PROBLEMS OF PLANT CLOSURES AND WORKER RELOCATION
A CASE STUDY OF JAMES ISLAND, B.C.

by

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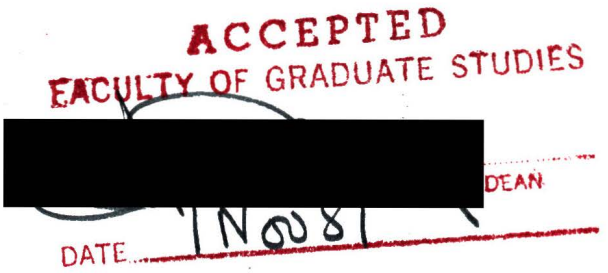

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ABSTRACT

This study examines various factors (age, race, education, etc.) affecting the reemployment opportunities of 94 workers who were displaced by the Canadian Industries plant closure on James Island, B.C. in September, 1978. The closure is viewed in this thesis as a consequence of the process of capitalist development.

A questionnaire survey of the displaced workers was conducted, some informal interviews were held and the historical development of the island was examined. Findings of the survey are compared to earlier studies undertaken in this field.

The majority of displaced workers were relatively young, most had some high school and a little over half had some form of skill. The major drawback was the nature of their work, i.e. the production of explosives. The findings reveal that older workers with a high level of skill had no difficulty in obtaining employment. This is contrary to the results of earlier studies concerning the age factor; though in general no studies examined the combined effect of age and skill. The survey also discovered that the majority of young workers, because of a relatively high educational level, found reemployment. This in turn, confirms the findings of earlier works, that education and skill are key factors in the reemployment of displaced workers. The study notes that the majority of workers had a strong community attachment, were reluctant to relocate and had to make an industrial or occupational change. The one noticeable exception was

skilled tradesmen whose skills are transferable to other work places. These findings largely confirm the results of other previous studies.

The severest economic hardships were experienced by a number of older workers and Native Indians. Most Native Indians were still unemployed one year following the plant closure. Overall a little over half of the displaced workers were not fully employed one year later. This also confirms earlier findings that government and private agencies are ineffective in finding reemployment for displaced workers.

The study concludes by suggesting possible policies by which many of the difficulties experience by displaced workers can be ameliorated in the future.

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A special note of appreciation to my wife, Rosanne, for her encouragement and many hours of typing, to Shirley Burley and to friends.

It should be noted that the author and no other person is responsible for the contents of this thesis.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated

to the former workers of

James Island, British Columbia

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

On the first of June, 1978, it was announced by Canadian Industries Limited that it's explosives plant on James Island, B.C. was to be closed, permanently, on September 30, 1978. The shutdown was to affect ninety-four employees including eighty-eight blue-collar and six white-collar workers. The company stated that the introduction of cap sensitive slurry explosives on the market made its nitroglycerine dynamite operation on James Island no longer necessary. C.I.L.'s decision to shutdown it's James Island operation is not unusual when viewed from a macro or international perspective.[1]

To-day's economic, social and even political world is dominated by large multi-national corporations.[2] They are large scale enterprises which together often produce most of the output of an industry and thus are able to control prices, production, employment and investments. In essence, they have a quasi-monopoly of production in the market place. This global monopolization of certain industries also implies that government efforts to control these enterprises are often ineffective. By transferring production to their subsidiaries in other countries and by other rationalizing devises, multi-nationals are able to evade controls by governments and to avoid paying high union wages. Here are two quotations illustrating this situation:

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[1]Recently C.I.L. also closed its subsidiary plant in Victoria, Bapco Paint, and transferred its operations to the mainland.

[2]See Levinson, 1971, Tugendhat, 1971, Eells, 1972, and Galbraith, 1978.

"Falconbridge Mines together with McIntyre Mines Limited and Canadian Superior Oil Limited, for instance, have recently entered into a foreign investment agreement with Chile which gives the companies exclusive rights to explore and develop mining claims in northern Chile. During 1976, a major exploration programme was launched by Falconbridge in the Philippines through its subsidiary, Falconbridge Philippines Inc., to evaluate nickel laterite deposits. It is worth noting that both Chile and the Philippines have among the lowest wage rate in the world, 23¢ an hour in the Philippines and 12¢ an hour in Chile as opposed to weekly average earnings in Sudbury, Ontario, of $259 (1976). These countries have very "favourable" conditions and regulations pertaining to foreign investments and the repatriation of profits. In both countries, trade unions are outlawed and labour disturbances are violently repressed." (Chossudovsky 1978:130)

"MacMillan Bloedel, through its majority-owned South East Asian subsidiaries (MacMillan Bloedel Jardine Malaysia and MacMillan Bloedel South East Asia), is investing in logging operations in Malaysia and has set up an integrated plywood and blockboard plant in Penang State. In southern Brazil, MacMillan's subsidiary (Embrasca Emprendimentos Florestais y Agrocola, Ltda) is undertaking extensive investment in afforestation. MacMillan's activities in Brazil also involve a large pulp and paper mill in a mixed venture with Brascan." (Chossudovsky 1978:141)

For countries which admit these corporations and their activities, (including Canada) the most disturbing aspects are best summed up by Pena:

a) The subsidiaries of foreign corporations have a strong impact on some extractive or industrial sectors as well as on some services in which no effective counterweight mechanism exists;

b) Through their participation in the host economy and their transfer of productive resources, international corporations tend to become important channels for the transfer of consumption patterns and values that may affect a country's style of life;

c) The transfer of technology through international corporations is not always beneficial to a local economy and may in some cases even hamper the development of a country's own technology;

d) By operating in high-profit sectors, international corporations impede local entrepreneurs or, what is even worse, contribute to their displacement (through the purchase of enterprises) (Pena, 1975:69).[3]

These large multinationals are a natural result of the accumulation and concentration of capital in the twentieth century. According to the perspective taken in this thesis, this concentration of capital is in fact accumulated surplus value; that is, the value generated by the surplus labour of the worker, appropriated by the capitalist and utilized by him for capital accumulation, usually involving corporate expansion.[4] A major aspect of this process is the absorption of small enterprises by larger ones.

Today, this trend towards the amalgamation and integration of various enterprises and the concentration of capital does not always take the form of one company taking over another smaller one. Smaller companies are allowed to exist, though they are frequently at the mercy of the monopolies. These monopolies often supply the goods to small companies and thus not only profit from them but are able indirectly to control these smaller enterprises, eg. by withholding or increasing the price of needed products. Large corporations, through forms of collusion or silent agreement, can control prices. As Baran and Sweezy (1966:60) have put it:

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[3]For a more detailed analysis of multi-nationals and developing countries, see Cockcroft, Frank & Johnson, 1972, Vaitsos, 1973 & 1974, Heeger, 1974, Erb & Kallab, 1978.

For Canadian studies see Grant, 1967, Levitt, 1970, Teeple, 1972, and Clement, 1978.

[4]See Giddens, 1971:46, Marx, 1971, and Tucker, 1972:191, for an elaboration of the above.

> "price leadership exists when the price at which most of the units in an industry offer to sell is determined by adopting the price announced by one of their number. The leader is normally the largest and most powerful firm in the industry - such as U.S. Steel or General Motors - and the others accept its dominant role not only because it profits them to do so but also because they know that if it should come to price warfare the leader would be able to stand the gaff better than they could".

In the Canadian case, this silent agreement has been referred to by the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration as "conscious parallelism". It occurs when leading firms recognize their interdependence and act accordingly without explicitly agreeing to do so.

> "Formal collusion is susceptible to regulation, but conscious parallel action is extremely difficult to detect and even more difficult to prove, and it is impossible to prevent independent action on the recognition of mutual dependence. But the effects of all three are similar." (Dickerson & Nadeau, 1978:85)

The trend of the concentration of capital in Canada in the past twenty or so years has occurred mainly by a series of mergers, rather than by outright corporate take-over. According to the Dept. of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, (1980) mergers in Canada climbed from 129 in 1963 to 296 in 1974. The dramatic upward spiral began in 1976 with 313, jumped to 398 in 1977, 449 in 1978 and at least 511 last year.[5]

The Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration listed the distribution of acquisition activity over time and across manufacturing industries for Canada and the United States. (Dickerson & Nadeau, 1978:144) The distribution, ranked by percentage of acquisition in manufacturing, shows a marked increase in

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[5] see Sherman, 1976:137 for U.S. mergers

acquisitions over the past thirty years in Canada and the United States. The acquisition activity (take-overs) of the chemical industry (to which the company discussed in this thesis belongs) in Canada between 1945-61 was 7.9% and in 1973 was 15.5%. In the United States, the percentages were 8.5% (1948-68) and 11.0% (1973) respectively. Overall, the chemical industry was ranked third following machinery and food manufacturing industries. In terms of providing employment, one authority notes: - "the chemical industries provide very few jobs, especially for unskilled labour, . . . Few industrial sectors have lower labour costs in relation to sales than the chemical industry." (U.N.I.D.O. 1969:40)

These developments have occurred in diverse industrial sectors. Among their consequences have been the closing down of various small plants. For example, in a survey sponsored by the Ontario Federation of Labour, it was discovered that over a one year period (June 1970 to June 1971) 138 plants in Ontario had terminated their operations.

> "There were 16,224 workers directly affected, 7,394 had their employment terminated, 8,830 were indefinitely laid off. Of the 16,224 employees terminated and laid off, 10,297 were from foreign-controlled plants and 5,927 from domestic plants. On the whole, the foreign-controlled plants were larger and had more extensive displacements of employees.
>
> Forty-three (43) plants had layoffs of less than 50 employees. Approximately 20 of these had less than 50 employees to begin with." (Eleen and Bernardine, 1971:3)

Caloren's research on the manufacturing sectors in Ontario in 1971-72 reached similar conclusions concerning displaced workers. He writes:

> "97,000 workers in manufacturing, mining and trade were excluded from their employment; 27,000 were thrown out on a permanent basis; a total of 35,400 sat out for six months or longer, and 42,600 were laid off for a length of time longer than the thirteen-week duration set by the Ontario Government to mark a "temporary layoff".
>
> 297 plants were closed down permanently, in full or in part, leaving an average of 70 workers each on the sidewalk. Thirteen permanent closures dislocated 250 or more workers each." (Caloren, 1978:25)[6]

It is often argued that large corporations are necessary for growth and that this leads to higher employment. The actual operations of large multi-national corporations make this assumption questionable. As Gonick (1978:143) put it:

> "Manufacturing output in Canada more than doubled between 1961 and 1976, while employment grew by only 28 percent. Mining output more than doubled with only an 18 percent increase in jobs. The motor vehicle industry employed 32,500 workers in 1957 and produced 410,000 vehicles; in 1974 it employed 41,000 workers and produced 1,500,000 vehicles. Triple the number of vehicles were produced by only 25 percent more workers. Construction nearly doubled, while the number of construction jobs rose by only 14 percent."

