Lower Wynn</p> <p>Frank Tattam Palmer</p>	<p>(2) COLLECTIVITIES (social organization, institutional building)</p> <p>Lucas</p> <p>Hughes</p> <p>House</p> <p>Miner</p> <p>Pope</p> <p>Tonnies Baldwin</p> <p>Park Gans</p> <p>Stein</p>
<p>ss, labour markets,</p> <p>Suttles</p> <p>Bailey et.als</p> <p>Cohen</p> <p>n Klein & Davis</p> <p>Hayner Porter</p> <p>n</p>	<p>(4) NETWORKS (definitions of situations, adaptations, family and kin, way of life, sense of place)</p> <p>Lockwood</p> <p>Freudenberg</p> <p>Cram Porteus</p> <p>Mooney</p> <p>Harrison</p> <p>Harvey</p> <p>Larouche</p> <p>Matthews</p> <p>Stewart</p>

broader societal forces and generally adopts political economy perspectives; Approach 2 examines SITs mainly as social entities and, by and large, pertains to community studies; Approach 3 essentially deals with social groups sharing common situations and focusses on class, labour, or gender relations; and Approach 4 is more interpretive, emphasizing the cultural dimension as well as the relevance of individuals perceptions.

Figure 1 constitutes the general frame of the literature review carried out in Chapter 2 (Institutions), Chapter 3 (Collectivities) and Chapter 4 (Class/Gender and Networks which are briefly discussed in one section). Yet it has clear limitations. First, it does not intend to be exhaustive: both the inclusion and exclusion of some authors could be debated. The reason for this selection of authors is essentially the limits of the endeavour, thus, for convenience; however, the selection aims at constituting a representative sample of how SITs have been approached — mainly in sociology — as a subject or context of analysis and theorizing in Canadian studies. This is why several of the studies selected are older and are “classics” on the topic, since this is helpful in delineating the evolution of research fields that have addressed various facets of SITs. Second, the literature review does not aim to be comprehensive: it does not discuss all authors to the same extent, but only centres on some of the most characteristic ones in order to raise points that are seen as extending to other authors (situated in the Figure in close proximity) who espouse a similar perspective. And third, it does not pretend to be rigorously detailed: it takes into account only some of these authors’ studies, i.e., those most explicitly dealing with SITs, and herein discusses solely either their main thrust, or points deemed particularly relevant to this work. This is indeed a limiting factor given the frequent diversity, general methodological

sophistication and at times evolving theoretical orientation of the authors' research, which means that few of them should strictly be confined to a single spot on the Figure, and probably not even to a single Approach. In other words, the fourfold categorization is necessarily based on broad generalizations; however, it is hoped to be a useful attempt.

Thus, Chapters 2, 3 and the relevant section in Chapter 4 consider each approach separately, and identify which elements of their authors' arguments are thought to apply to a Canadian resource context and more particularly to this work; however, their treatment is quite unequal in quantitative terms, the first and second approaches are examined in detail, while the latter two are lumped together in a short section. There are basically two reasons why this is the case. First and as already hinted at, the approaches grounded in political economy and community studies regroup the most important authors in the field of research and the studies deemed more classical, and so, these approaches have been the most defining of the SIT image in Canada. These approaches also contain the greatest number of studies, community studies probably slightly fewer than political economy, especially if one narrowly refers to the Canadian content of these studies. The third and fourth approaches focussing on class/gender and on networks (and which favour culturalist views) regroup authors that are, by and large, more recent and represent newer theoretical perspectives on SITs; they also comprise fewer studies, especially in the last approach. Actually, the quantity of (sociological) investigations that may be located in the last approach is quite limited and one has to try harder to fill the fourth box of the Figure.¹¹ Second, the brief treatment of Approaches 3 and 4 may be explained by the fact that the last chapters of this work make frequent references to some of these authors: a more

detailed treatment would have made some discussions repetitive, a risk that is less serious for the authors and studies of Approaches 1 and 2 given their number as well as this work's main theoretical orientation which has as a starting point an effort to rejoin approaches focussing on institutions and collectivities.

Chapter 2. THE STUDY OF THE SITs' INSTITUTIONS

As identified in Figure 1 (p. 24), the authors grouped in the first approach termed "Institutions" consider change in SITs as essentially exogenous and focus on the highest levels of analysis within these towns. Political economy seems to be the main thrust of their studies; the theoretical orientations they favour are dependency, the metropolitan thesis and labour process. Here of fundamental importance are economic institutions, thus, essentially the towns' industry, which is seen as determining the character and evolution of aspects as diverse as the town site, the labour force, socio-political structures, and individual world views. Collectivities of actors at the local level are important only insofar as they represent instances of societal processes of class formation and class action. Therefore, SIT communities are seen as appendages to industries rather than more varied institutional nets accommodating the needs of individuals throughout their life cycle and adapting their functions to the specifications of populations. Emptied of their socio-cultural dimension, these towns seem to largely remain static, fixed in a company-town mode, where the overwhelming domination of industry over all spheres of social life evokes alienation and resignation. Or at most, the source of change seems to follow a linear historic progression of proletarianization of workers and of alienation through the workplace. Although this alienation has the potential of arousing worker resistance, the relation of power between capital and labour is definitely skewed to the advantage of the former.

The most deterministic view of SITs are the dependency theses, which conclude that “Canadian resource towns and their socio-economic problems can only be understood when they are viewed as integral and dependent parts of what has become a global system of resource extraction” (Bradbury, 1979: 147). Here of major importance is the interaction between corporate, financial and political institutions at international levels. Communities, regions and often even countries are entirely abstracted, while the towns are not even examined spatially as hinterlands; the following statement is particularly strong because it is articulated by a geographer:

“recognizing that it is not metropolis or hinterland per se that is the focus of the analysis, but the economic landscape of capital accumulation and uneven development.” (Bradbury, 1979: 147)

In this perspective, SITs are for corporations merely a fixed cost, a “necessary evil” to resource exploitation (Robinson, 1962: 10), which can simply be written-off as a capital loss when the local production is no longer viable. The class structure is also defined at an international level; determinant class relations are those of the international corporate bourgeoisie with the “comprador” bourgeoisie who acts as a broker between the national operations and the international firm. The various small local managers are but “peons” and completely subordinated to the decisions of the “international class” (Bradbury, 1979: 156; Clement, 1978: 109).

The dependency theses are interesting because they may, for instance, convincingly explain the causes and process of SIT decline or closure through industry’s disinvestment and capital relocation; or rightfully attribute the distorted social characteristics of these towns (such as labour turnover, demographic imbalances, general impermanency) to

functional and intentional corporate strategies. More geographically oriented authors, investigating akin issues in a more empirical way, have depicted a similar dependency of the towns either on the local industry (Robinson, 1962) or on hierarchical urban systems (Hodge and Qadeer, 1983).

While these authors are, by and large, pointedly relevant when discussing the causes of many SIT features and social problems, they are frequently less so when advocating the means to solve the latter: they tend to deal with the instability of SITs by focussing on its *symptoms*, and hope to alleviate it through urban and regional planning. For instance, I. Robinson (1962) suggests efforts toward population retention through municipal incorporation, housing ownership and enhanced community amenities. Such suggestions are sharply incongruent with, for example, J. Bradbury's (1984: 138) claim that industrial disinvestment in local infrastructure only facilitates company withdrawal in periods of economic downturn by transferring property losses to individuals. In a similar fashion, the opposite solution of moving toward completely mobile town infrastructures, such as mobile homes or fly-in/fly-out arrangements, is an even more attractive option for industrialists (Douglas, 1984: 17). Greater efforts to integrate SITs in a regional (or even national) urban system have also been proposed as solutions to their possible decline or closure. This would be achieved, for instance, by increasing their dormitory role or expanding their service and/or public sectors, in order to diversify the towns' functions and reduce dependency relations. (Hodge and Qadeer, 1983: 97, 215). Such solutions, however, fall short from addressing the root cause of the SITs' economic and social instability. This is illustrated by a defining perspective of (mining) unions which does not emphasize infrastructure (i.e.,

capital) mobility, but rather greater mobility of the workforce by transferring skills and benefits to other towns or industries (MacDonald, 1984: 24). So, by focussing so much on the capitalists' rationale that views SITs essentially as infrastructures rather than collectivities, dependency theses tend to overlook important elements of solutions that would address problems of labour force isolation and immobility, as well as the social viability of these communities.¹

In summary, dependency theses convincingly outline the general dynamics and possible local impacts of a universal process of capital accumulation. But they have their limits by failing to see the diversity among SITs at social and even economic levels; paradoxically, authors adopting the theses as frames of reference have often hinted at such diversity by stressing the towns' need and capacity to independently carry out local initiatives in response to the above-mentioned impacts. It seems that such capacity varies in different conjunctures and is more visible in *some* Canadian SITs. So, for example, dependency theses appear well suited to explain the features of towns that, simultaneously, specialize in lucrative sectors (such as oil, diamonds, or pulp and paper), have capital-intensive industries, are most vulnerable to external market demands, and are isolated.² But they are not as well suited to explain the singularities of specific — and even more generalized features of — older towns that specialize in less lucrative sectors (such a coal, lumber or fish), have more labour-intensive industries, are operating in relatively depressed but stable markets, and may (or may not) be isolated.³

It is my contention that ultimately this failure to recognize differences between types of SITs resides in neglecting to give sufficient attention to local geographic factors,

labour force characteristics, as well as to longer historic trends (usually referring to social organization patterns predating the dominant company's implantation). This work aims at correcting such a neglect; and at doing so by comparing towns that: pertain to two different industrial sectors, and whose economic base includes the extraction of a resource, here, logging activities in surrounding areas and underground mining of minerals. Such features make the comparison theoretically more meaningful and methodologically more convenient.

The metropolitan thesis centres chiefly on community and wider institutional network issues, while nevertheless remaining in a dependency perspective. Economically, the towns are seen as warehouses: collecting staples for metropolitan centres and, in turn, distributing manufactured goods received from the metropolis to the local population. Culturally, the implantation of churches, schools or other institutions, is considered as bringing the metropolitan way of life to the new frontier (Stelter and Artibise, 1978: 7). What is striking about these analyses is how much they underline the urban character of lifestyles and attitudes of the populations. There does not seem to be any indigenous social structures and values to be integrated in the imported modern society, nor does the isolated frontier environment impact on the latter in any significant way. The SITs are considered as purely "colonial towns" in terms of functions and the thesis is applied regardless of whether they are mining (Stelter, 1974; Baldwin, 1979), forestry (Goltz, 1974) or hydro towns (Robson, 1985). The result of this inherent integration into a national society is an absence of local identity and a lack of opposition to the strongly polarized class structure existing within these towns.

Metropolitan thesis studies have insufficiently explored what I consider as the main strength of their model, i.e., its multi-institutional base. Indeed, given that the thesis emphasizes that *all* institutions of national society are brought to SITs and that industry is the dominant one, it would have been interesting to investigate — if and how — the various local institutions and elites contribute to legitimize the existing social order and to mask the company's domination. In fact, one article does hint at this area of concern, noting that “as the network of social institutions and controls continued to grow, so too did class divisions and pretensions” (Baldwin, 1979: 28); however the correlation is not examined further. In other words, the metropolitan thesis overall assumes that social consent is merely transplanted along with institutions:

“The citizens, it appears, saw no need to experiment. Familiar with the experience of older cities, they patterned the town's institutions and practices on southern models... Whatever provided continuity was cherished.” (Baldwin, 1979: 29)

In contrast to such a view, the just-mentioned “if and how” constitutes a central interest of the present work.

The labour process framework focusses, broadly, on the relations between labour and capital, in essence viewed as confrontational; and, specifically, on the role of technology therein. So, it addresses questions such as: what are the means by which capital accumulation can take place; what is the process of control over labour; what is labour's response to this control?

Labour process scholars represented here (and as a result, pertaining to Approach 1) assume an international context of increasing capital accumulation over resources. Such

an assumption is parallel to those of dependency and metropolitan scholars. But contrary to the latter, their investigations adopt lower levels of analysis that concentrate on the point of production; and have provided important contributions to understanding the actual process by which the subordination of workers takes place, and how capital utilizes technology and the division of labour to deskill and isolate workers.

Most noticeably as far as this work is concerned, labour process scholars have convincingly shown that the effect of the capitalization of industry is a reduced need of skilled and unskilled workers, and an overall homogenization of the working class, especially in mining; while simultaneously underlining that this process is not entirely automatic because labour, and particularly skilled labour like miners, do resist managerial strategies to reorganize their work (Clement, 1981: 299; 314-31). For instance, nickel miners (of Inco, in Sudbury, since the late 1970s) demonstrated a potential for greater solidarity despite an existing skill stratification, when all were faced with increasing proletarianization due to corporate strategies. Indeed,

“The net effect [of capitalization and increasing proletarianization] may well be a stronger more unified class in a political and ideological sense, since the impact of these processes tends to decrease traditional divisions within the working class between operations and maintenance, labourers and craft workers, and even surface and underground workers.” (Clement, 1980: 148)

The labour process framework is well adapted for analysing relations of production within a local industry, a corporation or a resource sector, and this work will make extensive use of its contributions. However, the framework does present problems in explaining comparative differences between resource sectors, such as mining and forestry.

In Canada, the early twentieth century marks the advent of industrial capitalist production in both these sectors, and the late 1940's and 1950's the advent of large-scale mechanization. But while the transformation of the social relations of production seems to have been considerable in mining as shown by W. Clement (1981), J. Swift's (1983) account of the forestry sector depicts a relative failure of changing the production process despite an increasing penetration by monopoly capital. Thus, while labour process studies have convincingly illustrated what happens in the case of several core industrial staples, such as oil, minerals or pulp, they fail to explain why others, such as lumber, have maintained a more "archaic" labour process.⁴ Or again, why certain practices characterized as precapitalist, such as the contract and bonus systems, have persisted in both forestry and mining sectors. This research will address such problems at length.

J. Swift, among others studying labour, considers that there still is no convincing explanation of why mechanization was so late to arrive and why there remains such a strong reliance on subcontracting in Canadian logging operations (Swift, 1983: 125-57). It is my contention that the difficulty to answer these questions satisfactorily may reside in a set of skewed focuses in labour process efforts: (1) by looking only at the workplace, to the exclusion of social relations within the community, (2) by looking only at the main industry's management and internal labour force, to the exclusion of small operators and local elites, (3) by abstracting the environmental character of the resource and concentrating on the technical factors of production, and (4) by ignoring the resistance of loggers to the rationalization of production, a rationalization which may partly stem from

previous modes of production, non-work forms of social organizations and/or cultural values.

Actually one may infer from J. Swift's analysis several possible explanations addressing why the forestry labour process retained a more "archaic" nature compared to mining. These are: the more rural nature of forestry towns which remained linked to farming until after the Second World War; the more independent nature of their labour forces due to the seasonality of logging operations and alternative work sources; the rather primary nature of relations between contractors and loggers which spill over into other spheres of social life; the more intricate local relations between operators, forest managers and politicians; as well as more generally, the survival of some elements of a mode of production predating the advent of industrial capitalism. It is my contention that such elements persist even if they are not entirely justifiable in terms of the dominant industry: they do because they affect specific functions that need to be fulfilled in these towns. As a result, they become "articulated fractions" of a more modern set of production relations (Sacouman, 1980: 234), i.e., they are not merely absorbed by the latter. This is an important idea as far as this work is concerned, and it will make extensive use of it, alongside the "possible explanations" listed above inferred from J. Swift's observations.

In sum, this work will frequently draw from labour process studies, but my main critiques when using their insights are, first, that these studies do not extend their scope widely outside the workplace to include the social structure of the community, this being the case even when they are sensitive to the nature of the resource and to the historical development of the industry (Radforth, 1982; MacLeod, 1983). And second, in more

methodological terms, their analyses, although detailed, usually have the inconvenience of remaining case studies from which it is difficult to make generalizations that encompass all similar communities within a same industrial (and resource) sector, and this being *a fortiori* so when comparing the experience of work and life between such sectors.

Whereas the theses and approaches of authors reviewed until now have focussed mainly on industry, other authors under the heading “Institutions” (Approach 1) have carried out investigations of broader scope, most notably by including the community sphere of SITs (Kerr and Siegel, 1954) or by emphasizing more the impact of the historic (Canadian) context (Innis, 1936; Lower, 1936; Wynn, 1981; Clark, 1962). Before reviewing these authors, it is important to underline that such a broader scope should not be interpreted in relation to these investigations’ date of publication or level of scholarly sophistication; but only in relation to theoretical or research topic orientations. In other words, the referred-to authors should be seen as being active alongside (and in some instances preceding) the scholars reviewed until now and where the levels of cross-fertilization of their approaches have in fact frequently been quite low.

Not surprisingly, these authors have been located at the right — and more particularly at the lower right — of the first box of Figure 1 (p. 24). Given the general bent of the present work, their relevant ideas will be reviewed in a more detailed manner. I will begin this discussion with a key idea of C. Kerr and A. Siegel: the mining sector was seen to have a very high propensity to strike while the lumbering sector had only a medium high propensity to do so (Kerr and Siegel, 1954: 190). They posit as general explanation of this phenomenon that it results from differences in the nature of the industrial environments,

and particularly from differences in the degree of integration of industrial groups into society as a whole. Thus, their general explanation stresses the variables of isolation and homogeneity of industrial communities, especially in strike-prone industries; and states that:

“The miners, sailors, longshoremen, loggers and to a much lesser extent, the textile workers, form isolated masses, almost a ‘race apart’. They live in their own communities... These communities have their own codes, myths, heroes and social standards. There are few neutrals in them to mediate the conflict and dilute the mass. All people have grievances, but what is important, is that all members of each of these groups have the same grievances: industrial hazards or severe depression, unemployment or bad living conditions (which seem additionally evil because they are supplied by the employer)... The employees form a largely homogeneous, undifferentiated mass — they all do about the same work and have about the same experiences.” (Kerr and Siegel, 1954: 191-92)

While the quotation broadly regroups mining and logging (as authors often do), it is my contention that the points it underlines actually suggest that (Canadian) mining towns approximate better the “isolated mass” image than forestry towns do. Indeed, they are not only more geographically isolated in relation to their metropolis but are as well within their region, since they are often in a “win or lose” situation in respect to neighbouring mining towns with which they compete within their ore belt (Suttles, 1972: 150-55, 166-69). There also exists more social isolation within these towns: families are atomized because their kin are dispersed across the country, workers are more clearly defined by their secondary ties to industry, and the social distance is greater between management and miners due to the absence of a commercial middle class and of a sufficiently numerous and autonomous professional elite. Simultaneously, mass layoffs and generalized unionization, which are characteristic of mining, mean that grievances are experienced at the same time. And

miners all have the same work experience, in the sense that they all work underground in dangerous work environments, on a mass shift schedule. The whole of these elements points to a homogeneous, undifferentiated mass situation.

In contrast, forestry towns are better integrated, be it: geographically, especially in relation to their region's river system or agricultural belt; economically, in respect to wood-related industries or tourism; and socially, individuals have, by and large, closer ties with their family and friends, as well as with varied social groups in their community and even their region. Such closer ties result from an array of factors. The most obvious ones seem to be the older rural origins of the settlement and the more renewable nature of the resource. More specific factors are that forestry towns have a greater diversity of elites, seen in the different types of middlemen and in the contractors, as well as in institutions that are more autonomous from the main employer; so, these elites and institutions have the capacity — and, by and large, they also have the motivation — to bridge the social distance between individuals and corporate managers. Finally, loggers are less a “homogeneous and isolated mass” because they rely more on family income strategies and on alternative sources of employment, both of which are linked to the seasonality of logging and often imply complex personal social networks. As a consequence of all the above features, in forestry towns, grievances are not necessarily experienced simultaneously, nor are these always directed towards the main employer and mainly expressed in economic class terms. In summary: due and to plurality of employers, contractors and elites, as well as to the rather primary relations established with them, grievances generally are dispersed, handled individually and resolved on a partly personal level.

C. Kerr and A. Siegel (1954: 193) see as opposite to the “isolated mass” situation, the “integrated individual and the integrated group”, which has the least propensity to strike. As explained above, forestry towns are good examples of the latter, although C. Kerr and A. Siegel (1954: 193) consider the agricultural community — which historically is mixed with forestry in the Canadian context — as a prototype of the non-militant community. The authors explain, in a footnote, why these communities would be acquiescent:

“In the more peaceful industries their inevitable grievances are dispersed — by stratification of the workers (as in steel), by scattering of the employees (as in agriculture), by absorption of the workers into a mixed economy (as in trade), by scattering of the targets (the employer, the landlord, the grocer, and the policemen being quite different people). The ‘mass grievance’, not the individual grievance, is the source of the greater social difficulty.” (Kerr and Siegel, 1959: 192)

What transpires from this insightful comment is an allusion to the multiplication of points of dependence and to a diffused socio-political structure; these ideas will be of key importance for this work.

By and large, C. Kerr and A. Seigel define the “isolated mass” concept in terms of the occupational group and not in terms of the social relations within the community. In Canada, it may be that the residents of mining towns could be seen: (1) as isolated homogeneous masses in terms of occupational status, (2) as heterogenous, atomized masses in terms of community due to the diverse social origins of their populations, and (3) as masses integrated in the wider society in terms of lifestyles, participation in international unions, etc. On the contrary, residents of forestry towns could be seen: (1) as heterogeneous and integrated in their regions in terms of occupational status, (2) as homogenous in terms

of the cohesion of their communities, and (3) as relatively isolated from modern society in terms of lifestyles, lower participation in unions, etc. To pursue the logic of these ideas could lead to interesting and lengthy developments. It is not the place here to attempt such an endeavour. However, it is useful to note these ideas derived from C. Kerr and A. Siegel because they show the fruitfulness of a comparative research, the only one among all the reviewed literature in this chapter. From C. Kerr and A. Siegel's work, this study will use several important ideas, especially those of the inclusion of the sphere of community in the scope of research, of a comparative analysis, of the importance of individual perceptions, and of the impact of the levels of transparency and centralization of the institutional structure.

This section will now consider the works of H.A. Innis (1936), A.R.M. Lower (1936), G. Wynn (1981) and S.D. Clark (1962). The first two scholars are the leading exponents of the staple thesis, particularly as applied to mining and forestry. G. Wynn is a more recent historical geographer analysing the forestry frontier in early nineteenth century New Brunswick. And S.D. Clark is an influential sociologist, and former student of H.A. Innis, who has considerably broadened the scope of the staple thesis.

This thesis is most noteworthy for viewing the economic and social development of Canada as a historic succession of staples, each one reaching its prime production period within a particular production function and social organization, to then fall into a period of relative stagnation following the advent of a new staple. Such a stagnation may lead to a "staple-trap" situation (Watkins, 1984: 67), whereby towns continue to specialize in a given staple production not because of strong market demands but because of their inability to

further diversify their economic base. Because forestry in general and more particularly logging activities have constituted an earlier staple frontier, they could be seen as approximating today such a staple-trap situation, particularly in the older logging towns of the Eastern provinces. This is definitely not the case of the country's mining frontier which has a more recent history and does not seem to have reached this stage as of yet: it is, by and large, progressing, for example, in oil, gas and diamonds.

What does the staple thesis have to contribute to a comparative study of forestry and mining towns? The basic assumption of this work is that it has much to contribute; and the work's main purpose is actually "to staple-ize" such study in a selective and circumscribed way. This "staple-ization" implies among other things extracting from H.A. Innis and A.R.M. Lower those observations, concepts and ideas that contribute to an understanding of how economic and socio-political structures interconnect. A fruitful way to initiate such "extraction" is to point out that the staple thesis states that trade relations with a metropolitan centre structure the economic order in a new country like Canada. However H.A. Innis rejects the view that the spread of trade relations to the new world engendered an automatic replication of the metropolitan pattern of development. Instead, he insists that the reliance on staple exports creates a distinct economy, a novel set of problems and, more specifically, often an unbalanced industrial development; and, moreover, that the latter as well as its accompanying form of social organization are uniquely determined by the character of the specific staple. Thus, the history of Canada could be written as the history of successive staple trades, each staple refashioning and reorganizing the social and economic order in its own image (Watkins, 1984).

In sum, a key point is that H.A. Innis regards the nature of the staple as determining features as varied and important as the capital structure, the demand for labour, the transportation systems and the methods of production. The main critique of such a position by Marxist (and class analysis) scholars (Clement, 1983; McNally, 1981) is that of having vested in the staple characteristics and processes which should be attributed to relations between actors. To a large extent, this work adopts views agreeing with this critique, since structures and relations should be seen as emanating from *social* life. Yet, the strength of Innis' effort lies in its strong empirical base; and from it we can attempt to see how the nature of a staple influences the economic and socio-political spheres. As a result of this effort and although not explicitly envisioned in this way by H.A. Innis (or A.R.M. Lower, for that matter) a staple-focussed research could nevertheless be considered as providing a more specific historical and geographical context to the study of SITs. Such a focus has the added advantage of lowering the level of analysis which could help to answer questions left unexplained, for instance by labour studies, and concerning the lagging behind of the forestry sector in terms of capital concentration.

Actually, there are many questions about this sector that need further investigation; and reviewing the contributions of both G. Wynn and A.R.M. Lower constitutes a fruitful way to address them. Both authors share similar views when explaining the unique social and economic structures of the forestry frontier: these essentially result from the frontier's historic and geographic contexts which together delimit technological and social situations:

“Although the size and scale of lumbering ventures, and the nature of the men in them varied enormously, technology and climate imposed an essential unity upon 19th century lumbering operations. Lumbering was a

wintertime operation... lumbering in New Brunswick was a technologically primitive industry... Neither the independent farmer-lumberer nor the largest lumbering party could ignore these ineluctable constraints.” (Wynn, 1981: 54)

Besides, and more specifically, G. Wynn (1981: 6-9) sees the abundance of land, the predominantly rural society, the pre-industrial technology and the relatively unstable markets as the most significant factors which contributed to “imposing a fundamental unity” upon the early nineteenth century timber frontier in New Brunswick. A.R.M. Lower (1936: 24-26, 38) also sees these factors as constant, in his case, in the subsequent lumber industry in Ontario and Quebec after Confederation, as well as in the twentieth century pulp and paper frontier:

“Consequently, in the discussion of the contemporary frontier in the north, the same correlation must be made between the pulp and paper industry and settlement as was made between the lumber industry and settlement in the south.” (Lower, 1936: 59)

Both authors underline that from the start, the forestry frontier was socially, economically and geographically diversified (Lower, 1936: 38) due to its dual vocation — agriculture and logging — which increased the potential of clashes between economic and settlement interests. A.R.M. Lower (1936: 28) sees the forestry frontier as expanding from such clashes and, thus, from a confrontation between the two different types of motivation underlying agricultural and forestry endeavours. The first was the social ideal of establishing stable communities in the image of those already in existence, an image held by the promoters of agriculture, i.e., Ontarian township elites and especially the Quebec Church. The other was the “predatory ideal” of exploiting the forest for economic or lucrative ends, represented by merchant capital and small entrepreneurs (in the nineteenth

century timber trade), and by competitive industrial capital (in the later pulp and paper industry). This gave way to a pattern of development that was “diffuse” (Wynn, 1981: 136), haphazard, highly uncertain and often irrational in achieving either ideals; hence, the above referred-to diversification of the forestry frontier which, maybe paradoxically, gives it its “essential unity”.

By and large, in the social structure that emerged, agricultural and forestry elites held separate domains of influence, formed complex webs of interrelations and engaged in local political tug-of-wars aiming the control of resources or of local populations. G. Wynn (1981: 111-25) describes at length the loosely connective and broadly hierarchical timber trade industry. Here, “merchant-wholesalers, storekeepers, brokers, saw-millers, jobbers combined in various ways” (Wynn, 1981: 118), “intimacy and informality where striking characteristics of this international trade” (Wynn, 1981: 123), and many farmers and labourers who contracted their labour to lumber parties were often manipulated or left in debt (Wynn, 1981: 76-77).

A.R.M. Lower observes a similar pattern of haphazard and highly uncertain development on the Precambrian Shield, in both the nineteenth century lumber trade, as well as in the 1930s policy for allocating agricultural land, and pulp and paper concessions. As far as the former is concerned, both goals of establishing stable communities and exploiting the forests for lucrative ends were conferred upon Ontarian colonization societies (essentially lumber companies) and *Québécois missionnaires colonisateurs* (essentially the Church). This resulted in hindering the growth of forestry as well as agriculture: capital intensification was low, i.e., industry remained small-scale (Lower, 1936: 113, 62) and the

settlement of poorly arable lands promoted a subsistence economy (Lower, 1936: 93). In the latter, the advent of large-scale pulpmills largely occurred in areas where agricultural settlement had preceded (Lower, 1936: 114-16). The industries adapted and modified the existing organization of work, without however eliminating the subsistence agricultural base or the relative autonomy of the community, be it the small-entrepreneurial and individualistic endeavours (especially strong in Ontario, and in English Canada for that matter) or the authority of the Church on its parishioners (mainly in Quebec). Lower comments on the two situations; and states that in Ontario, the more decentralized forestry bureaucracy, although seriously trying to enable genuine settlers and lumberers, remained plagued by localism and corruption:

“The system with its lack of trained personnel, its decentralization, and its dependence upon local people much too easily influenced by local patriotism and local lumber magnates, is open to serious criticism.” (Lower, 1936: 100)

Whereas in Quebec, motives other than economics operated, and the Church maintained its stronghold:

“The whole system appears to be well thought out and intelligently directed towards its declared end, the increase of the French race, the extension of the Catholic religion and of the self-contained community, not dependent upon the ups and downs of industry and preferably out of reach of its corroding influence.” (Lower, 1936: 88)

Despite such a disorganized development pattern, and an apparently constant tension between agricultural and forestry elites, their objective interests are not only compatible, but in fact often complementary. So, from the point of view of the forestry elites, subsistence agriculture is useful in retaining part-time workers (Lower, 1936: 134)

and the Church is useful by maintaining traditional deferent attitudes (Lower, 1936: 89). Parallely, from the point of view of (Ontario) township and (Quebec) Church elites, the forestry industry has economically revived stagnant agricultural areas and in this way decisively contributed to maintain community structures. This is well hinted at in A.R.M. Lower's example of Lake St-Jean in the 1930's:

“In Quebec, notably in the Lake St-Jean district, the industry has invaded an area in which agricultural settlement had preceded it. It has not been welcomed too heartedly by the Church which has been loath to see disturbing forces entering its self-contained agricultural colonies and by employment under semi-urban conditions giving the *habitants* new and materialistic conceptions of the ‘good life’. But the companies know how to make their peace with the local *curé* and they are consistent contributors to the upkeep of the local church.” (Lower, 1936: 133-34)

Therefore, the overlap of different modes of production (petty commodity and industrial), the relative autonomy of industrial and community structures, and the greater margin of choice individuals perceive as having in the labour market (between agriculture and forestry), are insights derived from the empirical observations of A.R.M. Lower. This may help explain: (1) how community and economic structures combine to retain vestiges of older structures through time, and (2) why these structures lead to more deferential attitudes in workers. The ideal type of the forestry SIT elaborated in this work owes much to these ideas.

Mining, distinguishes itself from forestry by the intensity and speed at which it permitted the concentration of immigrant populations in urban-like settings, which was linked to the concentration of capital into large-scale operations and the development of industrial technology. As Innis emphatically describes the Yukon gold rush:

“Placer gold acted as the most powerful conceivable force in mobilizing labour and capital for the attack on the difficult Pacific coast region. It capitalized in most direct fashion the strength of the pecuniary motive. It had at its command the most efficient means of extracting the resources of a money economy based on gold.” (Innis, 1936: 177)

For the workers, this type of situation led to the total absence of an alternative agricultural employment base (Innis, 1936: 173); and so, the “strength of the pecuniary motive” resulted in their acute dependence on mining companies, the sole employers. And worse still: given that the latter were highly vulnerable to the vagaries of external markets, the workers’ “acute dependence” had all the more devastating consequences.

In other words, in mining, the pattern of development followed quite strictly the path of capitalism; and in mining towns, a highly polarized social structure opposed the mine concession owners to the wage-working miners. For instance, the first years of the gold rush (1896-1903) were characterized by small independent entrepreneurs operating seasonal operations (Innis, 1936: 203-07); however, due to the strong markets and the existing technology, they soon disappeared and mining was essentially carried out by large-scale, year-long, mechanized operations. Innis (1936: 213-30) describes at length this process of polarization and its consequences: the rapid concentration of industry, the introduction of many labour-saving devices, as well as the growing discontent among small entrepreneurs and arriving populations who were either losing their land claims or being proletarianized. Similarly, as the gold and silver frontier expanded in Ontario, so did the increasing proletarianization of labour; H.A. Innis relates as follows the situation in 1905, in the town of Cobalt:

“The weakened position of labour reflected the increasing importance of capital. Exhaustion of more accessible veins was followed by the search for new veins located by the application of systematic methods for trenching in 1905... Attempts were made to use hydraulic operations on boulder clay to reduce the cost of trenching.” (Innis, 1936: 328)

The control of industry continued to escalate to include not only the work environment but also the place of residence and the town infrastructure; not only wages but also the cost of living and the town services. This control and intense proletarianization led to desperate state of affairs, as seen in Dawson City’s first years. This was possibly the earliest company town: it was planned, and built in 1898 by two companies (Laduc and Henderson) only two years after the initial gold discovery (Innis, 1936: 187). But at its onset, it was essentially a collection of warehouses and miner’s cabins where the absence of services, such as a hospital or fire protection, caused serious ravages (Innis, 1936: 209-11).

Contrary to the forestry frontier, workers’ resistance grew swiftly in mining towns.

This was the case even in Dawson City’s first years, despite the fact that:

“very few people were acquainted with each other, everyone was eager to make all he could, and nearly every other consideration which enters into daily life, were utterly wanting.” (Innis, 1936: 211)

However, these people were modern as well as skilled, and quite aware of their situation and rights. So, in spite of the referred-to “utter want”, they reacted to their difficult circumstances, either in formal — often collective — ways through mass meetings, forming clubs opposing the concessions, and addressing petitions to the Government and open letters to newspapers; or reacted in an individualistic and instrumental way by moving to newer booming areas (Innis, 1936: 224-30). As the mining frontier spread to Ontario, it

reproduced — again — the same patterns, including the double alienation, in the workplace and in town; and this led to similar collective action by workers. For example, in Cobalt, in 1905:

“Increased demand for labour was in part responsible for the formation of labour unions and their attempts to secure higher wages. The creation of a town *de novo* and the lack of facilities necessitated construction of camps and miners had little opportunity to spend their wages. As early as 1905, four mines were reported putting up bunkhouses and other buildings. The companies assumed an important role in determining the wages and conditions of living.” (Innis, 1936: 323)

Thus, since the Yukon days, or those of the colonial timber trade, the nature of the staples called upon differences in the social organization which evolved around their exploitation. As suggested earlier, forestry seems to have generated a more docile worker. This is, in my view, mainly because of the diversified institutional bases of towns that mitigate the power of the dominant industry, and because of the more primary type relations existing between individuals and elites. Typical in this sense is the following description of the rather pathetic outcome of forestry colonization, in the case of a Quebec *habitant* employed in a pulpmill in the 1930s:

“The standard of living is so low that the French-Canadian can exist on land which most other people would refuse to have anything to do with. He can grow a few simple necessities, live in a rude shack without any pretensions to comfort, bring up his family of ten or twenty children and send them to the ‘camps’ as soon as they grow old enough. In this way he is apt to spread into the concessions, either as a squatter or as a *protégé* of his *curé*. In the latter case, he will probably get a patent sooner or later and the land will pass out of the company’s control. If he is a squatter or locates on land without the backing of the church, the company will win, for there are many ways in which it can put pressure on him.” (Lower, 1936: 130)

On the contrary, in mining SITs, as soon as the Yukon gold rush, the economic relations were strictly monetary:

“the importance of labour in placer mining tended to place wages in a dominant position. It is the ‘cost of hourly or daily labour which sets the scale of prices’.” (Innis, 1936: 194)

As a result, very early, miners became conscious of their class relation to capital, a consciousness sharpened by at least two other factors. First, they immigrated to mining centres with a clear view of enhancing their standard of living, only to be confronted there by powerful companies also operating on a pecuniary motive. And second, they soon were aware that decisions made by these companies are essentially rooted in high-level considerations wherein the issue of their welfare is, by and large, overlooked. The companies’ general tendency to invest, from early on, in technology is revealing of this overall situation: it resulted from a strictly pecuniary motive, aimed at reducing wage costs, and was taken at high levels of decision.

In resistance terms, the miners’ attitudes are at variance with those of the docile forestry workers: their reaction were widespread and frequently effective. This can be seen in the formal protests or mass out-migration of unsatisfied populations, most characteristically in Dawson City’s first years (as compared to the retention of population in the more subsistence-oriented forestry economy). And even more pointedly, when technology was introduced, it can be seen in the first signs of sabotage (such as high-grading) at the risk of being arrested, in the first strikes at the risk of expulsion, or even in an incipient unionization at the risk of being blacklisted (Innis, 136: 326). In sum, it can

be affirmed that the miners' oppositional attitude dates back to the beginning of mining in the country.⁵ Also, H.A. Innis' empirical work suggests that it is the main attributes of the resource environment which condition this oppositional attitude: i.e., the geographic isolation of mining towns (in relation to agricultural and urban regions) and the social integration of miners (in relation to national society and industrial bureaucracy). Both these factors reinforce alienation of workers at a local level and promote more "modern" values and secondary relations; as well, they are congruent with the "isolated mass" idea of C. Kerr and A. Siegel.

The remaining of the present section deals with S.D. Clark, and especially with his 1962 effort on *The Developing Canadian Community*. This author is the only student of H.A. Innis to emerge from the 1930's nationalist movement in Canadian social sciences as a major sociologist. His effort is quite original in the sense that it retraces the development of staple frontiers of early Canada, but it places them in a sociological perspective and is generally concerned with social change in groups in transition. Such a topic is historical and collective; yet, the variables stressed in S.D. Clark's conclusions are ahistorical and individualistic, in that it is the individual's ambition to accumulate property that in the final analysis causes the progression of frontier collectivities and leads to the structuring of their social life. So, he casts the early Canadian community in a different light than in metropolitan thesis studies, because greater emphasis is given to indigenous variables and to social action in the explanation of change in the institutional structure of frontier populations. Furthermore, S.D. Clark sees the settlement of the frontier as actually

characterized by social disorganization until its eventual economic prosperity brings about its integration into national society. What is most interesting in the author's effort is its in-depth look at interactions between institutions, particularly religious and economic ones (Clark, 1962: 147-66). Given the general bent of this work, the way he viewed such interconnections will be examined more closely.

S.D. Clark starts by making a distinction between two types of (historic) frontier economic development: one that took place in a context of free enterprise, such as farming in the prairies, mining on the Precambrian Shield, or fishing in Nova Scotia; and another where large-scale capitalist enterprises initiated it. In the case of the former, there existed no agency for transferring social institutions from national society; and the general situation was one of relative economic (and social) instability. Given this environment, sects provided a first form of (cultural) control over rather socially undisciplined populations by their function of canalizing economic dissatisfaction through a religious interpretation of acceptance of economic hardship. In this way, the sects sparked the advent of capitalist enterprises, and eventually facilitated prosperity by promoting an ascetic outlook favouring the accumulation of wealth. As capitalism continued to thrive, this increasingly led to the passage from sectarianism to religious denominationalism and more conservative outlooks (Clark, 1962: 149, 159).

In contrast, in the case of the second type of frontier economic development, the church was able to entrench itself so deeply in the community that new religious movements had little opportunity to develop (Clark, 1962: 160). This was the case of new

planned company towns, where financial support to churches made the arising of rival religious bodies very difficult because “the centralization of economic and political life favours the centralization of religious life” (Clark, 1962: 164). In these frontiers, the dominant role of the Roman Catholic Church, for instance, was not detrimental to the expansion of capitalism; and this was true even in Quebec, where the political claim of patriotism had reduced the measure of company control over social organization.⁶ Although the church kept a large portion of the frontier populations isolated and organized in a hierarchy of social classes divorced from the more fluid one of the nation, their workers had nevertheless been drawn into its productive forces. In conclusion, S.D. Clark shows that on the frontier, sect or church tended to provide an important support to industry:

“The bureaucracy of business combined with bureaucracies of church and state in maintaining the controls of the new capitalist society.” (Clark, 1962:160)

Concluding Comments

By and large, the structural approaches reviewed in this Section — with the partial exception of the staple thesis — tend to emphasize industrial production, and to cast social structures in polarized and often class terms. By putting conflict based on class at the heart of the analysis, attention is directed away from the social relations of a more primary type which also characterize communities. The concept of exploitation and the theory of class formation provide a valuable starting point in the analysis and construction of ideal types of SITs. However, although they offer a fruitful explanation of their structural set-ups, they

leave a great deal out in the explanation of some aspects of their dynamics. Occupational solidarity or worker's definition in relation to the workplace do not encompass the whole of community identity or social structure, because what is lacking is the realm of communal sociability within the collectivity. Thus, place should be made for the lingering obligations of mutuality between employer and employees, as well as the nature of social relations within groups, with elites and institutions. Doing so would allow a role for endogenous influences at the structural level; and show greater awareness of the existence of multiple role relationships and association patterns that give a locality its distinctive social character. This implies that mining and forestry towns are not simply subject to the push-and-pull of macro-level economic or institutional forces, but develop dynamics of their own which result in a degree of local autonomy and, indeed, conscious apartness from the wider society. Socio-cultural characteristics of forestry and mining towns may either counteract or reinforce the tone of relationships found in their industrial environments.

Chapter 3. THE STUDY OF SITs AS COLLECTIVITIES

This chapter deals with the authors grouped in Approach 2, thus, with efforts that either view SITs as “collectivities” or deal with topics situated at the “collectivity” level in SITs. This term was preferred over “community” because several of these — and other — authors have shown the sometimes weak communal relationships existing in these towns. Such relative weakness is manifest when comparing mining to forestry SITs; and extreme weakness when mining SITs lose their vitality during periods of severe economic downturn. Such declining mining SITs may eventually yield everything, including their population, but before they do, they yield their sense of community; what is left in such cases are mere collectivities of individuals. Thus, while Approach 1 was concerned with institutions, more specifically with industry, the focus will now be placed on actors and their forms of association, i.e., on collectivities, which in the case of SITs, happen to be frequently — but not always — communities.

Implicit in the concept of community is the image of the “good” society, characterized by legitimacy in associations, a high degree of personal intimacy, moral commitment, social cohesion, continuity in time and, often, in place. As R. Nisbet (1967: 47-48) understands community: here, the individual is conceived in his wholeness rather than in one or another of his social roles; and consequently, communities are conceived as drawing their psychological strength from levels of motivation deeper than those of mere self-interest, and achieving their fulfilment in the submergence of individual will that is not possible in unions of rational assent. Thus, community is a different subject matter than

the previously described secondary contractual ties of occupational groups (although workers' solidarity may sometimes come close to it) or of integration of individuals into societal institutions. Given the strong affective and ascriptive base of social relationships within the community, its understanding will require frames of reference that are different from those characterizing Approach 1.

By and large, diverse combinations of both types of relationships coexist at one place and time, and both should warrant attention. As R. Nisbet explains:

“Fundamental to the strength of the bond of community is the real or imagined antithesis formed in the same social setting by the non-communal relations of competition or conflict, utility or contractual assent. These, by their relative impersonality and anonymity, highlight the close personal ties of community.” (Nisbet, 1966: 48)

Hopefully this work has by now adequately suggested that Canadian SIT research has above all stressed the role of non-communal relationships, i.e., the secondary ties of work and class which are largely determined from outside. These are of key importance of course, as shown in the review of the literature in Approach 1, but it should not be overlooked that there often exists communities in SITs.

The major community scholarship has been produced in the United States; and when Canadian scholars have addressed community, they have often stressed its progressive demise because of the increasing predominance of non-communal relationships in these relatively modern industrial towns.¹ The present study intends to give equal attention to both types of relationships, and examine how they complement each other, which is what R. Nisbet implicitly calls for. In sum, this research tries to avoid exclusive frames of reference: be it that of the “rational man, homo economicus” derived from macro-industrial

perspectives, or that of the “consensual man” derived from a low-level view of communities as insular organic wholes.

A founding work in community studies — which has left its mark on subsequent writings by E. Durkheim (mechanical and organic solidarity), M. Weber (communal and associative types of relationships) and the Chicago School (human ecology) — is F. Tönnies’ *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies: 1887). At the heart of each of these two concepts is a specific type of social relationship, and the measure of affective and willful elements of mind entering into each. *Gemeinschaft* corresponds to traditional communal society whereby relationships are largely based on affective states and traditions, the three pillars of communality being blood, place and mind — kinship, neighbourhood and friendship. There is an element of nostalgia and morality in the community concept, for all cherished elemental states of mind — love, loyalty, honour, friendship — emanate from it. Moreover, F. Tönnies saw it as having a strong influence on work, transforming it into an art, and giving it dignity as well as an honourable rank in its order, symbolized by the artisan calling (Nisbet, 1966: 76; citing Tönnies, [1887]). Such calling seems present, for example, in both forestry and mining SITs, probably more so in the former than in the latter; whatever the case may be, it makes the strict application of labour process frames of reference constraining when studying these towns. In contrast to *Gemeinschaft*, F. Tönnies sees *Gesellschaft* as both substance and process, reflecting the passage from traditional to modern society. In pure *Gesellschaft*, symbolized by the modern economic enterprise, associations are no longer based on friendship but on rationality and calculation. The pecuniary or individual best interest are the sole incentives to work.

These two concepts were intended by F. Tönnies to be used as ideal types, so that some *Gesellschaft* elements could be found in the traditional family, just as some *Gemeinschaft* elements in the modern corporation (Nisbet, 1966: 76). Yet, the conventional use of this dichotomy has been to illustrate a historic process of growing individualization of human relationships, with impersonality, competition and egoism becoming gradually dominant. This is the passage from a “collectivity essentially united in spite of all separating factors”, to one which is “separated in spite of all uniting factors”.² Thus with the advance of *Gesellschaft*, with all its cultural brilliance and economic opportunity, must go the disintegration of *Gemeinschaft*. Because of their small size and isolation, Canadian mining SITs are far from being pure *Gesellschafts*; however, given their strong dependence on one industry, the capital intensiveness of the latter and the rather modern values of residents, impersonality and alienation may be quite high in their collectivities. On the other hand, because of their exogenous economic decision centres, forestry SITs are far from being pure *Gemeinschafts*; but given their relatively diffused power structure, the varying capital intensiveness of their industry and the rather traditional values of residents, impersonality and alienation may be quite low in their collectivities. Therefore what should be kept in mind when studying resource towns is that the social relations reflecting the viability of their industrial base are not the same as those reflecting the vitality of their collectivity; and yet, these two sets of social relations cannot be separated because the tone of relations in one area of social life is to a certain extent echoed in the other.

For R. Nisbet, Tönnies’ main contribution is his explanation of the rise of capitalism and the modern state in strictly social terms. F. Tönnies achieves this through his

differentiation of types of social organization and through a historical and comparative use of these types (Nisbet, 1966: 78). What K. Marx found in the economic mode of production, F. Tönnies found in the social area: the existence of community and its sociological displacement by non-communal modes of organization. Whereas in K. Marx, the loss of community is seen as a consequence of capitalism, for F. Tönnies, capitalism is treated as the consequence of loss of community, i.e., as an outcome of a more fundamental social change: that of the passage of *Gemeinschaft* into *Gesellschaft* (Nisbet, 1966: 78). What F. Tönnies and community studies do is give community an independent causal status in relation to the economic area of social life. In the case of SITs, this means a stronger emphasis on endogenous change, in the sense that collectivities are seen as having some potential for intrinsic growth that makes them respond to a different set of objectives than those of their corporate managers. SITs therefore are not seen as mere transplants of industrial structures, even when they originate this way. Despite the fact that social relations within these collectivities remain dependent on their industry, the communal relations are not exclusively created by industry but also in part by people, i.e., by grass-root actors. The extent to which the collectivities are successful in asserting and maintaining their communal relations (and structure) is another question; as will later be seen, forestry SITs are more effective in doing so than are mining SITs. However, it should be noted that these communal needs exist in both types of SITs, and that the degree to which they find or are denied expression is reflected in world views and individual perceptions.

Much of the *Gemeinschaft* concept has remained in the idea of community held by prominent community scholars, such as R. Park, R. Redfield, H. Miner, E. Hughes, H. Gans

and M. Stein; and likewise, much of the theory of *Gesellschaft* is often echoed in their analysis, thus, implying an increasing incompatibility of communal types of relations with the advent of modernization. This is particularly the case in M. Stein's (1960) excellent and ambitious book, characteristically entitled *The Eclipse of Community*. As suggested by the subtitle *An Interpretation of American Studies*, it is an extensive overview of this literature; and does so adopting a perspective similar to F. Tönnies' since M. Stein identifies a rather linear process of change throughout the twentieth century, whereby modernization (notably urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization) gradually destroys the self-contained community structure and the primary-group relationships. What the reviewed studies show is an increasing structural differentiation, whereby institutions are pulled out of the close articulation that characterized the undifferentiated *Gemeinschaft* community. While these institutions become more specialized and autonomous within the community, they are also increasingly dependent on bureaucratic decisions emanating from a national level rather than from the local community level. The result is a generalized social isolation of individuals, often leading to alienation and even anomie, due to the dissolution of primary ties, moral codes of social cohesion, and networks of interaction based on territorial proximity. Thus M. Stein describes the eclipse of community:

“American communities can be seen continuing the vital processes uncovered in Muncie by the Lynds. Substantive values and traditional patterns are continually being discarded... Community ties become increasingly dispensable, finally extending to the nuclear family... On the one hand, individuals become increasingly dependent upon centralized authorities and agencies in all spheres of life. On the other, personal loyalties decrease their range with the successive weakening of national ties, regional ties, community ties, neighbourhood ties, family ties and finally,

ties to a coherent image of one's self... Suburbia is so fascinating just because it reveals the 'eclipse' of community." (Stein, 1960: 329)

Due to the recognition of a certain thrust toward endogenous change focussed on in this chapter, the SIT collectivities studied by authors regrouped in Approach 2 cannot be viewed as having individually evolved along the linear process of social change outlined above. In other words, this process may help to broadly characterize SITs, and hopefully to categorize them; but seldom — if ever — has a given SIT collectivity evolved in such a way. This idea is important because it shows both the limit and strength of the community studies Approach. It shows its limit because even the authors adopting more structural views of processes *within* SITs tend to remain vague when explaining the macro-dynamics of the forces shaping the general patterns of the SITs' social organization (which is less the case in Approach 1, where particularly political economy is quite convincing in parallel types of explanations). On the other hand, the idea shows the strength of community studies because its authors have produced many studies of collectivities whose accurateness, multidimensional concern and, by and large, convincingness need to be underlined (which is less the case in Approach 1, especially as far as the authors at its highest levels of analysis are concerned: the SITs they study are affected by the "macro-dynamics of forces" referred to above in fashions that seem mechanistic and arbitrarily circumscribed). In this realm, this work's goal of (selectively) staple-izing Canadian SIT research is an attempt at retaining the most interesting elements of both Approaches: from Approach 1 (especially from political economy), an adequate identification of the external

determinants; and from Approach 2, a sufficiently detailed perception of the particular features and internal adaptation of individual SITs.

M. Stein (1960) is likewise interested in an integration of individual community studies into a globalizing framework. He treats the American classic case studies as historical documents and attempts to underline the main trends in the evolution of American society as a whole over the last century. His view is that American community studies can be ordered as an escalation of group integration into American culture (R. Park; with an emphasis on urbanization), the capitalist economy (R. and H. Lynd; with an emphasis on industrialization) and mass society (L. Warner; with an emphasis on bureaucratization). So, destinies of communities and individuals are shaped along irrevocable lines:

“We watch the doomed craftsmen of Muncie (Indiana; Lynds), the doomed old families of Newburyport (Massachusetts; Warner) and the doomed first-generation immigrants (Chicago; Park) go their respective ways toward oblivion.” (Stein, 1960: 296)

M. Stein makes generalizations about social change at a societal level; but in spite of his reliance on community ethnographies, he does not provide a synthesis of community structures at a local level or of the internal processes affecting them. He does not even provide a clear definition of community, implicitly accepting the definitions of the different authors. While the assumption that the three above processes of modernization concur may be valid for (American) society as a whole, such a high level analysis does not necessarily provide important insights when the unit of analysis is some smaller segment of society such as a community. For instance, not all communities change at the same rate in terms

of urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization, nor are they all situated at the same level of modernization at a particular point in time. Needless to say, this latter idea is central to the present study, because it will be argued that in SITs these three modernization processes do not always concur nor do they necessarily foster modern values. For example, forestry SITs are less urbanized and industrialized, yet, tend to cling to bureaucratic ways in their administrative and legislative processes (which is possible because of the SITs' more diffused power arrangements and informal organization of industry, as well as useful because it can be a means of opposing the latter's (potential) domination of these processes). While the reverse situation exists in mining towns: they are more urbanized and industrialized, but their level of administrative and legislative bureaucratization is low.

Another criticism that could be addressed to M. Stein and others, such as R. Park and H. Gans, is the functionalist frame of reference of their community model which understates conflict. Whereas M. Stein's analysis is more structural since he looks at how communities — as microcosms of society — are related to the whole and adapt to external change, his conception of community is nevertheless, like R. Park's ecological one, quite functionalist because he sees communities as organic wholes where institutions develop to respond to fundamental needs of local populations. The ecological conception sees communities as “natural areas”, as the outgrowth of competition and segregation brought about by the increasing differentiation and division of labour in cities, creating utilitarian ties of interdependence between communities. Here the community is an urban subsystem (for R. Park, a Chicago neighbourhood), an entity in its own right, for it is a social construction having its own ecological, institutional and normative bases. Once

established, it has the tendency to perpetuate itself and maintain a certain stability, partly because behaviours are regulated by local agencies, and also because primordial ties of solidarity based on common goals, sentiments and values are established through communication, creating internal consensus and conscious co-operation (Stein, 1960: 20-23). Thus, in this functionalist ecological perspective, communities are viewed: as universal phenomena; as unplanned grass-roots constructions based on durable differences like race, ethnicity or income; as following a gradual evolutionary process whereby local institutions adapt to internal or external change without severe disruptions; and as cultural areas forming homogenous and cohesive groups, where sentiments and traditional forms of affiliation through marriage, religion, ethnic associations are avenues along which their internal order is developed (Suttles, 1972: 3-18). Canadian mining SITs can hardly be considered as “natural areas”; they are seldom entities in their own right, their collectivities are formed around the utilitarian ties of work rather than primordial ties, and their dependence on external centres of power causes severe disruptions giving them little stability. However forestry SITs, because they are older and serve less strictly industrial purposes, have a higher degree of internal consensus, and are more stable and homogenous; they do suffer social discontinuities, but are generally able to overcome them, even when they are severe, frequently by using individualized grass-roots strategies.

The ecological conception remains interesting, however, because it is more flexible than F. Tönnies’ *Gesellschaft* process since it seeks to explain how unity is preserved in the context of the diversity of the city instead of the custom-bound homogeneity of rural life. It does so through identifying the institutional control mechanisms by which a community

“maintains its own distinctive way of life without endangering the life of the whole” (Stein, 1960: 17). Obviously here, awareness of mass society and how it impacts on the community are issues of key importance. The ecological perspective argues that this can take different forms in each community; for instance, in some cases the homogenizing influences of modernization may essentially affect public lifestyles and scarcely so intimate manners; but in other cases, it may be the reverse. Whatever the type of impact, the view is that there exists a clear separation between instrumental/secondary relationships, such as those of work (which seem to be the links *between* urban communities), and sentimental/primary relationships (which are those proper *within* the communities). The local community is, thus, viewed as a complex system of friendship and kinship networks, and of formal and informal associational ties rooted in family and on-going socialization processes. The relations evolving around making a living are left out. Indeed, as J.D. Kasarda and M. Janowitz explain, in R. Park’s systemic model:

“One can identify the social fabric of communities in systemic terms by focussing on local social networks and abstracting out those relations that are directly linked to the occupational system.” (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974: 329)

The awareness of mass society is more acute in mining than in forestry SITs and its homogenizing effect on public lifestyles is stronger in the former than in the latter. However, some aspects of the SIT residents’ intimate manners seem incongruent with the basic thrust of the ecological conception, possibly because of its failure to consider the repercussions of work relations on those of community. For example, in times of crisis, the atomized mining SIT families close ranks and women actively rally together to help striking

men; while in forestry SITs, the family strategy is to split up, the men often finding jobs far away for months on end, therefore, in a sense, weakening the cohesiveness of community. Or again, whereas in mining towns the community is generally perceived in an utilitarian way, solidarity evolving around work relations is of a rather mechanical type; but in forestry towns, even at the very grass-roots level, intricate secondary relations of exchange may prevail whereby individuals interact in an isolated fashion with employers or institutions, without however hindering the strong sense of community existing in such SITs.

By and large, studies adopting the ecological perspective emphasize status quo, depicting situations of low levels of class conflict and seeing communities as outcomes of invariant principles like race or income. At least two reasons explain such emphasis: the perspective's exclusion of occupational relations issues, and its ecological analogy whereby communities themselves sort out the population functionally and spatially, largely according to individuals' position in the social structure and life-cycle stage. For these reasons, this perspective could be seen as espousing the interests of dominant groups in society because it seeks to maximize efficiency while ignoring the issue of social justice, and to maintain an equilibrium through gradual readjustments while ruling out the possibility of fundamental restructuring (Saunders, 1981: 77). In sum, the city is viewed here as a mosaic of bounded sub-communities corresponding to a stratified social structure, and where the unique institutional arrangements within the individual sub-communities mask the broad class inequalities among them. Action is not seen in class terms but in individuals' social mobility, an individual action which is at the source of community disorganization and erosion of moral constraints. As M. Stein underlines, "status becomes

an autonomous motive and a mode of life” in these eclipsing communities (Stein, 1960: 284). In this sense, the ecological perspective is useful in that it points to the processes that need to be overcome — such as the increasing division of labour (and social differentiation) — if fundamental change is to be worked for. But in another sense, the perspective is inhibiting in that it denies the possibility of acting on these processes since communities are bounded by them; at best it is reformist, at worst it is reactionary.

Although SITs have at times been depicted as essentially homogeneous occupational communities (Kerr and Siegel, 1954), they are definitely unlike the urban sub-communities: they are stratified, and potentially conflictive since they contain at least workers and managers. The extent to which SIT residents are overtly oppositional and engage in class action is another question; it will be addressed in the comparative theoretical framework, but in broad terms it may be stated that it depends on how the social structure and characteristics of residents contribute in clarifying or obscuring class inequalities. For example, some high technology oil SITs have been seen as avenues of individual social mobility (Krahn and Gartrell, 1983). While this may be the case, it is my contention that this “privatized” type of outlook is not representative of other staple SITs. Here an informed reintroduction of some staple insights will be useful to explain aspects of different settings for social action: mining SITs, representing a rather new staple frontier and subjected to acute boom-and-bust cycles of production, versus the somewhat older forestry SITs in relative staple-trap situations.

Complementary to F. Tönnies’ and R. Park’s perspectives on community, is another one based on the urban-rural dichotomy. It originated in the Chicago School and was

instigated by L. Wirth's famous paper "Urbanism as a Way of Life" (1938). Rather than types of settlements, it contrasts types of social relationships: here, the two basic patterns of "rural" and "urban" compare emotional and rational, personal and contractual, and communal and individual aspects of human interaction. What is similar to F. Tönnies is that these paired variables characterizing the types designate a direction of change in society rather than differences between geographical areas as seen in R. Park's ecological perspective. However in contrast to F. Tönnies, the two basic patterns of human association are recognized as coexisting in modern society and are found in both the countryside and the city. In consequence, they are not expected to be found in pure form, rather they serve as yardsticks of urbanism and ruralism when examining empirical cases that would fall somewhere along this continuum. The hypothesis that L. Wirth advances is that variations in patterns of human association may be explained as the effects of three factors — size, density and heterogeneity — which constitute the parameters of his conceptualization of the urban. In this way, a greater range of traditional and modern aspects of relationships is possible within society at any one time. However, L. Wirth does not solve the puzzle of how to carry-out the ordering of empirical cases along the continuum; indeed, this could be problematic since it is not obvious that the variables forming the ideal types cluster together, are interdependent and vary consistently with each other. M. Stein, for instance, has shown that in a very homogeneous group, such as Park Forest studied by W.H. Whyte (1957), where most residents were employed in a single industry (communication), social relations were not only far from communal but were in fact very individualized (Stein, 1960: 199-207).

In contrast to M. Stein's focus on overviewing the process of urbanization of communities in relation to their integration into national society, the rural-urban dichotomy has mainly been used to demonstrate the persistent rural character of communities and their hermetic nature in regards to national society. This idea of the stronger development of the "folk" pole of community was initially presented by R. Redfield (1941), who like L. Wirth had also been a student of R. Park. Since, this perspective has been applied, among others, to rural villages (Miner, 1939), small industrial towns (Hughes, 1943), and inner-city neighbourhoods (Gans, 1962). R. Redfield's conception of rural society is derived from his study of Mexican communities and is characteristic of the rural-urban dichotomy frame of reference:

"Such a society is small, isolated, non-literate and homogenous with a strong sense of group solidarity. The ways of living are conventionalized into that coherent system which we call 'a culture'. Behaviour is traditional, spontaneous, uncritical and personal; there is no legislation or habit of experiment and reflection of intellectual ends. Kinship, its relationships and institution, are the type categories of experience and the familial group is the unit of action. The sacred prevails over the secular; the economy is one of status rather than market." (as summarized by Miner, 1952: 529)

What is important about this conception is that the determinant factor in forming and maintaining folk ways of communities is the cultural one, i.e., the fact that the people are bounded (for R. Redfield) or choose to participate (for H. Gans) in "common understandings which are rooted in tradition and which have come to form an organization" (Miner, 1939: xiii). For its ascribed base, this conception distinguishes itself from the universal spatial differentiation at the base of urban ecology (R. Park), the latter inspired

by a functional view of the city where competition stimulates a division of labour and distributes different economic groups to different niches in the urban environment.

In R. Redfield's conception of folk society lies the hypothesis that small size, low density, geographical isolation and internal homogeneity are independent variables explaining the maintenance of rural ways (Saunders, 1981: 99). Indeed, in the application of the model to the Quebec rural community of St. Denis, H. Miner (1939) showed that the old land-church organization was disrupted by (1) an increasing population density, whereby farmer's sons could no longer all have access to land; (2) a loss of isolation due to the introduction of modern education and agricultural practices (the most important manifest function of these innovations was to aid in maintaining the "surplus" youth locally or in preparing them for out-migration); and (3) an increased heterogeneity and instability of the population resulting from the necessity of finding alternative work sources, which furthered the integration of the community into modern society by extending kinship networks to the city and by creating a group of local day labourers outside the land-church culture.

As already stated, for R. Redfield, the determinants in forming and maintaining folk ways of communities are to be found within the cultural system. What also stands out in his analysis is the organic functioning of the cultural system: for instance, institutions overlap, and society and habitat are integrated. Change is gradual, in the case of H. Miner's St. Denis, because it is filtered and reinterpreted through the dominant institution which is the Church, and change is also endogenous because its seed — the necessity of bearing large families — is inherent in the community organization.

However, St. Denis could be seen in a more conflictive and dynamic way if the urban-rural dichotomy used to measure community and describe social structure was replaced by a national-local axis. There seems to be some grounding in the case study for such a substitution since, as H. Miner underlines, the *curé* and the locally residing senator owed their high status and authority to their affiliation with the national society:

“These persons [the *curés* and the senator, as well as their relatives] do not owe their position to anything within the immediate society. Their position is due to contacts which they have had with the world outside the parish, from which sphere they have received recognition far higher than anything the parish can give.” (Miner, 1939: 250).

This permitted them to have an elitist behaviour and lifestyle, for instance, the *curé* lived in a presbytery “much too large for his own needs” and the senator owned a summer house on the riverside nearby (Miner, 1939: 40). Also when facing inevitable change, the Church could be seen as having assumed an active role in the modernization of some aspects of the community in order to maintain its local control. For example, it condemned traditional folk practices and superstitions that undermined its influence, promoted new agricultural techniques in order to enhance production and population stability, and tolerated the new landless residents without supporting or integrating them in the farming mass. In sum, the Church adopted a dynamic perspective on social stability. It did so by selecting and interpreting external innovations in terms of the preservation of local traditional values and ideology, and also by maintaining the isolation of the core agricultural population from potentially threatening groups, such as the new landless proletarians developing different schemes of reference, or the merchants and craftsmen possibly representing a burgeoning

middle class. In H. Miner's representation of St. Denis' social structure, the latter two new social segments were lumped into a single marginal sub-group comprising those outside both the culture and the traditional subsistence economy (Miner, 1939: 250-52).

Thus St. Denis, although presented by H. Miner in a consensual cultural framework, could also be seen in class terms as a quasi-feudal relation between Church and *habitants*, the parish replacing the historic *seigneurie*. Its institutional organization could be seen not as organically intertwined along a horizontal plane, but as monolithic and vertical, and dominated by the Catholic Church. While this domination is accepted and maintained by those integrated in the traditional culture and farming economy, it may very well spark resentment and opposition by the surplus population expelled from the traditional way of life. In this case, the visibility of the Church in all major spheres of life makes it only easier for excluded individuals to hold the Church accountable for their loss of opportunity. Indeed, H. Miner (1939: 253) found that the deferent attitude of landless day labourers (especially toward religion) had been eroded by their necessity to find alternative ways of earning a living. This is my own contention since the author does not discuss such signs of opposition. However they seem to have been present, for example, in the incident when the beach house of a priest (who resided in St. Denis every summer) was looted by "returned discontented settlers whom he had sent to the cold new lands of Abitibi" (Miner, 1939: 41).

The point of this discussion is to underline that although St. Denis' simple institutional structure was depicted as organic and consensual, it could equally be depicted as "authoritarian", i.e., as characterized by two polarized social strata within the

community: a small prominent high status group of religious/moral leaders and a low status group of farmers and day labourers — rather than by cleavages separating distinct provinces of autonomous institutions and crosscutting class lines. Furthermore, by collapsing merchants, craftsmen and landless proletarians into a single marginal sub-group, H. Miner omits considering whether any of its constituents may potentially form a more neutral middle class that could provide a measure of flexibility and diversity to the community. Therefore, whereas St. Denis may be seen as rural and traditional in the nature of its social relationships, these being of a primary type and promoting an ascribed-status social structure, it may also be seen as having a rigid, potentially conflictive structure where Church and economy are fused. Such a structure increases the visibility of specific low status groups (particularly, but not exclusively, when they are not included in the cultural/economic system) and tends to accentuate a class dichotomy in the long run. Indeed, individuals expelled from one sphere of community (in this case agriculture) entails their expulsion from all others (such as the Church and, more broadly, social life, including values and kinship relations). Such exclusion of low status individuals obviously bears the potential of exacerbating opposition by those marginalized; but besides, it favours the passage to secondary social relationships and the emergence of new acquired statuses — in the case of St. Denis, especially those of the merchants (and craftsmen), i.e., non-farming individuals who “have prestige according to wealth” (Miner, 1939: 251). These trends are typical of the demise of community.

Despite their very urban, industrialized and bureaucratized nature, Canadian SITs have often been viewed as having — like the community of St. Denis — an “authoritarian”

and “traditional” institutional structure; in this case, a simple structure dominated by industry rather than the Church and where locally institutions are not pulled out from a close articulation with industry. In contrast to St. Denis, SIT residents have been characterized as “urban” and “modern” not only in terms of where they live and how they make a living, but also in terms of their system of values, as succinctly described by R.

Lucas:

“Their inhabitants have no lingering myths of days gone by; they know that their community, jobs, and lives depend upon twentieth-century science and technology. They know that their situation is bounded by bureaucracy and a precise division of labour which in turn depends on a complex national and international division of labour. They know that their future depends upon impersonal forces outside of their community such as head office decisions, government policies, and international trading agreements.”
(Lucas, 1971: 20)

As hinted above, these modern cultural world views coexist with an institutional structure that has kept authoritarian and “traditional” aspects. The point to be made here is that there is not necessarily a contradiction between world views and structure, but actually the latter has the potential to strengthen and legitimate the former. So, the SIT’s institutional structure is authoritarian and “traditional”: as a result, its stratified and relatively undifferentiated nature tends to accentuate distinctions between high and low status groups rather than other possible axes of cleavage, as well as narrowly defines SIT residents according to their already modern secondary relationships with industry. Given such a situation, it would appear logical that an oppositional outlook is apt to be reinforced among the town’s low status group. This is due to (1) the visibility of the industry as the locus of power in maintaining other institutions and jobs, (2) to the dissociation of local community

interests from those of the metropolitan-based industry, and (3) to the absence of an intermediary middle-class entrepreneurial or professional group which could either mask the industry's economic power in terms of monopoly on employment or diffuse it in terms of leadership.

On the other hand, if presented in a more locally grounded vested-interest discourse by the local and metropolitan elites, these same three elements may be called upon to strengthen and legitimate the maintenance of the SITs' authoritarian and "traditional" institutional structure and, therefore, of their internal social stratification system. Indeed, "the visibility of the industry as the locus of power in maintaining other institutions and jobs" may be used by the industrial elite to demagogically foster or maintain a communal sense in SITs by interpreting industry's control in community life as altruism. Also "the dissociation of local community interests from those of metropolitan-based industry" may be used by the town's elites as an argument stressing the precariousness of the community, in order to justify increasing their authority, and as a counterweight to industry, in order to justify the necessity for workers to avoid placing their economic needs ahead of those of "their only trustworthy elites, the local ones", i.e., themselves. Finally, "the absence of an intermediary middle-class entrepreneurial or professional group" argument reveals the concentrated nature of the SITs' power structure; but this very transparency may as well contribute to make SIT residents acutely aware of their isolation, their difficulty in fostering representative local counter-elites and, hence, their necessity of co-operating.

These considerations lead to the core question of what makes SIT industrial structures, collectivities, and residents' world views possible, and how are they enmeshed?

To address the question at this point is relevant because the vertical vs. horizontal patterns of institutional linkages, as well as the ensuing social divisions discussed above, refer to a key problem of social order. Furthermore, posing this problem in a SIT context provides an environment that comes closer to experimental conditions than do most units of analysis in modern society. To a large extent, this is what R. Lucas (1971) attempts in his 1971 book *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown. Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry*. This is a path-breaking effort; however, in spite of its sophistication, the author does not integrate in one coherent framework the processes affecting his most important variables, notably the persistence of a top-down simple institutional SIT structure and the emergence of a real sentiment and holistic outlook derived from living in small places. To a certain extent, this weakens his debate of the question at hand, and there remains in his analysis a tension between this dual perspective on SITs. In his premises, R. Lucas presents SITs as externally dominated, as emphasizing the contractual nature of labour relations and as having a simplified institutional base. As discussed above, these factors have good explanatory potential when considering conflict versus integration as well as lateral cleavages versus social stratification within SITs. Yet, paradoxically, the author puts these considerations aside in his analysis of the SIT as a collectivity, analysing it in a context that excludes the industrial or occupational structure, and especially ignores the relation of power between industry and institutions, or the impact of (and response to) external decisions on community life.

R. Lucas' main problem seems to lie in having defined SITs as urban and potentially conflictive (as reflected in both the residents' outlooks and the industrial structure), yet

analysing the towns' institutional structure or the "four stages of community development" in a rural consensual perspective.³ Consequently, he overlooks weaving in some crucial features of these towns, particularly the cyclic nature of their production — among other reasons, because of its dependence on external corporate decisions — and the relative undifferentiated nature of their institutional structure. Both features are clearly stated as characterizing SITs in the book's first chapter defining the subject of study, but subsequently the analysis of the stages of community development is somewhat skewed, i.e., the towns are emptied of their industrial sphere and presented as organic communities. This leads the author to view SITs as largely hermetic to outside decisions; and to elaborate an endogenously induced SITs life cycle where the towns progress from a "construction" to a "maturity" stage and their eventual termination is caused by the exhaustion of the main resource (Lucas, 1971: 96-98). This recalls H. Miner's study, where the shortage of the land resource (and erosion of the value of bearing large families) leads to the demise of St. Denis as a community.

R. Lucas' depiction of the SITs' growth cycle, as progressing from a construction — recruitment, transition — to a maturity stage, is also a process of gradual "ruralization" of the population implying a shift to primary type relationships and to a shared outlook from a "hometown" vantage point. This change occurs not only at the individual cultural level, shown by the residents' loss of the "get-rich-quick" syndrome prevalent in the construction stage, but equally at a structural level of the industrial bureaucracy, entailing the rise of paternalism, nepotism, ethnic stereotypes and localism (Lucas, 1971: 26-34, 137-

46). During the transition stage, R. Lucas sees the emergence of an isolated, homogeneous and consensual community, as stated in the following:

“It should be noted that people refer to ‘the company,’ the ‘community,’ or the ‘people,’ in much the same way as they refer to ‘the government,’ as though there were consensus about what the corporate group thinks, says, wants, and does. Although this is rarely, if ever, the case, people speak as if it were so, and presumably conduct many of their relationships on this assumption.” (Lucas, 1971: 84).

So, for R. Lucas, mature SITs are not only the complete reversal of incipient ones, but they also clash with the thrust of his basic definition of SITs, i.e., as inherently metropolitan industrial transplants in the wilderness having an urban population with a modern system of values.

The “stages of community development” model presents some problems specifically in terms of its relevance to this work’s intended comparative theoretical framework, but also more generally. The first one is that parallel to the progressive “ruralization” process, the author describes a slow release of industry’s grip upon the town’s community; this brings him to analyse the mature SIT’s different institutions and fields of activity as if equally relevant, thus, underplaying their dependence on industry, neglecting their varied overlapping, and omitting the interrelations between them.⁴ The second problem is that R. Lucas sees the community structure as based on status rather than class, where local elites such as the clergy, doctor or school teacher occupy a position of respect overriding that of the industrial management (Lucas, 1971: 149). As a result, the union is but a functional organ of social control of industry wherein grievances are “handled locally and amicably”; workers’ loyalty “seems to be to their work role, the industry for which they work, and the

community in which they live” rather than the union; and industrial conflict is absent: “strikes and labour conflicts are linked with impersonal national and international trade union policy” (Lucas, 1971: 140-41). In sum, the workers identify themselves with industry despite the fact that the latter represents metropolitan interests; thus, the author points to their (false class) consciousness:

“Union leaders and workers in the industry do not use ‘we-group’ terms and certainly never refer to themselves in classical class or working men’s language.” (Lucas, 1971: 141)

In conclusion, the two aforementioned problems show that R. Lucas’ approach is somewhat problematic due to its switch from an initially urban (and potentially conflictive) definition of SITs to a rural analytical framework, and due to its view of the evolutionary process of SITs as regressing along the rural-urban continuum. Since the external ownership of the industry is considered by the author as a crucial variable in explaining the nature of community, greater attention should have been given to examining its impact. For example, how does this outside force articulate with local institutions in the case of older established towns? Or again, in the case of new towns, how do the prevailing industrial interests increasingly come into conflict with a developing sense of local or occupational interests? Such questions are extensively dealt with in this work.

The third (and last) problem that will be discussed here is that R. Lucas excludes as a significant variable, the nature of the industrial base. Indeed, his three main case studies comprising a minetown, a milltown and a railtown (Lucas, 1971: 410), are largely treated as interchangeable when discussing the various town institutions and activities, despite the possibility that there may exist between them fundamental structural differences

in industry and community.⁵ So, for instance, according to C. Kerr and A. Siegel (1954: 193), railtowns exemplify the case of the “integrated individual and integrated group”. This individual is characterized in such a way because the authors view him as: integrated into the community, attached to his local employer, more restrained by social pressures because hiring practices are decentralized and of an informal type, and consequently as having a low propensity to strike. This is similar to what R. Lucas observed in his railtown, which is reflected in his comment on the recruitment of workers in this SIT:

“The selection of personnel, then, is not based upon the policies or directives of the national headquarters, but is the product of the informal and vital continuing relationships between particular people within a particular community.” (Lucas, 1971: 114)

As far as the “integrated group” is concerned, C. Kerr and A. Siegel (1954: 195) recognize that railroad workers are integrated locally as an occupational group, are conscious of national society, and know that they may be coerced by government to avoid strikes. In sum, these authors see railtowns as very quiescent, and R. Lucas holds a similar view. Yet, he uses them as the SIT prototype in his chapters dealing with the organization of work and with social stratification, a discussion that he indirectly extends to all SITs. Such a choice may explain in part the recurrent tensions in his analysis, between a metropolitan industrial bureaucracy and local paternalistic relations, or again between workers’ transient or instrumental “get-rich-quick” attitudes (Lucas, 1971: 27) and their consensual acceptance of localism.

In contrast to railtowns, mining SITs are considered by C. Kerr and A. Siegel (1954: 191) as “isolated masses” *par excellence* and as containing the most oppositional groups,

because in terms of their social and occupational structure “there are few neutrals in them to mediate the conflicts and dilute the mass”. W. Clement (1981) and J. Bradbury (1984) have similarly underlined in these towns a pattern of increasing social polarization. W. Clement observes it, in Sudbury, as resulting mainly from managerial industrial strategies aiming to deskill workers’ labour and to obtain a more homogeneous labour force; whereas J. Bradbury observes it, in iron towns of Quebec-Labrador, as resulting mainly from the overwhelming dominance of industry over institutions, town infrastructure and conditions of daily life. Clearly all these causes are in some way related: the virtual absence of neutrals to mediate conflicts, the deskilling of labour, the dominance of industry over the town. But what is especially interesting to point out here is that they imply to a certain extent that a root cause of the mining towns’ oppositional stance may be the combination of R. Lucas’ paradoxical premisses, i.e., a “traditional” undifferentiated institutional structure dominated by an external industrial interest, and a modern “urban” population having secondary type relationships in the workplace and, generally, in the institutionally impoverished community. It is my contention that because of this combination, mining SIT can be typified as having political and, to a large extent, social structures which are more traditional while the social relationships occurring within their industry and work spheres are more modern, being of a formal-secondary type. Furthermore, the more oppositional view of mining populations may be an outcome of this situation: on the one hand, the institutional structure makes the power of industry transparent due to its sheer concentration, and on the other, the class perception of the population is more acute

because individuals are narrowly defined by their work relations and see this definition confirmed in non-work social arrangements.⁶

Forestry SITs, especially those based on logging, have been discussed in varied contexts in the present literature review; and therefrom emerges a set of features common to them (and generally in contrast to mining towns). In a somewhat scattered way, they are as follows. Forestry SITs have older, more resilient and horizontally linked socio-political institutions which allow their collectivities to develop a greater autonomy from industry. Their labour force is less oppositional due to the more heterogenous organization of work that breaks up the “isolated mass”. Occupational individualism based on family social networks is pronounced, which hinders the development of worker solidarity. A plurality of elites, including a group of small employers, provide a more status-based social order. Individuals have an easier access to, and must frequently deal with, multiple points of dependence — Church, municipal government, welfare services, schools, housing market, merchants — in addition to those related to the more heterogenous organization of work. Finally, social relationships are predominantly of a primary type which may be explained by the above listed features, in combination with others such as the rural origins of the population, the dispersed residential setting and the importance of the informal economic sector. In sum, it is my contention that, in forestry SITs, the various spheres of social life appear, and to some extent are, relatively autonomous and dissociated from the main employer, which makes it more difficult for individuals and groups to generalize their situation or to focus their discontent.

According to C. Kerr and A. Siegel (1954: 192), an important aspect of the oppositional “isolated mass” phenomenon is that members of an occupational group not only have the same grievances, but have them at the same time, at the same place, and against the same people. Thus, workers in forestry SITs may be less oppositional because of the above-mentioned general features of their towns and, more specifically, because their grievances in the work force are inevitably more dispersed due to: (1) their stratification within the main industry (between pulpmill, sawmill, logging activities; unionized and non-unionized; seasonal and full-time; and the wider skill range); (2) their geographical dispersion (more rural residential setting; greater mobility within the region); (3) their absorption into a more diversified local economy (wider range of occupational options, availability of employment for women; greater resilience of small entrepreneurial endeavours); (4) the variety and relative unconnectedness of possible targets of grievances, such as industry, contractor, landlord, grocer, mayor.

The above characterization of (Canadian) forestry SITs and their workers may appear as rather paradoxical, in particular when compared to mining SITs, but this is what makes this comparison so intriguing. Indeed, the former have social relationships that are more of a primary type (hence, more traditional) but an institutional structure that is more pluralistic and differentiated (hence, more modern); while the latter have social relationships that are more of a secondary type (hence, more modern) but an institutional structure that is more authoritarian and undifferentiated (hence, more traditional). As increasingly hinted at in the present literature review, such combinations of social relations and institutional structures explain why individuals in forestry towns hold a less

antagonistic view of their SITs' social structure, one that obscures the economic dominance of industry and fragments social action; and why individuals in mining SITs hold a dichotomous class view of their SITs' social structure, one that clarifies the economic dominance of industry and favours social action. By and large, this work's theoretical framework adopts such an "inter-industry" comparative perspective, largely in agreement with C. Kerr and A. Siegel (1954) and in contrast to R. Lucas for whom SITs can be considered as a homogeneous batch sharing similar features and a common condition, regardless of the resource base of their industry. Moreover, from R. Lucas, this work will retain a focus on towns as collectivities (with communal ties and institutional linkages), thus, situating industries and occupational groups locally in a broader context than C. Kerr and A. Siegel.

In other words, it is my contention that while Canadian forestry and mining SITs share a common external industrial domination, the specific resource exploited, the particularities of work seen in the labour process of the core industry, and the combination of work opportunities in the local labour market, reveal significant differences in both the social relations and community institutional structure of these SITs.

In the previous discussion of H. Miner's (1939) views about St. Denis, I tried to underline that a mono-economic (and mono-institutional) structure is less resilient when countering conflict. In St. Denis, where agriculture was the sole occupation and the Church by far the most determinant basis of social organization, there was, for instance, no institution or even work arrangement addressing the needs of the (essentially young) surplus

population expelled from the land-Church system. This surplus population became day labourers, unstable and transient as workers, and marginalized from their traditional culture because their primordial ties with the community were shattered. This led to alienation (Miner, 1939: 253); but to little actual oppositional outcomes.

It may be interesting to establish a parallel between this land-Church system and the authoritarian, undifferentiated one characterizing mining SITs; and, specifically, to do so as far as the features of their surplus workers are concerned, the way they are dealt with, and the outcomes of such dealings. In both cases, the surplus workers (1) are relatively young and/or have only recently been integrated in the main workforce; (2) are largely sedentary and/or have restricted geographic mobility within the region; (3) have skills that are not easily transferable to other types of work; and, finally, (4) are isolated in the sense that there is no middle class which politically could bridge the gap between workers and industry by providing leadership and/or economically could constitute some employment base. So, the similarity between the surplus workers is noteworthy, as it is in terms of how they are dealt with: in both cases, they are harshly marginalized. But the outcomes of this marginalization are very different: while in St. Denis labour unrest is unlikely, it may and frequently does occur in mining towns. Such unrest in mining SITs can be explained by varied reasons: the fact that the marginalization is carried through massive layoffs in periods of economic downturn (in contrast to St. Denis where it affects proportionally smaller numbers compared to the village's in-group; results from a slow and largely foreseeable demographic trend; and is unrelated to either short- or medium-term economic conjunctures); the miners' clear awareness of their dependence on industry, their relatively

high organization levels, and more generally their secondary relationships in their labour environment (in contrast to St. Denis which in these realms is quite “traditional”); and the workers formal integration in the main workforce before their marginalization (in contrast to St. Denis where those excluded are perceived as young outcasts).

These considerations end my discussion of St. Denis, which despite its rural character is useful to illustrate features of an undifferentiated institutional base parallel to mining towns; in contrast to the following analysis — of E. Hughes’ study of Cantonville (in fact, Drummondville; 1943) — which will illustrate features similar to forestry towns. This may appear surprising when looking at the subject studied, since H. Miner examined an agricultural community and E. Hughes a single-industry textile town. What is remarkable and makes both these classic studies all the more comparable, is that they have been written by authors pertaining to the Chicago School tradition and have been published more than half a century ago, at a mere four year interval by the same university press.

E. Hughes’ study which he considered entitling *Jean Baptiste Comes to Town*, could be seen as a continuation of H. Miner’s St. Denis because it examines the relocation of surplus agricultural population in a manufacturing town, and focuses on the tensions ensuing from the clash between traditional and modern cultures. Although Cantonville is a textile SIT, this specific feature of the industrial structure does not constitute a dominant factor in E. Hughes’ analysis; rather, the importance of industry is weighed in relation to other local institutions, and the position of industrial management is examined through its relations within the entire social structure. Also, although workers are French speaking while management is English, this specific feature of the social environment is not central

to his analysis, which otherwise would have led to a study of ethnic groups limited to a Quebec context. For him, the underlying dichotomy of Cantonville is between rural-folk and modern-capitalist cultures which happens to be reflected in the linguistic groups. In this case, the linguistic (and ethnic) factor has primarily three somewhat contradictory consequences. First, it amplifies the resistance to modernization of the French culture, mainly by reducing to a minimum the interaction and mobility between the two social worlds. Second, it influences the reorientation of traditional organizations towards the working classes. Unions, for instance, are offsprings of the Church: they organize workers on a scale transcending the town and lead them to embrace some of the rural “middle class” values (Hughes, 1943: 186) that are (moderately) favourable to occupational solidarity. Third and paradoxically, the linguistic (and ethnic) factor facilitates the penetration and dominance of the modern capitalist culture. Indeed, a nationalist guise is added to the unions’ rural “middle class” values, which interferes with the formation of class consciousness and the adoption of world views relevant to the workers’ objective situation.

The linguistic (and ethnic) difference however, has no effect in preventing the collaboration between the local French elite — the only bilingual group (composed of merchants, landlords, and professionals) — and the English industrialists. On the contrary: the former acts as brokers on behalf of the latter, thus, contributing to ground external interests in the local structure, a function it performs remarkably well. The reason for such “success” of the French local elite is at least twofold: it is influential in the parish, and controls the municipality, local businesses, the professions, and the corresponding institutions and domains; and it is able to give these a high degree of bureaucratization. As

a result, it effectively excludes the English industrialists from such institutions and domains, asserts the essentially French character of the town's political and cultural spheres, and more broadly makes Cantonville's actual power and institutional structures quite opaque and diffuse to workers.

For E. Hughes, thus, the above features are not, and in fact cannot be, unique to textile towns or constrained to a bilingual setting because he views neither the type of industry, nor the linguistic (and ethnic) factor as crucial in explaining social processes. Rather the main factor is the mix of traditional and modern cultures reflected in the institutional differentiation especially between the economic (industry) and cultural (religion) spheres, as well as in the stratified social structure wherein the French local elite bridges the cultural and class gap. E. Hughes attempts to identify the "organic ties" (Hughes, 1943: 1) between the new and old cultures (i.e., between industry and parish), which could also be understood as resulting from the functional survival of traditional elements:

"It was because of the presence of these townspeople (French-Canadian merchant and professional group) with their traditional institutions, the middle term in the Quebec contrast between old and new, that this town was chosen." (Hughes, 1943: 3)

Whereas M. Stein views industrialization and increasing institutional differentiation — at a societal level — as provoking disorganization, what is shown here — at a local level — is that they stabilize the institutional and social structure despite the inherent tensions and ambiguities that they foster. What is most interesting is that, actually, such stabilization results from these very points of tension, ambiguities in social standing and

contradictory world views; they give the institutional and social structure its flexibility and resilience, by the capacity of obscuring class conflict and by containing within certain limits individual or collective deviations from established norms. The resulting structure may retain various “traditional” characteristics in terms of form (i.e., the French local elite maintains its status position), yet it is definitely modern in terms of function (i.e., the more stratified social structure, in fact, maintains class interests).

The result of Cantonville’s more complex structure, in terms of individual action and consciousness, is likewise not as M. Stein would have predicted, i.e., greater alienation, deterioration of primary relations or loss of a sense of community. In fact, it is rather the opposite. The Church, for instance, maintained its authority, paternal-type relations, and deferent attitudes, which led workers to perceive the social stratification system as essentially based on status, and topped by traditional community and parish leaders. This assured a sense of local identity while also providing a relatively docile labour force to industry. Industry, on the other hand, had only to interlock with the (traditional) French local elite that was secure in its status and leadership, and to maintain it in its due position in the power hierarchy. Industry’s linking with this elite had the further advantage of rendering a direct patronage relation with the Church unnecessary, thus allowing industry to organize along more impersonal bureaucratic lines. This contributed to the appearance of an overall democratic structure and, so, reduced alienation by increasing the visibility of a status-based hierarchy, while obscuring the underlying class relations for the highest level of power, rooted in industry and firmly in English hands. As E. Hughes puts it, “the

local and visible authority may be French, but the absent higher authority is English” (Hughes, 1943: 73).

In more strictly cultural terms, the Church’s role in contributing to a diffuse and opaque structure was even more obvious. By endorsing a value-system divorced from a capitalist world view, though compatible with it, the Church provided a crucial element in the maintenance of consent despite Cantonville’s social changes. The Church’s autonomy from industry due to its financial independence, its link to an outside central hierarchical structure and its strong local support, proved to be functional to capitalism. Indeed, it provided an effective means of affirming local interest and identity, made possible an alternative status scale, and allowed the expression of labour-related tensions while simultaneously containing these within certain bounds.