One particular example is provided by Eleen and Bernardine (1971:20)

> "The closing of the T.V. tube division in Toronto was the result of G.E. deciding to buy its T.V. tubes from its "competitors' in Japan, also owned by G.E., and from its own plants in the U.S.A. Such a decision could only have been made at the head office in the U.S.A. As a result, over 1,000 workers in Ontario lost their jobs."

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[6] see also Appendix A, page 73

This is not only true of the manufacturing sector, but as noted by Marchak (1979:78), the process of corporate concentration in the agricultural industry (agribusiness) has also led to a net reduction in employment.

An examination of the composition of Canada's unemployment indicates that shutdowns have contributed greatly to the unemployment problem. For example:

> The Ontario Federation of Labour estimates that of the 300,000 unemployed in Ontario, half are victims of plant closings and large layoffs. (O'Neil, 1980:68)

In 1977, the average number of unemployed persons in Canada was 862,000 (Stats Canada, 1977:11). As classified by government officials, these unemployed workers are composed of four groups: job losers, job leavers, re-entrants to the labour market and new-entrants.

Job losers are workers who were separated from their last job because the job itself ceased to exist. These workers generally have little control over the loss of their employment. They are displaced by a decrease in population, business failures, automation, shutdowns, etc. **Job leavers** are workers who voluntarily left their employment because of illness, personal or family responsibilities, return to school, quit, (dissatisfied with work) etc. **Re-entrants** are workers, who after some period of time out of the labour force, have decided to return and seek new employment. Finally, **new-entrants** are individuals who have never worked.

Of the total unemployed (1977) in Canada, 48.7% were job losers, 22.9%

were job leavers, 22.9% were re-entrants and 5.6% were new-entrants. Job losers accounted for 59.5% of the 481,000 unemployed males and 35.1% of the 380,000 unemployed females. (MacDonald, 1978:28) Among women, loss of job was most important in the 35 and over age group and accounted for approximately 43% of the unemployed in this group. The percentage of those who lost their last job in 1977 generally increases with age. This is true for both male and female workers. Also:

> "Of the 196,000 re-entrants about 28% lost or were laid off from their last job, while about 72% left their last job. For the 141,000 persons who left their last job the most important reasons were going to school (19.9%), personal or family responsibilities (11.7%), own illness or disability (8.7%) and dissatisfied with job (6.6%). Almost 16% gave a reason other than those specified on the questionnaire." (MacDonald, 1978:12)

Job loss is a more important element in total unemployment originating in the goods producing industries than in the service industries. Approximately 65% of unemployed individuals in the goods producing industries lost their last job compared to about 44% of the persons in the service producing industries. Job loss is also an important component of unemployment in the construction industry (74%), other primary (67.5%) and manufacturing industries (58.8%). (MacDonald, 1978:37)

While the existence of these displaced workers is justified by corporations, governments and even economists in the name of market competition, free enterprise and the need for more efficiency, little attention has been paid to the important question of what happens to these displaced workers. The effects of the Canadian Industries Limited shutdown on James Island, B.C. are the subject

of research done for this thesis.

This study does not assume that C.I.L.'s closing is a typical shutdown; there are probably no typical shutdowns, as each represents a unique group of workers and a unique set of social conditions. The research makes no claim of direct comparability to other plant shutdowns. Factors such as geographical location, plant size, local labour force, etc. make comparisons difficult. The thesis is merely an attempt to document the effect on workers when a large corporation decides to shutdown a small plant. In this case, the effects of the shutdown were worse because of the plant's relative isolation. There was no diversified labour market nearby to reabsorb the displaced workers.

The thesis is divided into four sections; first, a brief history of Canadian Industries Limited and its relationship with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union on James Island; second, a review of previous literature concerning the problems of workers displaced or made redundant through plant closures; third, the methods and findings of a survey concerning the former employees of James Island and finally, a summary and conclusions.

Chapter 2

1. The Company (Canadian Industries Limited)

The origins of Canadian Industries Limited (C.I.L.) lie in the year 1862 when the Hamilton Powder Co. of Ontario was incorporated to produce black powder. It was initiated by Canadians and jointly financed by Imperial Chemical Industries of the United Kingdom and Du Pont of America. The company became Canadian Explosives Limited in 1891 and, finally, in 1927 became Canadian Industries Limited. In the period from 1910 to 1930 the company expanded, largely through the acquisition of other companies manufacturing acids, fertilizers, ammunition, coated fabrics, paints and varnish, plastics, salt, caustic soda and chlorine.

After 1930, the company expanded rapidly by increasing the scale of its existing manufacturing operations and through the addition of facilities for manufacturing new products. This expansion was largely financed through internal (retained) earnings. C.I.L. raised, "their investment capital from earnings and the sale of assets and security holdings." (Eaton, 1968:13) This appears to follow a pattern discussed by Baran and Sweezy (1966:17) who wrote:

> "Each corporation aims at and normally achieves financial independence though the internal generation of funds which remain at the disposal of management. The corporation may still as a matter of policy, borrow from or through financial institutions, but it is not normally forced to do so and hence is able to avoid the kind of subjection to financial control which was so common in the world of Big Business fifty years ago."

In 1954, C.I.L. was divided into two separate companies, Du Pont of Canada and Canadian Industries Limited. Today, C.I.L. is the largest producer of

chemicals and chemical products in Canada with sales of $667,838,000.00 in 1977. (C.I.L. Report, 1977:8) Its parent company, Imperial Chemical Industries of Great Britain, one of the largest chemical and allied products companies in the world, had a total Group[7] sales of 4533 million sterling of which 18% (805 million) was through its subsidiaries in North America. (I.C.I., 1978:3)

I.C.I. owns approximately 74% of C.I.L. common shares and the remaining 26% are held by Canadians.[8] (I.C.I., 1978:3) This pattern of control is not uncommon in the chemical industry in Canada.

> "A government report published in 1965 shows that of 375 chemical companies operating in Canada in 1963 nearly two-thirds were controlled by non-residents. These companies owned about 75% of the chemical industry's assets and accounted for 80% of its sales. Half of Canada's chemical firms with 60% of the industry's sales were 95% or more owned by outsiders." (Eaton, 1968:13)

As is common in Canada, C.I.L.'s board of directors is interlocked with other boards or large corporations. As noted in the Financial Post's yearly book on company directors (1979) in 1978, Wilfred J. Mandry, president and chief executive officer was a director of Imperial Chemical Industries of Americas Inc. Another director, F.S. Burbidge was president and member of the executive

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[7] "Group" - I.C.I. and its subsidiaries companies - see Appendix B, Page 77, also, C.I.L. Holdings, Page 79.

[8] Interestingly enough the 26% Canadian ownership allows for a substantial tax-break. In the early sixties, a tax incentive was given to foreign owned companies to sell at least 25% of their equity in their Canadian subsidiaries to Canadians. "The revamping of tax laws in 1963 allowed companies with at least 25% Canadian ownership to depreciate equipment bought between 1963 and 1966 at 50% a year, rather than 20%. In addition, the dividends they pay to non-residents are subject to only 10% withholding tax, rather than the 15% rate for non-qualifying corporations." (Eaton, 1968:15)

committee of Canadian Pacific Ltd., a director and member of the executive committee of the Bank of Montreal, a director of Canadian Pacific (Bermuda) Ltd., C.P. Steamships Ltd., C.P. Investments Ltd., C.P. Transport Co. Ltd., Cominco Ltd., Marathon Realty Co. Ltd., Soo Line Railroad Co., and Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railroad Co. Allistair M. Campbell was chairman of Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada, director and chairman of Canadian Enterprise Development Corp., director and chairman of Canadian Enterprise Development Corp., director of C.P. Investment Ltd., Royal Trust Co., The Steel Company of Canada Ltd., Canadian Executive Service Overseas, Digital Equipment of Canada, Royal Trust Co. Mortgage Corp., Royal Trustco Ltd. and Tertron Canada Ltd. One director, A.G.S. Griffin is chairman of Home Oil Co., chairman of Commercial Life Assurance Co. of Canada, The Halifax Insurance Co., Scurry-Rainbow Oil Ltd., and a director of Canadian Corporate Management Co. Ltd., Consumers Gas Co., I.C.I. Americas, Raymond International Inc. and Triarch Corp. Ltd. The existence of this interlocking network suggests the substantial influence these directors have over other sectors of the economy. It actually enhances the corporate scope of Canadian Industries Limited.

Corporate size is vital in any discussion of James Island. By 1978, the James Island plant was a small operation (88 workers) which appears to have been an expendable part of the corporate structure. C.I.L. in 1977 had 35 principal manufacturing plants across Canada and two outside the country in Jamaica and Liberia. There were three in British Columbia, six in Alberta, one in Saskatchewan, one in Manitoba, thirteen in Ontario, seven in Quebec, two in New Brunswick, one in Nova Scotia and one in the Yukon. In addition to these

locations, C.I.L. operated 19 explosives plants in mining and construction sites across Canada and a large network of fertilizer blending plants and farm supply centres in Eastern Canada, 24 wholly owned while 12 were joint ventures and 18 were franchized. (C.I.L. Profile, 1977:18) C.I.L. directly employed 8,319 employees in 1978, down 715 from the 1976 total.

2. The James Island Plant and Community

In early 1913, James Island was purchased from the James Island Club, a syndicate of prominent Victoria men, by Canadian Explosives Limited (later Canadian Industries Limited) which was searching for a western outpost for its operations.