Not only did this reduce alienation, but it also gave an impression of community auto-determination; this compensated for the status loss of new proletarians by giving them a moral status, and provided the Church with the liberty of openly attacking some modern industrial practices which violated Christian ethics, such as the operating of mills on Sundays (Hughes, 1943: 100). So, the Church promoted two labour movements⁷: both had relatively modern structures because they transcended their local parochial base, were quite issue-specific in their demands, and proved to be effective in pressuring industry, therefore, providing workers with a certain measure of power to the point of creating tensions with the French local elite:

“The active promoters of both (labour movements) are young priests and centrally appointed laymen; through them the church deals directly with the masses of working people without the mediation of those old allies of the

church, the middle and upper classes. The latter, the people who are churchwardens and parish leaders are a little apprehensive both of the emphasis on the laboring class and of the tendency of the church to by-pass the local, middle-class lay leaders.” (Hughes, 1943: 217)

However, in spite (or maybe because) of the workers’ margin of freedom, the Church was able and willing to contain the level of labour dissidence, an action which directly benefited industry. For instance, in one of the three strikes led by the unions against management: “the *curé* tacitly blessed it by holding prayers for peaceful conduct and a ‘just’ solution” (Hughes, 1943: 137). In fact, by maintaining deferent attitudes, ascetic values and a rigid status system, the Church prevented social mobility, and increased social distance between workers and English management, thus leading to stereotyping, such as the following by an English mill foreman:

“The French have to be told what to do and therefore cannot be trusted with jobs requiring initiative and the meeting of crises.” (Hughes, 1943: 55)

Moreover, the traditional rural values and life-objectives inculcated by the Church, particularly the prizing of family income strategies and patterns of individualism, were functional to capital because this countered alienation ensuing from proletarianization and indirectly upheld the consensus of a social stratification based on class. Although “the situation of workers in industry is the complete antithesis of that of the independent farmer” (Hughes, 1943: 173) in terms of ownership and control of the means of production, both the compartmentalization of work relations and the displacement of ties of solidarity towards the family served in retarding leadership and in keeping class contradictions latent. Furthermore, consent was established this way because, as E. Hughes observes, “the values of the habitant are essentially of a middle-class character” (Hughes, 1943: 186). Objectives

such as family cooperation in enterprise, developing family property or determining the careers of children “remained vigorous” among workers despite the fact that they were mainly achieved by the middle class and, needless to say, the French local elite (Hughes, 1943: 177). Such examples of French self-made men and the partial success of a few workers maintained the myth of social mobility alive as well as reinforced an adherence to fundamental capitalist values such as private property. This can be seen in the “plethora of small businesses, many of which are run by families some of whose members are at work in industry” (Hughes, 1943: 173) or in the creation of the outlying worker parishes where “each family, for and by itself, elected to live outside” (Hughes, 1943: 180).

In sum, it may be stated that the Church contributed to the introduction of unions, but controlled and oriented their action. In terms of control, as was underlined above, these unions were led by “young priests and centrally appointed laymen” (Hughes, 1943: 136). So, they were bounded by the Church, as well as by its strong nationalistic guise based on common ethnic origin, language and religion; simultaneously, however, such a bind and guise gave the unions some effectiveness given that they appeared as dissociated from the local power structure, a general state of affairs quite functionally rewarding for the Church.

In terms of the orientation of the unions’ action, the Church and its nationalistic guise were at the same time detrimental because this helped: to fragment labour by excluding workers of different origin, to divert the potential class identification as an ethnic one, and to prevent local unions from forming broader labour alliances with organizations possibly having more experience or militant views. In other words and broadly speaking, the Church’s tutelage, whereby “chaplains give sufficient moral guaranty that the unions

will stay within the bounds of religious rule” (Hughes, 1943: 136), hindered the workers’ interests: it prevented them from questioning the legitimacy of either the Church or industry since the former sanctioned the latter.

It is interesting to note that while the Church saw the necessity to contain workers by creating unions, it made little attempt to organize businessmen and professionals into special groups (Hughes, 1943: 105). It dispensed the well-to-do from adhering to traditional morality (Hughes, 1943: 101), and by doing so, showed its tacit approval of the modern capitalist culture and class system. This is still another indication that the Church’s involvement with unions essentially had a conservative bent because, although tensions were created, these were not potentially threatening to the system, but quite the opposite. For instance, industry at times qualified unions as “red” (Hughes, 1943: 136), or some local priests and members of the French elite, seeing their power reduced, also eyed unions suspiciously (Hughes, 1943: 138); but essentially, there was no real opposition to the Church’s leadership of unions coming from either industry, the local French elite, or even from the workers themselves. To conclude this lengthy discussion of E. Hughes’ important work, let me simply observe that in Cantonville, and possibly in forestry towns of more rural background, it may be that the greater institutional differentiation, the more ramified local bureaucracy and the more complex social stratification system all combine to produce more stable communities.

One year before the release of E. Hughes’ book, L. Pope (1942) published a study of a North Carolina SIT, Gastonia, also a textile town. The dissimilarities between the two case studies are noteworthy. E. Hughes adopts a cultural perspective, and Cantonville is

at the onset a traditional integrated community, i.e., before the arrival of the textile mill; whereas L. Pope adopts a more structural perspective, and the textile mill builds Gastonia from scratch, entirely within a modern industrial culture. Moreover, E. Hughes' case study ends up showing how class cleavages emerge (and are maintained) from a traditional social order; and specifically, how the French local elite and the Church are effective in obscuring the proletarianization of workers, thus, resulting in an "integrated" overall structure combining modern and traditional elements. In contrast, L. Pope's case study shows how the initial "monolithic-integrated" company-town structure *was unable* to obscure class cleavages, leading to the visibility of differentiation (and instability) within it.

This evolution is shown through an insightful review of the establishment and demise of Gastonia's paternalistic economic culture, as well as the key role of churches which sanctioned the economic institution but lost their legitimacy by gradually becoming the latter's captive. Here, paternalism is described as "capitalism at its peak over culture": the capitalist did not merely provide capital, but also established the facilities and set the norms for politics, morals, religion, leisure, and all major spheres of culture (Pope, 1942: 208). In other words, the SIT was essentially capitalist from the very beginning and in all its dimensions, which is particularly obvious in industry's relations with workers (Pope, 1942: 20) and in the churches' alliance with industry (Pope, 1942: 34). At first, such relations and alliances were able to take on an altruistic appearance due to localism and the absence of institutional differentiation, which permitted an increasing exploitation and isolation of workers. Indeed, such actions as the installation of screen windows on mills to prevent sickness, the provision of cheap housing or the subsidizing of the churches'

programs could be seen as benevolent intentions; but L. Pope shows that they were in the first instance directly profitable to industry.

The industry's control over all spheres of social life precipitated the dependent status of workers, gradually forcing them into a position vastly inferior in economic and cultural terms to that which they previously held in rural farming areas. Also, since the paternalist system promoted the concentration of economic and social control in the hands of a small uptown class which had a naked ambition and was unabashed in displaying its privileges, class cleavages deepened and were visible in a way unseen in E. Hughes' Cantonville. In the latter, workers either freely elected to live in surrounding villages where they could afford to buy (Hughes, 1943: 180), or rented in town from a group of local "rentiers" as did the managerial class (Hughes, 1943: 175). In Gastonia however, absence of choice and social distance were obvious in the mill-village shack as compared to the posh uptown residences. Indeed:

"Residence in a mill village soon became a distinctive badge of class affiliation, and stigma in the eyes of independent farmers and uptown people alike." (Pope, 1942: 63)

Culturally, the Gastonia uptown people achieved the "rural ideals" seen in Cantonville, such as family property and orienting children's careers; and therefore maintained some esteem for independent farmers as well as a nostalgia for farm life (Pope, 1942: 69). So, at the bottom of Gastonia's social scale, mill workers became increasingly urbanized, proletarianized and alienated. On the one hand, their traditional rural values, as individualism and family solidarity that could have attenuated alienation, faded with the increasing dependence on wage work and the company-town organization. Indeed,

relations between parents and children became the reverse of those prevailing in rural families: parents, for instance, had little control over their children who often were the breadwinners, and the poor conditions of the mill town led to high juvenile delinquency and sexual promiscuity (Pope, 1942: 64). On the other hand, urban standards of income, leisure, housing and the like, increasingly became normative in the life of mill workers, possibly the result of their contact with managers, their more urban setting, and their alienation through work (Pope, 1942: 55). For instance, whereas farmers looked down on the new forms of leisure and lifestyles adopted by uptown people, “mill workers respond[ed] to them positively, with a mixture of admiration and assumed indifference, and a frequent trace of bitterness” (Pope, 1942: 67). In sum, for L. Pope, Gastonia proved effective in controlling labour and making rural attitudes of autonomy obsolete, while the deterioration of material conditions deprived workers of the means to access urban standards of living and lifestyles. Thus, mill workers were placed in a context which favoured their alienation, putting them — in varied, but actual ways — on the margin of both traditional and modern worlds.

In the short term, class confrontation was prevented as a result, first, of the geographical, social and cultural isolation of workers, greater than in E. Hughes’ Cantonville; and second, of the churches’ key role in sanctioning industry’s actions on moral grounds, which gave these actions a positive image and largely maintained them in the primary relations’ realm, thus, preventing the organization of workers along militant lines. Indeed, at first workers had no political consciousness and reacted in an atomized fashion; as well:

“Their sense of repression sometimes leads to abnormal forms of behavior, such as extreme suspicion of strangers, ecstatic recreational and religious activity, and occasional outbursts of violence.” (Pope, 1942: 68)

However in the longer term, the situation became explosive due to: the deterioration of the material and cultural situation of workers, the fading of paternalistic forms of industrial relations with the advent of external ownership, the implementation of modern impersonal production methods, and the absence of mechanisms for releasing social tensions or of elements which could bridge the gap between classes. As L. Pope observes, “the deeper causes of strife were not simply economic but cultural in the broader sense” (Pope, 1942: 232). Once confidence in the industrialists as guardians of community welfare became eroded by placing emphasis on productive efficiency alone to the detriment of community, this also dissolved ties of loyalty to the mills. Moreover, since the command of the economic structure carried over into all spheres of social organization, as political and civic offices (Pope, 1942: 145), once the instrumental motive of economic gain surfaced in industry, it also transpired in all other institutions. This led to the “rude awakening” of workers, suddenly made aware of their exploitation and dependence (Pope, 1942: 216).

A parallel development which also contributed to an escalation of tensions was the churches’ conservative outlook which, by and large, meant that their “mill village preachers” had little actual knowledge of economic processes and labour relations: they were all too easily convinced by the only persons who in their view knew such matters, the mill owners and managers (Pope, 1942: 115). Eventually, this made them less effective instruments of social control because they disguised capital interest less well and provided

little emotional outlet to increasingly alienated workers. This state of affairs resulted mainly from the churches' lack of institutional independence, a situation which contrasts with the case of the Catholic Church in Cantonville.

The churches' refusal to acknowledge either class lines or cultural polarization (Pope, 1942: 70) led to their progressive loss of control over workers and to the emergence of many sects. The latter were an acute reaction on the part of workers to, both, the religious institutions and the prevailing economic order and culture:

“Overtly it [the sect] is a protest against the failure of religious institutions to come to grips with the needs of marginal groups, existing unnoticed on the fringes of cultural and social organization.” (Pope, 1942: 140).

The sects initially did not attempt to penetrate social spheres outside religion. They exclusively attempted to be moral communities separate and sufficient in themselves, and as such were a sign of fragmentation and disorganization which permitted the release of tensions. However, they were drawn towards addressing a broader group of workers because of the absence of other institutions that could provide focal points of social life, and because of their responsiveness to militant views due to their marginality in the social and economic structures. As a result, the sects gained momentum by: providing a first stage of expression of alienation; permitting the transfer of loyalties away from mills and churches; and making the workers more responsive to outside union organizers' messages which presented a new world view, so much so, that there arose an open conflict between paternalistic capitalism and radical communism. This conflict culminated in Gastonia's major labour clash, the 1928 so-called Loray strike, which brought about not only the definite demise of the established churches' influence over workers and their irrelevance

in economic matters, but also the end of the institutional centralization that characterized the industrial sphere. Indeed, alongside the textile company's bureaucracy, the National Textile Worker's Union became very powerful. It is my contention that this new structural arrangement arose — and perdured — because it is a better way of dealing with the workers' alienation and of releasing tensions, paradoxically because it does so in a rather conflictual way. One of the key "functional" aspects of this arrangement is that it better corresponds to the way workers understand, and actually identify with, their community, i.e., as characterized by extensive secondary relations, mainly framed in class antagonistic terms. This view is at odds with L. Pope's, given that he equates the stability of Gastonia's post-1928 social order (after the expulsion of communist leaders from the union) as a "cultural reintegration" of the mills with the more "church-like" sects (Pope, 1942: 140, 307); and given that he sees the aftermath of the Loray strike and subsequent trials negatively: "rather than hastening the advent of bona fide trade unionism in the region, [the strike] had really retarded readiness of workers to enter a policy of collective representation" (Pope, 1942: 314). Such a negative view may, to some extent, be put into question by the author's own data, firstly, by "the arising of new sects in protest against the failure of old sects and of society to distribute their benefits more impartially" (Pope, 1942: 140) and, secondly, by the establishment of the first union in the mill, the National Textile Workers' Union, committed to furthering workers' interests. In other words, L. Pope denies offhand the workers' potential class identification, conflict and gains *because of* the ensuing stable social order. In this instance, I argue that such stability does not necessarily negate these identification, conflict and gains.

In the 1964 introduction to Pope's book, R. Peterson and N.J. Demerath advance two reasons explaining the paradox of why certain industrial communities, such as the American textile towns, lacked a strong class consciousness and organization, while having among the most exploitative and alienating forms of industry. These are: the lack of integration of workers into the middle class, implying the expansion of labour unions, public education or voting rights; and the isolation of the workers from corrupting influences through paternalism, implying the benevolent guidance and control of the workers' off-the-job life by industrialists to counter low wages (Pope, 1942: xli). In regards to attempting a comparison of Canadian mining and forestry towns, it may be useful to draw a parallel with certain features noted in E. Hughes' and L. Pope's studies. However, what I will retain as one of the starting points for my comparison is more the inverse of L. Pope's thesis, i.e., that in Canadian mining towns, a potentially oppositional class consciousness is *enhanced* by the workers' lack of integration into the middle class — and singularly their non-adoption of middle-class values — as well as by the maintenance of paternalism mainly in the community institutional structure. In forestry towns, on the other hand, a relatively deferent attitude can be viewed as the result of an adherence to rural independent values congruent with those of the middle class, as well as of a community institutional structure less dominated by industry.

Concluding Comments

Canadian forestry towns, like E. Hughes' Cantonville workers, may be seen as having remained more traditional in the sense of being bound to their community by primary rather than secondary relations. This is particularly noteworthy in the forestry towns' work sphere: the income strategies are carried out within the frame of the family, the workers often have primary relations with contractors, and there exists a strong mechanic solidarity resulting above all from greater interaction between the workers and the local elite through institutions that are not controlled by industry. However, forestry workers could also be considered as being closer to the middle class than miners, not so much in terms of income, but because they have maintained traditional values that are congruent with the middle class; values, such as family ownership and self-employment, that they are able to actualize to a certain extent. The more harmonious convergence of traditional and modern (i.e., middle-class) values and lifestyles possibly reduces alienation and the interpretation of community relations exclusively in class terms. Simultaneously, forestry towns' institutional structure may be more modern and bureaucratic due to its differentiation and distancing from industry. This gives the institutions more legitimacy when dealing with community affairs. As a result, in Canadian forestry towns, institutional structures better sustain loyalties of workers towards the community, and contribute to an atmosphere where there appears to be greater personal freedom and democracy.

Mining towns, on the other hand, have a structure that brings traditional and modern elements in confrontation rather than convergence. Indeed, miners can be seen as more

modern or middle class in terms of higher incomes, participation in large-scale unions, and adoption of mass consumption behaviours, such as travel and consumer goods. But they can also be seen as more “traditional proletarians” (Lockwood: 1982) or working class in the sense that, within their SITs, the social distance between workers and managers is greater, and the values or life-objectives are not shared. There is, however, one major exception concerning unshared values: both miners and managers have a strictly economic definition of their situation in relation to the community. This definition results from their integration in (and loyalty to) modern industrial bureaucracies, i.e., multinational corporations or international unions.

At a local level, the mining SITs’ concentrated industrial structure and its extension into other spheres of social life may appear bureaucratic, democratic and neutral; but they are in essence rather the opposite: paternalistic, authoritarian and arbitrary, thus in fact, quite traditional. Such structure and its extension make class lines more visible and reinforce workers’ identification with unions as well as with instrumental oppositional world views. For instance, horizontal mobility within the industry extends, by and large, only to the managerial and technical staff, miners’ careers being more clearly grounded in the economic viability of specific mines. This situation of reduced alternative employment is aggravated by limited work opportunities for women, as well as the absence of associations and institutions reflecting working-class interests, or any local ones for that matter. Such a structure, offering so few choices in lifestyles or mediums of expression, may explain the strong transference of loyalties and possibly the strong emotional projections by workers upon their union locals. In a way similar to what L. Pope observed

in Gastonia, the institutional structure (churches, municipal government) of mining SITs remains largely paternalistic and undifferentiated due to its economic dependence on industry, a dependence that results in institutions adopting and transmitting the industry's economic discourse.

Chapter 4. STAPLE-IZING THE STUDY OF FORESTRY AND MINING TOWNS

This chapter essentially attempts to justify an informed staple-ized outlook when studying Canadian forestry and mining SITs. In this endeavour, the starting points need to be, first, a lowering of the level of analysis, which should not neglect the broad structural forces affecting these towns; and second, a revisiting of some staple insights. Doing so will point to the fact that the nature of the staple is a determining — and thus a potentially comparative — factor, especially at this lower level of analysis; circumscribe well the topics favoured in the present effort; address the specific Canadian context; and also reflect how the Canadian context has been depicted in Canadian studies.¹ In other words, combining a low level of analysis and an informed staple-ization may be considered as an alternative perspective for studying SITs, a perspective which is well suited to explore under-researched directions, such as these towns' diversity, and the broadening of the sociological interpretation beyond a purely economic or materialist conception of social relations, by including the sphere of community and the perceptions that individuals have of their daily environments.

In order to present this perspective, the first section of this chapter reviews the literature that has dealt with SITs at lower levels of analysis, i.e., the authors grouped in the two last approaches focussing on class/gender and networks (Approaches 3 and 4 in Figure 1; p. 24). The second section outlines some of the staple theory insights that persist in contemporary SIT literature as well as explains how other insights which have largely been de-emphasized could be useful in a comparative analysis of forestry and mining SITs. And

the third and last section defines what is meant by an informed staple-ization, and how staples contribute to shaping community and production structures as well as impact on individual consciousness and action.

4.1 The Study of the SITs' Class Relations and Networks²

No study of SITs can be entirely satisfactory if it limits itself solely to a macro-structural account. Indeed, it must also consider the properties and relevance of social relationships at lower levels of analysis. This is neither an argument for overemphasizing methodological individualism, and indeed few authors in Approaches 3 and 4 entirely rely on biographical or subjective data; nor one to neglect social relations at higher levels of analysis, as the lengthy discussions of authors of Approaches 1 and 2 have shown. Rather it is an argument for taking into account factors such as the role of small groups or of individual consciousness. They lead the authors situated in the two approaches to get closer to the actual motives of social action, and the meanings that actors attach to it, and thus, to characterize more accurately specific situations, singularly at the micro level. This being given, the difference between the two approaches is significant: the third one regroups authors concerned with the social conditions of action, and who seek to explain action in a rather objective way in accordance to individuals' social roles and relations in wider society; the fourth one regroups authors concerned with individuals' ends and definitions of situations, and who emphasize subjective orientations or more cultural aspects of social life.

So, the authors of Approach 3 focus on variables exogenous to SITs in the sense that individuals are seen as collectively defined by — and reacting to — the wider society, mainly to its main institution from the towns' viewpoint, i.e., industry. More particularly, these authors examine how broad industrial policies and the nature of the workplace modify behaviours and perceptions. For this reason, the social relations they consider are nearly always viewed as of a secondary type and cast in class terms, hence, they depict the nature of SIT contexts as essentially antagonistic and society as inherently conflictive (Marchak: 1983; Legendre: 1980; Radforth: 1982; MacLeod: 1983; Mellor: 1983; Derbyshire: 1960).

E. Leyton (1975) is an exception among the authors of Approach 3 because he uses an anthropological methodology of life histories to highlight the cultural features of individual actors, which could have led to his inclusion in Approach 4. However, he clearly pertains to Approach 3 because these life histories focus specifically on individuals' experience as dying workers — on the extreme exploitation of workers' labour and health that the author terms “industrial carnage” — and are intended to be framed in a broad political economy perspective of industrial production. Parallel to E. Leyton, N. Hayner (1945) attempts to give an detailed cultural characterization of individual actors, here of West-Coast loggers, by depicting their lifestyles and attitudes. What justifies placing him in Approach 3 is that he views the sources of change and the social conditions of action as essentially exogenous: they are the technological and organizational changes in industry, which reduce the physical isolation of logging operations and permit the transition from paternalistic company-town settings to communities of independent families. E. Leyton

and N. Hayner are quite similar in that they link life histories and/or the cultural characterization of individual actors to broad exploitative patterns. Such endeavours are most relevant to a mining and forestry SIT comparison because the specific context of the resource is seen as affecting — at least in part — that link, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The work of G.D. Suttles (1972) will be discussed at greater length. He presents a theoretical reexamination of the issue of community, mainly in large urban contexts, and refers to SITs only occasionally. But this examination is useful when contrasting Approach 3 to others and, potentially forestry and mining SITs. For instance, the author's concept of the "defended neighbourhood" points to the smallest unit where residents assume a relative degree of security: it is primarily a response to fear of invasion from adjacent areas, and so, may either arise from pre-existing cohesive groupings based on sentimental or associational ties, or may be an eclectic group of individuals. The defended neighbourhood is a social unit but also a structural (and spatial) one, since it corresponds to the smallest unit having a corporate identity, i.e., it is defined both endogenously by members, and externally by outside neighbourhoods. So, the members' collective identity is both imposed and self-defined; it can result from mutual opposition between neighbourhoods rather than unity within neighbourhoods; it can subsist despite the existing heterogeneity within (and between) neighbourhoods; and the members mutual defense of their neighbourhood can lead to solidarity within (and between) neighbourhoods, at least on specific issues. I think that this concept enables one to rejoin the two facets of SITs, as artificial and elected localities (which were so well described in R. Lucas' book); and allows to bridge the

physical structure of communities with the subjective cognitive maps of individuals. This should place G.D. Suttles with authors stressing definitions of situations, i.e., in Approach 4. Yet, he is placed in Approach 3 because his work marks a clear departure from the endogenous “natural community” view by emphasizing how the more instrumental ties and external demands set on communities define them and may make them more, or less, cohesive.

The author pursues his discussion in a chapter co-authored with A.J. Hunter (1972: 44-81) where they revisit M. Janowitz’s concept of the “community of limited liability” (Suttles, 1972: 47). Such a community is seen as having an official identity, and therefore, external advocates and adversaries; hence, it is a construct defined by broad commercial and governmental interests. Necessarily, people belong to several of these and, as a result, have varied sets of advocates and adversaries, each corresponding to a given corporate identity (and/or the issue at hand). This view is obviously at odds with any indigenous community development theory given that, here, community is largely defined by external organizations and populations, and its main function is negotiating with the latter, notably higher institutional levels and corporate enterprises. G.D. Suttles gives much importance to this concept and even proposes the idea of an “expanded community of limited liability”, i.e., some sort of large hypothetical entity, for example, the mass media or entire sectors of major cities that may claim the organization of large constituencies. Whatever the case may be, the author’s theoretical bent as well as his depiction of society as being, by and large, conflictual would warrant placing him with authors insisting on the determinant role of exogenous institutions, i.e., in Approach 1. But neither his view of the community of

limited liability, be it expanded or not, nor his concept of the defended neighbourhood are framed in class terms. In both cases, communities are based on social oppositions, but these remain fragmented and issue specific: in the defended neighbourhood, it is individuals' opposition to outlying areas rather than their primordial solidarities that creates a sense of identity; in the community of limited liability, which form larger residential groups, identity is defined in contradistinction to one another, and singularly by the existence of different sets of adversaries and advocates. Thus, the inclusion of G.D. Suttles in Approach 3.

As far as the author's possible relevance to my comparative theoretical framework is concerned, it seems noteworthy given his characterization of the two concepts discussed above. Indeed, forestry SITs can be associated with some of the ideas alluded to in this characterization: the identity of very small social units resulting from mutual oppositions rather than unity and, to some extent, solidarity; people holding varied sets of advocates and adversaries; and a reluctance to frame the discussion in strict class terms. While mining SITs can more easily be associated with: the bridging of the physical structure of communities with the subjective cognitive maps of individuals; the departure from the endogenous "natural community" view; communities quite explicitly defined by external organizations; and society broadly depicted as conflictual. In other words, the two concepts discussed by G.D. Suttles (1972) and considered above may refer to social realities very different from both types of SITs, yet they also refer in a scattered fashion to ideas directly useful to analyse each of them.

I will finish my comments on the overall perspective of Approach 3 by considering the work of P. Marchak (1983) on the forestry industry of British Columbia. In her book, she presents some observations and ideas that are of secondary importance to her central argument framed in a liberal political economy perspective, but are — as in the preceding discussions — deemed relevant to the forestry/mining SITs' comparison. In her extensive overview of this province's forestry sector, she pursues in separate rather than in an integrated fashion, three research endeavours. First, it is a political economy of forestry dependent SITs, where the author attempts to explain how these towns' social conditions and relations are determined by their external economic environment, particularly the structure of industry. Second, it examines the composition of the SITs' labour force (both men and women), and specifically delves into the fact that about half of the workers engaged in logging remain transient. The author explains this in terms of class, i.e., of the workers' overall direct and indirect dependence on large corporations: she shows that the latter, under certain conditions, profit from creating an unstable labour force and, thus, that the workers' personal characteristics are largely seen as irrelevant (Marchak, 1983: 115-19). Third, the book presents three case studies of SITs, each representing an industrial dominance: of the pulp and paper, sawmill and logging sectors, which reflects to some extent a gradation from a monopoly to a competitive capital situation. She argues that the labour force segmentation, essentially between stable high-wage and transient low-wage workers, does not strictly correspond to the monopoly versus competitive capital position of a firm because the varying hiring strategies of both depend on market variability, overhead costs for technology and the replaceability of the workforce (Marchak, 1983:

164). The empirical examination of these structural conditions, as well as the characteristics of the labour forces in the three forestry sectors, lead to the conclusion that systematic differences in the labour market are greater between each sector than between individual firms of different sizes within sectors (Marchak, 1983: 181).

This idea remains of secondary importance in the book, but it is a key argument in defense of the present comparative study of forestry and mining SITs. Indeed, P. Marchak observes that loggers share certain types of work histories, socio-economic characteristics, perceptions and attitudes, regardless of whether they are self-employed or working in large pulpmills, or whether they live in the “old logging town” (of Terrace) or in the “instant town” dominated by a pulp and paper complex (of Mackenzie). Structural reasons for this are that logging operations, in contrast to pulpmills and sawmills (or mining operations, for that matter), are essentially labour intensive and “pre-mechanized” in terms of labour process, whereby groups are involved in a total production task, use light and mobile equipment which they often own, and require little supervision (Marchak, 1983: 162). Such labour is a major cost factor in production; and so — when seasonal market slumps occur, in response to construction periods, interest rates, market demands, or other economic and social conditions — employers respond by dismissing workers. Therefore, labour’s dependent class position explains to a large extent the existence of an important transient labour force in logging operations.

This is obviously a highly structural view, in that industry is the sole determinant of employment and, more generally, of social patterns within SITs. The workers’ dependent class position is definitely important, but the view excludes the wider resource

context which is mainly rural. P. Marchak incidently notes that half of the loggers have worked on farms at one time or another during their lives; as well, she dismisses the role of many informal economic activities existing in this wider context and which respond less directly to market forces. What transpires from these two brief observations, is that the impact of the broader SIT context has been overlooked. Such a context may have given loggers, not only varied employment opportunities, but also inculcated in them values of independence that reinforce transience and constitute a subconscious way of resisting capital. Therefore, the persistent job-jumping of loggers may not only be linked to their class position as a floating labour surplus as underlined by P. Marchak, but could also be explained in terms of the social and cultural traits of workers. Whatever the case may be, there is a need to examine more closely how the SITs' wider context influences the perceptions and lifestyles of workers by imposing different sets of opportunities and constraints on individuals. In other words, when considering SITs, more than the formal economic sector should be taken into account: the analysis should include a broader and nuanced picture of the local context. Here the staple thesis may contribute to present a more complete picture.

Approach 4 focussing on Networks will now be discussed in a few brief pages. As already underlined, it regroups authors that focus on the study of the ends and definitions of situations; thus, these authors present a more subjective and voluntaristic basis of social action, and give more emphasis on attitudes and culture than on socio-economic roles and statuses. Instead of explaining action as individuals' reactions to external structures or

sources of change, there is a greater stress on how external structures and conditions are modified by individuals' pre-existing lifestyles and systems of values. These are seen as emanating from within the community, through local reference groups outside of work, subcultures, and primary relations. The local community comes to be conceived as a sort of aggregate by-product of individual action where interactional networks account for the progressive development of a localized web of interpersonal relations and intimacy. Such a focus, underplaying the relations of communities with the outside or the macro-reference groups of individuals, leads to a perspective of society which is more diversified and less conflictive than those of the authors in the preceding category. As a result, the authors of Approach 4 constitute a less homogeneous group due to the very nature of their endeavour: that of including the specific local contexts and individual motivations. What can be seen as a common element within these works however, is a certain emphasis on continuity rather than change, on the process of maintaining legitimacy, accountability, identity, and social cohesion.

The following discussion will consider briefly some of these authors. D. Lockwood (1982) for instance, attempts to show how individuals' images of society are derived from their various primary social experiences in their local industrial and community environments. He presents three ideal types of individual consciousness based on individuals' immediate perceptions and social relations, which is an interesting attempt to link workers' structural situation with their perception of that situation and of the world at large. W.R. Freudenburg's (1986) introduction of the concept of "density of acquaintanceship" is similarly interesting; he views this density as a significant variable in

the study of community because it intends to refer to a community-level structural characteristic rather than an individual level phenomenon. Still, he was placed in Approach 4 because he empirically tests, and rejects, L. Wirth's thesis: that the process of urbanization lowers the density of acquaintanceship and leads to the replacement of primary ties by secondary ones which manifests itself by increased social isolation and estrangement. Thus, W.R. Freudenburg's concern with acquaintanceship which he defines as reflecting primary relations and his attempt to include the psychological dimensions of sociability justify including him in Approach 4. D.J. Porteous (1976) as well examines the psychological dimensions of SIT residents by monitoring their attitudes towards stereotypes of such towns found in the literature; he used a questionnaire survey focussing on the qualitative value judgements of residents. P. Harrison (1982) and F. Larouche (1973) focus on cultural aspects of SITs' workers through anthropological interpretive perspectives. P. Harrison's ethnographic study of Queen Charlotte Islands' logging camp workers, depicts their distinctive subculture that stresses personal independence and "manliness" without however compromising the social cohesiveness of the group. F. Larouche, through a phenomenological study of ethnic groups, presents a contrasting image of mining town residents whereby the community is fragmented and isolated along ethnic lines. Here, there is an absence of a local occupational subculture, parallel to what P. Harrison saw in logging camps, because the basis of the partial integration of ethnic minorities of Rouyn-Noranda in the dominant English culture is essentially their economic motive. Finally, R. Matthews' (1983) analysis of Newfoundland fishing villages fits into a global political economy perspective. However, because of his emphasis on the endogenous resources of

communities, on the duality of the formal and informal social, political and economic structures in the community, and on the importance of the socio-cultural sphere, his analysis is much broader than most dependency approaches. Here communities are seen as interacting with — and influenced by — not only exogenous forces, but also by small groups and individuals within the locality.

This very brief discussion of some of the most characteristic authors of Approaches 3 and 4 mainly intended to construct a more coherent picture of SITs when grounding locally the varied interpretations of their social structures and processes, i.e., how are these experienced from the reality and understood from the perception of these towns' workers and/or residents, thus, not from the standpoint of the multinational, planner, industrial management, provincial government, etc. Doing so implies taking into account not only the towns' industrial sphere, but also the work and community ones, which have seldom been examined jointly and in an interactive way.

Approaches 3 and 4 organize several paradigmatic elements. So, all their authors tend to favour explanations centred around process and action, and qualitative approaches. The locations of the “sources of change” are viewed as external, and as more economic and/or at a class level in Approach 3; but as endogenous and as more cultural and/or at a community level in Approach 4. As well, in both approaches, the delineation of the “locus of change” is above all in local level social relations, consciousness, identity, local perspectives and/or occurring in reduced spatial contexts. Finally and in fact in summary, if Approaches 3 and 4 are seen as a map of social life in SITs, the left-right delimitation

could be considered as approximating the industrial and work spheres (on the left) and the community sphere (on the right).

The above exercise of organization of paradigmatic elements is obviously brief, and so, gives only a few examples of what this section (and by extension, the two previous chapters) aims at achieving, in varying fashions but as systematically as possible. In spite of such goal, this “exercise of organization” — as many such efforts — has at least two limitations. First, the “approaches” are labelled in ways that may result from many compromises, which is the case for “Networks” as far as Approach 4 is concerned. It was chosen in spite of the fact that the rest of the work makes a very limited use of this concept; yet, it was felt to best reflect the referred-to authors’ key explanatory factor (which underlines well that this section, and Chapter 2 and 3, tend to be a state of the art rather than a literature review). Second, authors who are literally borderline cases between the two approaches are as well so figuratively; in other words, their inclusion in “their” approach may be debatable. This can be explained more or less in the same way as the first limitation; but what makes such ambiguous categorization particularly problematical, is that the cluster at the centre³ are authors who tend to be favoured in the present work because they come closer to grasping the interconnections between the SITs’ varied spheres as well as approaches studying them.

When considered in the broadest terms, Approaches 3 and 4 point to two polarized views of SITs: economic dependence versus insular communities. Can one of these views be favoured over the other?; and should it be, given that SITs are maybe, simultaneously, both? As stated earlier, parallelly, there is the need to find a way of developing an

interpretation of SITs that includes their different spheres and sees the interconnections existing between them. Do these interconnections always have the same pattern in all kinds of SITs? Do they always have the same intensity, and specifically, does the industry sphere predominate as extensively as contended by the tradition of Canadian social sciences' research on SITs?

In sum, the task ahead is to review the relevant literature in order to understand the interconnections between the towns' different spheres, with a stress on the work and community ones, and especially on local experiences and perceptions, the purpose being to bring closer the two referred-to polarized views of SITs. Given the topic of this work, this task will be carried out according to a broad independent variable, "the staple", thus, the resource that is the reason for the SITs' industrial development, work situation *and* community settlement.

4.2 Staple Insights within Political Economy, Labour and Community Studies

Resource dependence and extensive foreign ownership of the economic structure have been central in explaining socio-economic development patterns and inequalities in many countries. Yet, while such dependence and foreign ownership have been present throughout Canada's economic history, the outcomes have been quite unique; so, various theories have attempted to explain the singular character of the country's social organization. Among the latter, the staple theory is possibly the single most important and

best identifiable one, to the point of giving impetus to a national perspective in the social sciences.

From its very inception, the theory sought to explain the atypical case of Canada since it applies to a new country with a favourable low man/land ratio. Its interpretation of Canadian economic history asserts that: (1) international trade is the medium of transmission of “civilization”, i.e., metropolitan demand on the new country sparks the opening of new frontiers; (2) the new frontiers do not replicate the “old country”, rather new patterns are created; (3) these new patterns of development and accompanying forms of social and political organization are determined by the character of the specific staples; and (4) the history of Canada could be seen as a succession of staple products, each refashioning the social and economic order when reaching its prime, and through this process, contributing to the advent of the next more lucrative staple and thus to its own demise (Watkins, [1963], 1984: 53-54, 60; McNally, 1981: 42-46).

What has particularly served as a source of inspiration for scholars attempting to develop a critical political economy of Canada is H.A. Innis’ view that Canadian economic history must be approached from the standpoint of trade with metropolitan countries. Each staple trade engendered a unique pattern of growth, and a new set of problems, among these, industrial dependence and a lopsided economic structure:

“Concentration on the production of staples for export to more highly industrialized areas in Europe and in the United States had broad implications for the Canadian economic, political and social structure. Each staple in its turn left its stamp, and the shift to new staples invariably produced periods of crises in which adjustments in the old structure were painfully made and a new pattern created in relation to a new staple.” (Innis, 1972: 5-6; quoted in Parker, 1985: 86-87)

So, H.A. Innis recognized that the integration into the world market would generate specialization in export commodities, and that this would not necessarily entail economic development in the new country due to its uneven economic strength with the already industrialized metropolitan power. This is reflected in the central thesis of *The Fur Trade in Canada*:

“The economic history of Canada has been dominated by the discrepancy between the centre and the margin of western civilization.” (Innis, [1930], revised edition, 1956: 385)

Such a thesis clearly dissented from the conventional optimistic liberal perspective of its time, and had the potential of enlarging the scope of analysis to focus attention on the lack of growth or unequal development of resource regions. However, H.A. Innis did not explore such potential, and centred mainly on the advent and expansion of the resource frontier. K. Buckley (1958: 447) was the first to criticize him for neglecting to examine regions which are no longer experiencing growth. This aspect was later examined more closely in M.H. Watkins' ([1963], reprint in 1984: 63) “staple trap” concept corresponding to a process of underdevelopment which sets in following a shift of investments to a new frontier. Parallely, Watkins (1973) among others⁴, attempted to transpose Innis' staple theory in terms of dependency theory by underlining the structural and class relations leading to underdevelopment and deindustrialization of resource hinterlands and, in particular, the external domination imposed upon these hinterlands by international markets and capital. However, this political economy focus omitted to examine how the specific historic or physical context of resource extraction conditioned the internal structures and ramifications of domination within the local settings.

As shown in the preceding section, P. Marchak's political economy of British Columbia's forestry SITs illustrates well such a drawback. She sees the rational economic behaviour of industries, in response to international markets, as the sole determinant of labour force characteristics and social structure in these resource towns (Marchak, 1983: 156-58). Yet, she recognizes — but does not analyse — certain features of these towns which are inadequately explained by this process. For example, the existence of an important “non-rational (economic) sector” is largely discarded as “deviant cases” (Marchak, 1983: 164-65). Similarly, the wide diversity in the residents' work histories (Marchak, 1983: 144-55) is exclusively accounted for in terms of industrial strategies; as well, the workers' varied social conditions and specific relations with employers are ignored, as are their systems of values, outlooks and lifestyles. Finally, the impact of the physical resource environment on working conditions is disregarded in her explanation of the high labour turnover; yet she does consider it, for instance, when discussing job safety issues or the seasonality of employment (Marchak, 1983: 186-88, 203-09).

In this sense, W. Clement's (1984) elaboration of the social categories relevant to the fishing industry comes closer to fitting a complex pattern of worker-employer situations because, indeed, his categories are based on the relations of production at a very local level. By lowering in this way the level of analysis, Clement comes closer to the Innisian idea of considering the importance of the geographical background of the staple, an idea that underlines the relevance of studying the individuals' interaction with their environment. Yet, for W. Clement, the forces of production — capital, technology, markets — remain the determining causes of local social patterns and relations, and as a result, the fishers'

range of work possibilities have to be understood strictly in their class relation to capital. Here, the physical nature of the resource environment or the individuals' wider range of economic possibilities outside fishing (for instance, when viewed in a regional labour market perspective) have little role in shaping local social patterns.

Therefore, it is my contention that one of the important contributions of using an informed staple-ized perspective when comparing SITs is its potential to account for the broad external forces causing the development or underdevelopment of resource regions, while also including specific empirical information to explain the consequences of these macro external relations upon the micro internal relations within these towns. It may provide an explanation of why SITs are created in the first place, i.e., as transplants of metropolitan industries in a particular conjuncture reflecting a historic period, production function and geographic frontier; while also illustrating how a specific staple industry adapts to its physical and social environment, and what other forms of social organization evolve to maintain the overall structure of the SIT.

Another vein of H.A. Innis' work, extensively explored by scholars who came to represent a second or "Marxian" version of the staple theory⁵, is the explanatory focus on the macro-structural relations between capital, markets and staples (such relations are generally framed in the context of "regions"). H.A. Innis had also adopted what could be seen as a "centralist" position (Clement, 1978: 93): he saw Britain's relations with Canada as "imperial", studied them on a staple-by-staple basis, and insisted on the idea that Canadian development must be understood through integrating the specific factors of resource production with broad external factors, in particular market demands. This

position has become the common link between H.A. Innis and the more contemporary “Marxian” version of the staple theory. As he stated:

“The economic history of Canada has been dominated by the discrepancy between the centre and the margin of western civilization. Energy has been directed toward the exploitation of staple products and the tendency has been cumulative... Agriculture, industry, transportation, trade, finance, and governmental activities tend to become subordinate to the production of the staple for a more highly specialized manufacturing community.” (Innis, [1930], revised edition 1956: 385)

So, in contemporary Canadian studies, regional inequalities are largely explained through external class relations that dominant classes maintain with their respective centres: these relations are examined either within an international context (for instance, Canada vis-à-vis the United States), an interprovincial context (for instance, eastern vis-à-vis western hinterlands within Canada), or an intraprovincial context (for instance, New-Ontario versus the Golden Triangle).

In summary in critical political economy approaches, the centralist tradition which explains imbalances between “regions” through external class relations has its inspiration partly rooted in Innis’ work. Yet these approaches have neglected some of his other insights, in particular three of them. The first is the extensive empirical examination of local staple areas, which points to the usefulness of a low level of analysis. Indeed, W. Clement notes that early staple theorists emphasized the strong colonial links and external dynamic characterizing Canada’s early economic growth, nevertheless:

“Both Innis’s staple theory and the Lower/Creighton ‘Laurentian thesis’... analyse structural power links, binding them into a whole founded on geography, regionalism, and resource extraction.” (Clement, 1978: 93-94)

The second is the consideration of the interrelations between many staple conditioned factors, such as the type of capital structure, the transportation system, the demand for labour, the production methods, as well as in an indirect way, the workers' living environments, the SITs' community institutions, and the residents' perceptions and actions in their local environments. The third neglected insight is the recognition that there exists a historic relationship *between* staple frontiers, whereby each of them fashions its unique geographic features, production function and social tissue relying — in different degrees and ways — on the features of the preceding frontier; but also implicit in this historic relationship is the recognition of a certain unity or continuity *within* each staple frontier.

H.A. Innis' works are noteworthy for the quality and extensiveness of their empirical detail. As a result, one of their important contributions has been to offer raw material and original observations to scholars in many disciplines. This has been the case for several scholars espousing empirical Marxist approaches who seek to understand capitalism as a mode of production. Their studies on industrial staple production or class formation⁶, focus on the internal relations between labour and capital rather than on the external ones between staples and metropolitan markets seen in Innis' work. These studies transpose, although in a Marxist framework, the two staple theory insights overlooked in political economy, i.e., the insistence that each staple frontier (seen here as a mode of production) be viewed as interrelations between numerous factors, and the historic interrelations between modes of production. Here, the interrelations between forces of production — capital, technology and labour — as well as the ensuing class antagonism and struggle, explain not only why resources become prime staples, but also how the relations

of production change in the movement from petty commodity production to capitalist production, and within the latter, from entrepreneurial to corporate capitalism. For W. Clement (1981: 17), differences between the dominant modes of production (petty commodity vs. capitalist) explain changes in the types of resources that become staples:

“Fish, fur, and wheat were *commercial commodities*, geared to consumption, and were gathered or produced by independent commodity producers... Mining and forest products mark the advent of *industrial raw materials* and penetration by industrial capitalists. The early stages of both these industries were characterized by independent commodity production — the gathering of gold in placer mining or the square-timber trade in forest products — but each one changed rapidly as the products of the mines and forests became integrated into industrial production... The result was a destruction of independent commodity producers and the creation of wage labourers, although some traditional practices from earlier modes of production, such as the contract system, persisted.” (Clement, 1981: 17-18)

This perspective is interesting because it retraces the process of increasing domination of capital over labour, through the introduction of technology and the organization of work in order to increase profits. However, although evidence of this proletarianization and deskilling process is evident in all resource sectors, it has not had the same intensity or spread for each staple. Thus, while this process adequately illustrates what happened in some the “core” staple industrial sectors such as oil, minerals, and pulp and paper, it does not explain why other sectors such as fish, lumber, or coal have lagged behind, nor why certain precapitalist practices have persisted even in “core” industrial sectors, like small entrepreneurs and subcontracting in forestry.

In order to explain these discrepancies, it may be useful to broaden the scope of determining interrelated factors to include more than the economic forces of production

emphasized by W. Clement (1981) or the working-class institutions seen in B. Palmer (1983). A wider breadth of analysis is an insight found in the original multi-faceted staple situation. As D. McNally (1981) underlines, this was one of H.A. Innis' innovative departures from the conventional political economy of his time:

“Innis concurred with Veblen's insistence that economics must sketch its vision of the economic cosmos on a broader canvas — that its panorama must extend beyond the market and include the cultural fabric of society. In this vein, Innis adopted Veblen's view that the key to unlocking the mysteries of the evolution of economic culture lay in a detailed analysis of the 'technological situation' or 'geographic background' that determined economic life as a whole.” (McNally, 1981: 44)

In this regard, some labour process analyses concerned with forestry (Radforth, 1982, 1987; Legendre, 1979, 1980) have attempted to explain the particularity of this industry seen in the contrast between the capital-intensive processing of the resource, and the labour-intensive and loosely organized resource extraction. To a certain extent, these analyses are concerned with the “relative stability” of logging areas because they attempt to explain why corporations have had limited and mitigated successes in reorganizing logging operations despite the lack of overt opposition to modernization on the part of workers. Both I. Radforth and C. Legendre underline that the social relations which have evolved in forestry need to be explained by more than the internal relations within the dominant mode of production (Legendre, 1979: 332; Radforth, 1982: 94). More specifically, important elements of explanation are to be found in the constraints upon the production process imposed by the material environment, such as rugged terrain, weather variability, seasonality, proximity of agriculture (Radforth, 1982: 86; Legendre, 1980: 192), as well as in the effect of earlier social formations and modes of production upon the

industrial organization, such as the socio-economic and psychological make-up of the labour force, the type of labour market and the integration of precapitalist forms of production (Radforth, 1982: 95; Legendre, 1980: 200). Such an emphasis on structural factors related to the geographical and historical background allows the depiction of a more specific and diversified social organization. This, I think, is closer to the original staple theory insights than W. Clement's analysis of mining where he explicitly sets out to show that:

“Contrary to Innis, it will be argued here that capital formation and the resulting class relations explain the situation better than does the physical quality of the mineral being extracted.” (Clement, 1981: 16)

Few authors concerned with mining have specifically underlined how the nature of the staple environment has impacted on social relations and structures, be it in the workplace or in the community. Those who have examined local or micro-environments, for instance the company-town structure of the community (Frank, 1981; Angus and Griffin, 1996) or the dangerous underground working environments (MacLeod, 1983; Hall, 1993), have tended to see the mining context as clarifying class relations and exacerbating class struggle. Such conclusions are contrary to those found by scholars having examined forestry, where loggers are seen as more socially isolated, unorganized and showing much less overt resistance to managerial strategies (Radforth, 1982; Legendre, 1980). In this light, W. Clement's (1981) study of mining tends to separate the relations occurring in the workplace from the global experience of life in a mining town; and by choosing a narrower scope of analysis, he leaves out factors such as community structures, specific work environments, and workers' experience of the latter, which could have reinforced or

confirmed his conclusion of a greater “homogenization of the working class... [and] a stronger, more unified class in a political and ideological sense” (Clement, 1980: 148). Similarly, B. Palmer (1992) does not take into account the specific work and community environments in his analysis of a Canadian working-class culture — whereby all workers are seen as sharing similar experiences and institutions — which may have led to an interpretation overemphasizing an oppositional class outlook. This because mining is recurrently seen as spearheading in the labour movement⁷, therefore as mainstream and representative of Canadian workers; yet it may be that mining’s specific history and resource environment made it more prone to labour unrest and, thus, not so typical of the Canadian working class.

Although important steps have been made by social scientists⁸ to expand the staple theory (and subsequent regional dependency perspectives) to account for social structures and relations other than those strictly relating to production, these structures and relations have remained somewhat abstract and static, in the sense that they are divorced from the specific nature of the resource or the historic interrelations between staple frontiers. M. Watkins ([1963], 1984: 58) notes that “the original staple may create a social structure”; yet what is examined is not the impact of the resource environment upon the social structure, rather it is the impact of dependency relations, since the latter determines the technology of industry, the demand for goods and supply factors, and the distribution of income — the latter leading to the formation of social classes. The regional class structure tends to be viewed in a political-economic perspective which is formally structural, as seen in W. Clement (1978) and M. Watkins (1973), where SITs are predetermined ramifications

of international class relations and where the dynamic interactions of people are largely left out.

S.D. Clark (1978) advances a cultural interpretation of the chronic poverty of certain mining and forestry SITs by attempting to rejoin the communities' social and economic structures. Residents are seen as remaining poor because they are maintained culturally on the fringe of urban society — retaining their rural values and subsistence way of life — while having been drawn into an industrial economy (Clark, 1978: 99). This is an interesting approach because of its focus on the individuals' life histories and the wide range of family income strategies in both formal and informal economic sectors (Clark, 1978: 33-47, 71-85); because of its consideration of social institutions, such as Church and kinship which uphold social cohesion and values (Clark, 1978: 48-51); and because of its explanation of the ensuing population retention, whereby residential immobility is seen as a product of economic and social immobility, due to the residents' attachment to traditional values and lifestyles, as well as to their lack of education viewed as an obstacle to entering the modern national society represented here by the industrial company-town bureaucracy, culture, and even physical town site (since they often choose to live in outlying rural areas) (Clark, 1978: 90-95, 121-33). However, S.D. Clark's SIT case studies are not embedded in the specific resource environment context, since both mining and forestry towns are seen as interchangeable, as "communities brought into being by industrial development", and as serving as receptacles drawing poor unskilled rural labourers from adjacent agricultural areas (Clark, 1978: 99, 107). Forestry SITs indeed seem to constitute a poor man's frontier, as demonstrated in his study of North-Eastern New Brunswick (Clark, 1978: 107, 13-71)

where poverty is explained, among other factors, by the presence of a subsistence agricultural base and by the fusing of an older rural institutional power structure to that of the company town (Clark, 1978: 101, 103, 125). This appears quite likely for forestry SITs, but the assumption that such conditions are the norm in mining towns is much less convincing. Whereas the author's study is empirically well founded concerning the farming/forestry frontier, it extends the explanation to the mining sector without verifying parallel data concerning, for example, the prevalence of a mixed farming/mining environment, the origins of workers and the way they were recruited, and the values and expectations of miners.

S.D. Clark's view of the SITs' social structure is that the towns contain two separate social hierarchies — that of industry and that of community dominated by the Church — and that residents are integrated only in the latter stratification system due to their traditional values. This view of the SITs' social structure, which is similar to that of R. Lucas (1971: 148-49), seems plausible at best only for forestry towns. In spite of its mainly cultural explanation of poverty in SITs, S.D. Clark's perspective is also structural because what he sees as perpetuating the social structure and values is the early form of frontier social organization, that of a subsistence rural society. Although he gives some attention to individual action, for instance by seeing education as a source of social mobility, S.D. Clark largely neglects the role of the collective processes and interactions between individuals in determining or changing the social structures. A more dynamic view of social change or stability could be presented if the element of conflict was introduced, either that between the industrial and community interests or within the industrial and

community structures, and by looking at how individuals within these structures interact to resolve these tensions.

R. Matthews (1983) advances a most interesting model of resource community structures derived from his starting definition of regions as social rather than economic phenomena which are characteristically, in Canada, diverse in structure and embedded in conflictive relations (Matthews, 1983: 87, 95). Although regions are seen within a dependency approach, a narrowly economic explanation is avoided by extending the concept of regionalism to an analysis of community that includes both the structural element of social organization and the relational element of personal interaction (Matthews, 1983: 154). The framework of analysis presented is therefore low-level and complex, involving the interrelations between both formal and informal aspects of social, political and economic spheres of social organization leading to the integration of community life. In order to include processes of discord and conflict, attention is also given to individual action and perceptions of personal integration into a community (Matthews, 1983: 154-64). This analysis is particularly interesting due to its empirical grounding in the experience of Newfoundland fishing communities; its recognition of the diversity in forms of development and dependence; its emphasis on the interrelations between different spheres of power, which presupposes a wider network of elites; and its consideration of the relations within the informal social networks that develop alongside formal ways of social organization and are indicative of individual responses of adaptation or change.

R. Matthews advocates a “sociology of natural resource development” which would imply “combining the best of small community analysis and large political economy

analysis” (Matthews, 1981: 218). Such an attempt would contribute to a distinctive Canadian sociology capable of identifying the most salient features of this society, i.e., regional diversity and resource dependence, and form them into an explanation of the whole society (Matthews, 1981: 90). In this way, the author recognizes the staple theory inspiration in his approach for its attempt to explain the many different local expressions of metropolitan relations:

“It is time to focus on this [one-industry resource community] aspect of the social structure in much the same way that Innis and his followers focussed on the staples as the basis of Canadian economic structure. Indeed, the approach to sociology advocated here has much in common with Innis’s approach in economics or Creighton’s in Canadian history.” (Matthews, 1983: 218)

R. Matthews’ approach therefore could be seen as combining elements of critical political economy — such as dependency and external class relations — as well as some of the previously mentioned Innisian insights that were forgotten, such as a local level of analysis and an examination of the interrelations between many factors of social, economic and political life. His approach, however, falls short of tapping the most original and central insight of the staple (and the Laurentian) theses: the effect of particular resources or frontiers on society. In his attempt to find a purely sociological explanation of regions, the author intentionally excludes from his analysis specific territorial and/or resource aspects of regions (Matthews, 1983: 86), as well as their early frontier history (Matthews, 1983: 91). Also, in order to give equal weight to social action and structure, any allusion to forms of structural determinism is avoided, be it the historic frontier, the material features of the staple, or the mode of production.

Although R. Matthews' approach does not give the staple a definite explanatory weight, it remains relevant to the staple-ization effort presented in this work because it views SITs as having complex internal structures and networks of relations leading to diverse expressions of their common external dependence. Such a view comes close to bridging the economic and social spheres of SITs, and to considering as well the psychological-cultural dimension of living in these small towns. As a result, the author's image of SITs is less static than that projected by political economy or labour studies⁹, whereby SITs are seen as situated along a continuum according to the capital-intensiveness of their industry; or that often portrayed in community studies¹⁰, whereby a SIT is seen as a homogenous group that evolves along a continuum reflecting its institutional formation process. It is interesting to note that the elaboration of R. Matthews' approach has been inspired by empirical observations of fishing SITs rather than mining ones for instance; and so, that the specific resource environment and history of fishing may have contributed to the emergence of more complex SIT structures.

I will end this section by briefly commenting on the relevance of one last staple insight, namely the linking of two theoretical dimensions, history and geography. These two dimensions are seldom blended together. In Marxist political economy and, to a large extent in the labour process tradition, emphasis is on time; space is largely abstracted because there is an intention of universalism, of applying the conclusions to any place or society. On the other hand, in community studies — especially in the Chicago school — the concept of community emphasizes space rather than time, as seen in the biological analogy of the human body or ecological community where the focus is on patterns that are

spatially circumscribed. Furthermore, the insistence community studies place on equilibrium is to an extent a denial of time, or at least it underemphasizes social change. By attempting to rejoin both the historical and geographical dimensions of SITs, it is hoped to account for both broad historical forces shaping development patterns as well as local manifestations of these forces mediated through specific social and industrial contexts. Therefore, the next section examines how the geographical dimension, which stresses specific local contexts, and the historical dimension, affect industry and community in SITs.

4.3 Reconsidering and Extending the Staple Factor

What is surprising, in the three Canadian traditions of political economy, community studies and labour process, is that H.A. Innis' central focus on the staple as a significant factor in forming society has systematically been neglected. H.A. Innis' emphasis on each staple product as embodying a complex of geographical, technical and historical factors which uniquely shapes the organization of the new society, could be seen as a powerful insight in view of explaining Canadian social diversity. It could likewise be seen as an invitation to adopt a lower level of analysis, i.e., a more holistic approach combining social, political and economic spheres of life, as well as coming closer to social action in its many dimensions. Although H.A. Innis neither clearly defines the components of the staple factor, nor advances a comparative analysis of different staple frontiers, the strong empirical base of his (and A.R.M. Lower's) studies on mining and forestry permits

that such a comparative model be drawn in sociological terms. Since some of these empirical observations have already been presented in the literature review, I will not recall them here; rather, I will attempt to extend the staple theory to include social action and individual perceptions.

H.A. Innis' stress on geography as embodying the character of the staple has largely been discarded by contemporary scholars who consider it as a materialistic, deterministic, unscientific residue. In particular, more orthodox Marxist scholars have viewed it as "commodity fetishism" where crudely material features of human history — for example, geography and technology — are made determinants of social life, thereby ignoring that they are socially mediated (McNally, 1981: 57). However, the fact of ascribing a creative role in the historical process to the primary commodity itself is nevertheless an effort on H.A. Innis' part to break away from the ahistorical and unchanging conception of the utilitarian man which dominated classical political economy. It is also an effort to depict the richer texture of local contexts, and so (physical and social) structures that do not follow the same logic as the market price system or any other single process, be it international class relations or internal relations of production.

Indeed mining and forestry SITs should be viewed as having distinct industries, labour forces, and communities. Here the broad process of industrialization (in terms of monopoly capital penetration), the levels of bureaucratization (in terms of the weakness or strength of a web of local elites, and the presence of separate spheres of power in the community), as well as the levels of modernization (in terms of individuals' perceptions, values and lifestyles), may have been affected by the staple, i.e., by the physical

characteristics of the environment as well as by the historical context in which a resource frontier emerged. In this sense, H.A. Innis' emphasis on the staple remains a valid point of departure, away from contemporary Marxist models which discard as epiphenomenon or superstructure any aspect of social life outside economic class relations. Compared to such models, a staple approach to the study of SITs may lead to more varied and nuanced models of social structures and relations, although it could not pretend to be universal in application due to historical and spatial specificities.

For H.A. Innis, the geographical character of the staple implicitly encompasses social and technological situations which determines economic life as a whole. This is reflected in his essay "On the Economic Significance of Cultural Factors":

"Geography provides the grooves which determine the course and to a large extent the character of economic life. Population in terms of numbers and quality, and technology are largely determined by the geographic background..." (Innis, [1946], 1995: 303)

Consideration for the consequences of the specific spatial-physical settings of a resource industry, in particular for its social and technological components, and for its relative position within a historical succession of staples, may enlarge the explanation of the present-day organization of industry, of the prevalent forms of social relations, and of the social characteristics and world views of populations. Often the specificity of the resource environment has been overlooked, especially in Marxist political economy¹¹ that may espouse a teleological model of economic and industrial development where the labour process and, to a certain extent, workers' political consciousness are deduced from the capitalist mode of production. The mining industry¹², for example, has often been seen as

typical of such a model of development whereby transformations in the labour process, in terms of displacement of craft control and proletarianization, follow the same trajectory as the passage from competitive to monopoly capitalism. Furthermore, mining has been seen as an archetypical case of resource extraction in Canada, if not explicitly, at least implicitly in the fact that more is written on mining than other primary sectors, especially in class perspectives.¹³ However, it is legitimate to ask whether mining is really an archetypical case in the context of Canadian resource extraction.

Mining exploitation, because of its rapid escalation in scale, its proletarian labour force, its planned nature and early state control of the resource, its strong links to foreign markets, its urban community setting, its oppressive resource working environment, may be typical of the trajectory of capitalism but may not be so representative of Canada's staple history as a whole. Within the succession of Canadian staples — fur, fish, wood, wheat, minerals — the latter may best reflect a continuous process of capital concentration. For other staples, such as wood, the more gradual transformation of industry, its more bourgeois nature of independent producers, its unplanned nature, the less stringent control of the resource by the state, the greater independence from foreign market influences, the more rural community setting and the greater diversity of resource working environments, may be less typical of the global progression of capitalism yet more similar to the advent of other staple frontiers and to the overall Canadian experience in resource development. It may be that in Canada, resource exploitation did not replicate so faithfully the logic of capitalism in terms of organization of industry and class formation. Therefore, simple political economy analogies of the “branch-plant” nature of resource industries or labour

process representations of increasing managerial control over workers on the shop floor do not adequately reflect the reality of the primary resource sector. This is understandable because, ever since K. Marx¹⁴, these images have been derived from frameworks that evolved around the analysis of manufacturing in large urban environments.

4.3.1 Impact of the Geographical Dimension

Resource communities are much more complex and diverse than manufacturing environments because the nature of the resource imposes a variety of constraints which result in these communities not necessarily following a strict capitalist rationale. As previously suggested, the nature of the staple may be broadly identified by two key dimensions, geographical and historical, the former referring to specificities of the staple's location and features, the latter to, for example, the features of the frontier as linked to a previous staple or earlier SIT experiences in the exploitation of the same staple. The two parts of this section will successively deal with each of these dimensions.

A good starting point to discuss the geographical dimension is to consider that research concerned with SITs has often overlooked the physical constraints that the resource places on the labour process and on the local industrial organization, and how this in turn may affect worker consciousness. Here, resource work environments are not so narrowly conceived or controlled by capital as are activities within factory walls. Managers and workers have continually confronted the challenges and opportunities posed by the particular characteristics of the resource workplace, for instance, those posed by the

location and concentration of the resource, the changing weather and seasons, environmental constraints, and the danger and health hazards. In mining and logging environments, these physical constraints have enhanced the autonomy of workers in terms of their control over the labour process, and of their relations to industrial bureaucracy and management supervision, as well as fostered a particular occupational folklore. However, the question of whether such autonomy and folklore were translated into social isolation (and consent) or solidarity (and alienation) may be partly explained by how the resource workplace — and to a certain extent, the physical town site, and the region — are perceived by individuals.

Another explaining element of workers' perceptions derived from physical characteristics of resource regions, such as the geographic isolation of SITs and the proximity of other resources, is the range of alternative income-generating opportunities available to workers. As a result, a comparative approach to the study of SITs should consider individuals in a broader setting than the shop floor where workers are often portrayed as captives of industry. Rather, residents should be viewed in relation to their position in regional labour markets, thus, including their margin of choice at a local level. The consideration of the degree of occupational pluralism would: (1) permit to extend the analysis of economic relations to the area of the community, including non-industrial and informal means of income generation; (2) favour a perception of the domestic units as units of production, allowing for instance the taking into account of the role of women; and (3) come closer to including social action by considering individual income strategies and eventually how they are perceived.

Therefore, the role of industries in resource areas is seen as determining, yet not exclusive in the structuring of economic life; and in particular, there is no predetermined or automatic relationship between the corporation, advanced technology, and the deskilling of labour. In different resource frontiers, the distinctive patterns of development emerged because the corporate strategies (for example, of mechanization or town planning) were partly shaped by the decisions and behaviours of individuals, and by the material environment of the resource workplace and region. In this sense, industrial organizations are not envisioned necessarily as agents of social change, but rather as adapting themselves to the conditions (physical and social) of the environment in order to maximize their advantages. They are seen as attempting to stabilize the changing economic and social environment through the organization of work, the division of labour and through a web of exchange relations with other actors in the environment in order to secure a specific (variable) optimum amount of power to pursue their objectives.

Thus, the local community has its own “autonomous” structure and capacity to maintain itself which is neither preconceived nor necessarily imposed by industry. In logging for instance, due to greater uncertainty in predicting yearly production outputs because of the greater variety in physical features (topography, weather, tree stands, etc.), and due to the characteristics of populations (independent rural values, occupational plurality, small entrepreneurs), industry has historically often settled for a more flexible structure that diffuses economic power through contractors and local elites, in order to pursue its organizational goals. It may also have favoured such a structure because it was already in place, thus, it did not require any effort while being functional to industry. In

mining, on the other hand, due to the control industry has over ore extraction at a local level, and the social characteristics of the workforce (modern values, absence of previous or potential occupations in the region), industry had little to adapt to at a local level, and could more directly follow its own rationale and establish its own structure. Therefore in mining SITs, the industrial bureaucracy is more transparent, organizing labour through the creation of an internal labour market (promotions, seniority) and an internal state (unions, safety regulations, etc.), as well as planning the growth of the community in terms of housing, services and infrastructures. In forestry, the presence of industry is more discreet, diffused by the existence of a regional labour market, and the variety of commitments between workers and employers, as well as by a more endogenously grown community setting where industry, although a major taxpayer, is relatively withdrawn from the community sphere.

In spite of the nuances suggested above, it may be broadly stated that resource industries correspond to communities, i.e., there is a greater interaction between economic and social institutions (and elites) due to the insularity of SITs, for both, industry and community share a common space. There is also an interconnectedness between industrial and community spheres of life, seen either in their structures per se, as in the overlap between industry and community institutions in the centralized mining SIT, or in the range of effective power elites hold in other domains in the more decentralized plural forestry SIT. Likewise, industry and community spheres overlap through the values and perceptions that individuals carry with them in the workplace and at home. In this sense, there is a certain reinforcement of one structure through the other, regardless of the degree of

dependence of the community structure on industry, because the towns serve complimentary functions of work and residence that have meshed over time and reflect the process of man's intervention in the environment. So, it is more difficult to accept Marxist approaches that isolate the industrial institutions, even if dominant, from those proper to the community, and that separate the sphere of production from that of reproduction of the labour force. This is the case because workforces are not dissolved daily into anonymous urban settings since industry and community form enclave environments that share a relatively common evolution and a common fate.

Moreover, resource communities are not necessarily the proletarianized urban labour forces depicted by Marxist approaches, nor are they necessarily the rural deferential powerless, populations seen in some community studies. Indeed, Marxist and community studies have often presented somewhat contradictory images of typical SIT residents.¹⁵ The consideration of the nature of the resource extracted — in terms of its possible complementarity with other resources such as agriculture and fishing that may provide a basis of subsistence, or in terms of how individuals perceive their place of work and residence — could give some indications concerning residents' lifestyles and values. The frontier's time of settlement as well may help to indicate the relative degree of urbanization and modernization of values; for instance, the older forestry frontier could be seen as the product of a more traditional society where basic traits have remained due to their complementarity with industry and also because of an ensuing staple-trap situation.

Therefore, a more adequate level of analysis for resource SITs would neither be the micro shop floor or industrial bureaucracy level, nor the macro international landscape of

economic dependency, but an intermediate level that would include the organization of the resource industry with its formal and informal ramifications, labour market and adjacent institutional and service base — a level that corresponds to the community social structure. Such a level of analysis would also more easily allow for a social action perspective within a staple context because this level corresponds to the range of action of individuals in their daily environment rather than the range of influence of monopoly capital or of local industrial management.

The consideration of how the spatial and physical nature of the resource shapes the community setting, the organization of work and the perceptions of individuals may contribute to a comparative model of mining and forestry towns. By and large, to contrast SITs according to working and living environments — and the possible perceptions these instill in residents — would show that in mining SITs, spatial features help to underline a duality and position of confrontation of interests; whereas in forestry SITs, things are not black and white but always shades of grey, i.e., there is a greater variety in spatial settings to accommodate a plurality of interests. In the following pages, I will elaborate on how some spatial features impact on individuals' perceptions and consciousness, a key aspect of this work.

By and large, forestry town residents perceive themselves as less geographically isolated within their region while more socially isolated, whereas the inverse is the tendency for mining towns. The reduced geographic isolation prevalent in forestry SITs may be attributed to their usual location along river waterways which historically provided the industry with transportation and energy means. So, a sense of accessibility and

territoriality may result from the combination of resource environment factors, such as the river that allowed the logger to penetrate his area through the floating of wood and the extensive nature of the forest concessions bringing the logger out of his community to reach alternating workplaces. Also, the close association of forestry with agriculture, in which loggers often took part as an additional source of income, contributed to creating a more diversified and continuous sense of space, a greater sense of individual self-sufficiency, as well as reinforced the perception of a more autonomous and autarchic region supplying its own agricultural market, labour market and main industry. Therefore, not only are forestry areas often less geographically far from continuously inhabited areas in terms of absolute distance, but the characteristics of their environment does not appear as hostile or unknown to individuals. This greater sense of integration into their environment stems from the more gradual mixing of urban, rural and resource landscapes, and from the greater use and knowledge individuals have of their region.¹⁶ This enhances the individuals' election of their place of residence for reason of personal preference rather than for purely economic reasons; and this choice in turn enhances: a sense of "home", the integration of individuals in their community, and the population retention potential of these areas.

Mining areas are often located in remote, rugged and infertile terrain; the environment sharply contrasts the urban town with the empty wilderness. The town site and mines are concentrated in one spot, often being nearly superimposed (as in Asbestos, Que.), or where the industry's smoke stacks tower above the town site. There is also little interaction with already settled populations, such as native Indians; and if other economic activities exist in the area, miners do not actively take part in them given that mining is a

year-long, full-time job. Because of the punctual nature of mining SITs, whereby the surrounding area is not utilized by the residents as a place of work or residence, there may be an increased feeling of isolation, and identity may derive from an inward focus on a community dominated by the industry rather than from personal knowledge of the surrounding region. This accentuates the sense of dependence on the industry, as well as underlines the residents' sole economic purpose for living in the community. Therefore, the objectively harsher mining environment in terms of its distance to continually settled areas, climate and compatibility with other resources, as well as the concentration of individuals in denser urban environments where they share a common position in regards to industry, possibly set the stage for more alienated labour forces.

Forestry areas seem to induce more social isolation that stems from both the spatial work and community environments. Concerning work, isolation is emphasized because people rely more on their own resources, social networks and family ties when seeking employment contacts with the several local small operators, contractors or farmers that contribute to their income strategies. Income equations, especially for loggers, may be very individualized and varied, depending: on the overall employment situation in other forestry activities (as sawmills, plywood); on employment opportunities in services (as transportation), farming or construction; on the seasonality of the main work in forestry; and even on welfare and unemployment insurance that are often perceived as viable income sources.¹⁷ As a result, perceptions of independence are reinforced and class relations are obscured. Such obscuring is furthermore accentuated by the fact that labour is often organized through contractors whose relationship with workers is just as much social as it

is economic.¹⁸ In sum, the diversity and complexity of income strategies, the more personalized work relations and the small entrepreneurial nature of many logging activities reduce the feeling of alienation of workers¹⁹, promote models of individualism, and lower occupational group assertiveness — this being the case even if the economic domination by industry is actually significant.

In these more rural environments emphasizing independence, there is also a greater margin of acceptable deviance among workers. It results from a wide set of factors — their occupational plurality, the fact that they usually own their personal equipment (chainsaws...), their greater control over their labour process (often working alone), the remnants of a subsistence base (agriculture, small wood lots...), and the scattering of work places within the region on a seasonal base — factors that all stress individual initiative and the acceptance of others as having different strategies. Although there is an overall greater social cohesion due to shared world views and values of the family, self-employment and sociability, since residents are more likely to have been born in the surrounding area, there is paradoxically more personal freedom allowed in relation to the in-groups. This reduces alienation in relation to oneself and to groups.

In contrast, mining-town workers (and more generally, residents) tend to see their situation in dichotomous terms and this for several reasons. First, they are less socially isolated due to the sheer concentration of workers in mines and thus in mining SITs, as compared to the more dispersed settlement patterns around forestry towns. Second, while loggers are often allocated a forested lot and left on their own to work, the nature of the mine environment imposes a necessity to cooperate for efficacy and safety reasons. Third,

mines are dark and oppressive workplaces where the perception of danger is more imminent; and so, there is a long tradition of struggle around the dangers of the workplace.²⁰ Fourth, all miners work underground, even though their income may vary according to job definitions and experience, whereas company officials and technical staff are essentially above ground. Fifth, miners, partly due to the danger element inherent in their work environment, share a common body of superstitions and stories that justify their condition and reinforce a vision of “us” versus “them”.²¹ Finally, the fact that most mines operate on shift work means that miners who work together also socialize after work together, which further reinforces their identification to their work group.

In the community, miners may also find themselves threatened by the overwhelming presence of the industry because it often provides all services, infrastructure, and housing due to the geographic isolation of the town and the absence of previous settlement. Since much of the town planning is done by mining companies — especially in the new mining towns that have been incorporated from the start — a particular urban form is imposed upon residents. Such a community setting is on the one hand, highly modern, often depicted as suburbs in the wilderness; yet on the other hand, it offers limited services or choice of residence to workers.²² This may create a status-inconsistency that could foster alienation because, on the one hand, miners are modern in terms of their values, living environments, and engagement in wage work²³; yet on the other hand, their access to consumer goods and an urban lifestyle is narrowly circumscribed by (1) the small-town features of mining SITs; (2) industry’s wide control over the latter; (3) its defining of the workers’ consumption patterns; and (4) the homogeneity of the workers’ living conditions.

A characteristic manifestation of this general situation is that industry transposes the industrial hierarchy upon the SIT landscape, in that housing is often segregated between workers and managers/engineers, and the quality difference in housing is visible. Such reflection of the work stratification in the housing market — and in access to community services — reinforces alienation towards industry and intensifies occupational solidarity. Furthermore, homogenization also extends to the family unit: women have fewer work opportunities and are often housewives who plan their activities around the work schedules of their wage-working husbands.²⁴ This absence of choice for women and their dependence upon the husband's wages tends to increase their alienation towards the industry and town.

These urban, homogeneous and segregated environments put great pressure on workers to integrate completely into in-groups linked to working-class interests and systems of values. This is because of the strength of work groups and their reflection in social community activities, as well as because of the limited range of income strategies and lifestyles of individuals resulting from their common position as wage workers. The visibility of the industry in controlling both the workplace and the place of residence superimposes images of dominance that reinforce the common position of workers. This is the case despite the fact that the previous socialization and place of birth of workers may be more diverse than in forestry towns given the considerable in-migration to isolated mining SITs.²⁵ Therefore in mining towns, the greater pressure to integrate residents into the aforementioned in-groups may foster intolerance towards out-groups (and also increase the alienation of in-group members from themselves in order to conform).

The physical nature and geographical location of the resource may contribute to create particular community and work settings that in turn may influence the individuals' perception of their situation. So, forestry environments are, by and large, less alienating to workers since they promote a sense of integration of individuals in the region; this is so because the workplace in the woods is less oppressive and threatening than mines, and the town site which is often dominated by the church steeple symbolizes a tradition of basic common values. There is also greater integration of place of work and residence because many loggers live outside the town in rural areas, and the place of work is as well one of leisure since loggers view the forest as a healthy environment, which they often enjoy in fishing and hunting activities.²⁶ Furthermore, the changing rhythm of economic activities through the year gives workers a greater perceived — and to a certain extent a real — sense of independence even if, and in fact because, they respond to varied constraints, some linked to the seasons as such, others being rather social; such seasonality gives workers a sense of integration in time. Finally, the more simple equipment needed to fell trees imply a wider range of skills, among others, the capacity to repair them; and permit a greater control over the labour process.

In mining SITs, the situation is, by and large, the reverse. So, the overlap of work and residence places is more alienating because workers' points of reference converge all on industry, and the dependent nature of the relation is more visible. Not only are miners relatively constricted in space, due to the few relations they have within the region; but their perception of time is equally alienating because work in the mines is timeless: it is not associated to daylight, may go on throughout the night, and remains unchanged throughout

the seasons. The most strongly felt time in minetowns are the shifts, i.e., a time imposed and “bought” by industry, which also is “unnatural”, repetitive and homogeneous. Hence, the workers’ relations to both time and space enforce quite different perceptions in forestry and mining environments: in the former, a perception of social integration into the community, in the latter, alienation towards industry.

In their book, *The Deindustrialization of America*, B. Bluestone and B. Harrison (1982: 19-21) quote at length a passage by the planning theorist J. Friedmann²⁷ who identifies the contradiction between the imperatives of capital, and the people’s need of community and economic security. The struggle between capital and community is seen as stemming from the inherent conflict between “two geographies” which constitute a “unity of opposites”, that of “life space” and “economic space”. Here life space is understood as:

“convivial life, and an expression of it... Life spaces exist at different scales [and] are typically bounded, territorial spaces... Places have names... They constitute political communities.” (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982: 20)

In contrast, economic space is:

“abstract and discontinuous, consisting primarily of locations (nodes) and linkages (flows of commodities, capital, labor, and information). As an abstract space it undergoes continuous change... its continuous expansion is vital to the reproduction of capitalist relations as a whole.” (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982: 20)

As capitalism expands ruthlessly, the result is the dissolution of life spaces and their progressive assimilation to economic spaces; and:

“Deprived of their life spaces, people’s lives are reduced to a purely economic dimension as workers and consumers — so long, at least, as there is work.” (Bluestone and Harrison, 1982: 20)

In relation to mining and forestry towns, it may be that mining towns approximate more closely a situation where the industrial rationale and economic relations dominate not only the economic space, but increasingly become the expression of life space. Indeed, the town's community setting, institutions, and services are reduced by industry to their most simple expression. Mining SITs are, then, close to R.T. Bowles' description of single-industry towns, i.e., "social islands located in the hinterland and connected by long threads of transportation" and which essentially serve as "tools or instruments to aid in particular economic projects" (Bowles, 1982: 5-6). Since the economic (industrial) space dominates in the physical town site as well as in the community social structure, the life spaces of the residents in a physical and political sense are overwhelmed by industry, and consciousness may focus on the oppressiveness of their daily life. In places with names like Asbestos, Uranium City, Noranda, Dominion, Reserve Mines, the antagonistic relation between industry and the community stands out in the very punctual and urban image projected. In such SITs, there is no forgetting the determinant role of industry and there is less opportunity left for the expression of a more diversified life space, be it in terms, for instance, of adopting alternative lifestyles or deviating from the economic culture. This impoverishment is undoubtedly felt by mining SIT residents. So, whereas their definition of class may result from their confrontation with economic space, their reaction and demands may well stem from compressed life spaces, which implies following a different logic because life spaces are social, political and cultural.

In forestry towns, with names evoking the region, the parish, the local history — such as St. Siméon, Campbell River, St. Joseph-de-Beauce, Kapuskasing, Port Alice,

Espanola, Fort Coulonge — the nature of the staple and of the industry have permitted a broader expression of communities' life spaces. By and large, forestry SITs constitute an earlier frontier, characterized by "mature" communities having stronger endogenous institutions, as well as older industries (and technologies), which have fused with pre-existing rural practices. This gives individuals a wider range of choice in organizing their working and living environments. Although economic space is still essential for the maintenance of life spaces, the less oppressive and more diffused expression of economic relations in the workplace and community may have attenuated individuals' purely economic definition of class.

4.3.2 Impact of the Historical Dimension

A second dimension of the staple pertains to its historic Canadian context, whereby the formation of the Canadian working class could be seen as the layering of successive distinct resource frontiers, rather than having been cut out from a same cloth as often presented in Marxist approaches.²⁸ Each frontier was a product of its unique conjuncture combining specific technological capacities, capital formations, political climate and socio-cultural tissue. The period in which a resource frontier first rose and reached its prime, spawned particular forms of social and production relations with their manifest community and industrial organizations. It is my contention that during its expansion phase, when considerable resources were directed to the frontier, there occurred a certain interlocking and crystallization of community and industrial structures because they were

complementary and functional, while also being adapted to the material features of the resource environment. This sets a precedent in the creation of subsequent settlements, imposing an “essential unity” on the frontier (Wynn, 1981: 54).

In this way, each resource frontier remains entrenched to a certain extent in its early formative social and economic structures which — due to the cohesive arrangement of social relations between community and industry, and their grounding in cultural life — present some resistance to the expansion of monopoly capital. Thus, while the latter’s interests have today come to dominate these resource frontiers, it is not without initially having had to adapt to some of these pre-existing structures. This adaptation permitted to tap these structures with less time and cost, while benefiting from the social control they provided and from the efficient way they had adjusted to the material conditions of the resource extraction. In other words, the control of monopoly capital in resource frontiers may lead to quite different forms of social organization, each frontier presenting a distinctive community and industrial cohesive arrangement which is the product of its evolution and of the action of man upon a particular environment.

Furthermore, if a staple outlook was to be pursued and the idea of a “staple-trap” situation considered, this would help to explain the uneven development between resource sectors and their resulting unevenness in class formation. It could also help to explain why certain SIT structures have remained fixed in less advanced forms of capitalism, either by retaining earlier forms of economic practices or more traditional types of social relations. The staple trap marks the relative stagnation of a resource frontier, following a decline in its markets and a shift of attention to a new, more lucrative staple; and its “undue”

maintenance could be seen as resulting from a community and economic structure that are sufficiently integrated and complex to sustain residents materially and socially. M.

Watkins, who coined this term, explains the staple-trap pitfall:

“If the staple is unfavourable or if stagnation persists for any extended period because of a weak resource base, the staple economy can take on the character of the traditional underdeveloped country in both respects stressed by Rostow. First institutions and values may emerge which are inimical to sustained growth, and the process of remoulding will be difficult. Secondly, a population problem can be encountered as the population initially established through immigration continues to expand through natural increase. Persistent unemployment and underemployment will become characteristic of the economy ... In the absence of opportunities, factors will tend to accumulate excessively in the export sector or in subsistence agriculture.” (Watkins, [1963], 1984: 63)

Today certain areas in Canada specializing in less favourable resources may be caught in a “staple trap”, characterized by underemployment, out-migration, declining incomes and a partial reliance on a subsistence or informal economy; while continuing to specialize in the export of a resource in the absence of alternative opportunities, and because remnants of petty commodity production permit to supplement staple work income. So, by ordering Canadian SITs within a historic succession of staple frontiers, we may better understand why SITs specializing in older staples, such as forestry, have retained more traditional community or industrial features. This is partly the result of the fusing of economic and social structures in the period in which the frontier thrived, and the ensuing period of stagnation following the shift of focus to a new frontier. As well, at a more micro and day-to-day level, earlier forms of economic practices persist because they remain functional to the community sphere, and vice versa. For instance, industry’s greater use of contractors and entrepreneurs or the prevalence of workers owning their tools may reflect

the more layered stratification of the forestry community, the measure of real power held by the local elites, and the more rural independent values of residents. Moreover, it is my contention that whereas broad political structures associated with a staple production, such as economic policies, may be redirected towards new resources, the local social and industrial structures which have evolved around a staple may persist in spite of the disinvestment and may later be re-integrated in a new system of relations in the advent of a resurgence in demand for the staple. Therefore, the consideration of forestry and mining historical contexts help explain the uneven penetration of monopoly capitalism within these sectors, especially concerning the resource extractive activities which are characteristic to the frontier period and which are directly affected by the physical character of the resource.

By and large, the mining sector, which succeeded the forestry frontier, is relatively more modern in terms of technology (and mode of production) and outlooks of populations (in terms of values, integration into national society) while simultaneously having a more traditional authoritarian and undifferentiated community institutional structure. These features result from a period of continuing expansion, since the sector's early gold rush days in the late nineteenth century, where increasing capital concentration set the tone of social relations and organized the local level. Today, while such overall structure may be quite functional to industry and workers in periods of expansion and of strong market demands, it is poorly equipped to withstand long periods of recession when the economic rationale that sustains the SIT structure crumbles.

In contrast, the forestry sector, product of an earlier technological era and pattern of settlement, has retained some of these features of industrial organization as well as

populations with more traditional values; yet and almost paradoxically, it could be seen as resulting from a more modern structure given that it is more differentiated and complex. Since the forestry frontier underwent its first expansion in the early nineteenth century (Lower, 1984: 29) in a political context that promoted agriculture and in relation to smaller markets, industry was not from the start the main organizer of local structures. Furthermore, having fallen into a staple trap before the onset of the penetration by large-scale capital (around 1850), the industrial and community structures remained largely fixed in a rural community and small entrepreneurial mode; the complementarity between capitalist and subsistence economies was reinforced; and the traditional community structure and values were maintained. The advent of monopoly capital with the expansion of the pulp and paper industry in the early twentieth century, after a prolonged stagnation period, was essentially superimposed onto the existing structure. Therefore, forestry SITs have inherited more complex structures which do not follow so closely an economic rationality. This accounts for the greater stability of the overall structure especially in times of economic downturns, because its subsistence base, community structure, and even its more “flexible” entrepreneurial base, give it greater resilience.

Concluding Comments

This chapter has repeatedly defended the points that a revisiting of some staple insights as well as a lowering of the level of analysis provide a fertile ground for reflecting on (Canadian) forestry and mining SITs, this being specifically so because they allow a

more comprehensive view of the frontier/resource social experience. The implication of such points are twofold. First, the concrete time/space contexts of SITs are frequently abandoned in political economy and labour studies, which favour external links in their study of causality or use abstract categories in their definition of class. As well, their analyses are highly structural to the point of de facto leaving out the dynamic interactions occurring at the towns' more micro levels that could portray a more nuanced expression of working-class life. Second, community studies, on the other hand, often restrict their analyses to very concrete local structures and internal dynamics, thus, overlooking how extensive socio-economic processes shape their localities and daily life; besides, they equally tend to disregard how the latter harbor the potential and texture of social change in the sense of impacting on the direction of regional development.

By examining the geographical and historical dimensions of the staple, I attempt to see how the features of the spatial/material resource and the frontier period, have shaped the SIT organization of work, the features of settlement and community, as well as the evolution of the staple industry; then, I try to see how this broad staple specific patterning “colours” the consciousness — and possibly action — of individual SIT residents. When doing so, I particularly consider whether specific resource SIT contexts have impacted in some way on these towns' more “spatial” features, such as their actual and perceived geographical *and* social isolation; or on more “historical” features, such as the uniqueness and dynamics of the staple frontier. In sum, the staple approach to SITs is an invitation to rejoin history and geography, time and space, broad processes and local concrete outcomes, and this by juxtaposing the work and community, and industry spheres of these towns.

In this chapter, the assumption is, thus, that by looking at the historical and geographical dimensions of staples, it is possible to underline what has been left out by contemporary political economy, labour and community studies; and that by doing so, research is brought closer to a staple-ized sociological view of (forestry and mining) SITs. A critique which may be addressed to such staple inspired patterning is that it could be conducive to nature-deterministic interpretations and, particularly, to mechanistic explanations of individual perceptions. A definite goal here has been to avoid such critiques; and as a result, to ground the research as well as possible, among others by lowering the level of analysis, which should allow a departure for imagining, both, diversity in a resource economy and a degree of open-endedness in outcomes and actions. The next chapter aims to further this view systematically by presenting a comparative theoretical framework of forestry and mining SITs that focusses mainly on their work and community spheres.

Theoretical innovations stem frequently from tensions and perceived contradictions between different perspectives; thus, occur only when the original elements of the given starting point (here, the overlooked staple insights) are not significantly absorbed into the competing one (here, some key views of contemporary political economy, labour and community studies, as well as the market determinism of “liberal” economists). It is hoped that this has been the case in the present chapter.

Chapter 5. COMPARING THE WORK AND COMMUNITY SPHERES

The purpose of this chapter is to present a comparative theoretical framework focussing mainly on the work and community spheres of Canadian forestry and mining SITs. This framework remains tentative despite its narrower focus on these two spheres, and the work's empirical theory aspect, i.e., its reliance on the empirical evidence provided by the extensive literature review. Still, the framework *is* tentative; two reasons may explain why this is the case. First, such an effort has not been attempted before, be it in the literature dealing with Canadian communities, the labour process in resource industries, or regional dependence. Yet, the framework and more generally the “informed staple-ization” idea of this work, combine various concepts and insights that are central to these three areas of research; which makes it more challenging to avoid gaps, inconsistencies and other weaknesses. Second and probably foremost, the aforementioned challenge is enhanced since the work is not included in what may be labelled a “compelling theoretical tradition”; i.e., while it stems from an examination, and accepts elements of the two dominant traditions in Canadian SIT studies — the original Innisian staple tradition and the succeeding political economy, neo-Marxist one — it is actually included in neither of them. Still, it is hoped that, whatever its drawbacks, the comparative theoretical framework makes a contribution.

Before presenting it, a first section will discuss what is to be gained from a staple approach when studying Canadian forestry and mining SITs; and a second one will deal with the two types of towns' work and community spheres, especially on how they combine

to impact on the local power structures, and on workers' and/or residents' perceptions. The third section, thus, presents the framework; and a fourth and last one circumscribes more tightly its context and claim.

5.1 The Staple Factor

As suggested in the preceding chapters, the objective in comparing forestry and mining SITs is essentially the reinstatement of the staple factor as significant in explaining the contrast in social conditions and processes existing in these towns. The advantage of using the staple as the basis of the comparison is mainly twofold: (1) a greater ease of bridging two important spheres of explanation of social structure and relations, these being work and community; and (2) a greater facility to address the related issues of social change and stability in these towns. The next paragraphs will successively consider each of these advantages.

By and large, the spheres of work and community have been examined in isolation, with the result that sometimes studies have presented generalizations about their sphere of interest which override — or even totally omit — the other sphere. Such studies tend to present patterns and processes that appear oversimplified because they overlook the complexity and variation resulting from the interconnections between work and community. Distinguishing between SITs allows one to broaden the scope of analysis, and to better address such issues as the differences in the types of settlement, industrial structure and labour force. More importantly, it allows one to examine whether

characteristics of social structure and action found in one sphere are transposed in the other, and how work and community relations intermesh to reinforce or counteract certain patterns of relations and consequently also certain world views.

Although W. Clement's (1981) and R. Lucas' (1971) studies have been reviewed, it is nevertheless interesting to reconsider them here because they are good examples of one-sided approaches focussing either on work or community. Indeed, to the extent that it is discussed, the type of social relations found in the sphere which is the focus of each author is seen as replicated in the other sphere, with the result that opposed images of SITs transpire from these two studies.

W. Clement focussed on work, R. Lucas on community. The process of change in industry is seen by Clement as a unilinear trend from competitive to monopoly capitalism, and within the latter, as a move from labour intensive to capital intensive methods of production. The implications of this process in terms of community structure are an increasing domination by industry over institutional and community life, a polarization of the social structure, and an oppositional class view by residents.

On the other hand, R. Lucas presents a process of community change. This change is also viewed as a unilinear process, but it consists of a progression which, by and large, goes in the opposite direction than that seen in Clement's study. Lucas depicts a passage from an "urban-modern" type of society to a more "folk-traditional" one, through (1) the replacement of the single-industry structure for a more complex network of institutions and elites, (2) the dissipation of the dichotomous social structure for a more layered one, and (3) the weakening of the potentially conflictive monetary incentive of workers for a more

consensual outlook. Implications in terms of industrial structure are: an increasingly obsolete technology, the maintenance of labour intensive practices, the slowing down of production and eventual closing of towns, and the advent of a captive labour force essentially powerless in resisting capital.

The difference in the typification of these SITs may result, in W. Clement's case, from having focussed on the industrial structure which emphasizes the historical progression of capitalism and excludes the contextual local fabric of the community. Vice versa, in R. Lucas' case, it may result from having focussed on community, and emphasized the SITs' physical and social components as well as their geographic insularity, thus, representing these towns as existing in a "planless stability" (Suttles, 1972: 9). As claimed above, it is hoped that a comparison of SITs according to their resource base, will permit bridging the two spheres of explanation of work and community. In particular, I suggest taking into account both the places of work and residence, as well as the historic and geographic dimensions of SITs.