> Its choice was based chiefly on five considerations: The most economical freight movements for the "large tonnage" raw materials then supplied from overseas sources; i.e. nitrate of soda from Chile; phosphate rock from Florida; glycerine, nitrate of ammonia and potash from Europe; sulphur from Japan.
>
> A plant located on a company-owned island - suitable for an industrial community with no further fear of objections or claims from other property owners or citizens. In this connection, no "table of distances" in connection with the legal manufacture and storage of explosives in Canada had yet been established.
>
> A good topographical site, with good climate and in an area of ample and good labor supply.
>
> A reasonable price — i.e. land was relatively inexpensive at the time in the west — a (relatively) small island offered the opportunity for the plant's acreage to be less than a site in even a sparsely "built-up" area.
>
> Of course — convenience to sales markets." (B. Bond, 1979:4)

Many of the reasons given for this choice of location in 1913 due to vastly

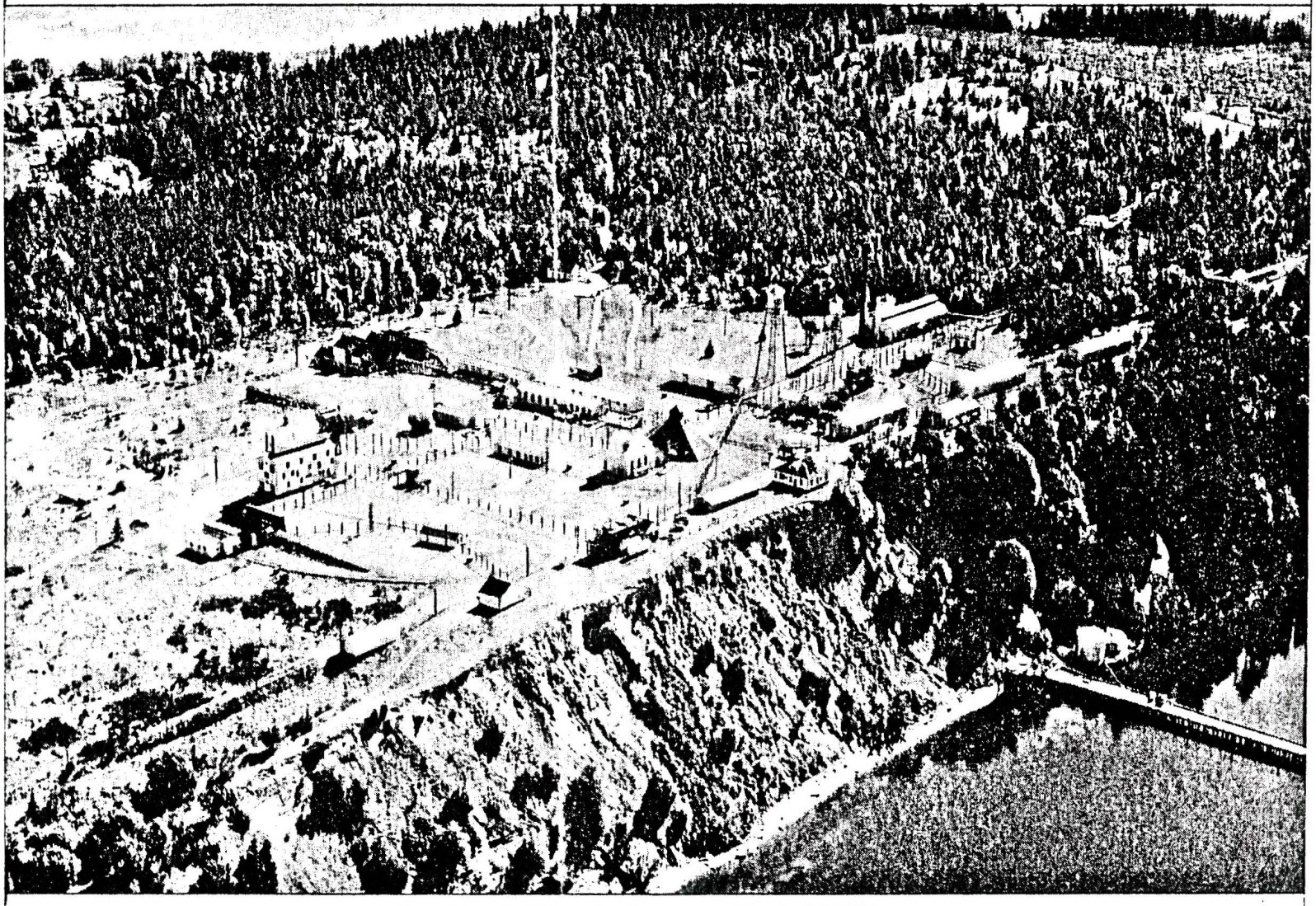
improved technology are no longer applicable in 1980.

Today, there is no need for "large tonnage" of raw materials in the production of explosives. Raw materials are now supplied within Canada. Also, the production of explosives today is relatively safe and storage poses no problem.

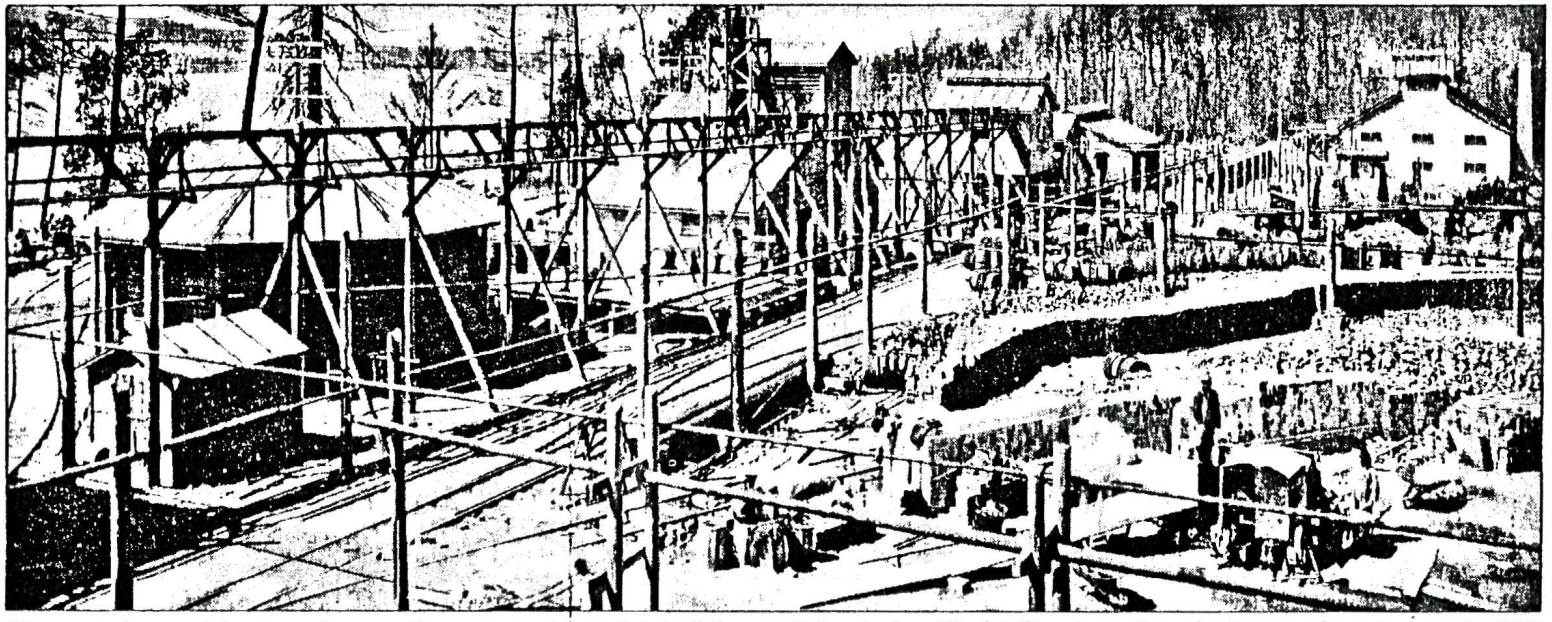
In the late spring of 1913, construction of the new dynamite plant was started. As was customary in those days, the land was cleared by Chinese workers. Later, the outbreak of World War I in August 1914 completely transformed James Island. Within months, the labour force on the island jumped to over 1,000 men working three shifts, seven days a week to complete construction of the explosives plant. A lack of proper housing led to several make-shift tent communities, many remaining till after the war. The official company history, which is the only available source, notes that:

> "As the war progressed, the original design capacity of 300,000 pounds of T.N.T. a month was continually increased until by spring of 1917, production had risen to one million pounds per month. When the United States officially declared war that year, additions were made to the nitric acid and T.N.T. plants, which doubled this earlier output. Historians now estimate that James Island supplied one-twelth of all T.N.T. used by the allies during World War I to fuel their massive war machines." (C.I.L. Contract, 1978:6)

The end of World War I brought about a sharp reduction in the island population. The population was reduced by approximately sixty percent from that of the war years. A company village arose at the north end of the island, complete with general store, community hall, bowling alleys, tennis courts and fifty-eight cottages and houses. As late as 1949, there were over one hundred children of employees resident on the island many of whom attended a two-room



Aerial View of James Island, (all photos, C.I.L.1978)



The new James Island works was the scene of feverish building activity during World War I as the plant geared up to supply TNT to Britain and its allies. The huge pile of bricks was used to line the steel towers used in the denitration and concentration of nitric acid.

company-owned and operated school. Only the general store was privately owned. This is the only aspect of the village which made it untypical of the early twentieth century trend of company towns.[9]

The history of James Island illustrates the trend of introducing new technology to displace workers as a means to increase corporate profits. (Baran & Sweezy, 1966:69) In 1961, the acid and nitroglycerine operations were closed down and the plant operated as a master mix plant, receiving nitroglycerine from Calgary works in the form of gelatin dough. This partial closure resulted in the displacement of 40 to 50 workers. James Island continued to supply products to the mining, construction and logging industries until it's closure in 1978.

While C.I.L. stated that the introduction of cap sensitive slurry explosives on the market made its nitroglycerine dynamite operation no longer necessary and that dynamite would be supplied in future from other explosive manufacturing locations, it did not state that "caps" were produced and introduced on to the market by C.I.L. and that a new and non-union plant was completed in Nobel, Ontario to manufacture "caps". The production of cap sensitive slurry explosives is a less labour-intensive and lower cost process than the nitroglycerine dynamite process formerly used on James Island. There is now speculation that the C.I.L. move was an attempt to force the selling of "caps" in order that its Nobel plant would not be a failure. It was noted by a former union spokesman, though, that nitroglycerine was still in demand in B.C. and now C.I.L. was shipping this T.N.T from Beloeil, Quebec. This resulted in an increase in price for T.N.T. in British Columbia.