Furthermore, a staple-ization of the study of SITs will influence the conceptualization of the process of change in such towns. Rather than being seen as a unilinear trend occurring either in work or in community, change may more likely be seen as a combination of processes occurring in both spheres and some of these processes may be contradictory or in conflict. It is my contention that these combinations have brought about patterns of uneven change with significant differences between forestry and mining SITs.

The remainder of this section will consider the second advantage of using the staple as the basis of comparison between SITs, i.e., the greater ease of addressing the related issues of social change and stability in these towns. Traditionally, sociology has been more interested in social change than in stability, and this interest has been even greater when such change could be considered as social development or in a “positive” light.¹ This is also true for the study of Canadian SITs. Reconsidering the examples of W. Clement’s (1981) and R. Lucas’ (1970) works, one sees that the former looks at the capitalists’ use of new technology as a social force changing industrial relations; and what is implied is that whereas in the short and middle terms such *change* may be detrimental to the workers’ material and social condition, it hopefully will lead to *development* in the long term, as viewed in the increasing workers’ resistance and the possible socialization of the relations of production (Clement, 1981: 358-59). Likewise, R. Lucas clearly shows his preoccupation with change. For instance, his “third stage of *development*” of SITs, the so-called “transition stage”, is seen as the graduation of the SITs’ community from a dependent company-town mode to an endogenous community participation mode; R. Lucas considers this transition as important and very positive. Many other writings follow in a similar vein to R. Lucas, such as social impact assessment studies (Bowles, 1982) or regional planning perspectives (Pressman, 1978; Hodge and Qadeer, 1983), in the sense that change through industrial or urban growth and planning are seen as fostering development. Also illustrating this trend is the work of W.R. Freudenburg (1986) on boomtowns: here, urbanization and industrialization are seen as enhancing the social and psychological well-being of residents.

On the other hand, when change having a negative consequence is examined in the literature, often chosen are crisis periods where most situations described are those suddenly bringing about acute social problems and irreversible consequences. Examples of such studies are: J.D. House's (1981) effort where underdevelopment is clearly the issue through the illustration of how off-shore oil companies threaten the fishing livelihood of Labrador coastal communities; E. Leyton's (1975) examination of the personal crises brought about by industrial disease; J. Bradbury's and I. St-Martin's (1983) description of the acute social disorganization resulting from mass layoffs and the impending closure of the town of Shefferville; or again S.D. Clark's (1974) analysis of the chronic social problem of poverty in some SITs, poverty resulting in his view from these towns' social structure which keeps residents marginal to modern society, and from the residents' persistence in retaining rural values while living in urban settings.

By and large, studies focussing on social change, be it beneficial or detrimental, tend to identify overwhelming external forces structuring SITs. Towns are seen as responding rather passively in the sense that residents lose old structures and advantages; yet do not gain from, or transform, the new structures to obtain more functional work or community arrangements. What seems to be understudied are the endogenous processes of adaptation and structural maintenance in everyday life situations, which would include the consideration of individuals holding power at grass-roots levels and the particular response of local communities to their inherent economic domination. Thus, by trying to see how specific work and community structures intermesh and congeal to reinforce certain types of relations and/or to colour in a particular way the experience of living in a particular

town, I hope to be able to illustrate how work and community social structures are reproduced. It should be stressed that such a focus on stability need not exclude a dynamic approach or conflict.

5.2 Work and Community Spheres

This section will outline in turn how the organization of work and of community combine to reinforce the residents' perception of the local social structure. It is my contention that in this endeavour the history and nature of the staples are relevant in forming individuals' images of society through their impact on work and community.

As repeatedly stated, the literature suggests contrasting images of the kinds of perceptions arising from working in SITs. R. Lucas, for example, pictures SIT workers as engulfed in a traditional paternalistic environment, unaware of class relations (Lucas, 1971: 145). In contrast, D. Lockwood sees them as potentially different in nature due to their relative isolation and their preponderantly working-class populations, displaying a high degree of proletarian traditionalism; in a footnote he remarks:

“The one-industry town with its dominant occupational community would seem to produce the most distinctive form of proletarian traditionalism.”
(Lockwood, 1982: 361)

Both of these quite different “traditionalisms” may in fact exist in SITs; and this work argues that the staple contributes to give forestry-town residents a more deferent attitude and mining-town residents a more oppositional stance. Indeed, if strikes are seen as an indicator of class consciousness, then mining SITs appear to be more militant overall due

to their frequency, and because they affect towns of all sizes and income ranges; while forestry SIT strikes seem to predominantly occur in towns having large pulp mills and seldom in smaller towns.² The strong class perception in mining SITs is also reflected in such actions as wives organizing to support their husbands' strikes and offering their experience to other mining towns, which is a phenomenon not seen in forestry SITs (Lane, 1983; Seager, 1981; Luxton, 1980).

Among staple-related factors affecting SIT workers' consciousness, it may be relevant to briefly elaborate on a few of these mentioned by authors previously considered in this study. P. Harrison (1982), for instance, demonstrates that the logger's culture of individualism emphasizing "toughness", plays against workers perceiving their work environment as dangerous and organizing around safety or health related issues. On the contrary, in (coal) mining SITs, the more oppressive work environment and the nature of the labour process necessitating worker cooperation led to early unionization, as shown by D. MacLeod (1983) and J. Mellor (1983).

Studying the case of logging activities in northern Ontario pulp and paper industries between 1900 and 1980, I. Radforth (1982, 1987) analyses how physical factors, such as the great variety in terrain and forest characteristics or the changing weather and seasons, resulted in some workers' continued reliance upon relatively simple technology, thus, hindering both mechanization and deskilling. This, in turn: maintained the social isolation of loggers in their work environment, gave them a greater control over their labour process and buffered alienation. W. Clement's analysis of Sudbury, on the other hand, shows that the nickel mining conglomerate has been very effective in introducing new technology to

replace skilled and semi-skilled workers. As a result, management succeeded in deskilling miners and in homogenizing the labour force. Yet, an unexpected consequence was that the social isolation among miners was also further reduced, since:

“The net effect may well be a stronger, more unified class in a political and ideological sense.” (Clement, 1980: 148)

C. Legendre (1980) has illustrated how persistent precapitalist methods of production have been used for the profit of large pulp companies since the 1930s. By continuing to rely on a widespread contract system, these companies have been able to obscure class relations through maintaining: (1) patron-client relations based on the primary relations of loggers and contractors; (2) an appearance of self-sufficiency on the part of workers; and (3) a marginal agriculture. Also, the nature of the forest resource has favoured the entrenchment of traditional systems of payment, such as piece rates rather than fixed salaries. This contributed to maintain high turnover rates and attitudes of individual independence within the labour force, and retarded the organization of workers (Legendre, 1979: 312-19). On the contrary, in mining SITs, the subordination of labour to industry occurred earlier through the abolition of contract systems of employment and the simultaneous generalization of wage labour. And although the latter continues to be supplemented by bonus systems, which are a way of fragmenting the workforce and isolating workers, by and large, in mining SITs the wage-bonus system and the absence of intermediaries, such as contractors, directly oppose the two forces of production — capital and labour — and thus leads to greater social polarization and class consciousness (Clement, 1981: 14-26, 272-82).

The aspects of the work sphere considered in the above brief comments need to be developed further in order to adequately contrast forestry and mining towns. Still, it is hoped that they show that it would be erroneous to ignore the nature of the staple when discussing the work sphere in forestry and mining SITs.

My contention is that the same holds true as far as these towns' community sphere is concerned, particularly its local power structure; i.e., the community sphere of forestry and mining SITs has been depicted in contrasting ways and seen as fostering opposite world views. As suggested earlier in this work, in Canadian forestry towns, the nature of the logging activities favours the emergence of more numerous and differentiated institutions, and of a web of elites having narrow and distinctive bases of power. This produces a diffusion of the local power structure which is more effective in diverting responsibility from the industry and thus in obscuring the reality of domination from residents' perception. In Canadian mining towns, on the other hand, the nature of the exploitation of the resource encourages the formation of a dichotomous and polarized social structure dominated by industrial managers. This leads to a transparent class structure where economic domination is reflected in the overlap of the work and community power structures, thus reinforcing class perceptions and bringing them to the forefront of social relations.

In broader theoretical terms, this implies that in forestry SITs the stratification system is more of an elite-mass type given the diversity of the power bases in both the work and community spheres; and that in mining SITs, the stratification system is more of a class

type. This dichotomous view results here from an analysis that acknowledgedly has tended to favour a class outlook. Indeed, whereas elite-mass outlooks generally assume that the dominant economic structure does not necessarily contribute in a significant way to the understanding of the power structure, my analysis has often diverged from this viewpoint by stressing the importance of economic variables. As well, the role of elites tends to be interpreted as performing important tasks, which are either functional to the needs of society and/or requiring noteworthy abilities. It has been here considered that this is not necessarily the case; and that elite activities may as frequently be disruptive and exploitative and/or not requiring noteworthy abilities. So, consensus is not posited, which is indeed more characteristic of a class outlook.

5.3 Comparative Theoretical Framework

This section will present an overview of the main ideas underlying the comparative theoretical framework that focusses on the work and community spheres — and centres on the local power structures, and workers and/or residents' perceptions — of Canadian mining and forestry SITs.

1. In mining towns, the workers establish fewer patron-client relationships, and more generally, fewer dyadic contracts³ than in forestry towns. The latter are more folk-oriented in terms of rural values and origins⁴, have developed a more diversified and seasonal economic base, and have family incomes that are more dependent on the number

and scope of dyadic contracts. This implies that in forestry SITs, the income strategies of the workers are more individualistic and family-oriented.⁵ On the contrary, in mining towns, workers do not seek the protection of individual patronage relationships and/or dyadic contracts outside their work sphere, i.e., in their social world. Consequently, the workers' political and social consciousness is higher, because their employment is framed more strictly in secondary-relation terms and their obtainment of the basic life necessities is expressed in more economic terms.

2. The social isolation existing in forestry towns makes it easier than in mining towns to exact workers' deference, political loyalty, and more generally, consent. This social isolation results from factors such as fewer contacts with — and information concerning — macro-social actors, higher levels of social differentiation, and more varied life (and work) histories.⁶ All these factors contribute to lower levels of expectation and integration in national society, which in turn leads to lower levels of class consciousness. Figure 2 (p. 171) categorizes some factors which may play a role in this respect.

Social isolation needs to be portrayed in a more detailed way than presented by C. Kerr and A. Siegel's (1954) "isolated mass" concept. So, forestry town residents are well integrated, and thus less alienated, at lower levels of family and friends, community and region (see Figure 3, p. 172). This means that within their local milieus, they feel that they have a greater margin of choice, are allowed to deviate from values and behaviours that are considered as characterizing the occupational "in-group" and, thus, have less of an

Figure 2. Factors Affecting the Social Isolation and Integration of Workers in Forestry and Mining SITs

FORESTRY SITs	MINING SITs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Marked economic autarchy; varied non-forestry related economic activities, such as agriculture, tourism, hunting, fishing; services; some co-operatives. - Weaker perceived (and to an extent real) integration of the workers in the national society; strong sense of being rural. - Lower incomes; greater income disparities between workers and elites; greater variety of incomes and work opportunities; fewer contacts with the national society; significant folk culture. - Weak tradition in terms of union and political struggles; unions of limited reach, and focussing on local or regional issues; many non-unionized workers. - Higher levels of social differentiation and more variety in the life-histories. - Lower levels of information and expectations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Little economic autarchy; considerable dependence on the company store (or industrial-sponsored local businesses) for basic life necessities. - Stronger perceived (and to some extent real) integration in the national society; more pronounced urban lifestyles and values. - Higher incomes; narrower income disparities between workers and supervisors/managers; greater social distance, i.e., two-tiered structure; relative homogeneity of incomes among workers; more frequent contacts with the national society (trips, cars); personal identity defined in more strictly economic and work terms. - Strong tradition of union and political struggles, for example among miners of Scottish descent; integration in international unions; political and labour information of world scope. - Lower levels of social differentiation and less variety in the life-histories. - Higher levels of information and expectations; knowledge of union rights, of the general political situation of the country and region, of industry's and company's investment policies.
<p><i>The relative social isolation of the forestry worker may be considered as a measure of his low level of social consciousness and activism.</i></p>	<p><i>The relative integration of the miner in unions and national society may be considered as a measure of his higher level of social consciousness and activism.</i></p>

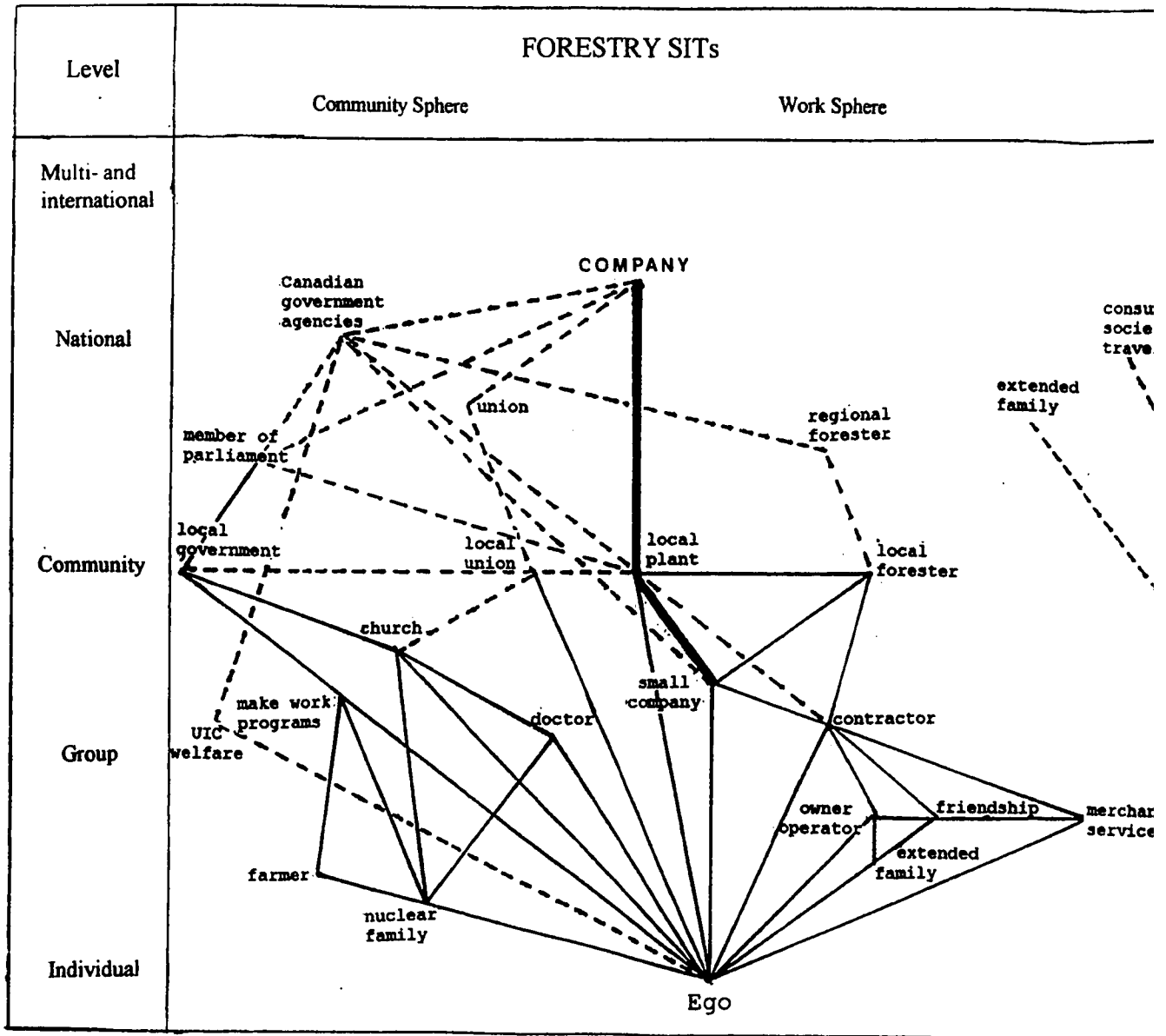
Figure 3. Levels of Social Isolation and Integration of Residents in Forestry and Mining SITs

Type of SIT	Socio-Political Entity or Group of Reference	Relative Isolation or Integration	Critical Variables and Comments
Forestry SIT	Multi- and international entities/ country	Isolation	Few contacts and information in terms of consumer goods, travel, lifestyles, news.
	Region	Integration	Many contacts with the regional city through local markets, work relations, seasonal jobs, kinship ties.
	Community	Integration	Rural lifestyles: values of individual independence; multiplication of the points of dependence; numerous elites, contractors.
	Occupational Group	Isolation	Identity placed on family rather than on work mates; relative absence of unions and effective occupational groups; active role of independent contractors and values of self-employment; diversity of income sources.
	Family/ Friends	Integration	Strong ties of kinship and friendship whose function is essential within the informal economic sector and dyadic contracts.
			----- <i>To a large extent, forestry SIT residents are, and view themselves as, integrated in the community sphere, i.e., in family, friends and social groups, and in the region</i>
Mining SIT	Multi- and international entities/ country	Integration	Political awareness and world outlook; or consciousness that layoffs and town closures are linked to multinational and government policies; information and contacts through union, travel, lifestyles, and occasionally through extended family.
	Region	Isolation	Mostly antagonistic relations with the often desolate and empty environment; possible rivalry and competition with outlying mining towns (cf. G.D. Suttles' "win or lose" situation).
	Community	Isolation	Little communal sociability; mainly instrumental and secondary social relations; economic- and work-related culture; heterogeneous work force in terms of place of origin and social milieus.
	Occupational Group	Integration	Strong work identity, which is of critical importance in the prevailing culture; affective transference to unions in times of economic instability; lack of other groups and institutions; general predominance of class over ethnicity.
	Family/ Friends	Isolation	Frequent migrant life histories, family and friends may be far away; extended families are less important for they have no role as an economic support; generalization of the two generation nuclear family.
			----- <i>To a large extent, mining SIT residents are, and view themselves as, integrated in the work (and industry) spheres.</i>

oppositional class consciousness. In mining towns, the combination of being alienated at lower local levels and identifying with wider levels (national society, industrial bureaucracy, international unions) accentuates the residents' feelings of dependence, powerlessness and alienation. The absence of local institutions, groups and social networks enhances the omnipresence of industry, and makes clear the latter's purely economic function and discourse — thus, increasing the likelihood of oppositional views.

3. The next point is based on the following hypothesis: the more complex the power structure, in terms of either the number of points of dependence or the different dimensions (institutions) of the structure, the lower the level of political and social consciousness (see Figure 4, p. 174). In forestry SITs, the local power structure is more complex, due to these towns' earlier historic period of settlement (see Lower, 1936), their dual vocation with agriculture, their multiple purposes (church, trade), their continual small entrepreneurship scale (contractors, forest-based or wood-related activities), and their wide web of patronage relations. The bases of the elites' power are more diverse and also more distinctive, in that they do not overlap very much. Such a power structure is more diffuse, which makes it better at maintaining itself, despite its relative independence from industry, and the distinctiveness of the domains of authority/domination of elites which may create tensions among themselves, as well as between the elites and workers and/or residents. These tensions, however, do not hinder the tacit and effective support that elites give each other: they maintain the power structure by resolving possible punctual conflicts among themselves. So, from an elites' point of view, the diffuse power structure of forestry SITs

Figure 4. Power Structures of Forestry and Mining SITs: in the Towns and Larger Society



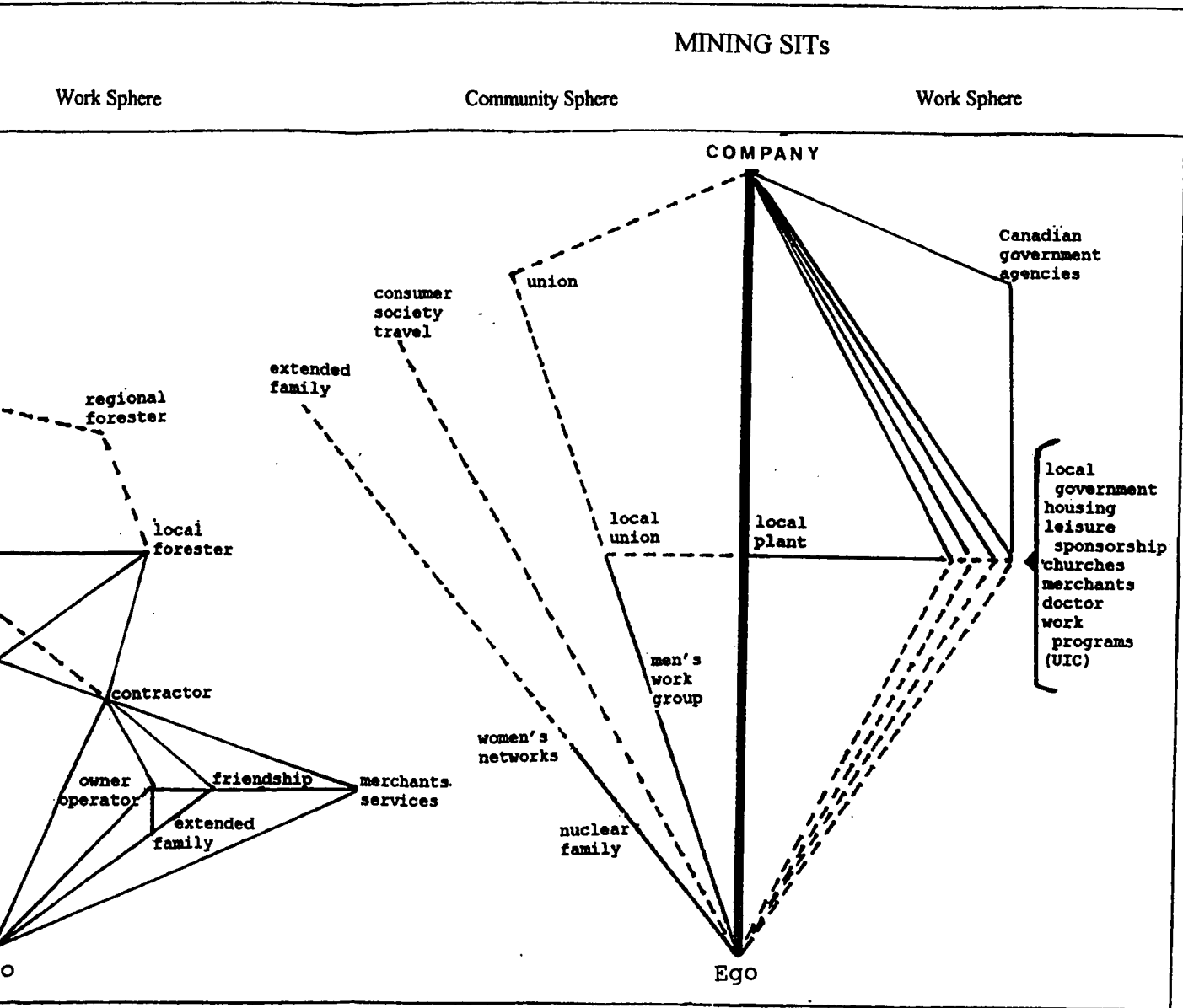
Legend: **————** core relation of dependency/domination

- - - - - weak ties; effectively neutral, secondary relations

———— strong ties; affective and/or personal, primary relations; and dyadic contracts

Notes: (a) In order not to overburden the diagrams, the relations shown should only be considered as examples, and as such they only intend to underline trends and general patterns.

(b) Although the diagram on the left applies in a general way to all forestry towns, the particular structure represented is more typical of logging SITs.



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relations; and dyadic contracts

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nds and general patterns.

way to all forestry towns, the particular

can be seen as a more functional and modern type of power structure because: issues and conflicts are more likely to be fragmented, directed at only one institution or type of elite at a time, and diverted from industry and from class interpretations. Parallely, the whole social structure does not collapse when, for instance, the economic base of the town is seriously threatened, which constitutes a more “positive” functional feature given that it may be favourable to the residents’ interests.

In mining towns, the power structure remains quite authoritarian and paternalistic. Industry often maintains important prerogatives by sponsoring institutions such as the Church (Pope, 1942), the medical service (Leyton, 1975), the Chamber of Commerce or the Kiwanis Club (Lucas, 1971); and indirectly controls many aspects of daily life, such as the municipal government, zoning, services, housing, commerce, sports, “make-work” programs, and more generally, the standard of living (Clement 1981: 23). Although the community does have an institutional net, it is not differentiated from that of the main industry because its maintenance is intimately linked to the latter. In sum, in mining SITs, the power structure is essentially transparent and makes visible the relationship of dependence/domination of residents towards the economic structure.

4. In forestry towns, it may be assumed that the administrative agents and political authorities act in more rational/legal ways, be it administratively or politically. This results from the fact that the administrative/political structure is older, has a stronger tradition, is less closely linked to the economic/managerial hierarchy of the dominant industry, is more complex, more differentiated and, finally, is quantitatively more important

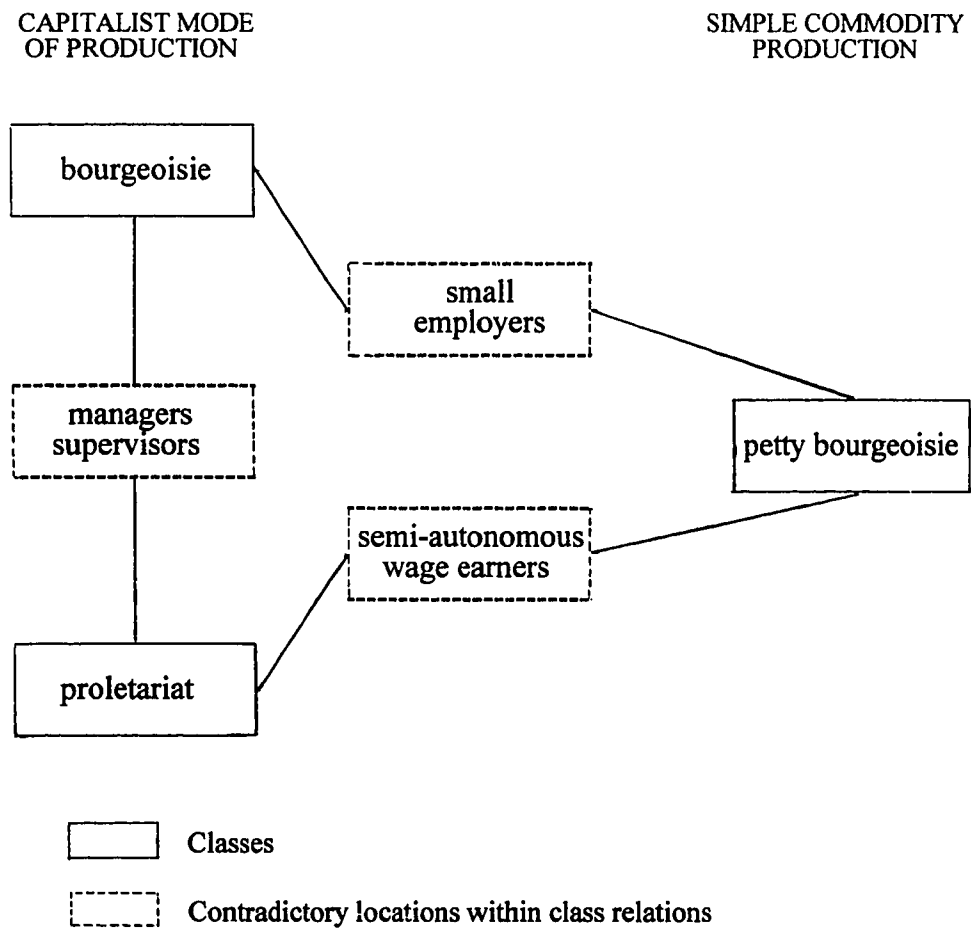
than in mining towns. While the manifest function of these administrative elites is whatever their formal position claims, the latent function is to contribute to a diffusion and legitimization of power. For example, these administrative/political positions often imply elections, professional degrees and/or experiences that workers do not have; but elites maintain the illusion of the autonomy of the community structure, and do so largely in conformity with industrial interests. Thus in forestry SITs, the process is more bureaucratic and the style more democratic. But the reality is that the actual bureaucratic guidelines are not necessarily respected (because the personal, political and economic relations between elites may decide the outcome of issues, i.e., elites are frequently in collusion and maintain a front); and there is not necessarily democracy (because the bulk of the SITs' population is *de facto* excluded, politically as well as economically). In mining towns, on the other hand, although the industrial bureaucracy is well developed, and also possibly because of it, the emergence of a group of community administrative/political elites is curtailed. The relatively sparse intermediary stratum of local elites cannot fulfill a hegemonic function for industry; and therefore industrial leadership in "public" community matters appears to residents, and actually is, more paternalistic and dominating.

Forestry SITs have a more complex structure and network of relations, not only insofar as the internal structure of these towns is concerned, but also in terms of their relations with regional, provincial and federal centres of power. It may be assumed, for instance, that mining companies do not require intermediaries or "help" from the administrative/political formal power system at local and intermediary levels in order to promote their interests; they are able to lobby and negotiate directly with different centres

of power. Forestry companies, on the other hand, may be inclined to ask for the collaboration of such intermediaries at local or higher levels; first, because the forest resource is perceived, and to some extent is, managed in a more “public” way; and second, because there exist possibilities of conflict with other interests, such as agriculture, conservation, indigenous land rights, or other entrepreneurs. For example, forestry companies may lobby local MPs, civil servants, regional governments or local foresters, in order to obtain more concessions, a forestry land classification, regional infrastructure or regional development aid. Because the relations are more indirect and involving different levels of power, they may obscure the reality of the domination of industry in residents’ perceptions.⁷

5. A final idea which could be useful in comparing forestry and mining SITs structures is E.O. Wright’s (1978) model of contradictory class locations (see Figure 5. p.178). Although it applies to the economic sphere of life, this model could further the explanation of the role of intermediaries (or middle class) in these structures; and add to the idea that a more complex social structure is more modern because it diffuses power as well as potential conflict. E.O. Wright explains that while all classes are intrinsically antagonistic or contradictory, some are “doubly” contradictory in terms of the three basic dimensions of power underlying capitalism, i.e., control over the labour task, control over labour power and control over the allocation of resources. The fundamental class antagonism between capitalists (bourgeoisie) and workers (proletariat) can be seen as a polarization in each of these three underlying dimensions of power. Capitalists have

Figure 5. Relationship of Contradictory Class Positions to Class Forces in Capitalist Society



Source: E. O. Wright, [1978]; Reprint in A. Giddens *et al.* (eds.), 1982, p. 114.

control over all three dimensions while workers control none, and the positions that both hold in the class system is unambiguous. On the other hand, managers and supervisors, semi-autonomous workers and small employers occupy a contradictory class position, because they objectively share the situation of two opposed classes. The result of this relative diffusion of power is that, in subjective terms, the three latter groups are divided between the interests of two opposed groups (i.e., bourgeoisie and proletariat) and “as a result it is much more difficult to assess the general stance they will take within class struggle” (Wright, [1978], 1982: 126). In other words, the existence of “intermediaries” blurs the essentially dichotomous nature of the class stratification.

E.O. Wright sees a change from unambiguous class positions to contradictory ones as characteristic of modern capitalism, and considers that this change permits to explain the continuing stability of the capitalist system. His model could be applied to SITs. Indeed, forestry towns have both quantitatively and qualitatively more contradictory class positions, for example, farmers, forestry contractors, merchants and small entrepreneurs; while mining towns have a clearer capitalist-proletariat structure. This may reinforce an idea outlined earlier, i.e., that forestry towns present in fact a more “modern” social structure *because of* their mix of traditional and modern modes of production, and their remnants of earlier institutional organization. Given its interconnections and diversity, such a structure is more effective in diffusing power and in accommodating conflict, and therefore is more stable. On the other hand, *because of* their modern capital-intensive industrial mode of production and their industrial bureaucracy, mining SITs present in fact a more “traditional” social structure in terms of the mechanisms of social control and the

capacity to maintain itself; this is due to the visibility and polarization of their antagonistic class interests.

In summary, this section has presented a theoretical framework outlining the main features that could be developed in order to compare Canadian forestry and mining SITs. The key idea underlined is that in order to adequately study these SITs' social structures and the consciousness of their populations, both the nature of the staple as well as the way in which work and community intertwine have to be considered. The framework tends to show that a class model is more relevant in explaining the case of mining towns, while a more political and elite model best suits that of forestry towns.

It could be argued that such dichotomization is exaggeratedly contrasted, and that similarly throughout this work, the comparison between the two types of SITs has been presented as clear-cut in order to simplify the comparison. The critique is, thus, that the differences between the two types of SITs do not constitute in reality an obvious polarity, but only shades. This points to the ideal type feature of the forestry and mining SITs as viewed in this work, and to the fact that the informed staple-ization idea could be seen more as a research mood than as a theory *per se*, though it is hoped that the comparative framework has contributed to tighten the context as well as the claim of this acknowledged broad idea. As in any theoretical (and empirical) investigation, such tightening can always be furthered which is what the next section attempts to do.

5.4 Circumscribing the Comparison and the Staple-ization Idea

Given the secondary research feature of the work and specifically its lengthy literature review cum state-of-the-art effort, it is useful to complete the previous section's comparative theoretical framework by restating the work's formal hypothesis and backing it with a detailed circumscribing effort. This will constitute simultaneously a way: (1) to briefly summarize what this work intends to accomplish; (2) to wrap up in systematic statements points that were either only implied or understated; such systematizing is particularly useful since the comparison between the two types of towns has frequently been informed by references which intended to be examples rather than tightly linked, this being the case even if the causal relations pointed toward an identifiable common orientation; and (3) to facilitate an operationalization of the theoretical framework, preparing so the work's two last chapters that aim at using the staple-ization idea to explain specific aspects of the two types of SITs.

As stated at the outset of the work, the broadly stated hypothesis asserts that: "In Canadian forestry and mining SITs, the nature of the staple impacts significantly on the features of these towns' work and community spheres, in particular on the latter's power structures, and on workers' and/or residents' perceptions. Such impact is manifest, for instance, in these SITs' industrial labour process and women's experience. The circumscribing will be carried out in the following pages as thoroughly as possible given the limits of this section; and will have two parts. The first one explains what is entailed by some of the hypothesis main concepts, i.e., those that are original to, and to a large

extent define the work: “Canadian”, “forestry and mining SITs”, “nature of the staple” and “impacts significantly.” The second part deals with two important issues concerning the staple’s impact: its quantitative aspect and time frame.

5.4.1 Main Concepts

“Canadian”

This qualifier has to be understood very geographically, so, as implying only SITs located in Canada. In other words, the hypothesis does not consider such towns when located in foreign countries even when, for instance, their work (and industry) spheres are controlled by Canadian multinationals, and/or run by Canadian nationals, be it partially or in a more definite fashion. Yet, the literature review cum state-of-the-art effort leading to the elaboration of the comparative theoretical framework includes SITs located in Canada that are controlled by foreign multinationals and/or run by foreign nationals, be it partially or in a more definite fashion.

In other words, such geographic definition can be questioned, as is *de facto* the case with the outlining of many researches’ empirical bases. In this instance, the definition may undoubtedly be explained by convenience, but also by some heuristic reasons. More specifically, it is convenient because it eases the canvassing of the social, economic, political, cultural and, more generally, the common context of these SITs; as well, it is heuristic because it eases the interpretation of their studies, given among other reasons that “Canadian” SITs can be associated to better identifiable research frames of reference and

scholarly contributions.⁸ Besides, it may be quite difficult, especially methodologically, to attempt a more elaborate circumscribing of the “Canadian” qualification considering that the referred-to SITs already vary in many other ways, for example and as suggested above, since their work and community (as well as their industry) spheres have links to international, national *and* local decision makers that widely differ.

A final point needs to be discussed here: the literature review cum state-of-the-art effort (Chapter 2, 3 and 4) deals with some SITs located in the United States. Such inclusion may be viewed critically, but it was seen as necessary. SITs have been investigated in a wide variety of contexts and using diverse approaches; i.e., comparing Canadian forestry and mining SITs implies selecting from an extensive and diverse literature whatever insights are deemed relevant for “northern” SITs, primary resource extraction, and generally located in staple and new-town frontiers. American studies seldom deal with SITs of this type, hence, their insights must be considered with care. Still, it is useful to make use of some of these because of, first, their theoretical and scholarly importance, notably their influence in certain Canadian research streams; and second, the frequent omission of the staple’s impact in Canadian SIT studies. So, in spite of the number and diversity of the latter, the inclusion of some “non-Canadian” ones was indeed necessary.

In summary, the “Canadian” qualification of the hypothesis and of this work needed to be circumscribed; hence, the purpose has been to explain the specificities but also the rationale of such qualification; and, by doing so, to attempt a first tightening of the hypothesis’ context and claim.

“Mining and Forestry SITs”

The exclusive choice of — as well as the comparison between — mining and forestry SITs stress the resource-dependent feature of these towns, and more specifically the resource-extractive feature of their industry. Resource-dependence implies that the SIT’s contemporary main industry (and quite often the town’s origin) as well as its work sphere are essentially linked to the resource base. And resource-extractive industry implies that a significant part of the SIT’s economic activities expressly revolves around the logging of trees in one case and the underground mining of ore in the other.

It has to be underlined that seldom are forestry SITs exclusively involved in “logging”, unless they are remote camps that are actually seasonal satellites of forestry towns. So, they often have one — or several — lumber mill(s), plywood shop(s) and/or pulp mill(s); but, an important part of the occupations remains in logging and the outlying area of these SITs is forested. Thus, forestry SITs are viewed here as towns actively occupied by considerable logging, even if presently this labour force has been downsized and/or the range of economic activities may be diversifying. This typically excludes: pulp and paper towns that have little or no logging (the logs are shipped in from elsewhere), as well as towns that historically were on the lumber frontier but where the economic base has considerably changed (for instance, the Hull-Gatineau region or again towns that combine forestry and mining activities).⁹

In mining SITs, the resource-extractive industry has to be understood as underground mining of ores, for instance, coal, bauxite, iron or phosphate; and resource-dependence implies that a significant part of the labour force is involved in such mining,

through a range of labour processes which may combine different degrees of mechanization and types of organization of work. This excludes towns dominated by: open-pit or strip mining; fully automated underground mining; and the production of energy, i.e., oil, gas, offshore and arctic exploration, or hydro electricity.¹⁰

In conclusion, it is obvious from the above circumscribing of the meaning of “forestry and mining SITs” that, in this research, the emphasis is on “resource-extractive industries” rather than on the processing of the resource, although it is understood that such economic activities may be present in the SITs.¹¹ So, when looking at work and community in the two types of towns, it has to be assumed that the presence of resource-extractive activities is central to the comparison and that, more narrowly in the work sphere, logging can be contrasted with underground mining.¹²

“Nature of the Staple”

The hypothesis’ wording as well as the above circumscribing exercise indicate that the nature of the staple is defined here quite narrowly: as trees in forestry SITs and ores in mining SITs. This implies that in neither case is it differentiated along these staples’ varied

- types: species of trees (pine vs. spruce vs. oak, etc.) and diversity of ores (phosphate vs. coal vs. bauxite, etc.);
- features: quantities actually and potentially available (for example, as related to the technology used, and to the characteristics of tree growth or the mine output) and qualities actually and potentially available (for

example, as related to the maturity and features of trees; and the ore concentration);

- conditions of access: as viewed in restricted terms (homogeneity and topographical features of the forest; or geological features of the ore bodies) or in broader terms (geographical location and related to transportation issues, climate and impact of seasons).

This list is obviously not exhaustive and is only presented to show the, indeed, limited definition of the “nature of the staple” adopted in this work. This becomes particularly obvious when one considers that it would lead — if specific empirical cases were to be analysed — to difficulties in assessing the impact of factors such as technological make-ups and conjunctures, commercialization dynamics, external contingencies of labour forces, and transportation problems.

The claim of this work is that all these factors — and again, their listing is only an exemplification — may, and in fact do, influence the SITs’ work and community spheres, in particular the extent to which their power structures overlap; but they do so in varied fashions depending on the “nature of the staple”. In other words, the latter (regardless of its type, features, conditions of access, etc.) constitute what may be broadly defined as the research’s independent variable; and the purpose of this work is to evidence how this independent variable affects the two types of SITs in specific ways. Parallely, the diverse factors mentioned above may be viewed as broadly defined intermediate variables and, so, as variables playing a role in the causal links illustrating and legitimizing the comparison that is central to this investigation.

“Impacts Significantly”

By definition, social change may potentially affect any aspect of society; similarly, it is here assumed that in the two types of SITs, the nature of the staple may potentially affect any aspect of the work and community (as well as industry) spheres. Hopefully, the above circumscribing exercise has tightened to a considerable extent the context of this “potential to affect”.

As far as the claim as such is concerned, the preceding chapters have: extensively dealt with the relevance of the forestry/mining SIT typology, shown the fruitfulness of their comparison, and illustrated the “significant impact” by examples of causal links. This leaves two issues to be commented upon: the impact’s more strictly quantitative aspect and its time frame.

5.4.2 Quantitative Aspect and Time Frame of the Staple’s Impact

The quantitative aspect may be discussed rather briefly because the main thrust of such a discussion has already been suggested in the preceding pages; but they did not explicitly spell it out, and doing so actually constitutes an interesting way of summarizing these pages: in spite of a considerable range of variation *within* each type of resource SITs, such variation is significantly less than that *between* forestry and mining SITs. So, there are important differences between old coal towns and new gold ones of the Arctic region, or again between old Maritime logging towns and West Coast cedar logging ones: for instance, in terms of labour-force income levels, employment and out-migration patterns,

types of technology used, or housing ownership. And some aspects of old Maritime logging SITs are even similar to those of old coal towns, while some aspects of West Coast cedar logging towns are similar to those of new gold SITs in the Arctic region.

Still, it is considered here that if many variables were to be overlaid (as in a multiple regression) and different qualitative features of SITs added (such as the overlap of industry and community structures, patterns of unionization, characteristics of women's work, or the modernity of systems of values), all forestry SITs would tend to share similar key features, and mining SITs would likewise. Moreover, my contention is that, similarly, there remains a consistent difference between the two types of SITs if certain factors that are seen as accounting for much of the variation within a staple sector could be controlled, such as the SIT's time of settlement, degree of technological intensification, or regional difference, thus, allowing to compare "old" forestry SITs with "old" mining SITs, or again East-Coast forestry SITs with East-Coast mining SITs, etc. The referred-to difference would be a pattern of overall "lagging behind" of forestry in relation to mining, a lagging behind whose detailing occupies a considerable part of the present effort.

As stated above, a discussion of the "significant impact" has to include considerations about its time frame. Like the quantitative aspect, it is a complex issue because time frames may widely vary depending on which aspects of the SITs' social change are considered: from extensive historical trends to immediate impacts; furthermore, such changes may be multidimensional, unfold at differing paces and levels of intensity, have changing interdimensional patterns of relationships, etc. In spite of such complexity, the assumption is that time-wise, "the nature of the staple significantly impacts" in differing

fashions on the work and community spheres of the two types of SITs. For instance, in cases of necessary changes in technology and/or labour process, the introduction of innovations is generally slower in forestry than in mining towns; and again, in persistent staple-trap situations, the towns' overall decline is generally slower in the former than in the latter. Figure 6 (p. 189) shows such staple-trap situations in a more detailed way by characterizing their short- and long-term impacts on selected aspects of the SITs.

Figure 6. Short- and Long-Term Impacts of Staple-Trap Situations on Selected Aspects of Forestry and Mining SITs.

Time Frames	Selected Aspects and Impacts	
	Forestry SITs	Mining SITs
Short Term	<p>Industry managerial strategies: moderate</p> <p>Labour market: extensive</p> <p>Community institutions and services: weak</p>	<p>Industry managerial strategies: extensive</p> <p>Labour market: weak</p> <p>Community institutions and services: moderate</p>
Long Term	<p>Overall functional adaptations and relative resilience to external contingencies; thus, general stability.</p>	<p>Overall structural rigidity and relative vulnerability to external (economic) contingencies; thus, potential visibility of social contradictions.</p>

“Short term” is here defined as a time-frame where the most convenient units are months, possibly years, and exceptionally in escalating circumstances, weeks; whereas the “long

term” refers to years, possibly decades, and exceptionally, in escalating circumstances, months.

Certainly, rather than deal sketchily with the time-frame issue as in Figure 6, the above-mentioned paces, features, levels of intensity, and interdimensional relationships could — and ideally should — be systematically tackled in the present research, for instance, by presenting figures that categorize the time-frame related observations and perspectives of the different authors considered in the literature review cum state-of-the-art effort.

However, this research does not do so, and more generally does not take time-frame considerations into account as thoroughly as it does space/location ones. Given that this bent is deliberate, it needs to be legitimated. A first reason is the more common one: the need to reduce the work’s scope and level of complexity. Indeed, it was felt that favouring one type of consideration was necessary given that the issue to be studied is quite broad, even as above circumscribed, and given the secondary research feature of this work. A second reason is that space-location is the more noticeable aspect of the staple-ization idea, in the sense that it is the more original one given the research tradition in (recent) SIT studies, i.e., these are, by and large, cast in more time-frame terms. Therefore, it was hoped that emphasizing space-location leads to more innovative observations and analyses.

The third reason is an outgrowth of the second one. Space-location is sometimes viewed as conducive to the adoption of a deterministic and static outlook, and indeed to some sort of new materialist essentialism; while favouring time-frame considerations tends to be viewed as conducive to the adoption of an open-ended and dynamic outlook. The

previous chapters have hopefully shown that this is not necessarily the case, thus, that there is no inherent reason why favouring space-location implies determinism and lack of dynamism — or open-endedness and dynamism for that matter — the reverse applying when favouring time-frame considerations. Then, it is also to show the misconception linked to space-location that this aspect is emphasized.¹³

The neglect of time-frame considerations is real, but only relative. Indeed, this work has repeatedly suggested that the forestry/mining SIT dichotomy points in general abstract terms to a clear difference in this realm: changes tend to be slower and have less definite outcomes in forestry SITs, which is well exemplified by their general resilience in staple-trap situations; and to be more rapid and to have more determining outcomes in mining SITs, which is well exemplified by their overall vulnerability in such situations. This difference leads to the paradox of the “less modern” forestry SITs being better endowed than the “more modern” mining SITs to resist the most ruthless aspects of capital’s (or management’s) action, i.e., massive layoffs and the possible closure of the towns.¹⁴

Concluding Comments

This chapter’s purpose has been essentially to formalize and tighten the context and claim at the core of this work. As far as the context is concerned, it has progressively narrowed, evolving from broad SIT considerations to a focus on “Canadian” forestry and mining towns, from these towns to more exclusively their work and community spheres,

and again from these spheres to an emphasis on local power structures and workers' and/or residents' perceptions; such evolution corresponding to a successive lowering of the levels of analysis.

As far as the claim is concerned, it has remained — hopefully — unchanged and constant, though with an increasing insistence on the fact that neither the staple-ization idea nor several specific insights of the comparative theoretical framework can definitely be included in a compelling theoretical tradition, even if they have obvious links with the original staple and the post-1970s political economy traditions. The issue may be these traditions' polarization and contrasting, which seem — to some extent — to result from a “theoretical impatience”: differences are stressed while actual and potential similarities are not explored (Stinchcombe, 1975: 60). Whatever the case may be, this work is leaning towards the exploration of such similarities, and if not so, then toward the combination of insights stemming from both traditions.

The remaining task of this work is, therefore, to show the interest of a lowering of the levels of analysis, the relevance of the advocated theoretical claim, and the exploration of the referred-to similarities and combination of insights. It is what the two next chapters intend to accomplish for selected aspects of Canadian forestry and mining SITs, i.e., the labour process and women's experience.

Chapter 6. LABOUR PROCESS

In general terms, this chapter attempts to understand what is entailed by a staple-ized outlook of labour processes involving the extraction of a resource in staple environments, notably in forestry and mining SITs. Its first section outlines how such an outlook could be used to characterize these towns' work and community spheres, which is here viewed as necessary for a labour process study. This view differs from — but is not entirely at odds with — the defining efforts that have examined labour topics in varied fields of research, i.e., Canadian political economy, labour studies and, in a more extensive fashion, labour process studies per se. The second section critically reviews these defining efforts, and in doing so highlights the backdrop against which the work's comparative theoretical framework was elaborated. Proceeding from this basis, the chapter's third and last section selectively applies insights stemming from the framework to investigate systematic staple specific variations in key aspects of the labour process, in particular regarding technological change, and workers' types and degrees of resistance to such change. Relatively lengthy "Concluding Comments" summarize the chapter; and propose a means to bridge the views that are "staple neutral" (those of the referred-to defining efforts) and "staple sensitive" (those advocated in this work).

6.1 Characterizing the SITs' Varied Spheres and the Labour Process

In Marxist theory "nature" is seen as a "black box" — i.e., a "reality" that is unknowable given that it is not socially constructed — and consequently must be treated as if it did not exist given that it is outside of man's experience (Young, 1985: 208, 221).

To the extent that nature (or scientific knowledge of nature, or even technology) exists, it is thus seen as socially conditioned and a potential site of struggle:

“Nature exists apart from us, but only as a noumenon, a category of the last instance, without any qualification or characterization. For us, nature is an object of labour, a resource, a manifold, an attic, or a cellar, or a boxroom to be ransacked for — or shaped into — what we need. It is a potential to be actualized by different epochs with different goals, different priorities, different cosmologies, different world views and agendas.” (Young, 1985: 210-11)

In contrast, this work tries to bring in the staple and the natural environment as not entirely socially constructed. Obviously, the forest or mine, as points of production, are much less the outcome of conscious man-made design than is the factory floor: they have geographical micro variations, physical constraints in regard to technological control, evolving safety requirements, etc. As a result, the inclusion of the natural environment makes it less obvious that capitalists have a total control over the means of production.

The resource setting of work is a place where capital and labour interact in social relations around the labour process. But the result is not necessarily the automatic materialization of capital's intent, be it in terms of control over the labour process (as seen, for example by H. Braverman) or of unimpeded capitalization and expansion. The result is the open-ended outcome of labour/capital struggle in the workplace: it may involve contending groups that are of unequal weight, especially in specific circumstances, yet it holds the potential to lead to negotiations and trade-offs in the labour process that are significant. Besides, although resource settings of work and community are analytically separable, they are inextricably related in the reality of SIT contexts. So the struggle around “work” tends to be broader, focussing readily on increased self-sufficiency and/or the maintenance of a lifestyle and a community; thus, it tends to be a struggle where on the part of the worker more is at stake than only a job. While such struggle is defined by class interests, it is also coloured by the staple, in that the physical environment can be used to the advantage of one or another of the contending groups. For instance, staple seasonal

patterns (and not only workers' willful actions) help to maintain contracting jobs; the remoteness of the woods (and not only class struggle through unions) contributes to loggers retaining machinery repair skills; the oppressiveness and danger of the workplace (and not only, for example, international links and information) induce miners to become collectively more militant in regards to safety. Therefore, an approach integrating the staple is better suited to deal with these kinds of issues. C. Legendre (1980: 188, 201) is a good example of such an approach: he argues that the woods provide a terrain where labour, entrepreneurs and capital meet in cooperation and conflict; yet, all actors — starting with capital — have had to “adapt” to the constraints of the staple environment.

The previous examples show that capital's imperative, and workers' interest and struggle are not sufficient to explain important aspects of work in SITs, the same being true more generally for class relations at the point of production. The staple colours them, and so does the entire SIT context. For instance, the single-industry feature and the isolation of these towns encompass the workers' (and residents') entire day and entire working-class experience; consent or resistance is not constructed solely on the shop floor among workers who may have nothing in common and who disappear at the end of the work-day in anonymous urban settings (as posited in M. Burawoy's shop floor consent thesis). In other words, it is necessary to include the sphere of community and analyse it as another realm of industry's influence. The wider breadth of industry's influence does not stem from the labour process alone; but also, for instance from the dictates of the capitalist markets (housing ownership, retail and services, domestic work, pricing mechanisms for commodity products in isolated towns), and from capital/state relations (health and welfare services, land use planning, licensing and resource regulation, municipal government and taxation, Church funding). A good example of such use of the capitalist market by industry is W. Clement's (1986: 47-82) study of fishing, where he examines the market mechanisms that enter into small fishers' production equation (bank loans, price of fish, supplies, etc.).

By including this wider perspective of workers' dependency/autonomy from industry, alternative sources of need satisfaction (Littler and Salaman, 1982: 261) and other bases of workers' consent, resistance or independence can (and should) also be taped. Thus, rationalities other than those determined by workers' shop-floor — or broader class, i.e., work-based, occupational — identity are considered as impacting on individual consciousness and actions. This is the case for example for the workers' identification with the locality, which is linked to their objective condition in relation to the SITs' main employer, as well as to their individual strategies, which include a range of interactions with various elites at local levels; these condition and strategies may either amplify or diminish the workers' (and residents') identification to the locality.

An additional advantage of including the sphere of community — with its 24-hour day and yearly cycle — is to see the individual worker as a more multidimensional being; in particular, it helps to conceptualize the units of analysis as families rather than individuals, by taking into account women's work and contribution to the family income as well as other family income strategies. Although this chapter does not examine women's domestic and paid work as an integral part of the labour process of mining and forestry towns¹, it should nevertheless be kept in mind that women's contributions have in varied aspects an impact on men's work.

The remainder of this section will now discuss — in broad terms — the impact of the nature of the staple and the SIT environment on the labour process per se. Let me begin by stating that the labour process — according to Marx — is viewed as having three components²: the purposeful activities of *man*, directed to work; the object on which the work is performed, in the form of *natural* or raw materials; and the instruments of that work, most often tools, but also more complex *technology*. Here, the human and technical aspects of the labour process interpenetrate, in that man: changes the form of the materials of nature, realizes his own purpose in those materials, as well as shapes the means of

production, i.e., skilled labour adapts tools to new uses, or engineers design new machinery. Such a view is not technologically deterministic, since technology — or any other productive force, for that matter, including “natural materials” — embodies relationships between people:

“Instruments of labour not only supply a standard of the degree which human labour has obtained, but they also indicate the social relations in which men work.” (Marx, 1976: 286; *Capital, Vol. 1*)

This points to K. Marx’s general usage of the concepts of *forces* and *relations* of production. Once again, they are mutually conditioning; so for instance, in SITs, the mechanization of resource extraction has considerable effects on relations between worker and manager, and indeed on life outside the workplace in terms of the organization of the family economy. Yet, such technology is itself partly a reflection of existing social relations and struggles between labour and capital; or again, inversely, the effect of industrial conflict on technological innovation is one example of the way social relations can become a productive force. Moreover, social relations do not have to be inside production to affect it, since reproductive work — for example, domestic or subsistence — is necessary to production.

In spite of this starting point — and this appears to hold true for many neo-Marxist, political economy and critical approaches — the stated triad of labour process components (man/labour, nature, technology) quickly becomes capital-man(labour)-technology due to the focus on the social relations of production as determinant of social life. “Nature” (raw materials) simply becomes a part of the means of production along with technology, and both are seen to be owned/controlled and more importantly to be consciously designed by capital. Nature is simply an industrial input into the production process. Yet in the staple environment, nature is more than an input, it is the point of production, equivalent to some extent to the shop floor or factory, the difference being that it is not designed, controlled or owned as clearly by capital as is a shop floor, a factory, and more generally technology

for that matter. Indeed, nature has its own potentials and limits, and they are not defined directly by economies.³ So, nature (staples) may present features that either ease, slow or impede capital's appropriation.

Labour process studies focus on the features of work (often highlighting its degradation) and of production outputs; but they seldom address the questions of: the ownership and control of the resource inputs (which in Canada often lies in public hands), the formal and informal means regulating these inputs' uses, and of their transformation in terms of the "degradation of nature" rather than that of work. This must be viewed as a weakness given that the capital-nature relationship is possibly as telling as the capital-technology relationship in reflecting social relations. Thus, the distribution and ecological "health" of the resource environment may reflect the struggle between labour and capital, and between local versus external/monopoly interests. Labour process studies often include an examination of backward linkages into the development of technology (i.e., research and development); they should maybe also include an examination of backward linkages into the access, use and distribution of the resource.

6.2 Assessing Staple Neutral Approaches

Over the last thirty years of so, studies of work in Canadian SITs have, by and large, disregarded the staple as well as the specificities of SIT environments, and have rather stressed: the dependent status of these towns, the domination of capital's rationale in the structuring of their labour process, and the homogeneity of their labour force, with the view that these three features are related in a systemic fashion. It is noteworthy that this outlook characterizes the majority of studies regardless of their level of analysis, i.e., broad political economy and encompassing labour history studies, but also contextual micro labour process

ones. In order to underline this similarity, this section will start by looking at political economy and labour history studies, although sketchily given that, first, their references to the labour process are less numerous and extensive and, second, their general orientations have already been commented upon (see Chapter 2, “Institutional” Approach); and afterwards, will focus on labour process studies and attempt to situate them in a SIT context that implies a local labour market and a natural resource specialization.

One of the most obvious features of Canadian political economy is its explicit debunking of H.A. Innis’ key idea of the recognition of a resource-technology and a resource-man effect. Yet, parallelly, it retains important ideas from the staple theory, most notably: that of external market demands sparking the opening of the frontier, thus, of an export-oriented economy and macro external dependence; as well as the staple theory’s conclusion that such economic impetus and basis do not necessarily lead to “development” (be it manufacturing, diversification, stable national economy).

The most uncompromising critique of the staple theory is probably D. McNally’s, who labels it “commodity fetishism”, a technological and broad geographical determinism. He views the empirical evidence of H.A. Innis as interesting but claims that what needs to be done is to show that the staple’s features mask the actual patterns of social relations: it is not the external market demand for the resource commodity or the existence of a certain technology that is the causal factor for its discovery and extraction, but rather capital’s need to exploit labour and the international peripheral situation of the country.

“I shall demonstrate that Innis’ work contains the fetish of market relations and the ‘technicist’ concept of production which, according to Marx, characterize classical political economy.” (McNally, 1981: 38)

W. Clement also says that H.A. Innis erred by taking the staple at face value as the motor force of frontier expansion:

“His method was to work through the details of particular staples and accept what *appeared* to be the determinant factors inherent in the staples themselves.” (Clement, 1983: 173)

However, in contrast to McNally and more generally political economy scholars, W. Clement proposes an explanation based on the *internal* class relations and particularly on capital's exploitation of labour; so he retains the micro contextual approach favoured by Innis but situates it in a broad political economy framework of unequal international exchange relations.

“Thus, one needs to integrate the external and internal dynamics — the struggle between classes in Canada and the struggle of Canada within the world system.” (Clement, 1983: 177)

In a similar way, Canadian labour history studies (in particular B. Palmer, 1992; and J. Lembcke and W.M. Tattam, 1984) look at the capital/labour relations rather than the technology/labour components of the labour process. The focus is on working-class organization, consciousness and resistance; and so especially, on unions as agents of history in bringing about change. As in political economy, the historical dimension of the explanation overrides a more geographical contextual staple-specific focus. All workers are seen as part of a same macro historical progression, making very apparent the Marxian “homogenization” thesis (particularly in B. Palmer).⁴ But what is left unexplained is, for instance, why miners are — and have been historically — the most militant, spearheading resistance and strikes (Lembcke and Tattam, 1984: 12; Palmer, 1992: 128, 150-57); and whether there is something specific to mining contexts, be it for example technology, the labour process, the community sphere or lifestyles, that could account for such militancy.⁵ These types of unanswered questions point to the aforementioned debunking of H.A. Innis' work and ideas: Canadian political economy and labour history scholars, by and large, overlook insights stemming from his descriptive historical research, which is micro, contextual, multidimensional, diverse and comparative.

As previously suggested, this oversight also applies to Canadian SIT labour studies per se. This area of research has generated an extensive literature, by authors such as W. Clement (1981, 1983), C. Legendre (1979, 1980), P. Marchak (1983) and I. Radforth (1982,

1987).⁶ However, the following discussion will essentially revolve around W. Clement's effort, given its major significance, the importance it attributes to the labour process, and its clear staple neutral orientation.

The author looks at the labour process in mining, and at how technology is used by capital as a means of control over labour (through deskilling, workforce homogenization, displacement of living labour, etc.). Thus, technology is not seen as a medium of class struggle or compromise, but as overwhelmingly dominated by capitalists, which is reflected in the unambiguous links between the latter and engineers, as well as between managers and engineers (and in consequence, such links are not examined as closely as in, for example, D. Noble, 1977). Technology is seen as the child of industry, and all parties involved in its development are seen as serving in varied fashion the capitalists' ends. So, the theoretical approach is structural, and little place is given to conjunctural factors and subjective individual or collective actions. The focus is on managerial/capitalist strategies of control:

“Overwhelmingly, technology has been used by management as a weapon in the class war. It is used both to decrease the labour force requirements and to reduce the autonomy that workers have derived from their skills and their control over the production process. All too often workers have not even been aware of the broader implications of this strategy or were too powerless to resist it effectively.” (Clement, 1981: 356)

Thus, W. Clement, like B. Palmer (1983), adopts an “internal” class analysis framework, and underlines the importance of social relations in explaining history. Yet he parts with Palmer by questioning the workers' capacity of resistance; and opts for a focus based on the labour process and, more specifically, on the impact of technology in changing the social relations of production. So, he details how, in underground mining, new technology led to a shift from traditional more hierarchical work teams to productive units where workers are deskilled, perform their tasks in an atomized way and become more homogenous (Clement: 1981, 94-162).⁷ Such a focus means looking at how changes in the “external” forces of production (capitalization, markets, and particularly technology)

impacted on the “internal” relations of production, in a first time, how these forces condition relations in the transition between modes of production (from petty commodity production based on exchange relations among individual producers to capitalist production based on “socialized” wage labour), and in a second time, how within capitalism, relations continue to evolve (relations of workers with technology, between workers, and between workers and management). This is well reflected in W. Clement’s statement that:

“Recently [it was] argued that “Marx’s principal contributions to the reformulation and extension of Innis’ approach will be found in the central role Marx ascribed to class antagonisms and class struggle in the development of economic systems”. We would be on firmer ground by concentrating concretely on the way staples have conditioned the forces of production and in turn analysing their impact on relations of production, including class struggles.” (Clement, 1983: 173)

Thus, as W. Clement (1983: 173) explains, whereas H.A. Innis looked at how the staple conditioned the “external” forces of production (technology, markets, capitalization) and accepted what appeared to be determinant factors inherent in the staples themselves (hydro-electric power, character of ore bodies, technology, overhead costs, etc.), he wishes in contrast to show that “capital formation and the resulting class relations [i.e., the creation of wage labour and its control] offer greater explanatory power than does the physical quality of the mineral being extracted” (Clement, 1983: 174). So, he disagrees with H.A. Innis concerning how the “internal” factors of production (labour, capital, technology) relate to each other; and stresses that even if H.A. Innis is aware of worker exploitation, his analysis does not give a significant part to play to the relations between capital and labour, and between various modes of productions. W. Clement’s research purpose therefore is:

“to bring the categories associated with transformations within and between modes of production to the empirical level so as they will assist in giving meaning to the mountains of information gathered by Innis.” (Clement, 1983: 173)

Here, historic relations between staples (seen in Innis) become historic transformations of modes of production where fish, fur and wheat were commercial commodities produced

by petty commodity producers and sold to merchant/financial capital, while mining (and forestry) marked the advent of industrial raw materials for the capitalist mode of production and led to the creation of the wage labour category (Clement, 1981: 17; 1983: 175). So, the social categories relevant to study specifically the mining and forestry resource industries are those of the capitalist mode of production, i.e., capital/management and labour.

In conformity with his theoretical purpose, W. Clement undertakes to “empirically” ground these categories and illustrate their relations. But while the categories are well grounded indeed, the referred-to relations are often viewed as so skewed in favour of capital that they become unproblematic. Most typically, given the overwhelming dominance of capital over labour, “resistance” or “struggle” or even social action in general is seen as merely reactive/passive, and attempts by workers to initiate significant change is not explored. This is a key difference between W. Clement (1981, 1983) and B. Palmer (1992) or I. Radforth (1982, 1987) who attribute a greater weight to workers’ action.

Such a view of the dominance of capital leads to blurring the difference between the “forces” and “relations” of production (and so, between structure and action). As a result, the comment that C. Littler (1982) makes about H. Braverman (1974) could, to a certain extent, apply here:

“there is no longer any contradiction between the forces and relations of production, only a correspondence. Therefore class conflict is left on one side as an object of theorizing and, presumably, it can only be expressed outside, and in spite of, the capitalist labour process or in the labour market. In general, Braverman completely abandons any attempt to locate contradictory tendencies within the capitalist mode of production or contradictions within specific strategies of control.” (Littler, 1982: 29)

So, W. Clement, like H. Braverman, uses a universal category of labour which is viewed as having a clear-cut unambiguous position in relation to capital, regardless of the range of work situations that are examined, and also regardless of the respective staple and the specificities of mining SIT environments. He only distinguishes among management categories⁸, but their differences have no consequential impact on the homogeneity (and

collusion) of capital/managers' positions; and assumes a "universal recalcitrance" (Littler, 1982: 27) of labour toward capital's control, which crystallizes in the union. So, intra-class stratification or "contradictory class locations" in the work sphere (as seen in particular by E.O. Wright (1978); and alluded to in the above quote by Littler) are not considered as significant; the same holds true for social patterns concerning workers outside the work sphere: be it in daily life (for instance, family strategies, education levels, or stances relating to industry's "involvement in the community"), cultural expressions (for instance, in consumption patterns, lifestyles, or means to assert individual identities), and even in local labour markets (for instance, in workers' attitudes toward contractors, nonunionized workers and/or seasonal employment, or again toward unemployment insurance entitlements and more generally the welfare state).

In sum, W. Clement adopts a view on labour that stresses unity and homogeneity seen as derived from a similar shop-floor experience and more generally a same labour process, and thus, existing because he assumes the overwhelming dominance of capital. Such a view is actually quite similar to that held in this work's comparative theoretical framework regarding workers in mining SITs, even if the way of constructing it is different given that the framework integrates aspects of the work and community spheres, which is thus broader than a labour process analysis. In other words, W. Clement and the framework concur in seeing intra-class differences and contradictory class locations as overall not relevant in mining SITs' labour processes; and in — implicitly — considering that this absence may be extrapolated to social patterns outside the workplace; W. Clement doing so on the strength of both his theoretical approach and empirical evidence, the framework concluding from material gathered from its "empirical theorizing". Besides this similarity, there is however an important difference: W. Clement posits the non-relevance of the staple and specificities of SIT environments, while the framework posits their relevance and stresses the forestry/mining contrast.

At its outset, this section outlined the fact that, since the last thirty years or so, the prevailing tradition in Canadian political economy, labour history and labour process studies is critical of such a staple-ized outlook. So, the task is now to explore whether some insights scattered in the literature could contribute to a possible staple-ization of the study of labour process issues in the two types of SITs. To be exhaustive, such a task would require an in-depth scrutiny and content analysis of a potentially extensive body of research. The undertaking here will be much more modest: first, to reconsider the effort of W. Clement (1981) and see whether this sophisticated contribution contains — despite its abstract categories — any such insights; and second, review in some detail I. Radforth's effort (1982, 1987) who came closer to seeing the nature of the staple and the specificities of SIT environments as having an impact on the labour process.

6.3 Staple-izing the Study of the Labour Process

A relevant way to begin this section's first part, is to recall W. Clement's ideas that: there exists a difference between the technical and social divisions of labour; the former are infused with relations resulting from the latter; and the tension between the material development of production and its social form generates conflict (Clement, 1983: 177; 1981: 19, in accordance with K. Marx). The author suggests that the root of this difference and ensuing conflict does not reside in contradictory class locations or related situations, but rather in a "time lag"; and that "capital controls labour in order to maximize profitability and uses the technical division of labour as a means to accomplish this end" (Clement, 1981: 355-56). In other words, he regards the "time lag" idea as consistent with his key views of: dominance of capital; dispossession of workers' skill, power and numbers; homogenization of the labour force; and futility of workers' response. In concrete terms,

this implies that capital/management is not only dominant, but also that its tactics and strategies of control are subtle and complex — including even the retention of elements resulting from the “time lag”. This is well reflected in the author’s observation that:

“Managerial strategies for control over the work process are not monolithic at Inco. *In part, current strategies are inherited from the past*, and middle management often continues to subscribe to particular practices even when senior management no longer formally sanctions them. Some plants or mines that are of recent vintage represent “new” experiments in industrial relations. The settings of Port Colborne, Sudbury, and Thompson each demand different strategies because management in these locations confronts different forms of worker resistance.” (Clement, 1981: 251; my italics)

The question that needs to be raised are then: is the prognosis regarding workers so bleak, and are their possible responses so unsubtle and simple. As the previous section has attempted to evidence, this work’s comparative framework essentially agrees with W. Clement as far as mining is concerned; but does not assume that what applies to the latter also does to forestry: i.e., it rather coincides here with an author such as I. Radforth (1982: 94) who, for example, observes that in Northern Ontario forestry between 1900 and 1980, in a context of capitalization, there occurred no overall replacement of skilled or unskilled loggers by semi-skilled ones, but a retention and reskilling of the workforce. Such an observation, first, reflects that the dispossession of workers’ skills and power, the homogenization of labour, and the futility of workers’ response are not inevitable outcomes; and second, points to a contrast between forestry and mining, and hence, sustains the informed staple-ization idea advocated in this work.

For W. Clement, there is — at least conceptually — no such contrast: both forestry and mining are monopoly capital dominated resource industries, not commodity productions or small competitive capital; and at best, have only disparate remnants of previous organizations of work. This takes the discussion back to the idea of a lag between the technical and social divisions of labour, as for example, in the author findings that in mining the “archaic” bonus system and other related forms of monetary rewards still exist,

and even are common. W. Clement sees these system and rewards, and thus the time lag as explaining their survival, as confirming the subtleties and complexities of capital's/management's control. Indeed, in his case study: the bonus is calculated by foremen and controlled by management; the union can neither negotiate nor abolish it, and its application is actually not always linked to workers' skills (Clement, 1981: 272-81). Such a situation contrasts with that of forestry presented by I. Radforth, who tends to link the prevalence of the piece-rate system with the skilled, masculine, and outdoor aspects of the loggers' work. Workers value such aspects, and effectively use them to their advantage when negotiating with contractors and more generally capital, i.e., they insist on a piece-rate system which they perceive as inherently linked to the maintenance of these aspects of their work.⁹

C. Legendre (1979, 1980) presents another — although quite related — explanation of the piece-rate system in forestry. He looks at the wider labour market (as does P. Marchak, 1983) and explains the persistence of this form of monetary reward: by the relations between workers and contractors, who both must make decisions in unsure economic environments¹⁰ (as well as by the wider range of elites, intermediaries or actors that come into play when organizing work and community at local levels). Thus, for I. Radforth and C. Legendre, features of the labour process are determined by workers as well as industry, and are linked to the nature of the staple and the specificities of SIT environments.

The remainder of this section will now focus on the first of these authors. His effort (1982, 1987) is most interesting because, like Clement's work on mining, it is, simultaneously, grounded in Marxian literature, and informed by H.A. Innis' work and the Canadian tradition of economic history. I. Radforth studies the northern Ontario logging industry between 1900 and 1980; and is an historian. Yet, almost paradoxically, his analysis tends to underline the relative stability of patterns over time; while space, i.e.,

rugged terrain, wooded and isolated landscapes, seasonality and related elements are quite central to his argument. However, in spite of this centrality, he would probably dismiss as geographical determinism the idea that the material environment of the staple directly determines labour/capital relations in general and the labour process in particular. Nevertheless, the nature of the staple and the forest environment are among the structural factors upon which he “places great weight” in shaping the opportunities and challenges that are taken up by managers and workers, as well as in circumscribing the outcomes of their social relationships (Radforth, 1987: 6). And particularly concerning technological change, he sees the staple environment as presenting some “constraints” (Radforth, 1982: 101) regarding capitalist penetration in the sector:

“a distinctive pattern of development emerged because the mechanization strategy of the pulp and paper corporations was shaped by the decisions and behaviour of workers and by physical factors such as the great variety of topography, terrain, and forest characteristics as well as the changing weather and seasons of the north.” (Radforth, 1982: 72)

Such integration of the natural environment in labour process analyses has the effect of nuancing, if not actually countering some of the important ideas prevailing in the tradition of political economy, labour history and labour process studies.¹¹ So, I. Radforth rejects the ideas that: (1) capital, managers, foremen, contractors, as well as engineers designing the technology, are interchangeable terms; and share a “grand design” which they are capable of imposing in an unidirectional manner, for instance in terms of the outcomes of changes in the labour process; (2) the relationship between capital/management and labour amounts to a clear-cut duality of interests; there is no effectual struggle or resistance on the part of workers because of the former’s overdetermination of the labour process; and workers’ strategies and reactions are quite homogeneous¹²; and (3) in sum, a hermetic labour process theory can explain all the variation in the workplace.¹³

In fact, I. Radforth addresses more the overstated generalizations than the actual thrust of these ideas; still, in the forestry context he studies, such generalizations do not

apply, i.e., the referred to structural categories may be relevant but are not exclusive determinants of actual relations and outcomes. Thus, more attention needs to be given to factors such as the implementation process of a technology or the reorganization of work, and this focus needs to be contextualized in a specific resource and material environment.

The following quotations are good illustrations of these views, and conveniently highlight I. Radforth's contribution:

“to used Noble's words, ‘the actual effects [were] *not consonant* with the expectations implicit in the original designs’. The actual use of the new logging equipment was partly determined by physical or *environmental constraints* which hindered logging engineers from developing a sophisticated labour-saving machinery capable of performing efficiently under the varied and variable conditions encountered in Ontario's boreal forests. The actual use of the new logging equipment was also *affected by workers* who, despite all the changes, continued to *choose to work* in other industries and to jump in their accustomed manner.” (Radforth, 1982: 101; my italics)

And most interestingly, further in the same piece, the author makes the conclusive observation that:

“Social relations, defined in the broadest sense, had *remained stable* despite the dazzling technological innovations and the host of changes in the labour process.” (Radforth, 1982: 102; my italics)

This is indeed noteworthy given that the author studies the evolution of the logging industry throughout the province over an eighty-year period during which the “technological innovations and the ... changes” he refers to have been profound, in effect “dazzling”.¹⁴

Given his observation and emphasis on this phenomenon, as well as his explanation of it drawing on objective as well as subjective and cultural elements, I. Radforth disagrees with H. Braverman's assumptions of capital's control and “grand design” of technology, and on the unilateral imposition on workers, whatever the latter's reaction may be. Thus, I. Radforth stresses the importance of the dynamics of social relations in the workplace, viewing workers as actors having some influence in shaping relations of production — even if the cards are stacked in favour of capital. Furthermore, he sees managers and “bosses” as being different from capitalists, not only in their role (as H. Braverman also does), but

also in their interests and logic, which can diverge from pure capitalism. Finally, he sees the outcomes of the implementation of new technology as not necessarily to the full advantage of capital, envisioning so a more complex picture than H. Braverman's unimpeded managerial conspiracy of imposing Taylorism. Indeed, he advances that managerial choices of technique and organization of work are historically negotiated with labour, but also affected by structural factors such as the staple environment and changing labour markets; and in consequence, considers that outcomes are to some extent unpredictable, and unexplainable by the exclusive analysis of the labour process.

The result of such assumed complexity is that I. Radforth views loggers as neither becoming a homogeneous workforce through deskilling nor being thoroughly replaced by technology (as argued by K. Marx, H. Braverman, and empirically observed by W. Clement). His case study shows that in spite of mechanization, they have remained differentiated. On the one hand, there is a newer and well identified segment of the workforce: unionized wage workers in a highly mechanized environment, who experienced a formal subordination of labour¹⁵ as well as a relative fragmentation of their labour process when organized into work teams (Radforth, 1987: 209, 214); and who lost the independent control of their labour process, yet were able to retain a good measure of responsible autonomy and skill.¹⁶ On the other hand, there are two other well identified segments of the workforce: loggers in subcontracting piece-rate situations and in the petty commodity mode, who are more skilled but less mechanized than the unionized wage workers. It is noteworthy that income-wise, the entire workforce benefited from mechanization, in general terms because of varied forms of workers' resistance, and in more specific ones because the unionized wage workers' big harvesters had considerable outputs, while the workers in the subcontracting piece-rate and petty commodity mode had the unique capacity to log in areas out of the big harvesters reach.

As shown in the previous section, W. Clement sees the outcomes of mechanization strategies as being — in mining — very different. For instance and very characteristically, (1) he sees the curtailment and near elimination of the vestiges of earlier forms of work organization such as the bonus system, particularly in the newer most mechanized mines; and when this system persists, he illustrates that it constitutes a de facto managerial form of indirect control; (2) he depicts either the disappearance of work teams — valued by miners for skill and unity reasons — with the opening of new highly mechanized mines; or their progressive breakup in older ones as a result of the introduction of large machinery; and (3) underlines a general trend of deskilling and atomization of workers under direct supervisory control.

W. Clement and I. Radforth describe, thus, strikingly divergent outcomes of extractive mechanization processes in forestry and mining. Yet, the roots, features and implications of such divergence remain largely unexplored in the literature. This chapter constitutes a modest contribution to filling this research gap. In order to carry out this endeavour and thus continue the present comments about I. Radforth's effort, the next pages will tackle two formal questions referring to the latter. The first concerns his characterization of the loggers' "resistance", and asks what is its impact on forestry mechanization outcomes, in particular on the labour process and on the workers' perception of their skill and employment potential. The second question examines the reasons explaining the author's weak prognosis for (class) conscious workers' resistance.

As regards the first question, his overall view is that the "inverse" outcome of mechanization results from the loggers' "unwitting resistance" (Radforth, 1987: 230, 243). The apparent contradiction contained in this term raises several (related) questions. Does the suggested lack of consciousness on the part of workers imply a backdrop of consent¹⁷ or of ideology¹⁸? Are the loggers' attitudes and priorities mere adaptations resulting from workplace experience, or are they manifestations of conscious social action? Does

“unwitting resistance” suggest that loggers have a false consciousness, because they viewed technological change favourably, therefore contributed to further capitalist ends, thus are not agents of change?

When tackling these issues, I. Radforth is not “purely Marxist” because he mentions that there are “other factors” outside relations of production which come into play: such as values of loggers (Radforth, 1982: 86, 100; 1987: 26-32, 63-64), local community amenities and family life (Radforth, 1982: 77; 1987: 161, 168-75, 240), pride of skill and independence (Radforth, 1982: 100; 1987: 68-69, 75-77), “complex socio-economic and psychological causes” (Radforth, 1982: 100; 1987: 230), a cultural radical ethnic (Finnish) factor (Radforth, 1987: 6, 111-15, 241), the seasonality of northern logging (Radforth, 1987: 180, 199-200, 222, 235-6), and the peculiar labour market and workers’ “accustomed manner of job jumping” (Radforth, 1982: 100; 1987: 107-08, 161-62, 206). Clearly, more than only labour/capital relations come here into play: loggers are not seen as unidimensional men, and their “unconscious” action against capital’s strategies derive from a broad experience of their reality. In sum, I. Radforth’s observations point to the fact that the loggers’ action is collective (even if there are cleavages), and grounded in an experience encompassing work as well as daily life; and more specifically, that the outcome of loggers’ compliance to the technological change and skill retention may be viewed: on the one hand, as *consent* and *unconscious* resistance in a labour process perspective, and on the other, as *resistance* (to maintain one’s independent lifestyle) and *conscious action* in a broader working-class perspective. Or put still differently: his overview of logging shows that despite the ideal structural setup to establish consent — i.e., the widespread worker and union acceptance of new technology (Radforth, 1987: 221) — the result was not what capital anticipated partly because of workers’ action grounded in world views extending beyond the point of production.

Thus, industry/management did not succeed in thoroughly mechanizing and routinizing the labour process, and in maximizing productivity in the way it intended (Radforth, 1987: 214, 218-19). But it did succeed in “stabilizing” the social relations in a segmented labour market situation. Such stabilization reflects obvious concessions on the part of workers, but also some on the part of industry/management. Given the latter’s dominant position, their concessions are clearly less than those made by workers; still, they are extensive enough to allow outcomes to be characterized as “unanticipated”. So the very outcome of labour market segmentation (be it P. Marchak’s model, or I. Radforth’s (1987: 219), i.e., a decentralized occupational mix of wage and owner-operators) is neither what industry/management anticipated with its explicit “divide and conquer” (Radforth, 1987: 234) strategy aimed at massively deskilling and homogenizing the workforce, nor what organized labour anticipated with its action aimed above all at excluding owner-operators (Radforth, 1987: 231).

In conclusion, to answer the initial formal question concerning I. Radforth’s effort, it may be stated that, first, the author’s focus is more on outcomes than on causality; in this sense, he is rather Weberian. Second, whereas Marxist and related analyses trace capital’s intent and capacity to apply its grand scheme, I. Radforth sees more the contradictions between capital and engineers, and mostly between small owner-operators and labour; as well as unevenness in a same industry, specifically complexities in the dominant mode of production. And third, his observations lead to underlining the difference between the end sought by industry/management when introducing technology (i.e., the causal factor) and the application of technology or actual way of carrying out the planned strategy (i.e., its effect); so, while industry/management is very definite about the former, it needs to be — and is — much less so about the latter.

These points leads to the second formal question concerning the author’s effort that will be addressed here (although more briefly): why does he have such a weak prognosis

for conscious resistance, working-class consciousness, a unified political ideological stance, and an active role of union leaders in defining a strategy for change to counter that of industry/management? In concluding his chapter on loggers' response to mechanization, he notes that they are far from "revolutionary industrial unionists" (Radforth, 1987: 237) — and actually quite meek in terms of collectively countering managerial strategies. He explains this situation by the nature of the workforce (which remains isolated, skilled, voting with its feet by job jumping, and segmented due to petty commodity production) and the effect of the technological change on workers (that did not translate into massive degradation, homogenization or proletarianization) which are all inverse to the pattern found in mining (Radforth, 1982: 94, footnote). This more relational explanation is nevertheless supported by a more structural one, where I. Radforth (1987: 235-36, 244) makes a parallel with W. Clement's (1984) argument concerning the fishing industry: petty commodity producers — whether small fishers or forestry piece-rate workers and contractors in forestry — were "permitted" to exist because they minimized capital's risk in unsure natural environments (rugged terrain, weather, depletion of the resource), reduced the costs by eliminating the need to supervise labour (thus lowering the costs of recruitment, training and supervision of labour), and undermined potential union power. Therefore, capital induces labour to exploit itself whereby workers "intensify" their own labour to produce a commodity that is then resold to capital. To sum up, I. Radforth (1987: 236) sees a parallel between fishing and lumber industries, where both share staple environments that restrict capitalist penetration, but where the remaining commodity workers are no less objectively subsumed to the domination of capital, even if they subjectively neither adhere to its economic rationality nor are (class) conscious of its domination. Hence, the author's negative answer to the second formal question posed here.

In order to end this rather lengthy section on "Staple-zing the Study of the Labour Process", let me simply state that it has essentially considered I. Radforth's (1982, 1987)

study of logging, and to a much lesser extent some of C. Legendre's (1979, 1980) comments, against the backdrop of W. Clement's (1981) investigation of mining. Even if these authors dismiss the idea of geographical determinism, it is obvious that they describe strikingly different labour process outcomes of similar significant actions by their respective industry/management, as well as by labour whether through unions or in local labour markets. More specifically, the discussion emphasizes that while labour process theory may explain key features — and outcomes — of the mining labour process, it largely fails to do so for logging. Indeed, the latter presents quite systematically “stubborn” features of complexity and open-endedness, in particular: selective reskilling, workers' differentiation, ambiguous labour stances toward industry/management, and impact of non-work variables. The contrast between these features and those of the mining labour process illustrate several of the comparative theoretical framework's insights. While such a contrast is neither sufficient nor aims at backing a strict staple-ization of forestry and mining SIT labour process studies — i.e., the causal links that are established often do not have the needed strength — it is nevertheless hoped to have convincingly argued that such a staple-ization cannot be discarded offhand, and so, that it deserves further investigation.

Concluding Comments

This chapter has repeatedly suggested that it broadly agrees with I. Radforth's view of the logging/forestry labour process as well as with that of W. Clement's concerning mining. A convenient way of concluding the chapter and specifically of commenting on this agreement, may be to reconsider E.O. Wright's (1978) contradictory class locations idea (see Figure 5, p. 178). The latter refers neither to natural resource industries nor to SIT contexts, yet it may be relevant to the forestry/mining labour process comparison and enable to bridge the apparently divergent points of view of the two authors.

In his definition of class categories, E.O. Wright gives equal weight to control over labour process and to control over means of production. Therefore, situations where workers have control over their labour process or direct the labour of others (even if it is only surveillance or other supervisory functions) are seen as instances creating an objective material base for contradictory class locations. In this way, a considerable number of workers/employees may well occupy such locations, and so, be prone to establish unpredictable alliances in that they may side either with capital or the proletariat. Thus, E.O. Wright does not see the present make-up of classes in advanced industrialized societies as inherently polarized and as having totally conflictive interests; but rather as having many class locations that are grey areas with elements of authority, control and property that make their consciousness and actions unpredictable. Such an idea is conducive to an open-ended view of the outcomes of class struggles. Moreover, rather than adopting a traditional Marxist view of the inevitable demise and fragmentation of petty commodity producers as a class, E.O. Wright helps to explain their persistence and their location as an integral part of the present capitalist mode of production.

As regards these producers, the difference between W. Clement and E.O. Wright lies in their view of these workers' "apparent" versus "real and objective" independence in the class structure. For W. Clement (1984: 7-9), they are essentially proletarians retaining vestiges of past modes of production that mask the real relations of production. Any claim to their independence or autonomy is relegated to the sphere of ideology. For E.O. Wright, these semi-autonomous workers (along with managers and small employers) cannot be written off as proletarian because they have a measure of real objective control over either labour or capital, and this gives them a real measure of independence in the overall mode of production or a real measure of authority (or discretion) in the labour process; thus, they are seen as "relatively autonomous" from the main (unambiguous) classes.

The above stated agreement with I. Radforth and W. Clement's views means that when applying E.O. Wright's idea to the logging/forestry and mining labour processes (and work spheres), it is clear that class locations are frequently contradictory in logging/forestry and convergent in mining. E.O. Wright's position on the petty commodity producers allows to illustrate this difference given that they are numerous and active in logging/forestry while absent or at best marginal in mining. In order not to overburden the illustration of this difference with repetitive examples, let me simply state that it is backed by numerous observations made by both authors in this chapter.

It is my contention that E.O. Wright's idea could be extended to the community sphere, especially in SIT contexts. Indeed, it is clear that in forestry SITs (as extensively shown in Chapter 3 examining Collectivities) contradictory class locations contribute to a diffusion of power not only in the labour process and work sphere, but also in the community sphere; whereas in mining SITs, the lack of contradictory class locations contributes to a convergence of power in these same spheres specifically to the overlap of their respective power arrangements (as again extensively shown in Chapter 3). So, whereas E.O. Wright sees the "contradictory" class locations occurring only within the economic sphere (in relation to the ownership of the means of production and the organization of the labour process), they could be extended to the labour market and more broadly to the local community.

For instance, it may be envisioned that, in forestry, seasonal wage workers may retain some autonomy from the main resource industry due to their broader range of work alternatives in local labour markets — even if they generally remain in a "proletarian" condition in their various jobs. Here, their wider pattern of relations (i.e., in the family economy, primary relations with contractors and small operators, work options outside the resource industry, "citizenship rights" as unemployment insurance, subsistence activities,

etc.) contribute to lessen the hold of industry in making them wage workers (and also contribute to diverting workers from defining their own situations in proletarian terms).

Or again, contractors and independent producers may retain some autonomy from the main industry not only because of their relation to the means of production (and the resource; Matthews, 1993), but also because they form associations that lobby government on their behalf, or have their own primary (patron-client) relations with various forestry officials. Moreover, they may act in an unpredictable way in terms of their “dependent” situation to capital given their vested interest in the community and the maintenance of a regional economy.

Others, such as small wood-based industries, may also be in contradictory class locations, again not only through their objective relations with the main industry but also through their situation as part of a community — because they “belong” to one and are not mere appendages of large firms. Thus, the many small contractors, minor ancillary industries, seasonal wage (or piece-rate) workers have their condition grounded not only in economic relations (with the main industry) but also in the SIT community, for example, in terms of their definitions of place of residence, lifestyle and citizenship. The reverse of the above describes situations characterizing mining SITs; they tend to have: no seasonal workers, few or no contractors and independent producers, and seldom autonomous ancillary industries. In such a context, there is a “convergence” in the sense that class locations in the labour process (and work sphere) are propagated to the community sphere, thus strengthening — if not crystalizing — its dichotomous and antagonistic structure of power.

While E.O. Wright does not see any “objective” basis for grounding social relations outside the economic realm, the view adopted here is that the SIT community sphere (and, so, the political, social and cultural realms) indeed does provide some bases for justifying social action and consciousness; in other words, the relations of production (and the point

of production, i.e., labour process, unions, shop-floor struggle, strikes, etc.) are not the only arenas for acting out class struggle. Classes (and individuals) are largely defined by relations of production but not entirely; accordingly, when explaining class alliances and class struggle in forestry and mining SITs, it is relevant to also consider the community sphere.¹⁹

In summary, by first considering E.O. Wright's "contradictory class locations" idea, and second, by extending it to the community sphere, it is here argued: that both the work and community spheres are socially constructed; that work and non-work relations should be considered when examining class struggle; that the boundaries between work and non-work (community) spheres are not hermetic; that contradictory features are found in both work and community spheres; and that the fusion of both spheres may also reveal contradictory (or converging) elements, in such a way that relations found in the sphere of work may be amplified (when convergent) or obscured (when contradictory) if the relations found in the local community sphere are taken into account.