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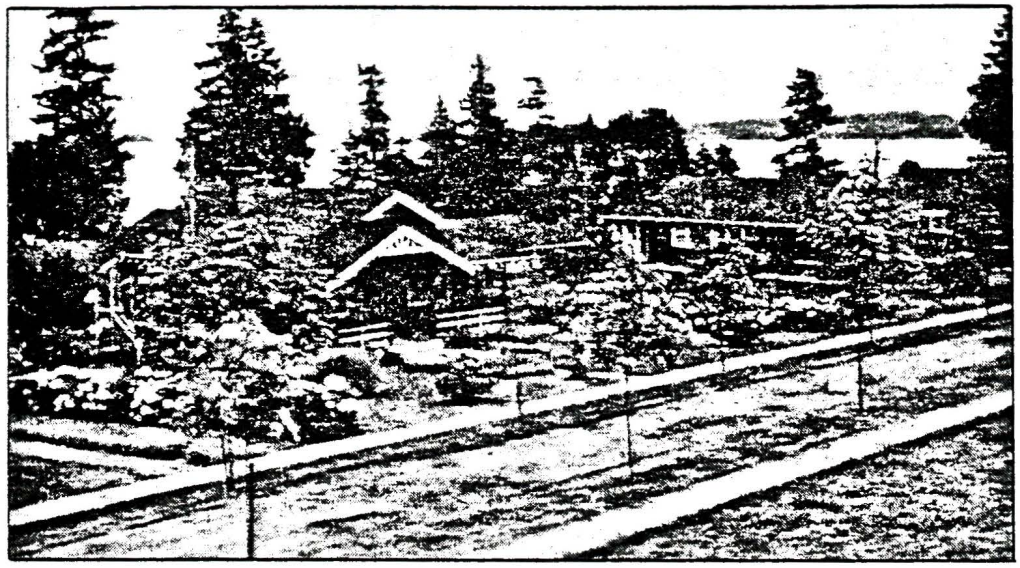
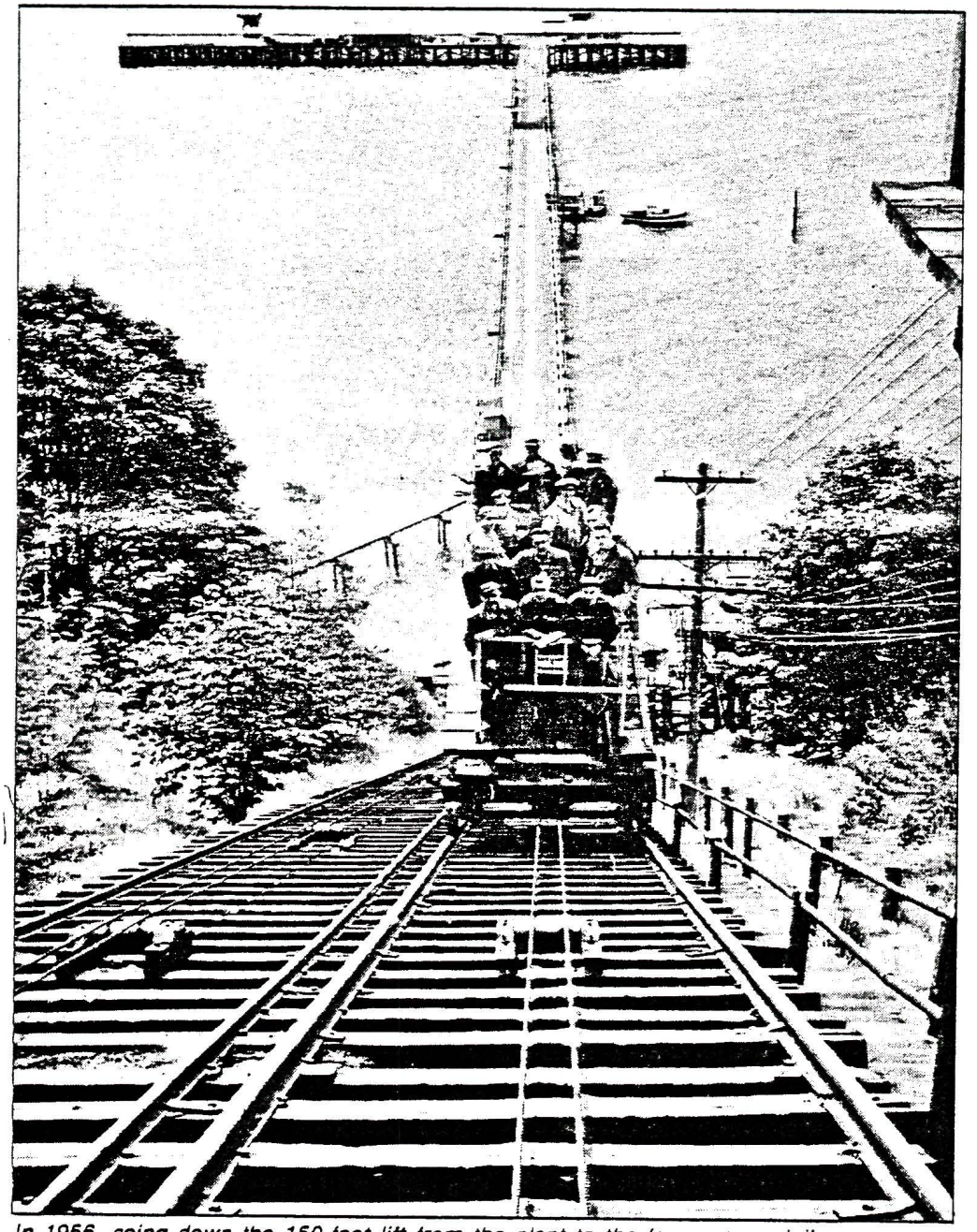
[9] (Lucas, 1971) For work on company towns



Streets roamed all over the place in James Island village. Lined with trim boulevards and orderly trees, they were faced with neat gardens and homes. According to this photo which appeared in a 1949 issue of Contact, they were referred to by such colorful names as Production Lane, the street which housed many young couples with large families.

Thirty years ago, this village store was one of the focal points of community life on the island. Customers not only helped themselves to the goods on the shelf, but also entered their own orders in the order book and charged their purchases to their own account.



In 1956, going down the 150-foot lift from the plant to the ferry was a daily occurrence with this group of employees who lived on Vancouver Island. The ferry waiting at the bottom took them across the 1½ miles of water where their cars were parked.

After the closure in 1978, James Island was transformed into a distribution centre for Continental Explosives Limited, a subsidiary of C.I.L. The subsidiary is distributing some dynamite and will be manufacturing ammonium nitrate fuel and explosives on a small scale. It will employ only five or six men.

3. The Union

No discussion of James Island would be complete without a brief history and discussion of the workers' union on James Island. In the spring of 1942, there was ill-feeling on the island especially with regard to a particular foreman. The wages were low and most notably there was a high turn-over amongst workers. This resulted in several workers approaching the Victoria Labour Council, (then called the Trades Council) to form a union. There was no immediate answer, but upon a second application, G. Wilkinson travelled to the plant and met with management. The plant manager, described by workers as a "likeable sort", agreed to the holding of a vote. Approximately 85% voted in a secret ballot to establish a union. The head office's reaction was a blunt refusal to accept the results unless it was supervised by a government offical. A second vote was taken and approximately 98% voted for union certification. The Canadian Chemical and Explosives Industrial Union, Federal Charter No. 128 was then established in 1942. It was the first local to be certified in any C.I.L. plant and, indeed, set a trend for the rest of Canada. The contract alleviated the problem of wages and reduced the turn-over rate. Contrary to company fears, the existence of the union caused no conflict within the village between management and worker. The only grievance the workers held against the company in the first contract was the pay rate awarded to six Chinese workers. They received

5¢ per hour less than their white counterparts. This discrimination was later rectified by the company.

Industrial unrest or conflict has been next to non-existent on the island. Only one strike threat ever materialized. This was in 1957, when a strike vote was taken after a contract dispute could not be settled by arbitration. However, in the early morning of the day set for the strike (2:00 A.M.) a settlement was reached with management.

In 1961, the local was approached by the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union and was asked to join. After six to eight months of negotiation, the members voted to join this international union. R.C. Barrie, the then president of the local gave the following reasons for this decision in an interview:

1) "the local felt that an O.C.A.W. representative could be helpful at negotiations;

2) the local would have more clout, ie. power;

3) the representative could argue for workers instead of the individual worker doing it himself - thus individual workers would not be singled out".

The resulting new status brought little change, in that local autonomy was kept intact. The history of the James Island local is exceptional compared to other B.C. locals which were plagued by industrial unrest. The James Island collective agreements were often used by other O.C.A.W. locals as the standard contract across Canada.

Unlike the experience of the James Island plant, collective bargaining of chemical workers in the rest of Canada has been beset with a number of problems among which is the inability to institute industry-wide contract

negotiations. The major obstacles to co-ordinate bargaining are: (1) different contract expiry dates, (2) the problem of inter-provincial jurisdiction where labour relations are under provincial jurisdiction, (3) employer resistance and (4) union rivalry. To quote from Laxer's work on unions:

> "the initial discussions for merging the U.R.W. (United Rubber Workers), and O.C.A.W., later abondoned because of rivalries between the top American leaders, could have established a powerful industrial union in the chemical industry, particularly if it had incorporated the International Chemical Workers Union as well." (Laxer, 1976:308)

This also demonstrates that the role of international (American) unions is often detrimental to the solidarity of the Canadian Labour movement.[10] Fragmentation of trade union representation, multiplicity of unions and limited worker-participation at the plant level are hardly calculated to contribute to a narrowing of occupational and interindustry difference.

4. Company and Union Relations

In order to discuss the relationships between the workers and management on James Island, it is necessary to make a generalization concerning the field of industrial relations. The continuous use of such terms as the "institutions of industrial relations", directing attention to organizations, systems, etc.[11] is important, but this institutional view often leads to simple formal or official conceptions of industrial relations, to the view that the subject is merely the study of relationships between agencies and organizations rather than people. These abstract collective entities become reified and the role played by human

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[10] see Crispo, 1967, Watkins, 1973:178, Lipton, 1973, Laxer, 1976

[11] see Flanders, 1965

beings as well as the total structure of capitalism and its historical stage of development are deemphasized. It appears that one of the main reasons that industrial conflict was minimal on James Island was that the regulations, institutional entities, etc. had not become so reified in the minds of individuals as to pose a barrier between management and worker. For example, no grievance was submitted for arbitration until 1972. Differences were settled through face-to-face negotiations and not by some externally imposed institutionalized procedure.

There are many reasons for this situation or phenomenon on the island. The managerial staff (plant) held the belief that conflict and division would be counter-productive and dangerous. Management and worker lived in the same island village, and shared the same social activities, recreational grounds and facilities. Residents competed against each other for the best manicured yards and flower gardens. (Bond, 1979) The children attended the same school, played together, etc. The isolation of the island led to a high level of community involvement. The fact that the head office of the company was located in Montreal strengthened the management-worker tie. In fact, it usually took one to two weeks for the Montreal office to approve of newly-signed contracts. The management of James Island was so controlled from Montreal, that the head office acted as a scapegoat for managerial decisions affecting James Island. Thus, it was not the local plant manager that was held responsible for unpopular decisions, but rather the head office in Montreal. One could say that management and worker were at the same grassroots level; they developed a unique bond of co-operation and friendship. Older workers often speak in warm

terms about this relationship on the island. This community spirit carried on even after the village closure in 1962, which resulted from the steady reduction of employees on the island over the years, e.g. in 1961, 40-50 workers were laid off.