Hopefully, such an approach could help introduce aspects left out in labour process analyses, and that revolve around the links of the industry with the local community and labour market; aspects such as: (1) relations of employers and workers when outside the workplace, and their impact on work relations (for instance, is the significance of loyalties outside the workplace impacting on the possibility of social cohesion within it?; and what are the implications of this for the internal labour market and unions?); (2) labour recruitment and socialization of workers at local levels; (3) the bases of homogenization or stratification by skill and gender; and (4) the operation of formal and informal means of social closure and of association. So, the approach could "bring the community back in" labour studies in terms of its occupational and neighbourhood forms, the family and kinship networks (and primary relations in general) and consider these as relevant contexts for social reproduction and even social change. In short, the approach attempts to underline

that work and community are socially constructed, that workplace and non-workplace variables are interrelated in SIT locales, and that the staple impacts on these social constructions. The following chapter will explore aspects of this interrelation, by examining the issue of women's experience in the two types of SITs.

Chapter 7. WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE

Within the wealth of literature that exists on Canada's resource-dependent economy, be it in political economy, labour or community studies, women were until the 1980s either completely invisible or largely seen as passive in explanations of social processes and action.¹ This applies, thus, to the numerous efforts referred to in this work, including those specifically dealing with forestry and mining SITs, as well as to many recent studies examining labour and class. Hence, this generally applies to the theory construction carried out in the present effort, given that the latter is essentially a secondary research endeavour; and this particularly applies to the comparative theoretical framework given that it is empirically grounded.

Still, in broad terms, the lack of reference to women's experience is noteworthy since the preceding chapters have repeatedly underlined the importance of: examining the interconnections between work and community spheres; focussing on the degree to which they overlap because it is a useful way to illustrate and explain the difference between forestry and mining SITs; and more generally, lowering the level of analysis. Yet, the issue of women's experience in these towns has not been examined despite the fact that it appears to be a privileged way to assess such interconnections and overlapping, and to attain a lower level of analysis.

The relevance of studying women's experience here is corroborated by feminist writings in political economy, labour history and class analysis.² Indeed, these writings have often chosen to examine the local "community" level, and to include subjective as well as objective aspects of women's experience in order to bring women to the centre of their analyses. For instance, the editors of a collection of articles on feminist political economy underline the contribution of lowering the level of analysis to better understand variations in women's perceptions and actions:

“There is a common thread to these articles. They all point to the need for an analysis that looks at the historically and regionally specific conditions in and out of the households that encourage people to join together around particular issues and on the basis of different shared relations at different times.” (Connelly and Armstrong, 1992: x)

In this light, the present chapter attempts to sketch some aspects of how staple specific contexts impact on women’s definition of issues, consciousness and potentialities.³

It has to be recalled that such an attempt does not constitute a contribution to the elaboration per se of the comparative theoretical framework, i.e., it does not intend — in the last chapter of this work — to refine the latter’s claim. Alongside the preceding chapter on the labour process, it only aims to test the framework’s relevance, considering that women’s experience is indeed a SIT social dimension well suited for this purpose. This task will be undertaken in three sections. The first one presents data and explanations concerning women’s experience in mining SITs, which are deduced from the scant readings on the theme. The second section does likewise for women’s experience in forestry SITs, yet here, the case of some Atlantic fishing SITs is brought in. The third and last section is much shorter; and discusses in broader theoretical terms the differences between the respective experiences in each type of town, in this way strengthening the legitimacy of the comparative theoretical framework.

7.1 The Situation in Mining Towns

The specific, yet connected, problems that are examined in this section — and in the next, as regards to forestry SITs — can be summarized by three questions. First, is the overall status of women related to the type of work women engage in, to the levels of women’s contribution to the family income, and to views of the family economy as a cooperative endeavour? Second, how do variations in women’s overall status change their

experience and perceptions of the structure of the family economy, particularly of their husbands' work and wage? Third, how do these women's overall status, experience and perceptions impact on their attitudes and reactions toward (men's) economic crises, layoffs and strikes? In both sections, these questions are tackled in a loose way in the sense that they are not systematically addressed; however, the discussion is woven as tightly as possible around them.

When examining, in mining SITs, the overall status of working-class women in the family unit, what most clearly appears is the inconsistency between the social values and roles of women. Indeed, these women have modern lifestyles and values, and especially modern places of residence, due to the mining towns' pervasive domination not only by the main industry, but also by monopoly capitalism. Yet, unlike other urban modern women, they are generally excluded from the main industry; have limited options in finding wage work, and so, are more confined to traditional family roles (or at least accept a strict division of gender responsibility of male breadwinner and home-maker; Luxton, 1980: 25; 1990: 42-43), and are largely dependent on their husbands' wage (Luxton, 1980: 43-44). This contradictory situation is further heightened by the fact that these women's identity is very much defined in economic terms: they live in their town not for community reasons, but for their husbands' work, and even more strictly for their salary; yet, they contribute only marginally to the family's monetary income base, be it to augment or diversify it, and this while modern values underline the need for women to liberate themselves as much as possible from their economic dependence toward men.

So, the work sphere of mining towns seems mostly characterized by the similarities existing between class and gender systems of relations, in particular (1) monopoly capital's control of industry, and men's domination of the work sphere; (2) monopoly capital's control of community, and patriarchy's pervasiveness in the family unit; and (3) men's confinement to wage labour in production activities, and women's relative confinement to

unpaid labour in reproduction activities. These similarities make class and gender relations very transparent, giving women a more direct experience — and consciousness of — their double oppression (or, at least, marginalization). Does this lead to women adopting oppositional outlooks and social mobilization strategies, or to alienation and apathy, or to some multidimensional combination of both? More particularly, if women adopt an oppositional outlook, is the latter likely to be oriented against men, and thus women would not join men's class consciousness; or against monopoly capital and industry, and thus women would join men's class consciousness?

It is difficult to answer such complex and encompassing questions, but I will attempt it below, necessarily in a sketchy way. A convenient starting point is to stress two typical features of mining SITs' community sphere. First, the similarities of their class and gender systems of relations lead to the prevalent perception that the building and maintenance of these towns are fixed production costs and endeavours where women's needs can, by and large, be overlooked. These "fixed production costs" are kept as low as possible by monopoly capital (Bradbury, 1979: 155): there are few collectivized services such as day cares, few privatized — or other — consumer services such as stores or restaurants, and few social activities; i.e., the community sphere lacks autonomy and *de facto* pertains to the industry/work spheres, or at the very least it is closer to these than to the family units. Thus like industry/work, community is very much dominated by men and by their world views. M. Luxton (1980: 95, 97, 231) has an interesting observation corroborating this: in her mining case study, the doctors show a surprisingly strong resistance against abortion and even contraception; the explanation seems to be that these doctors either are company doctors or *de facto* adopt the dominant industry/work spheres' world views, and therefore "serve" men. Similarly, insofar as the companies provide leisure to "the community", they do so exclusively for men, and even more specifically for single men on shift schedules (especially when a town is in an early stage of development;

Lucas, 1971: 162-64); and when women move into town — which is, by and large, actively promoted by the companies (Luxton, 1980: 26-27) — they are expected to marry, which may lead the companies to discontinue their sponsorship of such leisure activities or not extend these to women. In sum, mining SITs are highly segregated classwise (particularly in terms of job segregation in the main industry) and genderwise (particularly in terms of women's marginalization in the community sphere).

The second feature of mining SITs that needs to be stressed here is the relative homogenization of their core workforce which is well reflected by the rigid sexual division of labour; i.e., there is little variation in the family types: predominantly single-wage (or main breadwinner) families wherein women are entirely responsible for reproductive activities, a pattern that has been repeated for generations — although there often is a peripheral temporary industrial workforce of single men and some women are employed in the towns' service sector. (Luxton, 1980: 25-26; Luxton, 1990: 41).⁴

These two features of mining SITs — i.e., class and gender segregation, and workforce homogenization — are clearly illustrated by one of their consequences: because of this twofold “determination of women”, industry also determines their consumption patterns. Indeed, it controls their husbands' wage level (how much will be spent) as well as how it will be spent. Mining SITs have few stores, the quantity and variety of goods available are limited, and these stores and goods are planned — and often managed — by industry (Luxton, 1980: 124-26, 169). This situation may intensify women's frustration in relation to their economically determined status. However, as previously suggested, it remains an open question whether women essentially react to their dependence on the main breadwinner's wage or to the gender-segregated work sphere; so, whether their intensified oppositional outlook is oriented against men or against industry. Given the present controversies⁵ about women's postmodern identity formation, it would be most interesting

to have a clear answer to this question, even if it concerns only women in the well circumscribed context of mining SITs.

In summary, two features of mining SITs have been outlined: class and gender segregation, and workforce homogenization (which may be extended to a third feature, women's — and their families' — consumption patterns). These features give women living in such towns the potential for identifying with one another *and/or* for showing solidarity with men in times of economic crises, layoffs and strikes. What is certain is that, as a result of the outlined key features of mining SITs, working-class women in such towns are excluded and alienated from both “formal” industrial and community structures, and are relegated to “informal” reproduction and consumption activities in the home space. The scant empirical evidence shows that this is conducive to fostering social friendships and aid networks among women: they have innumerable telephone conversations, organize collective cooking sessions, share baby-sitting duties, etc., which feed their social life and help them carry out their domestic work (Luxton, 1980: 74-76). So, the women react to their situation by creating informal networks. On the one hand, these networks are adaptable and escape the control of the structures of both the industry and community spheres; but, on the other hand, they remain quite weak in objective terms and are not actually innovative in the sense that they are very much a reflection of women's reproductive role in the capitalist system. Still, the networks are significant enough in women's eyes that it may be considered that any first level of consciousness, critique and/or organization of working-class women must stem in part from them.⁶

What are now the world views, strategies and actions of mining SIT women in instances of economic crises, layoffs and strikes? The answer to this question will have to be deduced from the two (or three) features of mining towns outlined above and from the subsequent observation of informal women networks existing in these SITs. Indeed — at

least to my knowledge, and as far as Canadian mining SITs are concerned — the problem has scarcely been addressed, except for brief (and convincing) analyses by M. Luxton (1980: 201-31; 1983), A. Lane (1983) and B. Bradbury (1987). The problem therefore remains under-researched which is unfortunate because it would make insightful case studies, given that the mining SIT's overall environment epitomizes a situation of “marginalization” of women in local daily-life structures. Nevertheless, I will propose a simple model exploring the range of working-class women's consciousness in mining SITs, as translated by their views, strategies and actions; and will then broadly comment upon this model.

The main idea is that — in mining environments — in times of economic crises, layoffs and strikes, women are essentially more motivated to participate in men's actions and effectively help them. However, there are instances of women's non-involvement in strike actions; thus, remaining outside of men's domain, either connected among themselves through their informal networks, or isolated in the home. The following Figure 7 (p. 228) proposes a four-type model of these different world views, strategies and actions; as well as a term coining each of these types. Given the simplicity of the model, these terms are only suggested for convenience, or at best as a heuristic device.

Case 1: Women want to protect what M. Luxton (1980: 215; 1983: 334) terms their “vested interest” in their husbands' wages. Here women (1) accept the fact that men are responsible for the family wage as well as the consequences of this fact, i.e., patriarchy in the labour market and in the family unit; and (2) contest what (monopoly) capitalism imposes on their husbands and as a result on their family, hence, they take a conflictive class stance and actively support the striking men's actions. Thus, there is a *de facto* dissonance in women's world views, strategies and actions given that in mining SITs

Figure 7. World Views, Strategies and Actions of Working-Class Women in Mining SITs

World Views, Strategies and Actions		Relating to Patriarchy	
		Acommodating	Conflictive
Relating to Capitalism and Class Relations	Acommodating	4 Retreatism	2 Unidimensional Feminism
	Conflictive	1 Conventional Unionism	3 Class-conscious Feminism

patriarchy and capitalism are not only symmetrical but actually converge. This type of position could be labelled “conventional unionism”.

Case 2. Women are — explicitly — contesting *men's* vested interest in the wage; this may include men's control over it or, more generally, the gender inequality resulting from the “breadwinner's power” (Luxton, 1980: 116). Here women (1) hold a conflictive view of patriarchy, especially in the family unit; and (2) accept the fact that men — and thus their husbands — are exploited by (monopoly) capitalism. In instances of economic crises, layoffs and strikes, it is likely that women remain in close contact with one another through their informal networks, and do not actively support men (or at least do not equally and across gender lines). So, it may be argued

that these women seize the conjuncture of a weakened economic base of mining SITs' patriarchy to assert themselves and resist men's power, most visibly in the family unit, but also in the community. As in Case 1, there is a *de facto* dissonance in women's world views, strategies and actions given that, in mining SITs, patriarchy and capitalism converge. This type of position could be labelled "unidimensional feminism".

Case 3. Women take a collective stance. They have world views, strategies and actions of simultaneously confronting (1) (monopoly) capitalism that exploits their husbands as workers and themselves as unpaid bearers of reproduction; and (2) patriarchy where men dominate them in the different spheres, including — and quite transparently — their husbands in the family unit. For instance, women may act in a way reflecting class solidarity (in supporting the strike) but simultaneously reflecting women's solidarity (such as confronting patriarchal aspects of the union's strike organization or contesting the unequal division of domestic labour in the home since men are not working). In this case, there is coherence in women's world views, strategies and actions, given that, in mining SITs, patriarchy and capitalism converge. This type of position could be labelled "class-conscious feminism".

Case 4. Women take an entirely passive stance; and have world views, strategies and actions that are the opposite of those of Case 3: they accommodate themselves to (monopoly) capitalism, patriarchy and their consequences, which is a compliant but coherent position. It could be labelled "retreatism".

It is obvious that this model is quite simple; but it is hoped that as an initial effort, it has some value. As far as its simplicity is concerned, its main weaknesses are at least twofold. First, the model collapses world views, strategies and actions; and if these three variables had been considered separately, the model would have gained much in sophistication and complexity. Second, the model collapses macro and micro levels of analysis, long-term and short-term functions, as well as manifest and latent ones. For example, the notions of “coherence” and “dissonance” in women’s world views, strategies and actions underlined in each of the cases can be understood: at a macro — almost theoretical — level of analysis, or at a micro — very concrete one; in a long term perspective or in a short one; as emphasizing latent functions or more manifest ones. In the above analysis of the four cases of Figure 7, the former have been favoured over the latter. If the reverse was true, the coherences and dissonances would definitely have taken different meanings. Yet, in spite of its weaknesses, the model offers a convenient typology and a starting point to consider the processes leading to shifts from one case to another.

The scant literature on women’s experience in (Canadian) mining SITs (Luxton, 1980, 1983; Lane, 1983; Bradbury, 1987) shows that Conventional Unionism (Case 1) and Unidimensional Feminism (Case 2) are, by and large, more probable in these towns, and so, that there are less frequent instances of Class-conscious Feminism (Case 3) and Retreatism (Case 4). At first glance, this appears paradoxical given mining SITs’ class *and* gender segregation, workforce homogenization, and similarity in families’ (and specifically women’s) consumption patterns; so, it would be most interesting to explore these towns’ processes of increase (or regression) in class and/or gender consciousness, and their ensuing social actions. For instance, how would women evolve from Retreatism (Case 4; an acknowledged somewhat hypothetical position, except for newly arrived women)? It may be argued that they would do so in two possible directions; either toward Unidimensional Feminism (Case 2) through a progressive integration in women’s informal networks, or

toward Conventional Unionism (Case 1) as a result of a need for inclusion during strikes and because these crises clarify women's working-class condition. Such processes of increasing gender or class consciousness are definitely worth investigating, especially considering this chapter's approach of symmetry and potential convergence, in mining SITs, of both (1) the three spheres of industry, work and community, as well as the family units, and (2) (monopoly) capitalism and patriarchy relations. Yet, what would be even more interesting to examine are the shifts from Conventional Unionism to Class-conscious Feminism (Case 1 to 3), or again from Unidimensional Feminism to Class-conscious Feminism (Case 2 to 3), as well as the possible corresponding regressions, because such regressions are overlooked in mining contexts which are generally depicted and conceptualized as "conflictive" in class or gender terms.

For example, a key element in a shift from Unidimensional Feminism to Class-conscious Feminism *may* be a willingness of women to help men in their strike actions, initially not so much to collectively rally around men but (1) to improve their access to the industry (and community) spheres where in normal circumstances they are marginalized, and (2) to renegotiate the terms of the division of labour in the family unit. Women are often successful in this strategy because their help and participation in strike actions and the like are important: they increase union mass numbers which effectively pressures industry. In such times, women and men are united as a family — and as working class — and thus are able "to meet", which puts women in a privileged position to initiate change. This can lead to women taking a more authentic collective stance by confronting not only patriarchy but also capitalism in their varied manifestations, thus passing from Case 2 to Case 3.

Regarding the shift from Conventional Unionism to Class-conscious Feminism (from Case 1 to 3; and its corresponding possible regression), it is clear that the centrality of the wage in mining SITs clarifies the connection between men's and women's work,

power and status. This may be conducive to women's collaboration to — and inclusion in — men's struggles, i.e., to a shift to Case 3, which M. Luxton (1980: 222-31) illustrates effectively. However, women may also be excluded from such struggles, either by men from the vantage point of husbands, or by paternalist unions, even if this is dysfunctional in terms of the latter's goals in these struggles. The attitudes and actions of unions have in the past been revealing in this respect.⁷ On the one hand, they seek the "mass" numbers of women and their support of strikes; but on the other hand, a paternalist and authoritarian structure of unions can hinder any relaxing of superiority attitudes toward women and of *de facto* control of their contributions to men's struggles. Indeed, women are often asked to comply to (male) union officials and directives, and not articulate their own demands, not even their gendered version of men's working-class demands. In other instances, women are relegated to stereotypical backdrop roles of making sandwiches and the like, rather than actively protesting such as walking the picket lines. In other words, they remain confined to Case 1, which may frustrate them and be conducive either to their shift to Unidimensional Feminism (Case 2), or to a new activism tending to prove that their help and participation are effective, that gender need not divide the mining SIT working class, and that husbands may gain from having active, informed and militant wives, i.e., they move to Case 3.⁸ It should logically follow that when the latter happens, after the periods of economic crises, layoffs and strikes, working-class women retain some gains, particularly in the family unit, i.e., household relations could become more "negotiated". Actually, the (scant) empirical evidence suggests that after the crisis periods, patriarchal modes again permeate the work and community spheres (Luxton, 1980: 220; 1983: 342); yet this is not without women having gained in terms of their political consciousness.

Given this generalized regression as well as the mining SITs' class (and gender) segregation, workforce homogenization and women's informal networks, it may be argued that any action aiming at raising working-class women's consciousness and social

mobilization potential, need indeed to start from the bottom up, more specifically, from the family unit up, thus taking into account these women's daily experience in their household and in their informal networks.

7.2 The Situation in Forestry SITs

The general context of forestry SITs should briefly be recalled before examining women's work, status and experience in these towns. As previously explained, such towns could be seen as having "lagged behind" mining ones, and representing to a certain extent a "staple-trap" situation which is the case of earlier established staple frontiers that have retained more traditional features. This "staple-trap" situation, on the one hand, has led to a relative economic stagnation of the main industry; and consequently, the "family wage" is not — and historically has not been — a prevalent family income pattern, especially in logging and sawmill activities.⁹ On the other hand, it has maintained in these towns a strong sense of community, while simultaneously fostering the workers' pride in independent lifestyles.

As a result of these features, and contrary to what is the case in mining SITs, working-class women here have a quite consistent status: there exists no major discrepancy between their system of values and their experience, or between the different dimensions of their status. In particular, these women are not overwhelmingly dependent on their husbands' wage; they expect to engage in wage work — and generally do — in varied production activities, which fits into a frequent pattern of greater diversity in the families' sources of income.¹⁰ The reasons for this pattern are numerous: among others (1) men's core wage production activities are both seasonal and not as well remunerated as in mining towns (notably in older eastern forestry SITs), thus, simultaneously allowing and forcing

men as well as women to seek other sources of income; (2) forestry SITs have often been settled quite early, and “subsistence” activities, such as agriculture and fishing, have frequently persisted in (and around) such towns; and (3) the systems of values and broad cultural outlooks are in such towns more traditional than in mining SITs, leading to lifestyles and consumption patterns much more centred around household subsistence issues. All the above features may lead to an empowerment of women by giving them the capacity to act with relative autonomy in the work and community spheres, and in the family unit. Thus, core features of forestry SITs lead to women’s empowerment and contribute to their status consistency. This is of key importance to this work’s argument, because it so obviously contrasts with the case in mining.

However, other dimensions of forestry towns need to be considered, especially the relative traditionality of their family units. This traditionality implies that a significant part of women’s domestic work takes the form of subsistence activities that blend in the informal and unpaid areas of work. Such subsistence activities are, indeed, “traditional” in the sense that their production value is not merely their use value: women farm, knit, cook, pickle, etc. These diversified shifting and often complex women’s (and families’) economic strategies have at least three noteworthy consequences: (1) they give women a sense of satisfaction and reduce their alienation; (2) they reduce any potential collectivization of domestic labour: for example, forestry SITs have no — or few — child-care facilities, and more generally their women’s (in)formal networks are nonexistent or weak; and (3) they augment the self-reliance of the family units and so, decrease consumerism, i.e., buying products with monetary incomes. The contrast with the situation in mining SITs is most striking. For example, there women “buy and make use of” food — and all other products, for that matter — and in doing so, lose valuable skills; thus, they undergo deskilling in their domestic labour process (Luxton, 1980: 128-30). This increases their alienation not only — and obviously — because of the nature of their daily life

experience, but also because of the women's symbolic loss in terms of their perception of the quality of their domestic life and the skills of their parents (and other reference groups).

So, forestry SIT women are, simultaneously, quite autonomous, particularly in relation to the "family wage" — inasmuch as the men's core wage in the staple industry can be labelled as such, given its more modest contribution; as well as relatively "traditional" in many of their activities and values. As a result, it is likely that these women do not equate control over money with power in the family unit, their perspective and economic strategy being neither essentially monetary nor individualistic, which is conducive to an ideal of diversified cooperation and of a household orientation of both spouses. As well, they probably have an ideal of control over the labour process and, more broadly, of the family economy. And finally, they possibly value a guaranteed subsistence, given that they are, by and large, low paid and exploited in their different economic activities in the formal labour market. Given these ideals of diversified cooperation, as well as household orientation of both wife and husband, control over the labour process, and guaranteed subsistence, it may be assumed that forestry SIT women perceive as exemplary a socio-economic arrangement of successful self-employment or a cooperative. In contrast, the corresponding perception for mining SIT women would be that of a (man's) family wage being high, secure and easily accessible to women¹¹, and/or of *wage* work available to them.

In sum, what is most interesting in the case of forestry SIT women is that the traditionality of their family unit contributes to their relative autonomy, status congruence and empowerment by helping them — among others — to control their own economic resources. The paradox is that these more traditional patterns of women's economic activities, family structures, lifestyles and values are actually the most modern, in the sense of better reflecting the situation of women in large urban centres, i.e., "autonomous" women living in double-income families. The reverse is true in mining towns: it is the very

modernity of these SITs that leads to the women's dependence upon their husbands, to their status inconsistency and to their powerlessness, thus, to what differentiates them most from working-class women living in large urban centres.

Figure 8 (p. 237) sketches some of the main ideas discussed in the preceding pages. In fact, these ideas argue that in forestry SITs, "men" is not as easily equated with production activities, wage work and/or household head; nor is "women" with reproduction activities, domestic labour and/or subordinate spouse; in other words, there is no symmetry and no convergence between class and gender. So, although women may remain subordinate in the two systems of family household and wage labour, they also participate in both in varied ways; i.e., the spheres of work and community, and the family unit, are not unfunctional and gender segregated (as in mining SITs). More specifically, the family unit serves functions of both social reproduction and economic production; the community sphere serves functions of both industrial and social/cultural infrastructure for men as well as women (then, forestry SITs have privately owned houses, stores and services; and their inhabitants have a sense of community); and the work sphere serves functions of both economic resource and social networking for the entire adult population. "What are the world views, strategies and actions of working-class women in cases of economic crises, layoffs and strikes?" was the question asked at the corresponding stage of the discussion in the previous section dealing with mining SITs. In this one, the question has to be understood in a quite different manner. Indeed, in forestry SITs, "economic crises and layoffs" are experienced much more individually: *some* men *and* women (in certain instances, many of them but never all) lose *some* (but never all) of their sources of income/subsistence. And in a parallel fashion, "strikes" (1) are by definition seasonal insofar as they concern loggers who are often working on contract and are often nonunionized; (2) are, by and large, interpreted as a partial loss of income and as only

Figure 8. Social Values and Roles of Working-Class Women in the Family Units in Mining and Forestry SITs

MINING SITs Inconsistency		FORESTRY SITs Consistency	
Values	Roles	Values	Roles
Modern value of the "working mother"	Authoritarian family structure where the male breadwinner is the family head	More traditional and family-focussed values	Effective role as partner with husband in family decisions
More "urban/modern" views concerning personal achievement, and higher level of education	No or scant possibilities of wage work	More "traditional" views concerning personal achievement, and lower level of education	Numerous possibilities of work in subsistence or production activities
Power and identity mainly defined in monetary terms	Difficult control of the (men's) family wage	Identity defined in terms of control over their labour process	Great diversity in the sources of income, the latter including those of women
High consumerism	Limited possibilities to assert individual identities, and increase one's perceived quality of life (as well as those of the family) through patterns of consumption	Low consumerism	Quite varied possibilities to assert individual identities and increase one's quality of life (as well as those of the family) especially through subsistence and home-made products

indirectly affecting workers; and as a result (3) do not escalate so rapidly into a direct threat to the family economy or to the sustainability of the community.

It is therefore obvious that the different manner in which the above question has to be understood is linked to key features of forestry SITs, more specifically to the status of women therein. Using the same concepts as when dealing with mining towns, these key features may be summarized as: (1) less class and gender segregation, a different type or workforce homogenization (inasmuch as the working-class women, men and families are similar, it is above all in the diversity of their sources of family income and of their networks); (2) varied patterns of consumption (even if — and, in fact, to a large extent because — they are restricted, in the sense that they include many items produced within the frame of a household subsistence strategy); and (3) weaker women-only informal networks (due to women's greater inclusion in formal activities of work and in the community). What is now the impact of these forestry SIT features on working-class women's world views, strategies and actions in instances of economic crises, layoffs and strikes?

An interesting idea of P. Thompson (et.al., 1983; as summarized in Fox, 1989: 162) is relevant here, even if it refers to fishing communities in northern England, Scotland and Wales, because it establishes a clear-cut and unidirectional causal relationship:

“The nature of gender relations indicates how forcefully people will fight the economic domination and destruction of a traditional economy. ... where gender relations are relatively egalitarian, men and women — together and singly — *fight* for autonomous survival ... [and] are likely to produce a vibrant family fishing industry — one that resists capitalization.”
(Fox, 1989: 162)

In spite of its possible overstated causal link, the quotation is interesting because it relates egalitarian gender relations with collective resistance to the economic domination of a community. Using the somewhat rough categorization of Figure 7 (p. 228), it may be argued that in forestry SITs and in broad terms: first, men and women are often in fact in a Retreatism position (Case 4) due to their relative marginalized position toward capital

(whereas, in mining SITs, Case 4 is only favoured by industrial management¹², being actually an uncommon occurrence as women's — or men's — stances); second, they have a good potential of shifting to Class-conscious Feminism (Case 3) (because both men and women share an experience in wage and/or paid labour); and third, such a shift to Case 3 can be either straight to it — or via a Conventional Unionism (Case 1) phase (whereas in mining towns the shift would rather be through an Unidimensional Feminism (Case 2) phase. However, while this may be the general pattern in forestry SITs, the purpose of these shifts to Class-conscious Feminism and the ensuing struggles remain debatable. Women may be willing to join men in class struggles, but what is the goal? As suggested earlier, and as hinted at by P. Thompson (1983), this goal is indeed not obvious: in forestry SITs, women may perceive as exemplary a socio-economic arrangement of successful self-employment or a cooperative; in other words, they would favour a grass-roots privatization of the means of production.¹³ This results, first, from women (and men) being — among varied family sources of income — petty commodity independent producers; and second, from their wage/paid labour situation, a situation they wish to escape from. Then, in forestry SITs, working-class women's (and men's) resistance to capital expresses itself not through confronting the staple industry about control issues (as in mining SITs)¹⁴, but through breaking away from its control. Hence, the paradoxical “postmodernity” and “post-fordism”¹⁵ (i.e, flexibility) of tradition-based endeavours of the forestry SIT working class.

7.3 Staple-izing the Analysis of Women's Experience

The two preceding sections have shown how the specific staple context of mining and forestry SITs differently impact on women's perceptions, definition of issues, and

potential actions; so they have tested the relevance of the work's claim, i.e., its comparative theoretical framework and informed staple-ization idea.

In mining towns, the systems of capitalism and patriarchy are more symmetrical in the sense that both capitalists and men accommodate themselves by maintaining a strict sexual division of labour in the industrial workforce and in the family, thus, restraining women from entering into productive work; whereas in forestry towns, there are more tensions between the two systems in the sense that capitalism and patriarchy do not reinforce each other in an obviously accommodating way, thus, the "family wage" and the male breadwinner role are not a prevalent features in such towns, and women have to a large extent always been included in the wage labour market.

In mining towns, the symmetry of capitalism and patriarchy is maintained, first, through job segregation in the labour force — mainly due to industry's policies, but also union strength — that keeps women out of the resource sector; and second, through the family wage whereby women become economically dependent on men.¹⁶ As a result, there exists in mining towns a layering and directionality in the relations of domination whereby capital exploits men's labour, and men (and capital) in turn benefit from women's domestic labour and contribution to the family economy. Therefore, the structure of mining towns that clarifies capital-labour relations can also be seen — from a women's perspective — as clarifying patriarchal relations. Indeed, women have few roles: they are largely excluded not only from paid work but also from the community sphere, hence, relegated to domestic work and the family unit. Men, on the other hand, maintain their major economic role — often being single breadwinners — and through their control of the family wage maintain a dominant position in the household. Thus, mining towns have transparent — potentially oppositional — structures that favour polarization around both labour-capital and gender lines; here, there is a rigid social division hierarchically structuring capital, working-class men and working-class women. In spite of this, women's political consciousness may not

be before all one of class, but may well be mainly one of gender; this is because women's points of dependence in their (few) roles in daily life converge directly and most obviously on their husbands, while their points of dependence with the work (and industry) and community spheres are less direct and obvious.

In contrast, in forestry SITs, (1) men have less formalized and stable labour arrangements; (2) women's traditional economic roles are much more resilient, which gives them more autonomy¹⁷; (3) there exists more diversity in the family income and subsistence base, in particular a greater and more balanced participation of women in wage work and sometimes around the staple production¹⁸; and as a consequence, the spheres of work and community, and the family unit have features that obscure class and gender lines. In sum, because in forestry SITs, women (and men) have differentiated sets of roles, their points of dependence are more dispersed and crosscut class and gender lines, which leads to outcomes that are in some way either empowering or favourable to women. For instance, although women may be directly proletarianized by capital through wage labour, this wage increases their status in the family; in a similar fashion, women's greater involvement in subsistence production increases their status in the family¹⁹ as well as their control over the labour process. Therefore, whereas a relatively clear-cut and rigid sexual division of labour exists in mining towns, in forestry ones, the sets of roles and statuses in work and community spheres, and in family units are more complex and diverse.²⁰ Furthermore, the way they combine does not reproduce the layered stratification of mining towns but rather a loose compartmentalization along pillars of dependence; such pillarization²¹ may reflect independent areas of influence resulting from the relative incongruence existing between the capitalist and patriarchal systems. Thus, forestry towns could be seen as having a working class fragmented in many ways, families with complex income strategies, family members in diverse as well as contradictory class locations²² and wider sets of gender roles. As far as capitalism is concerned, this implies more opaque structures leading to less

oppositional stances; as far as patriarchy is concerned, it gives women more avenues of status, power and initiative.

An adequate way to close the above comments, and in fact the present chapter, may be on a note of caution. These comments essentially contrast the experience of working-class women in the two types of towns; and in order to do so highlight select aspects of this experience. While such deliberate selection is imposed by this very purpose, it is important to remind that it may be conducive to the perception of forestry SIT working-class women as in a more “advantageous” or “balanced” position than those in mining SITs. While this is perhaps the case, it should nevertheless be kept in mind that the identified features of forestry SIT working-class women were described on a backdrop of “staple-trap” situations, low wages, recurrent unemployment, and broad — and even complex — relations of dependence.

Concluding Comments

This chapter illustrates, thus, how the nature of the staple and the specificities of the SIT environments are relevant in explaining differences in working-class women’s experience in mining and forestry SITs. However, this illustration has remained often exploratory since the specialized literature largely rejects the staple-ization idea as well as, by and large, overlooks the referred-to women’s experience.

Within the frame of such limitations, the chapter has focussed on, and hopefully shown that the staple impacts on: the organization of the family-income strategies (family wage versus persistence of petty commodity production versus seasonal wage work, etc.), women’s status (in)consistency, the nature of their domestic work, their informal networks, and their formal versus informal economic activities. Methodologically and as a consequence of tackling these issues, the chapter demonstrates the potential of lowering the

level of analysis, and specifically the importance of the family unit in shaping shared experiences, world views and actions.

The main thrust of the argument is that mining SITs correspond readily to a labour-capital model and a family-wage instance; while in forestry SITs, class antagonism and the formation of the male-breadwinner family pattern are mitigated. This thrust is not necessarily original, but a systematic effort in contrasting these specific contexts is. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the comparative approach, the staple focus, the women dimension and the lower level of analysis have led, if not to new insights in Canadian SIT studies, then at least have pointed to fruitful areas of research.

CONCLUSION

The initial questions posed at the outset of this work may be summarized as: are there in Canada systematic differences between towns specializing in different resource extraction activities? And if so, how can we understand the way in which the resource and the resource environment impact on these SITs' work and community spheres, in particular on individual action and consciousness? The work answers these questions: by considering the example of forestry and mining SITs, by lowering the level of analysis in relation to the relevant research tradition; and by constructing a comparative theoretical framework, which stems from an extensive review of the "mainstream" literature.

This framework constitutes the work's essential claim. The process leading to it has been so, first, to select from this literature (1) explicit contributions; (2) some empirical material framed in different, even competing perspectives; and often (3) implicit hints, unexplored insights and open questions. And second, to use these as building blocks in the construction of the framework. If the work is consistent, a necessary consequence of such a process is that it must have several "points of tension" with the mainstream literature that was extensively reviewed; and actually, expanding in a structured way their scope and characteristics may be viewed as one of the work's goals.

Methodologically and theoretically, what are then the possible points of tension between this work and the referred to literature? As far as methodology is concerned, the work lowers the level of analysis; but it is not an intensive anthropology-type case study. In fact, it presents a broad forestry/mining SIT comparison arguing that there is a patterning

of structures and relations that is relatively constant within each staple sector, i.e., that the differences between each are clearly more important than those within sectors. While this contention is backed by numerous micro-level facts, a lowering of the level of analysis is not usually associated with such a broad predication, and even less so if it has a comparative and empirical focus, constituting so a first point of tension in methodology. The second one, closely linked to the first, is that this broad predication leads to the construction of a comparative theoretical framework, which is thus not backed by a systematic statistical analysis. These two points of tension easily give way to critiques based on competing factual material derived from specific case studies, such critiques being indeed available due to the very nature of the SIT topic and the ideal type building of the comparison. The only defence against such comments is the extensiveness of the literature review and accumulation of micro-level material, as well as the consistency in focus on the informed staple-ization idea.

As far as theory is concerned, the first point of tension is an ambiguous one. In sociology, the outcome of a lowering of the level of analysis is generally an emphasis on multidimensionality, action, and endogenous sources of change. The work stresses these features for forestry towns; but in contrast stresses unidimensionality, the determining impact of industry's strategies, and exogenous sources of change for mining towns, confirming here the views of the "mainstream" SIT literature. So, the work simultaneously agrees with the thrust of neo-Marxist and macro political economy approaches (in mining towns and at a low level of analysis), as well as invalidates them (in forestry towns, and at a similar low level of analysis). This may, may partially, or may not constitute a first point

of tension with the “mainstream” literature. But what definitely does so, and hence constitutes the second point of tension, is viewing social and cultural variables as being impacted upon, in varying fashions, by the nature of the staple and the specificities of the staple environment. As stated above, one of the outcomes of a lowering of the level of analysis is an emphasis on multidimensionality, which here mainly infers social and cultural variables, with a bent toward family patterns, systems of values, identity construction and related concerns. By and large, this work tends to see these more as dependent than independent variables. This agrees with “mainstream” literature views; but what contradicts these is the informed staple-ization idea, thus, relating in some way these dependent variables with the nature of the staple and the specificities of the staple environment. The third and last theoretical point of tension is a direct outgrowth of the second one. The latter implies issues of time frame and periodization, as well as of space and nature. However, the work deals scantily with the former and extensively with space and nature, while the “mainstream” literature does the reverse.

These are, therefore, the major points of tension between the literature and this work. It was useful to summarize them briefly here; in effect, if the exercise has been successful and, above all, if the work has been convincing, such a summary should have a heuristic value by suggesting what are the key aspects of this work’s contribution. This being said, the last theoretical point of tension will now be further commented upon because of its defining importance, and the fact that these comments point to what — beyond the staple-ization idea as such — may constitute a further contribution of this work.

The “mainstream” literature is seen as extensively addressing time-frame and periodization issues, and definitely less those linked to space and nature. The essential reason for this is that space and nature are generally understood as: antagonistic to the idea of a social construction of reality, leading to static outlooks, and even hinting at some new type of essentialism; whereas the reverse applies to time frames and periodization. Yet, several authors, pertaining in varied ways to the Marxist tradition and representing different disciplines (among others, M. Foucault, a philosopher; H. Lefebvre and N. Poulantzas, sociologists; N. Smith and E.W. Soja, geographers)¹ argue in favour of considering space as socially constructed and assigning to it features usually attributed to time. It would here be too lengthy to detail their individual positions, but a brief characterization of their main thrust may be useful in order to show how strongly they feel about this view. So, M. Foucault (1980) criticizes the Western philosophical tradition for rigidly separating time from space: “Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectic, the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic.” Likewise, H. Lefebvre (1974) claims that what in the Marxist tradition has so assertively been attached to time needs to also be attached to space, i.e., a fundamental materiality, a problematic social genealogy, and a political praxis impelled through an indissoluble link to the production and reproduction of social life.

Moving now to positions more directly relevant to SIT issues, N. Poulantzas (1978) calls for a materialistic interpretation of space and time, and consequently, for an explicit historical geography of capitalism, claiming that the latter’s “spatial” and “temporal matrices” (in his words, also, “territory” and “tradition”) are not just the outcomes of a rigid

process (in his words, “mechanical complexity”) but simultaneously the presuppositions and embodiments of the relations of production.² This is well reflected in I. Radforth’s claim that the staple affects and is affected by the relations of production; and actually, underlies quite explicitly the staple-ization idea of this work when referring to forestry SITs.

For his part, N. Smith (1984) introduces a quite relevant distinction between use and exchange values. Both correspond to landscapes where they represent the material substratum of everyday life; but while the former is the antithesis of human productive activity, the latter results from economic expansion and capital accumulation, and so, from social production. Thus, in the comparative theoretical framework, forestry SITs, especially older ones, may be characterized by some intertwining of use and exchange values, while mining SITs are overwhelmingly characterized by exchange values.

Finally, E.W. Soja establishes a difference between three types of spaces — physical, mental, and social — corresponding respectively to the material, to cognition, and the incorporation of both, leading to a *social* construction of spatiality. These three spaces are interrelated and overlap; and “defining these interconnections remains one of the most formidable challenges to contemporary social theory, especially since the ... debate has been monopolized by the physical/mental dualism almost to the exclusion of social space” (Soja, 1989: 120). This work could then be considered in some way as contribution to the filling of this research gap. Indeed, it focusses frequently on the social production of spatiality, and accepts the view that the spaces of nature and cognition incorporated into it are significantly transformed in the process. So for instance, it shows that: the environment

of the frontier, as it existed before the advent of the timber trade (physical space) determines in some way how capitalists and workers view the staple's exploitation (mental space); inversely, the capitalists' and workers' interpretation of the nature of the staple and the specificities of the staple environment (mental space) affects the physical space in both types of towns. As a result, in comparative terms, the social space of the forestry SITs is complex, not necessarily well circumscribed, and integrates elements of the towns as well as their outlying areas; while the social space of mining towns is more simple, rather well circumscribed, and integrates few — if any — elements of the towns' nearest vicinity, but does some distant areas (so, these contrasted social spaces reflect the incorporation of the distinct features of the physical and mental spaces in each type of town).

It was important at the end of this work to consider with some preciseness the issue of space as being, or not, socially constructed and leading, or not, to a static outlook. This was attempted above by specifically referring to authors pertaining to a broadly defined Marxist tradition; and is relevant given that in Canadian SIT (and resource-based economy) studies, the most systematic and harshest critics of H.A. Innis and more generally of any staple leaning originates from authors pertaining to this same tradition. While it is undeniable that the latter is varied and extensive, this still points to a paradox, especially considering the explicitness of the contending positions. Beyond this paradox, it was especially important to close the issue because in one way or another it underlaid many of this work's comments, probably tainting them in a more pronounced fashion than need be. Given such pervasiveness, the debunking of the position of the "space (staple) not being socially constructed, and leading to a static outlook" should be considered as an additional

— and thus fourth — theoretical point of tension between this work and the “mainstream” literature.

Having summarized what is the aimed contribution of the investigation and how it has been brought to light, as well as considered in some detail why such a contribution may be of interest in broader theoretical terms, this “Conclusion” will reflect — now and lastly — on the research tasks ahead, and do so necessarily in a sketchy fashion. The first general task is twofold: to deepen the study of the varied dimensions included in the comparative theoretical framework; and to add new dimensions to the latter, such as: migration and demographic trends (including the differing weight of seniors and children in relation to that of the labour force); the connected topics of minorities, ethnicity and race (for instance, the role of immigrants in the labour movement, the presence of French-Canadian minorities (often of rural origin), and the integration of Native peoples and their claims to the resource); education, the recruitment of labour and population retention; the features of deviance and criminality (in boomtown situations and in periods of decline); and religiosity and religious organizations. In fact, the list may include the majority of topics usually dealt with in areas of study often referred to in this work (political economy, labour history, community studies, as well as, obviously sociology). To this list, other specific topics could be added, for instance, enlarging Lucas’ (1971) model of the stages of SIT development to add one of decline, or examining in a more systematic fashion how the material and geographic features of the resource environment impact on work and community. An in-depth look of some of the framework’s dimensions and the adding of new ones would

refine and complete it, hopefully contributing to better circumscribe social action in different aspects of SIT life.

A second general task called for by this work is to test the relevance of the comparative theoretical framework, be it by surveys, anthropological studies, historical research encompassing varied time frames and social variables, SIT case studies, or statistical analyses of different scopes and topics (for instance, standards of living, strikes, elites and stratification). Doing so would ground the SITs in specific time periods which could also be compared.

Finally, and more broadly, a third general task may be added: to compare the two investigated types of SITs either to other SITs in Canadian resource sectors (such as fishing communities), or to similar SITs in other countries. The underlying assumption here is that given the present globalization context, so-called “comparative advantages” become increasingly specific, leading among other processes to industrial relocations, thus also, to the possible decline if not closure of these towns. Consequently and to point to only one related research theme, it may be interesting to consider J. Habermas’ (1975) theory of crises to explore outcomes such as the relative resilience of forestry towns, versus the usually swift downslide of mining towns. For this author, a crisis in the economic structure may escalate into the socio-political structure, and in turn may also become a legitimization (and identity) crisis. A contribution of this work could be to show why forestry SITs’ industrial decline or even the closure of operations may not directly translate into the socio-political structure (i.e., into the community sphere) and may even never have definite repercussions on family strategies or individual identities; whereas in mining SITs, a

similar decline and closure may directly translate into a socio-political crisis, and lead to a legitimation crisis: labour unions' strategies become irrelevant, the "rationality" of the miners and their families lose their footing, individual alienation sharply increases. The root of this clear difference lies in the forestry and mining towns' varied degrees of overlap of their industry, work, and community spheres; the extent to which the dominant industry (i.e., its rationality and/or discourse) has permeated local culture; or the presence of socio-political elites (or groups) that could shift their interests in favour of the community — which are themes that have been discussed throughout this thesis.

The above is only one example of the many research tasks this investigation could lead to. So, in order to conclude these comments, and this work on Canadian forestry and mining towns, let me simply state that it is hoped to be relevant when considering that today, throughout the country and worldwide, the frontier of capitalism and industrialization is still progressing, still involves among its main strategies the commodification of staples that were previously "untapped", and still leaves in its wake — in all staple sectors — SITs that have to define, and then redefine, their work and community arrangements.

Appendix I

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SUSAN A. MANN

S.A. Mann and I. Radforth share many similarities: (1) both completed their Ph.D. in the early 1980s — she in Sociology at the University of Toronto, and he in History at York University — thus, both were exposed to the Canadian tradition in economic history initiated by H.A. Innis; (2) both also share an ambiguous perception of this academic lineage, which is seen in the fact that their major efforts: do not (Mann, 1990) or marginally (Radforth, 1987) mention H.A. Innis or any staple historians, for instance, A.R.M. Lower; (3) their work is largely grounded in Marxian literature; (4) they have parallel objects of analysis: more or less continuous geographical areas specializing in a resource production; (5) they stress common features in their conclusions: the “lagging behind” in the modernization of a sector, as well as the persistence of petty commodity producers and independent workers, i.e., elements of a “staple-trap” situation; (6) they underline the relevance of a staple-ized outlook in their explanations concerning monopoly capital penetration and its impact on technology and the social organization of production; and finally, (7) they similarly show that in the respective sectors they investigated, the social relations of production remained essentially stable over an eighty-year period while important technological changes took place. What is particularly striking is that these numerous similarities exist in spite of the fact that I. Radforth studies logging in Northern Ontario from 1900-1980, while S.A. Mann centres on agriculture in the American South from 1860-1865 to the 1930s; and that the former study is highly empirical, localized and historical, while the latter has a broader scope, and is more structuralist and economic.

Comparing these two authors is interesting, simultaneously because of their similarities and their differences; thus, the usefulness of briefly discussing in this Appendix

S.A. Mann's contribution to the staple-ization issue. A good way to begin such discussion is to recall that the author makes the conclusive observation that the social relations of production she examined had remained stable despite important technological changes. Such an outcome is quite contrary to H. Braverman's labour process thesis, which may appear as paradoxical given that the two authors ground their analysis in a careful reading of *Capital*. The reason for this paradox lies in their starting point when doing so: her's is K. Marx's labour theory of value and views on agriculture (as described in Volume 2 and 3 of *Capital*, as well as in *Grundrisse*; Mann, 1978: 471; 1990:6-10), whereas H. Braverman's is K. Marx's views on the labour process, the nature of human labour, and the broad historic tendencies of capitalism (as described in Volume 1; Braverman: 1974: 45-58). Her view is that in Volume 2, K. Marx reveals a number of insights explaining the persistence of the family farm by drawing attention to "the peculiar nature of certain spheres of agricultural production which makes them unattractive to capitalist penetration" (Mann, 1978: 471); in other words, such spheres do not "naturally" provide the requirements of capitalist production.

Her argument therefore is that the persistence of the family farm and its ability to coexist alongside a dominant capitalist mode of production have nothing to do with non-Marxist explanations based on the internal dynamics of family labour. S.A. Mann qualifies and dismisses such explanations as subjectivist because they call upon the peculiar nature of social relations by favouring the inclusion of a subjective dimension. And she equally dismisses non-Marxist approaches imbedded in technological determinism which call upon an objective factor relating to the forces of production, such as technological innovation and the mechanization process (Mann, 1978: 469-70). She argues that the viability of the family farm must be sought solely by looking at the Marxist requirement of capitalist production itself (Mann, 1978: 471). Within this frame, she stresses that independently of

any commodity's form of production, the latter's exchange value is determined by the socially necessary labour time needed to produce it (Mann, 1978: 471). And thus,

“the capitalization of agriculture progresses most rapidly in those spheres where production time can be successfully reduced. Conversely, ... those spheres of production characterized by a more or less rigid non-identity of production time and labour time are likely to prove unattractive to capital on a large scale and thus are left more or less in the hands of the petty producer.” (Mann, 1978: 473)

In sum, Mann sees in her reading of K. Marx that the nature of the resource (i.e., the type of commodity produced and related variables) has an impact on the forces of production (i.e., on the level of capitalization in terms of technology or scale, on labour markets, and on external market demands).

However, in spite of this important insight and in contrast to I. Radforth, she is not inclined to examine how, at a local level, the natural features of a given commodity affect the workings of the internal relations of production, the labour process, and the concrete organization of work. So, her argument remains highly structural and overdetermined by external features, in particular market ones; but these features are in her view staple coloured.

“Capitalism is the *only* form of commodity production in which all factors of production (i.e., labour, capital goods, and the commodities produced) are mediated through the market. This in turn requires each enterprise to calculate average rates of profit for the continued reproduction of the system. Consequently, the non-identity of production time and labour time is a far more salient factor in explaining the detours of *capitalist* development than in explaining those of other modes of production.” (Mann, 1987: 272; author's italics)

S.A. Mann's entire argument is actually a staple-coloured analysis of monopoly capital strategies and, in particular, of the value neutrality and equilibrium of market forces. And she is quite hermetic in this outlook, to the point of considering the state's role as purely instrumental in backing capital by providing for production components (especially those that capital either usually does not — or because of its very nature will not — provide, such as reforestation, basic crop research or subsidies to agriculture); thus, the

state is weak, unproblematic and its role is that of the “ideal total capitalist” that provides the “preconditions for the role of capital and the reproduction of labour power” (Mann, 1990: 135-39). Therefore, her approach is very economic and, to some extent, at odds with current political economists who show an increasing tendency to “bring the state back in” their analyses (welfare state, regulation or power resource theories, etc.).

In other words, S.A. Mann’s outlook may be staple coloured; but in contrast to I. Radforth’s, and to the comparative theoretical framework of this work, it is also quite unidimensional, macro and static. So for instance, she overlooks the fact that capital can appropriate value (i.e, increase its profit and exploit farmers) by other means than through appropriating surplus value at the point of production, i.e., through manipulating market mechanisms and intermediaries, capturing farmers by debts to finance capital, etc.; and yet, such indirect means of subordination and exploitation have been extensively illustrated in the literature on peasant societies (and by W. Clement’s, 1984 study of the Atlantic fisheries). Moreover, S.A. Mann does not look specifically at the consequences of the nature of the staple and its environment at a lower level of analysis, which would involve examining complex material constraints. She examines only the effects of a commodity on market factors (such as production time, perishability of produce, profit, rent, surplus value, labour time, marketing, etc.), thus focuses on the end-product commodity. Such a focus — and more broadly S.A. Mann’s unidimensionality, macro level analysis, structuralist and economic views — probably stem from the rationale of her entire endeavour: to explain the generally slower and more uneven development of capitalism in agriculture as compared to the manufacturing industry.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. For an overview of early staple theorists and their debates, see the "Introduction" by W.T. Easterbrook and M.H. Watkins ([1967], 1984), as well as J. Richards (1985). On a comparative view of the frontier, see S.M. Lipset (1968).
2. Works of Latin American theorists and critics of capitalism were frequently background material to the incipient new political economy, which is before all characterized by Marxist, class analysis, dependency, and world-system approaches. Potential sources are numerous; see for instance, J. Bradbury (1979), J. Brodie (1989), R. Brym (1989), M. Clark-Jones (1987), W. Clement (1978, 1983b), C. Cuneo (1978), P. Marchak (1983), R. Matthews (1983), J. Swift (1977), M.H. Watkins (1963, 1973, 1977). K. Levitt's (1970) effort, and its success in academia, is most revealing of this trend.
3. There exists in the literature an array of loosely defined concepts designating these small dependent communities: single-enterprise communities (Institute for Local Government, 1953), company towns (Porteous, 1976; Knight, 1975), single-industry communities (Lucas, 1971; Bradbury, 1984; Krahn and Gartrell, 1983), rural communities (Clark, 1978), new industrial towns (Robinson, 1962) resource towns (Stelter and Artibise, 1978; Pressman, 1978), frontier towns (Baldwin, 1979), resource-based towns (Bradbury, 1979), pioneer towns (Derbyshire, 1960), one-industry towns (Himelfarb, 1982). By and large, social sciences approaches (sociology, political science) have most often used the term "community", while arts approaches (geography, urban planning) have used the term "town".

This work pertains to sociology, yet it will exclusively refer to forestry and mining resource-dependent settlements as "single-industry towns" (SITs), which at first glance appears inappropriate. The wording "community" may indeed be more exact for a sociological analysis. But these towns' community sphere constitutes an important focus of this study; so, the word "towns" has been chosen to allow the inclusion of their varied spheres, above all the community one, but also those of work (and industry), without creating confusion.

Another advantage of the "SIT" term is that forestry as well as mining towns are contained in the broad category of "single-industry". Besides, the latter underlines the external economic dependence and inherent social instability which is the common denominator of the two types of resource towns and to which each of them must adapt (although possibly in a different way). Finally, the term "single-industry" has been chosen in order to draw insights from the literature which does not necessarily deal strictly with forestry and mining. Thus, I will refer to "single-industry towns" to either loosely connote forestry, mining, and occasionally other

resource or industrial towns; or will refer more specifically to “forestry” and “mining” SITs.

4. The expression “(the) nature of the staple” is frequently used throughout the work, either alone or with the added words “and the specificities of the staple environment”. These added words are in fact redundant given that the said specificities may be viewed as, both, consequences and aspects of the nature of the staple. The purpose of adding this qualifier is only to underline one, or several, such consequence(s) and aspect(s).
5. An entire part (5.4.1, p. 182-87) of the work deals exclusively with several key words of the hypothesis, and explains separately and in detail what each of them entails. These words are: “Canadian”, “forestry and mining SITs”, “nature of the staple”, and “impacts significantly”. This part is included in Section 5.4 entitled: “Circumscribing the Comparison and Staple-ization Idea”.
6. The comparative theoretical framework is systematically presented in Section 5.3 (p. 169-80).
7. All categories are those of the sources; however, in order not to overburden this brief enumeration of statistics, no quotation marks have been used. The most recent percentage is taken from Statistics Canada, CANSIM, Table 282-0008, last modified on Sept. 29, 2003. The other ones represent percentages of the labour force, 15 years and older, taken from the censuses of 1901-1961. Source: S. Ostry, 1967.
8. For an overview of research on Canadian resource industries and towns, both historically and in a globalized world, see J. McDonald and M. Clark-Jones (2004).
9. However, the environmental concerns and indigenous claims related to Canadian mining endeavours have become highly visible in recent years. A revealing event is the world-wide protest day against INCO (on 7 October, 2003) that was organized by environmental groups in the relevant mining communities across Canada (i.e., Sudbury, Port Colborne, Thompson, St. John’s-Voisey’s Bay), as well as in INCO’s overseas operations of New Caledonia (Goro), Guatemala, and Indonesia; and in major cities such as Toronto, Halifax, New York, London and Sydney. The demands centred on environmental and health issues in Canada (i.e., water, air and soil pollution, emission controls, clean up), but also included ancestral land rights (in Indonesia), land expropriation of peasants and collaboration with the military regime (in Guatemala), and land rights and coral-reef protection (in New Caledonia). Source: website www.inco_watch.ca.

10. The idea of categorizing authors in broad sociological approaches is partly inspired by M.I.A. Bulmer (1975) who situated in such fashion the mining communities of Britain.
11. In this sense, it is not a coincidence that the lower right corner of Figure 1 is exclusively filled with the names of three anthropologists, i.e., K.A. Mooney, P.H. Harrison and K. Stewart; and that the opposite corner of the Figure is occupied by two geographers, J. Bradbury and I. Robinson, and two urban planners, G. Hodge and M. Qadeer. Indeed, anthropological and cultural studies of SITs are few compared to studies focussing on industrial, economic and class issues.

Chapter 2

1. For instance, J. Cram (1972) looked at arctic miners' perception of their job and working environment, and found that what caused the most dissatisfaction was not linked to their physical living quarters but to workplace issues, such as the esteem they received from management or their self-actualization on the job linked to using their skills. These findings suggest that the workers' alienation on the job and general isolation is not as much linked to physical amenities of the north, but rather to the social relations in the labour process and, more broadly, to the status inconsistency resulting from being highly paid and skilled, yet poorly recognized as such by management and broader society.
2. J. Bradbury's excellent case studies of Quebec's iron-belt towns (1984, 1979) and British Columbia's paper towns (1980) are typical of such core industrial sector towns.
3. If one graded Canadian SITs in terms of the lucrativeness of their resource, their vulnerability to external markets, their level of capital intensiveness and their date of settlement, the low end of the continuum would likely be fishing communities, and the high end mining (and energy) SITs. Forestry towns would probably be located around the middle of the continuum and, in this sense, they are possibly more typical of Canadian resource towns.
4. Lumber mills — or small-scale fishing ventures — are difficult to explain in a purely labour process perspective, since it cannot portray relations outside the workplace, the greater stratification in the industry or the market relations. Indeed, a class analysis is more useful to portray work in these resource sectors, such as W. Clement's study of fishing (1986), or again anthropological approaches that include a broader view of the social relations around work and daily life, such as J. Nadel-Klein and D.L. Davis (1988) on fishing, and M. Macdonald and P. Connelly (1992) on fishing/forestry regions.

5. Miners' oppositional attitudes, and more generally their history of conflictive relations with industry ensuing from social relations of production (Clement, 1983: 173, 179), and sometimes spilling into the community (Frank, 1981), are well known and have spearheaded labour militancy in Canada. This is all the more the case of early coal mining, especially in Nova Scotia, that was the first mining industry to experience capitalist relations, and is a key case study omitted by H.A. Innis in his study of the mining frontier (Clement, 1983: 181).
6. It is my contention that in Quebec, the stronger position of the Church may have also kept workers marginal to urban society by placing them in a rigid status system. This may be more so in the semi-rural forestry areas where settlement had a religious-ethnic mission as compared with the mining areas where the role of the company in providing the institutional base was stronger. Such a point of view provides a good example of the interconnectedness between economic and socio-political spheres in frontier environments.

Chapter 3

1. See, for instance, analyses of modernization processes, such as S.D. Clark (1978), A. Himelfarb (1982), or J. Bradbury (1980).
2. F. Tönnies (1963: 64f; [1887]) cited in R. Nisbet (1966: 75). The latter underlines that F. Tönnies' wording is "strikingly comparable" to that of L. Bonald, in his *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: 1859-1864, Vol. II, p. 239).
3. This bias is similar to R. Park's functional organic model (Stein, 1960: 26) and to H. Miner's cultural approach focussing on small size, homogeneity and geographical isolation (Miner, 1939: 28).
4. This weakness is well shown by the fact that R. Lucas studies each institution or field of activity separately in rather self-contained chapters.
5. R. Lucas defines all SITs as a same object of study, which is useful in identifying their basic social structure; yet his viewpoint sometimes omits their specific aspects, such as their organization of work and labour history. For example, his chapter examining the organization of work is essentially based on the case study of the railtown, which has very bureaucratic and hierarchical features — and thus, is possibly quite different from the organization of work in mining or forestry. This leads him to make generalizations that sometimes leave out the differences between the towns' industrial bases; for instance, when presenting the industry's hiring practices:

“Although many railroad jobs are found only in that industry, the general conditions just described are found in most industries and in single-industry communities in particular, regardless of the precise nature of work”. (Lucas, 1971: 116)

6. In this sense, it is noteworthy to underline that R. Lucas (1971: 104-11) uses the minetown to describe the prototype old fashioned company town where industry dominates work and life, and has a very authoritarian structure and role.
7. These two movements were the *Jeunesse ouvrière catholique* comprised of unmarried industrial wage workers and the National Catholic Labour Syndicate which was thought of as nationalist French-Canadian by both its members and opponents (Hughes, 1943: 104, 136).

Chapter 4

1. This prominence is such that it is even evident in investigations opposing the theory; a case in point may be the present status of H.A. Innis' (and A.R.M. Lower's) works in Canadian regional development research: although these works are often referred to, their main explaining argument, the staple, is largely discarded by contemporary scholars.
2. This title repeats the key characterization of Approaches 3 and 4. However, as far as Approach 3 is concerned, “gender” has neither been included in the title nor the Section's discussion, because it is the explicit topic of Chapter 7. As far as Approach 4 is concerned, it has to be understood that “Networks” refer to low levels of analysis, and workers' and/or residents' daily experience, which is what the outlining of Figure 1's content implied in Section 1.3 (p. 22-27).
3. The same applies to all authors who are nearest to the lines separating Figure 1's four boxes, and even more so those who are nearest to the cross of the four boxes.
4. For instance see, D. Drache (1976, 1977), M.H. Watkins, (1977), W. Clement (1978), C. Cuneo (1978), R. Brym and J. Sacouman (1979), and P. Marchak (1979).
5. Prominent scholars having diffused this revised staple approach are K. Levitt (1970), T. Naylor (1972), W. Clement (1975), D. Drache (1977), and M.H. Watkins (1977).
6. Examples of such works are labour process studies, for instance, those of W. Clement (1981, 1983), D. MacLeod (1983), I. Radforth (1982) or R. Rajala (1993);

or working-class history, such as those of D. Frank (1981) and B. Palmer (1992). W. Clement (1981) explicitly reviews Innis' research on mining areas and draws extensively from its empirical information. B. Palmer (1992: 2-3) attempts to develop a more "national" argument of the working-class experience in Canada; he sees class consciousness as having grown out of the economic relations of production, although his approach is broadened by giving a role to other formal and informal ways, such as individual experiences and institutions that are outside unions and shop-floor struggles.

7. For instance, B. Palmer (1992: 149-77, 257-64) sees as critical to the formation of the working class, struggles for union recognition, specifically those that occurred in the Cape Breton coalfields in 1900-1914, or in the Eastern Townships asbestos mines in the 1940s and 1950s.
8. See for instance M.H. Watkins (1973) and W. Clement (1978) for high-level structural class analyses of regions; R. Matthews (1983) for a low-level analysis of class relations and social interaction in SITs; S.D. Clark (1978) for a cultural interpretation of economic underdevelopment; and R. Lucas (1971) for a local community structure analysis.
9. For examples of labour process studies, see R. Rajala (1993), A. Hall (1993), and R. Storey (1994); in political economy, see P. Marchak (1983), J. Bradbury (1980), J. Swift (1977, 1983), and H. Krahn and J.W. Gartrell (1983).
10. The most noteworthy community study is that of R. Lucas (1971); see also Institute for Local Government (1953), I. Robinson (1962), and A. Himelfarb (1982).
11. See for instance, J. Swift (1977, 1983), P. Marchak (1979, 1983), J. Bradbury (1979), R. Robson (1983), D. Frank (1981) and W. Clement (1981).
12. Mining, especially coal mining in Great Britain, has often been seen as a very clear example of the working-class experience (Bulmer, 1975; Lockwood, 1982; Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, 1956; Cousins and Davis, 1974). This is possibly because the coal-iron-steel industry in the U.K. marks the advent of the industrial revolution and of capitalism. Although the mining industry of the U.K. may be representative of the English working-class experience, and comparable to other industries such as textiles, in Canada mining may not be so typical of its resource-based industries and working-class experience. Thus, the British scholarly tradition may have been erroneously generalized by Canadian scholars to suit all staple frontiers.
13. A look at the bibliography of this work would point in this direction. So, for example, B. Palmer (1992) is a study wherein the militant history of Canadian miners is considered as reflecting largely the national working-class experience.

Undoubtedly, Canadian miners have been at the forefront of the working-class movement and it is precisely because of this that they may not be typically representative of resource workers.

14. The branch-plant analogy has been widely used to present general models of resource communities, as seen in R.T. Bowles (1982: 3), P. Marchak (1983: 22), W. Clement (1973: 99); while the lower level comparison of resource industries with the manufacturing sector is seen, for instance, in W. Clement's (1981) presentation of a class approach to relations between labour and capital, particularly in capital's attempt to control labour through the introduction of technology and a detailed division of labour. W. Clement's — like P. Marchak's (1983: 251-52) — sources of inspiration for these class relations include G. Carchedi (1975) and H. Braverman (1974), who have written essentially about the secondary sector in urban settings.
15. For example, one could contrast the Marxist image of the urban and economically oriented SIT resident seen in H. Krahn and J.W. Gartrell (1983) and W. Clement (1981), and the rural and deferent individual reflected in the community studies of S.D. Clark (1978) and R. Lucas (1971).
16. See for instance, N. Hayner (1945) concerning loggers' free election of residential areas divorced from industry's control.
17. See for instance, I. Radforth (1982: 76), R. Matthews (1983: 156) and J. Sacouman (1980: 236) concerning the recurring use of welfare and unemployment insurance by loggers.
18. See for instance, C. Legendre (1979: 312-14) concerning the traditional ways contractors recruit labour among their primary relations.
19. P. Marchak (1983, 263-65; 1979: 16-19) observes the stark individualism and pride in their work displayed by loggers working with independent operators or contractors, as well as their disdain for loggers employed directly by large pulp companies and their mistrust of unions.
20. See for instance, D. MacLeod (1983) and A. Hall (1993).
21. This factor was noted by A.W. Gouldner (1954: 117-36) as reinforcing informal group solidarity and in differentiating the miners from the above-ground workers and managers.
22. See for instance, J. Bradbury (1980), E. Derbyshire (1960) and Centre for Resource Studies (1983) concerning town planning and housing in mining contexts.

23. See for instance, F. Larouche (1973) concerning the modern values (instrumental and materialistic) which are held by miners, as well as their awareness of society outside their town.
24. See for instance, M. Luxton (1980) concerning the social condition and perceptions of women in mining towns.
25. H.A. Innis (1936: 175) notes that, as early as the Yukon gold rush, the mining frontier has attracted large-scale immigration from all parts of the world.
26. See for instance, I. Radforth (1982: 86) concerning the appeal the forest has for workers, or again N. Hayner (1945).
27. The piece by J. Friedmann quoted here is entitled "Life Space and Economic Space: Contradictions in Regional Development", manuscript, Los Angeles: UCLA, 1981.
28. See for instance, B. Palmer (1992), S.M. Jamieson (1976), W. Johnson (1978).

Chapter 5

1. Social change and development are to some extent opposed concepts, the distinctive element between the two being that of directionality. Hence, some social changes are developmental, others are not. For R. Nisbet, for example, social change is almost synonymous with social disease (Nisbet, 1969: 208).
2. See for instance, S.M. Jamieson (1976), W. Johnson (1975) and D. Dennie (1993).
3. For a classical discussion of the concept, see G. Foster (1967: 214-15). Here, the dyadic contract model postulates an informal structure in which the really significant ties within all institutions are largely achieved (hence, selective) rather than ascribed (hence, non-selective). In other words, the formal institutions of society provide everyone with a panel of candidates with whom to interact; the individual, by means of the dyadic contract mechanism, selects (and is selected by) relatively few with whom significant working relationships are developed. Each person is the centre of his private and unique network of contractual ties, a network whose overlap with other networks has little or no functional significance.
4. P. Marchak (1983: 138) looks at the occupation of loggers' fathers in British Columbia and finds that the most frequent occupation was agriculture.
5. K.A. Mooney (1979) shows that, for non-Indian families in forestry SITs, such family income strategies resulted in fragmentation and individualism. She

attributes the solidarity existing among Indian workers to their collectivist ethos, an ethos which prevailed in spite of the fragmentation fostered by the family income strategies.

6. P. Marchak (1983: 181-213) underlines very well the employment diversity and horizontal occupational mobility of loggers and sawmill workers.
7. For example, in forestry SITs, obtaining timber rights to crown lands is decided and can be acted upon at a more local level. Here rangers, foresters, inspectors, crown land agents, and/or MPs of the region can greatly influence the allocation of the resource. A.R.M. Lower (1936: 100) describes the “decentralized” system prevailing in Ontario, a system where officials are political appointees usually from the region. And in Quebec (Lower, 1936: 80-81), although the system is more centralized, the local assistant rangers (paid by licence holders) and the *curé* (also in league with licence holders) are the most decisive actors in allocating the resource. J. Swift (1983: 230-52), L.A. Sandberg (1992) and B.W. Hodgins et al. (1989) also relate similar intricate political dealings at local levels in a contemporary forestry setting. Thus, there is much interaction at a local level in the forestry context. On the contrary, in mining, decisions are by and large made at a ministerial level and with corporate high officials.
8. This is at least the case as far as I am concerned. It is obvious that while there may be an objective base for noting the existence of these better identifiable research frames of reference and scholarly contributions, relying on them heavily and quite exclusively presents drawbacks. Indeed, these frames of reference and contributions may have limits, be linked to systematic preferences, and select their empirical material in relation to the latter. In terms of developing my own comparative theoretical framework, this may be conducive to less originality and more restricted interpretations, even when adopting a critical view in relation to some of these frames of reference and contributions. However, given the nature of the work’s context and claim, the geographical definition of “Canadian” seems to be necessary, in spite of its drawbacks.
9. It should be noted that there are a few cases of towns that presently include both mining and forestry resource-extractive activities, for example Kitimat, B.C., or Bathurst, N.B. These towns are not central to this research given its single-industry and comparative focuses.
It could be expected that such towns present a mix of the features that I propose to contrast for each type of SITs. However, the possibility that the comparative theoretical framework be relevant to them would depend on a variety of past and current features, such as the origin of the towns, the present prominence of one type of resource in shaping economic activities (over the other resource) and the

importance of resource-extractive activities (in relation to the processing of the resource).

10. The case of these hydro energy SITs is especially interesting to consider. Indeed, many of them “supply” mining or forestry SITs and are, thus, closely linked to them in varied ways. Still, they have not been included because they are somewhat unique, for instance, by being usually much smaller, more capital intensive and non-unionized. A good example of such an energy town is Kemano, B.C.: it was built by Alcan in 1957 for the express purpose of providing electricity for the aluminium smelter of the mining SIT of Kitimat, and has been closed in July 2000 because technology then allowed that electricity production be controlled at a distance, from Kitimat some seventy miles away (Laird, 2000: 86, 94).
11. It is clear that the “Canadian forestry and mining SITs” considered in this work comprise only a minority of the country’s SITs. Indeed, they exclude all single-industry towns dominated by secondary sector economic activities (of any type) as well as those dominated by the tertiary sector (such as railroad towns, and the now increasingly numerous tourist towns). Similarly, they exclude the innumerable SITs dominated by other primary sector activities: such as agriculture communities, as well as fishing ones (historically very important, in particular on the East Coast). Yet, it is hoped that the exclusive choice of — and comparison between — forestry and mining SITs (as they have here been defined) will prove fruitful, not only as far as this research is concerned, but also to illustrate and explore broader concerns.
12. In a parallel way, pulp processing and paper making could be contrasted to the milling and smelting of ores.
13. This issue is of key importance, and the work’s “Conclusion” will examine it more extensively.
14. Regarding such a broad time related topic, another part of the work deals more directly — but succinctly — with the issue: Part 4.3.2 (p. 152-56) discussed “The Impact of the Historical Dimension”, when “Reconsidering and Extending the Staple Factor” (Section 4.3, p. 134-56).

Chapter 6

1. Such examination has been carried out, for example for fishing SITs, by P. Connelly and M. MacDonald (1986), B. Neis (1988) and M. Porter (1985, 1987); and in broader and more theoretical terms by V. Beechey (1987) who used the reserve labour market idea as elaborated by H. Braverman. The main reason for leaving out

this examination is because the next chapter deals extensively, if at times indirectly, with this issue.

2. This view, as well as the argument of the present paragraph, are taken from P. Thompson (1989: 39-40); this applies also for the quotation by K. Marx in *Capital, Volume 1* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976).
3. A work that theorizes on the contradictions between economy and nature is R. Murphy (1994). His argument stems from a questioning of the premise of nature as being entirely socially constructed and thus can be moulded to society/capital's needs (i.e., a relationship he terms as "plastic"), and presents an alternative view of man's relationship to nature which he terms as "elastic" to capture the embeddedness of social action in the processes of nature, which implies a recognition of the complexity of nature and the limits to man's manipulation of it.
4. It must be underlined that J. Lembcke and W.M. Tattam (1984: 12) present a more contextual look at early British Columbian woodworkers. They question why their militancy was relatively lesser than that of miners and explain it by social cleavages in the workforce. They see these cleavages as resulting from: an agrarian tradition, craft unionism, church-domination of peasants, state and employer alignments, isolation of a workforce captured by company towns, and a persistence of the contract system; such state of affairs leads to variations in the "working class" and a greater mix of means of production. I. Radforth (2000: 480) also reveals similar cleavages and dynamics in the case of northern Ontarian loggers, where the Finns spearheaded union organization in the 1900-1930s, at a time when workers elsewhere were hardly striking. Yet, like Lembcke, Radforth recounts the mitigated outcomes of these first efforts due to similar dynamics and factors, in addition to others such as labour market conjunctures (unemployment), diversity in cultural/political backgrounds, political climate (communism).
5. Few studies attempt to examine this question of miners' tradition of militancy by grounding their analysis in a specific resource and labour process. One such attempt is M. Yarrow (1979) who attempts to show why coal miners in the United States are a "deviant case" from H. Braverman's depiction of the development of the labour process and its outcome of powerless atomized workers. His explanation rests on a power resource view of how miners were able to gain control over aspects of the labour process — such as worker autonomy, maintenance of skills, control over machinery, wildcat strike power (Yarrow, 1979: 183-87). Although his focus is strictly on the labour process, his contextual view allows to see additional mining-specific factors that have amplified these power resources, such as the boom-bust pattern of production (p. 173), the imminent danger of mines (p. 175, 189), the difficulty of supervision in mines (p. 184), the "critical mass" numbers of miners (p. 191).

6. To this incomplete list, the special case of S.A. Mann (1990) should be added — a Canadian scholar from the University of Toronto who teaches at Louisiana State University, and is a key figure in the so-called “sociology of agriculture”. Her work deals extensively, but not exclusively with labour and production issues in the United States’ Cotton Belt; and will marginally be referred to in this chapter’s next section. Appendix 1, p. 253-56, outlines her contribution to the staple-ization idea.
7. In fact, W. Clement illustrates, at Inco’s underground operations in Sudbury, the passage from a “responsible autonomy” situation to “direct control” through the implementation of technology.
8. W. Clement (1981: 157-58, 264-65) acknowledges, for example, that “supervisors have ambivalent positions” in between labour and capital; yet, given the inherently antagonistic nature of class positions, they are seen to side with — or at least are instruments of — capital/managers. In other words, their relationships with workers are not variable, and outcomes are not open-ended.
9. Obviously, it may be argued that the “advantage” of the piece-rate system is a debatable one. I. Radforth adopts such a view; and notes that while it contributes to the workers’ independence and a measure of autonomy in the labour process (Radforth, 1987: 202, 210, 230), it may also foster “consent in one’s exploitation” and counter collective action (Radforth, 1987: 77). While W. Clement (1981: 175-80) — and the miners interviewed — also express this dilemma, still, this does not alter the sharp difference existing between the mining and logging payment/reward systems, especially in their subjective aspects.
10. In contrast to mining labour studies, forestry studies often have a common backdrop of staple-trap situations, market fluctuations and recessions; as well as micro contexts of general job insecurity, uneven unionization and seasonal work patterns.
11. As previously explained, this is the case with the important *proviso* that the authors viewed as representing this tradition (see Section 6.2) are useful to study mining; but they indeed imply that their assumptions apply to forestry as well as other resource sectors.
12. In fact, such a perspective is similar to D. Lockwood’s depiction of the “traditional proletarian” worker grounded in an oppositional world view; see Lockwood (1966; reprinted in Giddens and Held, 1982: 361).
13. Like I. Radforth, S.A. Mann considers that the nature of the staple and the staple environment impact on a primary resource sector, in her case agriculture, due to characteristics of the crops per se as their perishability, growing period, etc.; as well

as elements such as seasonality, unpredictability of weather, soil composition. And again, like him, she sees the natural environment as constraining capitalist penetration of earlier production patterns in diverse modern agricultural contexts.

14. S.A. Mann's observations are here quite parallel to I. Radforth's, in spite the fact that her general approach (as well as her object of study) are different. See Appendix 1, p. 253-56.
15. This expression is used by W. Clement (1981: 20) and was coined by G. Carchedi (1975); it corresponds to K. Marx's "collectivised workers" idea, i.e., workers brought into wage labour, thus, abandoning contracting and a craft organization of their work — for an internal labour market and internal state situation.
16. Such responsible autonomy and retention of skill in the workplace are seen as linked to the loggers' subjectivity and system of values; for instance, I. Radforth states that "Human relations techniques developed for other industries were advocated for logging. To increase worker motivation, [it was recommended to involve] 'responsible employees in work planning and scheduling'... in order to 'subject the non-producer to the judgement of his peers'." (Radforth, 1982: 93). As well, they are linked to the labour process and more broadly to the nature of the staple and the staple environment. For instance, "Woodworkers had to have new types of skills relating to machine operation and repair... [the complex harvesters] were prone to brake down, and sometime costs were high... [so] it was an advantage if operators paid on an incentive basis could quickly repair these machines themselves and return to work (Radforth, 1982: 93; 1987: 217). As well, "The introduction of skidders [led to the establishment of] management-designed training programmes for skidder operators... Skidders... were unique machines requiring handling and maintenance skills unfamiliar to woodworkers" (Radforth, 1982: 90). Finally, it is relevant to quote this defining observation that "... in the estimation of industry experts, some 40 per cent of the variation in productivity was 'associated with such things as skill and motivation of the operator crew'." (Radforth, 1982: 90; 1987: 209).
17. Consent is here used as M. Burawoy (1979: 27) defines it, i.e., as a social relation that has to be organized in the workplace, and is therefore opposed to the notion of legitimacy, which is a form of consciousness seen as a subjective state of mind carried around by individuals when entering the workplace.
18. Ideology is here viewed as the production of ideas that result from social relations — beyond the workplace — concerning the functioning and distribution of ownership, the control of skills, power, knowledge; thus not merely as a set of imposed ideas (inspired from F. Parkin; see S. Hill, 1981: 218-19). Although an ideology results from the referred-to social relations, it does not necessarily or

strictly reflect them, but may do so only approximately or in a distorted fashion. This is because dominant values underlying ideologies originate among those holding power, and the “complying” groups may add to them their own subordinate values which modify but do not destroy the system.

19. Examples of such class struggle extending into the (fishing) community are, for instance, B. Neis (1988) and D. Grady and J. Sacouman (1990).

Chapter 7

1. This point has widely been discussed, particularly in Canadian political economy — see P. Armstrong and H. Armstrong (1986), H.J. Maroney and M. Luxton (1987), M. Porter (1987), M. Cohen (1988), I. Bakker (1989), W. Clement (1989) and B.J. Fox (1989); as well as in labour history — see B. Bradbury (1987) and J. Parr (1990); or again in human geography — see S. Mackenzie (1986).
2. In this Canadian feminist tradition, however, history — or time — has been a main axis for seeing variation even when their analyses are spatially well circumscribed (see for instance, B. Bradbury, M. Cohen, J. Parr or M. Luxton). In contrast, it is here argued that geography — or different regions or spatial contexts — can also be used as an axis for this purpose. Among the authors referred to in this chapter, it is especially S. Walby (1986: 85-89) who underlines the existence of such variation; i.e., in different United Kingdom regions, she observes varied spatial concentrations of industries (cotton, steel, etc.) with related histories of labour organization, union strengths, technologies of labour process, and finally struggles over female employment. Or again, D. Massey (1994: 79-83) looks at how employment decline and the recomposition of the workforce — notably in the U.K. coal fields in the mid-1980s — produced variations in local conditions for political organization: “different kinds of social change can be going on in different localities”. In a similar way, the literature on the North Atlantic fisheries (see particularly M. Porter (1987) and, more generally, J. Nadel-Klein and D.L. Davis (1988) attempt to theorize the “marginality” of fishing economies in social terms while frequently tying into their analyses the specific spatial/ecological anthropology dimension unique to the region. Finally, S. Mackenzie (1986) adopts an urban geography approach to examine the interaction between specific locales and patterns of social relations. In short, my comparative approach shares with the latter authors a concern with space — seen in different staple-extractive environments — as a way of contextualizing and seeing variation in the patterning of social relationships.
3. In order to do so, the chapter draws upon a growing body of feminist writings that examine women’s historic and contemporary contribution in resource economies.

The term “feminist” qualifies here in a loose way a body of literature that, by and large, dates from the late 1980s, is predominantly authored by women, and of Marxist-feminist orientation where gendered divisions of labour and the interrelation of the household to the economy are central. However, there are some exceptions to the latter, for instance, P. Marchak’s (1983) work on the forestry industry in British Columbia. This author adopts neither a Marxist perspective nor a “women’s” one, but examines gender inequality by using a liberal political economy model centring on labour market segmentation.

4. In principle, mining companies favour the hiring of a married permanent workforce; but, in boom periods or during the building of new industrial infrastructures, single men may be employed in relatively high numbers (since women are not the “reserve army of labour” for the staple industry). This dichotomy of a married permanent workforce versus a single men temporary workforce may be as hermetic as M. Luxton (1980: 27) implies (at the beginning of her book). Yet, it may be that specific local factors lead to some overlap of, interaction between, and even a relative homogenization of both workforces; examples of such factors are: specific mining SIT construction and growth patterns, the possible cyclic feature of the production, as well as women’s strategies to supplement the family’s main income by “taking in” single men as boarders and providing domestic services for them (Luxton, 1980: 173).
5. For a critical overview of Canadian theoretical perspectives on women’s work and identities, see P. Armstrong and H. Armstrong (1990), especially Chapter 5 on “Production and Reproduction: Breaking Tradition”, pp. 67-98.
6. However, one of M. Luxton (1980: 70, 74) observations leads to a view quite opposite to the one suggested here. Indeed, she notes that by creating and maintaining these networks, women do not react in class terms, but adopt a strategy “to meet women’s needs” of relaxation and support. The thrust of this observation may be pushed further: the women’s informal networks are an escape from the mining SIT family unit, and as such are socially constructed around urban/bourgeois behaviours and values (to a large extent, the only ones clearly available to these women given the features of the popular culture and mass media messages that constitute their major “cultural” outlet and consumption). This allows the women to contrast themselves in relation to the workers’ (and union) identity of men (which constitutes a needed relief from the patriarchal outlook pervading mining SITs); and in a similar fashion, it is conducive to establishing a pecking order among themselves that may — or may not — translate into differing and potentially hierarchical perceived family identities (which constitutes a relief from the “drabness of homogenization” pervading mining SITs and above all their working population).

7. In this sense, Case 1 could be seen as representing a conventional union position in mining SITs (where class is paramount and gender inequality is a secondary concern). In a similar way, the entire Figure 7 could be seen as vertically divided, where the *left* side of the would reflect the main institutional positions of the union (Case 1) and the industry (Case 4); and the *right* side of the figure would reflect the ideologies and world views of the broadly defined women's liberation movement (Case 2) and more specifically Marxist feminism (Case 3).
8. Aspects of this difficult "politicizing experience" of women in class and gender terms is best seen in A. Lane (1983).
9. The articles co-authored by P. Connelly (1986) and M. MacDonald (1992) on the Nova Scotian fishing community of Big Harbour and its neighbouring logging town of Pleasant Bay are representative in depicting the absence of a family wage situation and the ensuing complex income strategies of households.
10. Bouchard's (1996: 100-52) extensive study of the Saguenay forestry society — historically and to the present day — presents a model of the "co-integration" of peasant and market economy features in the family economy. Here, women are seen as actively engaged in several of the family's multiple sources of income, and particularly they are responsible for dairying, chicken raising, blueberry picking, and various wage employment in the service sector.
11. In mining towns, working-class women are dependent on the (men's) family wage and, as a result, view power in the family unit in terms of control over money. These women have an individualistic desire to access money (i.e., power) which makes them long for *de facto* control of the family wage and/or for wage work, often defining their liberation in terms of "entering employment".
12. See note 7 of this chapter.
13. While this goal is plausible, it may not be the only one; other "congruent" goals that reflect "ideals" to be pursued in the work and community/political spheres are, for instance, local governance of natural resources or sustainable economic development initiatives.
14. For women, in mining SITs, such resistance often implies demands for further institutionalization of (men's) workers' rights through the "industrial state" (Burawoy, 1979); or again, as examined by R. Storey (1994), it often implies demands for : an increased consolidation of men's "job ownership", "winning the long-term attachment of workers to industry", the establishment of job ladders to ensure opportunities of advancement and reskilling, as well as demands against all contracting-out, privatization and flexibilization measures. So, mining SITs can,

in the present conjuncture of industrial restructuring, be seen as having remained in a fordist model.

15. The particular manifestations of this “post-fordism” in forestry contexts are not before all conceived and directed by industry, but refer to individual, family or community initiatives aiming to increase their control over their labour process and maintain sustainable income sources (for instance through flexible work arrangements; privatization, cooperatives; reintroducing traditional, sustainable and small-scale logging practices or forest related products or activities; etc.).
16. These two features reinforcing the sexual division of labour, i.e., job segregation due to unions and the family wage, are seen by H. Hartmann as reflecting the interrelation between patriarchy and capitalism (Walby, 1986: 42-46). Similarly, I will argue, as M. Luxton (1980: 25) also does, that these two features are very relevant when explaining social relations in mining towns. However, the two features may not be of such significance when looking at forestry towns because of the relative weakness of organized labour, the complexity of the family economy and the absence of a single family wage situation. Yet, in doing I am more cautious in viewing the family wage situation (translated in high male breadwinner wages) as an entirely patriarchal manifestation because it undeniably also represents a collective working-class victory for the family (see Humphries, 1977).
17. The greater resilience of women’s traditional economic roles (including their active participation in subsistence *and* production) and often their ensuing higher status and greater autonomy, have been underlined in the fishing sector by J. Nadel-Klein and D.L. Davis (1988: 5,19) and are included among the characteristic features of their “societal type of fishing as a mode of subsistence”.
18. Some authors examining forestry towns have observed women’s general participation in wage labour at levels comparable to national ones. P. Marchak (1983: 213-24) sees these women as forming a segmented labour market concentrating in female occupations (mainly in services and in the public sector where the State is often the employer). However, they are sometimes present in certain areas of the staple sector production, mainly in plywood mills (Marchak, 1983: 213), but seldom found in logging or sawmills (Marchak, 1979: 14). Yet, N. Hayner (1945: 219) describing a not too distant past, saw women in the Pacific Northwest region (U.S.A.) as often representing one sixth of the employees in sawmills and where many worked in production; yet, this was in part due to the war effort.

In contemporary British Columbia, P. Marchak considers that the most important factor affecting women’s participation in wage work is their family status, i.e., the presence/absence of dependent children. P. Connelly and M. MacDonald who look at the family rather than individual women’s work patterns

also consider women's life-cycles (1986: 75-78; MacDonald and Connelly, 1992: 30-31) alongside spousal work situations (1986:64; MacDonald and Connelly, 1992: 32-33). Likewise, although P. Marchak (1983: 217-34) adopts a dual labour market model to describe the sex-typing of women's paid work, she primarily uses women's life-cycles to explain their "transience" and relegation to low-paid jobs; whereas P. Armstrong and H. Armstrong (1978: 102-10, 141-66, 179-82) go beyond this, by grounding the "biological" factor in a materialist yet multidimensional explanation.

P. Connelly and M. MacDonald (1986: 51,78) see women in a similar way as V. Beechey (1987: 60-72), as a "reserve army of labour" that can float in and out of the labour market; however (unlike V. Beechey) women's participation in wage labour is not predicated purely on the needs of capital (unless the families are in poverty) but according to the needs of the family's current income level and its joint strategy to earn a "family wage" through combinations of petty commodity and wage work that characterize the Atlantic context of semi-proletarianization (Connelly and MacDonald, 1986: 67-74; MacDonald and Connelly, 1992: 29).

19. Albeit M. Cohen (1988) may question the degree to which women in fact enhance their status in the family (and community) due to their extensive involvement in subsistence production in the family economy, other authors also examining more traditional family types (although in fishing towns) such as D.L. Davis and J. Nadel-Klein (1988: 19,23), M. Porter (1985: 120-21) and B.J. Fox (1989: 156-67), claim that women's greater production role in the family tends to enhance their status, and can be conducive to greater gender equality within the family.

20. In forestry towns — as presented above — women's roles in the family unit and in the work sphere are more complex; in a parallel fashion, it may be argued that their roles, presence and status in the community are greater as well. For instance, concerning the analysis of more traditional family structures (although in fishing communities), M. Porter (1985: 120) sees the kitchen (which is the centre of women's domain) as the centre of community, thus, recognizing the inclusion, participation and authority of women in the "public" sphere. As well, B. Neis (1988: 135,144-45) sees the community sphere as the political space of women (whereas industry — and unions — are the political space of men). Or again, N. Hayner (1945: 225) looking at the very transient lifestyles of lumberjacks in Oregon (USA), sees their wives as very independent and the constant (and often dominant) keepers of family and community life in small logging towns. Moreover, he sees some types of families as matricentric when the men's work patterns make them absent from home for long periods of time when working in logging camps. It is also interesting to note that this characteristic of the absence of the husband is seen in marginal fishing economies as a recurrent one that is correlated with the autonomy and authority of women (see Nadel-Klein and Davis, 1988: 5,23-25; Cole, 1988: 172-77).

21. The concept of “pillarization” and “points of dependence” (mentioned earlier) pertain to the so-called authoritarianism approach, which has been very influential in Latin American studies from the 1970s on. A large body of work using this approach has been produced; major efforts have been D. Collier (1979) and J. Malloy (1977).
22. This idea has been examined by M. MacDonald and P. Connelly (1992), yet contradictions between individual (women’s) class and gender situations have not; the latter is something that this chapter explores to some extent, in Sections 7.1 and 7.2 (and in Figure 7).

Conclusion

1. In order to avoid repetitive references, it should be mentioned that the ideas and quotations attributed below to the four first authors are all taken from E.W. Soja (1989: 118-21). When discussing their contributions, Soja used the following sources: M. Foucault, “Questions on Geography” (in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-77*, by C. Gordon, ed. and transl. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980, pp. 63-77); H. Lefebvre, *La Production de l’Espace* (Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1974); N. Poulantzas, *State, Power, Socialism* (London: New Left Books, 1978); N. Smith, *Uneven Development. Nature, Capital and the Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984).
2. More specifically, N. Poulantzas sees these “matrices” as more than the outcomes of a mechanical causality in which pre-existing relations of production give rise at some subsequent stage to a concrete history and geography. As well, he sees the spatialization associated with the expansion of capitalism as intimately bound to the social division of labour, and the expression of economic, political, and ideological power.

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