A conflict of interest between management and worker never surfaced because the administrative power structure was located in Eastern Canada far removed from the local scene. However, the realization that, in a capitalist society, where ownership of the means of production is concentrated in the hands of a small number of individuals, that "profit" is the key influence on company policy and not the livelihood (well being) of individual workers was brought home to these workers in September, 1978.

Chapter 3

EXISTING RESEARCH ON PROBLEMS OF WORKERS DISPLACED OR MADE REDUNDANT THROUGH PLANT CLOSURES[12]

The research on displaced workers which has been examined for this thesis consists largely of discrete case studies of plant closures. It deals with blue collar and white collar workers who were displaced or made redundant through plant closures in Canada, Great Britian and the United States. After the following review, certain factors will be examined and compared to the James Island experience.

Three basic problem areas which have concerned researchers in this field will be examined. They are as follows: (A) Factors affecting reemployment, (B) Job finding and mobility and, (C) Economic and non-economic consequences of job displacement. There is a considerable amount of overlapping since each problem area is often closely interrelated.

A. FACTORS AFFECTING REEMPLOYMENT

There are in the literature two distinguishable sets of factors affecting the reemployment of displaced workers. The first set includes (a) demographic characteristics of the displaced worker, (age, race, sex) and (b) qualifications, (skill and education). The second is the assistance available to workers including (a) retraining programs and (b) interplant transfers. Naturally, demand in the labour market is a further variable.

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[12] see Appendix C, Page 84, for a summary of other works on displaced workers as complied by Haber

1(a) - Demographic Characteristics

Age:

Various analyses of job displacement have noted a relationship between age and finding new employment. Studies have shown that older workers are discriminated against on two grounds: - their alleged poor potential for retraining and companies' beliefs that retraining is financially unfeasible due to the employees' imminent retirement. In contrast, younger workers face discrimination because of lack of work experience. On the whole, however, older workers appear to experience greater difficulty in obtaining work than younger workers. The relationship between age and finding new employment has been documented in numerous studies, most notably: Wilcock (1957), Hammerman (1964), Aiken, Ferman and Sheppard (1968), Portis and Suys (1970) and Daniel (1972). Age in these studies appears more important than other factors such as skill, race and education. Older workers are usually given lower paying positions. As noted in studies done in East St. Louis, Columbia and Oklahoma City by Wilcock and Franke.

> "Older workers were often relegated to less desirable jobs in low-paying industries and occupations. Not only did they experience longer unemployment, but in order to find work at all they often had to make drastic and unfavourable shifts in industry," (Wilcock and Franke, 1963:135)

Race:

Race as a basis for job discrimination has been well documented in the United States. The most notable studies concerning displaced workers are a series of articles in Shostack and Gomberg (1964) and Shultz (1964) concerning

Blacks. Unfortunately, the situation of Native Indians, the racial minority concerned in the present study, as industrial workers in Canada has not been the subject of much scholarly research.[13] This is possibly because most studies have been undertaken in industrial areas where the native population is small or non-existent. However, one can hypothesize from the American studies and from research on urban Indians in Canada that the reemployability of Native Indians would be lower than that of other persons.

Sex:

According to Wilcock and Franke (1963), Hammerman (1964) and Boase (1967) women have greater difficulty in obtaining reemployment than men. The findings of these studies, while limited because of the generally low proportion of women in the industrial sectors, are nevertheless indicative of job discrimination. Wilcock and Franke noted in their study of shutdowns in five American cities that "while only 23 percent of the displaced ABC workers were women, 64 percent of those without jobs were women." (Wilcock and Franke, 1963:61) The most noteworthy exception occurred in the textile industry as noted in the study by Creamer and Coulten (1971). These researchers discovered that women had no difficulty in finding reemployment in the textile industry.

This is probably explainable in terms of the lower wage rate offered to workers in the textile industry. Male members of the work force tend not to accept such low wages and the choice offered to women is limited. Despite these findings there is an overall lack of research concerning women in plant closures, possibly because women are a small percentage of the workers in these plants.

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[13] One notable exception is R. Knight's (1980) recent work on Native Indians

1(b) - Qualifications

Skill:

Skill levels may affect reemployment because of a lack of appropriate training or because of rapidly changing technology. Lack of training usually prevents individuals from obtaining certain positions. Unskilled workers in factories usually perform repetitive work and after displacement often find similar work difficult to obtain. Limited skills or a lack of skills hinders their job prospects for a new and different form of work. Secondly, skilled workers may have difficulties in finding a job because they are unable to work with new technology. But while both unskilled and skilled workers face problems of reemployment it seems the less skilled workers have fewer job opportunities than the more skilled workers. Foltman's study of 1,400 displaced workers of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation (Wickwire Spencer Div.) in the Buffalo district of New York State supports this view.

> "In this study, 81 percent of the professional and other white-collar respondents were successful in obtaining jobs, against 56 percent of the blue-collar. Of this blue-collar group, skilled worker respondents tended to be more successful (36 percent) in obtaining jobs than the unskilled (20 percent)." (Foltman, 1968:110)

So also do the conclusions of Young (1963:158):

> "A striking fact of the Oklahoma City plant closure was the relative ease with which maintenance men who had a standard skill - such as carpenters, electricians, machinists, pipefitters - found jobs compared with the workers directly engaged in processing meat."

Similar findings are reported in studies undertaken by Adams and Aronson (1957), Wilcock (1957), Wilcock and Franke (1963) and Palen and Fahey (1967).

Education:

Closely related to skill is education. Wedderburn (1964) and Foltman (1968) discovered that white-collar job seekers with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty in obtaining work than their blue-collar counterparts. Employers will often base their decision to hire on an educational basis, if white-collar or blue-collar workers appear to have the same level of skill and experience.

(2) - Assistance To Displaced Workers

2(a) Retraining:

The literature concerning retraining programs for displaced workers suggests that in general they are a failure. This is due to various reasons, including: (1) workers do not undertake retraining because of their disbelief in such programs; (2) once retrained, workers must often decide either to leave their residence and move to another location for employment, thus giving up community and family ties, or to remain unemployed; and (3) retrained workers often are still unable to find a job. This was noted in a highly detailed study done by Wilcock on ex-Armour Company workers who were retrained after a plant closure. This study by Wilcock was noted by Haber, (1963:22):

> "The most detailed information available concerning the effect of retraining on displaced workers is contained in the study of ex-Armour Company workers in Oklahoma City in 1961. Of the 431 former production workers who were invited to be tested and counselled for a retraining program negotiated by the union with Armour Company, 210 visited the state employment service for testing. Sixty of the tested workers were recommended for retraining by February, 1961. Age was not a factor; Negroes and women were the most eager to receive training.
>
> In the early spring of 1962, 41 of these retrained workers were interviewed again to determine the effect of retraining. The results were not encouraging. Forty-six percent of the 41 retrained were

> unemployed at that time, compared with 34 percent of the 381 displaced workers who had received no retraining or who had not completed the program. The unemployment rate for retrained workers under 45 or over, was 37 percent and for the workers aged 45 and over, 54 percent. All but one of the men aged 45, however, had jobs. Among the 22 retrained individuals who were working in the spring of 1962, only 4 of the 12 younger attributed their job to their retraining."

Similar findings are reported in studies done by Foltman (1968), Ullman (1969), Stern (1972) and Daniel (1978). Thus, retraining has generally proven more than minimally helpful and does not appear to provide a realistic alternative for most displaced workers.

2(b) Interplant Tranfers:

In the instance where a company has a number of plants or operations, the displaced worker may be aided by interplant transfers. Often companies which shut down plants in a certain area open new, larger and more modern plants in a new location which requires workers. The size and number of branch plants in North America suggests that interplant transfers should lessen the number of unemployed workers resulting from a shutdown. Studies indicated though that reemployment by this method is limited. One researcher notes that:

> "it seems clear that workers are most likely to experience transfer rights between two plants within the same labour market than between units located in different, widely separate market areas. When Ford shifted its Highland Park Truck operation to Louisville, Kentucky, 953 displaced workers were offered employment opportunities at the new location. Of this total, only 36 members elected to move to Louisville. The remainder of the displaced workers were eventually absorbed by other Ford plants in the Detroit area. In a similar manner, only 16 of the 429 employees who were affected by shift operations from the Lincoln engine plant in River

> Rouge to Lima, Ohio, exercised their transfer rights to move to the new locations. As in the Highland Park case, most of the remaining employees were ultimately placed in other company plants in and around Detroit." (Weber, 1963:137)

In similar studies done by Smith and Fowler (1964), Crysdale (1968), Lipsky (1969), Eleen and Bernadine (1971) and Mann (1973), two basic facts appear: (1) supervisory and skilled workers are more likely than other workers to be offered job transfers, with the blue-collar worker less likely to accept; (2) displaced workers will accept transfers more readily if the new jobs are within the same geographical area as their old jobs.

These studies also demonstrate that where the employer merely goes through the motions of arranging for people to be interviewed, to meet other employers, etc. as a public relations gesture, it does little to satisfy the real needs of the displaced workers. On the other hand, if the employer goes to the trouble of providing incentives and needed assistance, interplant tranfers may have the potential of becoming successful.

B. JOB FINDING AND MOBILITY

Finding A Job:

This section will review the studies concerning job hunting by displaced workers. There are two basic methods of attempting to locate a job; (1) the use of official agencies, i.e. a government or private employment agency, union or the former employer, and (2) the use of informal sources of job leads, provided by direct contact with employers themselves, or with friends or relatives. The literature indicates that most displaced workers obtain new jobs through

informal sources rather than through the use of official agencies. This was indicated in studies undertaken in the United States by Adams and Aronson (1957), Wilcock and Franke (1963), Sheppard and Belitsky (1966), Foltman (1968) and Stern et. al (1974). Foltman in examining the role of the New York State Employment Services writes:

> "In reflecting on how they (workers) had heard of their present jobs, the majority of respondents, both white and blue-collar, answered that they personally applied for the job, i.e. that their personal efforts produced the job." (Foltman, 1968:112)

Canadian studies have found similar results after examining the effects of advance notice in plant shutdowns. The studies undertaken by Crysdale (1968), Portis and Suys (1970), McKenna (1973) and Steibert (1978) all claimed that direct contact was largely employed by workers to obtain new jobs. To quote one study, "Direct approach to employers was by the far the most common method of obtaining new employment." (McKenna, 1973:11) In general, the above studies suggest that official agencies play a relatively minor role in finding jobs for displaced workers, compared to the use of informal sources.

Mobility:

The literature indicates that displaced workers are frequently required to make an industry change. Workers very seldom obtain work similar to their previous employment activity. Haber cites two studies: "only 13% of the reemployed ex-Armour workers and 11% of the reemployed workers in the Mt. Vernon study found jobs in their old industrial classification." (Haber, 1963:36) Occupational change is usually necessary if the worker wishes to remain in a

specific geographical area. This becomes significant when cultural and kinship ties are strong in an area and the costs of relocating to a strange community are considered to be excessive. In the Boase (1967) study of the closure of the Toronto General Steel Wares plant, which had operated for 88 years in the area, the majority of workers refused to relocate and approximately half who did relocate later returned to their community. This community attachment was also verified by Foltman's study. To quote:

> "the Wickware study seems to validate the propostion that displaced workers, especially blue-collar, do not care to seek jobs outside their community because of strong attachment to it." (Foltman, 1978:116)

C. OTHER ECONOMIC AND NON-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

Economic:

Most research undertaken in the area of unemployment caused through plant closures indicates that displaced workers suffer economic losses.[14] Not only current earnings but pensions contributions and benefits are lost when a shutdown occurs. (Eleen and Bernadine, 1971:102) The standard pension plan is usually an agreement between three parties: an insurance company, the employer and the employee, the latter two parties making equal payments to the plan. What typically happens is that upon closure the plan becomes void, because the employer terminates the agreement. The worker is not merely displaced but loses his contributing years in a pension plan. However, insurance companies are increasingly offering workers the choice of continuing their insurance pension policies and in some cases this right is guaranteed in a union contract.

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[14] see Mick, 1975

What is more significant is that remaining in the same community usually involves a substantial reduction in wages upon job displacement. Wilcock and Franke (1963) found that 9 out of every 10 reemployed workers experienced a reduction in wages.[15] Further overwhelming evidence on wage-reductions is found in studies undertaken by Aiken, Ferman and Sheppard (1968), Crysdale (1968), Portis and Suys (1970) and Stern (1972). Reduced earnings are the results of many factors, including the following: (1) lengthy service with a particular company usually signifies a high salary level and subsequent jobs are not apt to offer a comparable wage i.e. seniority rights are lost, (2) the less educated, the less skilled and the minority group members often, because of necessity, take the first available job, regardless of pay, (3) job displacement often occurs in an area already economically depressed (see George, 1969), (4) often displaced workers move from a union to a non-union plant, (5) many workers have a strong attachment to their communities and have little inclination to move - thus are forced to accept less.

Non-Economic:

The non-economic consequences have been found to be most difficult to measure by researchers. Change in employment status has a serious adverse effect on a worker's self-esteem and his/her relationship with persons in his/her immediate social environment. Loss of employment may result in the destruction of integrated, closely-knit patterns of life. This type of disruption is most notably documented in Palmer (1962), Boase (1967) and Slote (1969). One result as described by Crysdale (1968), Palen (1969) and Portis Suys (1970) is that

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[15] see Wilcock and Franke, 1963:145-173 section on wage reduction after job displacement.

workers tend to favor more government control over plant closures. Because researchers did not provide respondents with a concise definition of government control, responses varied in their advocacy of direct government take-over, early notification of closure, government or company retraining programs and government subsidies to the industry. As well as the above evidence, there is the tragic psychological effect of alienation which, although it affects all workers, is particularly acute for displaced workers. As a leading writer on the topic has said:

> "Man is spoken of as being separated from his work (he plays no part in deciding what to do or how to do it) - a break between the individual and his life activity. Man is said to be separated from his own products (he has no control over what he makes or what becomes of it afterwards) - a break between the individual and the material world. He is also said to be separated from his fellow men (competition and class hostility has rendered most forms of cooperation impossible) - a break between man and man." (Ollman, 1971:133-134)

The form of alienation experienced by displaced workers is the most severe and harsh aspect of a plant closure and one of the great ironies of capitalist society.

REVIEW

In reviewing these case studies one is struck by the underlying assumption that displacement of workers is inevitable and indeed, necessary in an industrial society. The acceptance of this notion has resulted in a barrier to developing alternative solutions. Acceptance of the inevitability of shutdowns means that responsibility for the adverse consequences is placed upon the workers and not the company concerned or the process of capitalist development. Even so, the literature reviewed suggests that there are a number of factors which must be considered in an analysis of the social and economic effects on workers displaced through plant closures. The following section examines many of these and attempts to evaluate the consequences of the plant closure on James Island. It was not possible to include all factors which were reviewed because not all were applicable to James Island. Thus, the small number (6) of white-collar workers and the absence of women in the labour force excluded investigation of these elements. Also, the above studies were undertaken in highly concentrated industrial areas, while the James Island shutdown occurred in a relatively isolated area of the country.

Chapter 4

THE SURVEY OF FORMER C.I.L. WORKERS ON JAMES ISLAND

Methodology:

In August 1979, a survey was made of C.I.L. workers on James Island, B.C. by means of a questionnaire, accompanied by a letter,[16] which was sent to all former production workers. The workers were asked to return a postcard separately with their names on it, in order to preserve anonymity and to indicate whether or not the worker had received and returned the questionnaire. Names and address of former workers were furnished by Larry Smith, former president of Local 9-696, of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union.[17] An attempt was made to survey eighty-one workers who were displaced by the shutdown. Approximately half of the questionnaires were delivered by the researcher personally to the respondents and the remaining ones were mailed. The former group were informally interviewed and asked various questions pertaining to James Island. At the time of the survey, seven workers remained with C.I.L. on the Island, of whom three were part-time and four full-time. In all, fifty workers responded, i.e. the survey response rate achieved was 62 percent.

In an attempt to follow up non-respondents, a telephone survey was made

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[16] see Appendix D, Pages 86.

[17] C.I.L. was first approached, but refused to release any names and in general was reluctant in supplying any information concerning the shutdown.

and it was discovered that old or incorrect addresses were the main reason for non-responses. Incorrect addresses, i.e. mail returned by the Post Office, accounted for approximately 80% of non-respondents, with the remaining 20% as indicated in telephone interviews refusing to return the questionnaire. One non-respondent had been on disability since 1971 and was not affected by the shutdown. Given that the survey was undertaken one year following the shutdown, this response pattern is not surprising. A percentage of incorrect addresses was expected by the researcher.

The levels of skill of individual workers were determined by the job classifications supplied in the last collective agreement (1975) between the O.C.A.W. and C.I.L. All tradesmen, i.e. electricians, shift engineers, carpenters, pipefitters, welders, machinists, etc., were classified as "skilled workers"; all first operators from various departments in the plant were classified as "semi-skilled' and all general help workers, second operators, boat attendants, etc. as "unskilled." Justification for this procedure was provided by the following wage rates; an electrician earned $6.04 per hour in 1975, a first operator from the ingredient preparation or from the mixing and cartridging houses earned $5.13 to $5.76 per hour respectively and second operators, general helpers, etc. earned $4.43 to $4.86 per hour.

Survey Results:

1. Workers Characteristics

The ensuing examination of the overall characteristics of the work force on James Island, aims to ascertain whether this group of workers had any

characteristics which would hinder their re-employment. The survey data is presented in a straight forward tabular form though some tables are cross-tabulated to examine certain factors (education, skill) as they pertain to various age groups. This is necessary to examine whether age affects the re-employment of certain groups of displaced workers.

Results from the fifty surveyed workers indicated that at the time of the closure, the work force was relatively young. The mean age was 36.7 years of age with a standard deviation of 12.6. The following tables, which describe the demographic characteristics of the worker population indicate that 47% had worked on James Island for less than 4 years. **(Table 1)**[18]. In examining the age distribution **(Table 2)**, one notes that 42% are between the ages of twenty-six and thirty-five. The survey discovered that a large majority of the workers were married (82%) and three quarters of these married men had 1-3 dependents including wives.

Table 1 - Seniority

Seniority	(N's)	%	Cum.%
1-4 yrs.	(23)	47	47
5-9 yrs.	(15)	31	78
10-15 yrs.	(5)	10	88
15-19 yrs.	(2)	4	92
20 & over	(4)	8	100
Total	(49)	100%	

$\bar{x}$ = 7.7
S.D. = 8.51

Table 2 - Age of Workers

Age	(N's)	%	Cum.%
20-25	(10)	20	20
26-30	(15)	30	50
31-35	(6)	12	62
36-40	(4)	8	70
41-45	(3)	6	76
45 & over	(12)	24	100
Total	(50)	100%	

$\bar{x}$ = 36.7
S.D. = 12.6

18 Some respondents did not answer all questions, thus the totals per table tend to vary.

Table 3 - Education by Age

Grades	Under 30		31-40		41-over		All Workers	
	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%
6-8	(2)	9	(2)	20	(2)	14	(6)	13
9-10	(3)	13	(3)	30	(5)	36	(11)	23
11-12	(12)	52	(3)	30	(6)	43	(21)	45
13 or more	(6)	26	(2)	20	(1)	7	(9)	19
Total	(23)	100%	(10)	100%	(14)	100%	(47)	100%

The educational level of the work force, **(Table 3)** indicates that 64% had at least grade eleven or twelve. The under 30 group had the most education, with 78% having at least grade eleven or twelve.

Table 4 - Skill by Age

Grades	Under 30		31-40		41-over		All Workers	
	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%
Unskilled	(16)	67	(3)	30	-	-	(19)	40
Semi-skilled	(7)	29	(5)	50	(2)	15	(14)	30
Skilled	(1)	4	(2)	20	(11)	85	(14)	30
Total	(24)	100%	(10)	100%	(13)	100%	(47)	100%

Another important factor related to employment is the level of skill. As indicated above **(Table 4)** the largest group of unskilled workers are in the under 30 age group and of the thirty-one to forty group, 50% are semi-skilled workers. These individuals are trained in the production of explosives and an occupational

or industry change would require learning new skills. Also indicated in Table 4 is the high level of skill (85%) among the forty-one and over group. While such a high level of skill among these workers may assist in reemployment, the studies previously considered have found the age factor to be detrimental in the re-employment of displaced workers.

In summary, the majority of the work force seemed, in terms of age, education and skills, to have a reasonable chance of finding employment. The work force was relatively young, most had some high school and a little over half of the workers had some form of skill. The major drawback was the nature of their last work, that is, there were no other explosives plants in the surrounding area of Vancouver Island. Thus, the learned skills of the semi-skilled workers in particular became obsolete with the shutdown and unless they relocated, these workers would be somewhat disadvantaged in their job search. The closest explosives plant for these workers is the new C.I.L. plant in Calgary, Alberta.

2. Employment Status

According to the Manpower Report (1978) submitted to Ottawa, on October 20, 1978 of the total eighty-eight workers (excluding six staff members), forty-three (49%) had found employment. It did not specify whether their jobs were full-time, part-time, etc. Included in the report as being employed was a worker on disability since 1971. The report also included within this group six retired employees and seven workers who were not laid-off because of the shutdown. Of the latter group, four remained as full-time employees and the other three continued to work on the Island part-time. These seven workers

were transferred to Continental Explosives Limited, the subsidiary company of C.I.L. now located on James Island. After eliminating these thirteen workers, the total number with jobs at the time or immediately following the shutdown becomes thirty workers or 34% of the total work force. The remaining forty-five were still unemployed following the shutdown. The results of this survey tend to confirm the Manpower Report, i.e. 35% of the employed workers who responded to the questionnaire indicated that they had found jobs before or immediately following the shutdown. (see **Table 5**).

Table 5 - Started Present Job

		(N's)	%	Cum.%
Before shutdown		(8)	25	25
Immediately after		(3)	10	35
Months after shutdown	- 1 month	(4)	13	48
	- 2-3 months	(3)	10	58
	- 4-5 months	(4)	13	71
	- 6-7 months	(3)	10	81
	- 8 or more months	(6)	19	100
Total		(31)	100%	

The table further discloses that 29% were unemployed for six or more months following the closure.

Table 6 - Employment Status of Respondents One Year After the Shutdown

	(N's)	%	Cum.%
Unemployed, seeking employment	(16)	34	34
Employed part-time and temporary	(9)	19	53
Employed full-time	(22)	47	100
Total	(47)	100%	

Table 6 indicated that at the time of the survey, 47% of the respondents had found full-time employment, 53% of them being still unemployed or not fully employed one year later. In the studies reviewed in Chapter 3, it was noted that unskilled workers have a greater difficulty in obtaining reemployment than skilled workers. The skills of electricians, carpenters, machinists, etc. are transferable to new job situations, while unskilled production work usually is not. An examination by levels of skill **(Table 7)** reveals that 72% of the skilled workers found full-time jobs and only 21% of the semi-skilled workers had found full-time employment. The high percentage of unskilled workers (63%) employed full-time may be due to education.

Table 7 - Employment Status by Skill

	Unskilled		Semi-Skilled		Skilled	
	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%
Employed full-time	(12)	63	(3)	21	(10)	72
Part-time temporary	(4)	21	(3)	21	(2)	14
Unemployed	(3)	16	(8)	58	(2)	14
Total	(19)	100%	(14)	100%	(14)	100%

Table 8 - Employment Status by Education

	6-8		9-10		11-12		13 or more	
	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%
Employed Full-Time	0		(8)	80	(10)	50	(7)	64
Part-Time Temporary	(2)	33	(1)	10	(4)	20	(2)	18
Unemployed	(4)	67	(1)	10	(6)	30	(2)	18
Total	(6)	100%	(10)	100%	(20)	100%	(11)	100%

In examining Table 8, one notes that of the unemployed workers who had grades of 6-8, 67% are unemployed and no workers are employed on a full-time basis. This is in contrast to the 13 or higher group, where 82% are employed either full-time (64%) or part-time (18%) and only 18% are unemployed.

As noted in the studies undertaken by Wedderburn (1964) and Foltman (1968) high educational qualifications benefit displaced workers. Of the skilled group 72% were employed and 14% were eight employed part-time or on a temporary basis. Skill and education were probably key factors in the re-employablility of these workers.

Table 9 - Employment Status by Age

	Under 30		31-40		41-over	
	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%
Employed	(15)	65	(8)	80	(10)	67
Unemployed	(8)	35	(2)	20	(5)	33
Total	(23)	100%	(10)	100%	(15)	100%

While age in the studies reviewed was a negative factor in reemployment of displaced workers; in this survey it was not a key factor. One year following the plant closure 33% of older workers were still seeking employment, compared to 35% of the youngest group and 20% of the 31 - 40 group. A high level of skill appears to have offset the age factor. As previously shown in Table 4, 85% of the older group are skilled workers which may explain their high level of reemployability.

The workers who were re-employed had to make an occupational and industrial change because of the very nature of their employment. There are no other explosives plants in the Vancouver Island region, so the majority of workers had little hope in finding similar work. The only notable exception were the skilled workers, i.e. carpenters, electricians, pipefitters, etc. who were not directly involved in the production of explosives. These skilled workers comprised approximately thirty percent of the respondents.

An industry change was necessary for workers wishing to remain in the same geographical area and this is especially crucial if a worker has strong cultural and kinship ties in the community. Foltman (1968) in the Wickware study showed that community attachment is a major factor in deciding not to relocate.

In the present study, workers were asked the following question (No. 42b); "Do you have strong community ties or community attachment, that is, you would not like to move?" As indicated below in **Table 10,** the workers were strongly attached to their community and indeed were reluctant to relocate to a new area. Most workers (61%) expressed strong community ties and an overwhelming majority of unemployed workers expressed the desire (86%) to remain on Vancouver Island. No doubt the pleasant island climate and scenic maritime island terrain has a strong appeal to most of these workers.

Table 10 - Strong Community Ties

	All Respondents		Unemployed Workers	
	(N's)	%	(N's)	%
Yes	(29)	61	(12)	86
No.	(19)	39	(2)	14
Total	(48)	100%	(14)	100%

As illustrated by Wilcock and Franke (1963), Crysdale (1968), Portis (1970) and other researchers, workers usually must accept a reduction in wages upon their re-employment. Slightly over 25% of the respondents in this survey experienced a reduction in wages.

Table 11 - Age and Pay Level of New Jobs

	Under 30		31-40		41-over		All Workers	
	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%
Lower	(3)	20	(3)	37.5	(3)	30	(9)	27.3
Same	(3)	20	(2)	25.0	(1)	10	(6)	18.2
Higher	(9)	60	(3)	37.5	(6)	60	(18)	54.5
Total	(15)	100%	(8)	100%	(10)	100%	(33)	100%

Table 11 indicates the greatest drop in wages was found in the 31 - 40 group. Less than 40% of this group experienced an increase in wages. A few respondents noted that if the shutdown had not occurred, a new contract would

have meant higher wages and a comparison of wages one year later was somewhat misleading. No doubt the percentage of lower wages would be greater if increases were added to the C.I.L. wage rate of 1978 and the unemployed group were taken into account.

Table 12 - Still Searching for a Job

	Under 30		31-40		41-over		All Workers	
	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%
Yes	(7)	47	(2)	25	(3)	30	(12)	36
No	(8)	53	(6)	75	(7)	70	(21)	64
Total	(15)	100%	(8)	100%	(10)	100%	(33)	100%

Table 12 indicates the number of reemployed workers still seeking new employment. In the under 30 group, 47% are still searching for new employment even though 60% **(Table 11)** experienced an increase in wages. This suggests that for what-ever reasons these younger workers view their new employment as not being a permanent life long job. In contrast, only two workers out of eight in the 31 - 40 years of age group are searching for new positions. As indicated in **Table 20,** Page 55, 45% of these respondents indicated low job expectations. It appears that many workers in this age group considered themselves fortunate to be employed even if it meant a reduction in pay.

Overall, one third of the workers are dissatisfied with their present employment and are still searching for a new job. In contrast, while interviewing workers, the researcher did not note any dissatisfaction with their former

employment on James Island.

3. Unemployed Workers

In examining the characteristics of the unemployed workers **(Table 13)** one finds that only a small number of unemployed workers own their homes, half are paying rent and a further three are paying mortgages. There are two unemployed respondents living with relatives. The fact that these unemployed displaced workers are making some form of payment for lodging suggests economic hardships or difficulties. Three unemployed workers noted that another member of the household had to find employment because of the shutdown.

Table 13 - Living Accomodations of Unemployed Workers

	(N's)	%
Own home outright	(2)	14
Home mortgaged	(3)	22
Renting	(7)	50
Other (Living with relatives)	(2)	14
Total	(14)	100%

As indicated below, eleven of these fourteen unemployed workers are searching for employment and only one worker indicated that he was not seeking employment.

Table 14 - Unemployed Workers

	(N's)	%
Not working, but looking	(11)	79
Not working and not looking	(1)	7
Starting new business	(1)	7
Taking or will be taking a retraining course	(1)	7
Total	(14)	100%

The unemployed respondents were also asked to specify their job preference. As noted below **(Table 15),** the majority (71%) had no job preference and were prepared to accept any reasonable position. There were only two workers seeking employment of the same nature as previously held on James Island, but as noted in **Table 10,** 86% expressed a desire to find employment in the Vancouver Island area.

Table 15 - Job Preference of Unemployed Workers

	(N's)	%
Same as James Island	(2)	14.5
Trade outside of plant work	-	-
Plant job different from James Island	-	-
Other	(2)	14.5
No preference (would accept any reasonal job)	(10)	71
Total	(14)	100%

The most severe unemployment is among the Native Indians who comprised approximately 20% (N=18) of the total work force on James Island. The response rate from this group was only about 30% and of these respondents 80% were still unemployed one year later. The Canada Manpower employee in Victoria responsible for Native Indian matters stated that close to all displaced native workers were still unemployed one year after the shutdown. The survey reveals that in contrast, only 21% of the remaining respondents are totally unemployed, even though both groups in terms of age, skill and education are similar. Three of the six Native respondents indicated that they believed race posed the greatest difficulty in becoming reemployed on Vancouver Island. All Native Indians expressed a desire to remain on the Island and were reluctant to relocate.

4. Reactions to Shutdown and Job Prospects

The reaction of most of the workers towards the initial announcement was one of surprise, even though there had been numerous rumours of a possible shutdown since 1961. As noted below in **Table 16,** 54% reported that they had expected the shutdown but were surprised when it finally happened.

Table 16 - Reaction to the Announcement of Shutdown

	(N's)	%
Did not expect it, completely surprised	(4)	8
Expected it, but surprised	(27)	54
Expected it, was not surprised	(19)	38
Total	(50)	100%

Though most workers expected the shutdown, many were ill-prepared for it when it came and became bitter towards both the company and the Federal and Provincial Governments. A number of older workers complained that C.I.L. had allowed the plant to degenerate, so that a major overhaul necessary to keep it in operation would be viewed as too expensive. A few of their comments are as follows:

> "If they had spent some money to keep the plant upgraded over the last 20 years with new modern equipment there would have been no need to shut down James Island."
>
> "Management let us down, they did not keep the plant up."
>
> "Yearly production on James Island was up almost every year. Company spent 150 million dollars to upgrade plant in Quebec, which probably is one reason for the shutdown."
>
> "I am not happy with the shutdown. I am deeply in debt since the island shutdown."
>
> "In my opinion, this was a very bad thing that happened. I am very bitter . . ."
>
> "90 to 100 men lost out, but who cares as long as the East stays alive . . . ."
>
> "They (Government, company, union) sat in their offices and wrote good P.R. stories for the papers."
>
> "Company and union also Manpower boiled down to one large farce . . . ."
>
> "It was another typical example of a large multi-national corporation moving its plant with no regard what-so-ever to the impact on the employees or community."

This bitterness was expressed by both employed and unemployed respondents in the survey. As indicated in **Table 17**, 74% of the workers felt the company "did not do all it could" to assist its employees.

Table 17 - Satisfaction with Company Effort

	(N's)	%	
Co. did all it could	(4)	8	
Co. did a good job under the circumstances	(8)	16	
Co. did not do all it could	(28)	56)	
			) 74%
Co. did not do a thing	(9)	18)	
Other	(1)	2	
Total	(50)	100%	

The company did not offer many transfers or introduce an interplant transfer program. In all, only 21% (N=17) of the respondents were offered relocation. Not all accepted. Two workers who refused noted that an immediate answer was required, thus some were ill-prepared to accept. The final number that C.I.L. accepted for tranfers was two workers or 2.4% of the total work force. (Manpower Report: 1978)

The company also refused to sign a Mobility Agreement with Manpower and the O.A.C.W. This agreement would have made the company pay 50% of the cost of relocating a worker to a new job. The company claimed that it's relocation allowance program was already sufficiently generous. However, C.I.L. did agree to sign a **Manpower Assessment Incentive Agreement**[19] which allowed for the formation of a committee composed of Manpower, company and union officials to assist workers. The agreement basically provided for the company to pay 50% of the committee's expenditures. The success of this

[19] see Appendix E, page 99

committee is somewhat questionable. Only 11% **(Table 18)** of the respondents who were successful in finding work stated that Manpower (including the committee) had supplied leads which resulted in reemployment. The use of informal sources, as in other studies was the dominant method used to find new employment.

Table 18 - Method by which Jobs were Found

	(N's)	%
Direct application	(14)	40
Lead from friend	(11)	31
Manpower	(4)	11
Newspapers	(2)	6
Company contacted worker	(1)	3
Private agency	-	-
Retraining course - led to job	(1)	3
Other	(2)	6
Total	(35)	100%

Workers were further asked if they had received any assistance from the Canada Manpower Centre in Victoria. Only 17% of the respondents noted that they had received any assistance from the agency, though all workers registered with it. This confirms the findings of other Canadian studies undertaken by McKenna (1973), Steibert (1978) and others that official agencies play a relatively minor role in finding work for displaced workers. The role of Manpower must be viewed in the context of a question: Who benefited from the assistance? Manpower took the closure as a "fait accompli", stepping in to offer

assistance and to ease any possible conflict. The latter is crucial. One major function of state intervention, no matter what guise it takes in industrial relations, is to limit and curtail conflict. Manpower made numerous plant visitations, assisted in the organization of a committee of workers and registered all workers with the main office. These activities served to ensure that the transition was performed smoothly and peacefully. Overall, Manpower did little in finding other employment for the workers of James Island.

The same degree of animosity felt towards C.I.L. and Manpower was not revealed towards the O.A.C.W. Union. As indicated in **Table 19**, only 36% felt that the union did little to assist workers. A few workers complained that the international representative did little, but praised the local shop stewards and Larry Smith, the local president of the union. Several workers felt the international union could have appealed for assistance and support from the O.A.C.W. locals across Canada.

Table 19 - Satisfaction with Union Efforts

	(N's)	%	
Union did all it could	(12)	24	
Union did a good job, under the circumstances	(16)	32	
Union did not do all it could	(15)	30)	
			) 36%
Union did not do a thing	(3)	6)	
Other	(4)	8	
Total	(50)	100%	

The element of animosity existed even though some workers (40%) believed after hearing of the shutdown that a comparable job was available.

Table 20 - Expected Prospects for Reemployment by Age of Worker

Job Prospects	30 & Under		31-40		41-over		All Workers	
	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%	(N's)	%
Better job	(7)	33	(2)	22	(1)	9	(10)	24
As good a job	(7)	33	(3)	33	(7)	58	(17)	40
Not as good a job	(6)	29	(3)	33	(3)	25	(12)	29
Not find anything	(1)	5	(1)	12	(1)	8	(3)	7
Total	(21)	100%	(9)	100%	(12)	100%	(42)	100%

Thirty-six percent felt that they would not find a comparable job. The workers between the ages of 31 and 40 years of age were the least optimistic concerning their job prospects. Older workers generally felt they would find reemployment with no difficulty, possibly because of their high level of skill.

5. Non-Economic Consequences

The non-economic consequences of the shutdown were more difficult to examine in this study, though some observations can be made. Social and psychological effects on the workers were examined one year after the plant closure by which time any short run effects probably had dissipated. The older workers on James Island, though highly skilled, were greatly affected by

the shutdown. These were typically married with children who had grown up and left home. Many felt the job and social relationship it provided was the central part of their life. According to informal interviews, many relied heavily on it for meaning and to fill their day for them. The abrupt end to this pattern was a traumatic experience. Many were aware of the shutdown rumours, but had hoped it would happen after their retirement. For these workers, the shutdown was much more than a temporary shock; the meaning in their life was taken away. This is reminiscent of Wilensky's (1968) findings that much of the worker's life revolved around his work and environment. It was his central source of identity and social solidarity.

The younger married men of James Island were also adversely affected by the closure. As noted by Boase (1967), workers who are married with a family tend to view their job as a permanent life-time position. Many workers expressed their dissatisfaction in terms of "wasted time" on James Island. The prolonged unemployment of some of these workers could only have a detrimental effect on their social and psychological make-up. Family ties were not destroyed, but community ties were disrupted by the shutdown. Prior to the shutdown, the union local organized various social gatherings (e.g. Christmas Parties, etc.) and meetings for all workers. The small size of the union local allowed many primary relationships to develop and these friendships were disrupted once the workplace was removed by the closure. The social bond that developed over the years on James Island was destroyed and many felt its uniqueness could never be replaced in other workplaces.

6. Further Aspects of the James Island Study

Workers were asked if they believed retraining programs led to better jobs. A large majority of the respondents (73%) answered in the affirmative and only 27% answered in the negative. Indeed, many workers complained because they were not offered retraining opportunities. Only five workers applied to Canada Manpower for retraining and only one was accepted by the agency. As noted in the literature review, retraining has generally proved to be only minimally helpful in the reemployment of displaced workers. It is doubtful that a retraining program would have assisted these workers; retraining is useless if there are no available jobs in the area and as noted earlier, these workers are reluctant to relocate.

In order to determine if workers viewed wages as a key element, respondents were asked to rate in order of importance various factors related to a job. **Table 21** indicates that 37% expressed a preference for work they enjoyed and only 7% related high wages as a first choice in a job. This is an indication that workers would accept a reasonably good job and not necessarily refuse such employment because of lower wages. This helps to refute the often used argument that workers' demand for higher wages lead companies into closure or lay-offs. The workers involved in plant closures are seldom consulted by management in finding alternatives to the shutdown.

Table 21 - Job-Related Factors Ranked First by Respondents

	(N's)	%
Work you like	(16)	37
Work in the same district	(7)	16
Good working conditions	(6)	14
Opportunity to use skills	(6)	14
Job security	(5)	12
High Wages	(3)	7
Total	(43)	100%

The questionnaire further inquired as to whether the length of advance notice was sufficient to allow workers to be prepared for the closure. Thirty-six percent indicated that they had not received enough advance notice. The remaining workers (64%) indicated that the three-month advance notice was sufficient. As noted earlier in **Table 5,** 25% were able to obtain jobs prior to the shutdown and this confirms the results obtained in Canadian studies undertake by Crysdale (1968), Portis and Suys (1970), McKenna (1973) and Steibert (1978) that advance notice tends to lessen the blow of a shutdown. It lessens the blow but does not remove the economic hardships suffered by the other remaining workers. One year following the shutdown 53% **(Table 6)** of the workers were still searching for full-time employment. Furthermore, of the employed workers 42% **(Table 5)** had been unemployed for over four months. Indeed, 62% of all workers indicated that they were not better off financially because of the shutdown.

The majority (75%) were in favour of some form of government control over shutdowns. In the commentary section of the questionnaire, numerous workers stated that governments should investigate announced plant closures and determine their necessity.

As a corollary to government control, workers were asked to indicate their opinions concerning worker control over the decisions of management. A large percentage (71%) indicated that they were in favour of such a proposal. This is not surprising considering the overall results of the shutdown on James Island.

CONCLUSIONS

The problems experienced by the former C.I.L. workers on James Island are not unique in North America. As pointed out in the introduction to this thesis, plant closures and lengthy lay-offs are today a common occurrence.

Also, indicated by the James Island survey, a displaced work force can face prolonged unemployment. One year following the plant closure on James Island, 53% of the workers affected were still not fully employed.

The survey illustrated, in a small way, the ineffectiveness of Manpower and private employment agencies. Only a small percentage (11%) of the respondents stated that Manpower had supplied leads which resulted in reemployment, but it is difficult for any job placement agency to assist workers when jobs are non-existent. There seems little point in retraining displaced workers if employment opportunities do not exist in the community. One alternative, i.e. interplant transfer was not feasible. Companies which close down their operations often do not require new workers. Such company moves are attempts to increase profits and rehiring new workers means extra expenditures. In other words they are combating the structural tendency in a capitalist economy for the rate of profit to decline.[20] In closing plants and opening newer ones which require less workers, profits are increased. C.I.L. in the years between 1976-1979, experienced a decline in profits, thus a reorganization took place and many small plants were shutdown, including James Island. C.I.L. opened up a new automated plant in Ontario which produces a new gellatin dough explosive which

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[20] see Giddens, 1969:53

made the James Island product obsolete. C.I.L.'s attempt to increase profit by such measures was successful. As noted in the business section of one newspaper, "the first nine months of this year (1980) the company earned $3.69 a share - up from $2.56 a share for the same period last year - and predicted earnings for the full year at $4.25, a 55% improvement over 1979 results. (C.P. - Times Colonist, October 15, 1980:21)

The blue-collar workers surveyed like others in previous studies are reluctant to relocate because of strong community attachments. They usually remain in the same community, experience prolonged unemployment and, as the literature illustrates, experience a substantial drop in wages.

The severest economic hardships were experienced by older workers and Native Indians. Fortunately, in this case, the majority of older workers had a high degree of skill to offset their age factor. Most Native Indians were still unemployed one full year following the shutdown. In comparison, young workers had no real difficulty in finding jobs. Most of these young workers had a relatively high degree of education, which appears to have compensated for their lack of experience and skill.

Findings from this study of James Island and the literature concerning displaced workers are evidence that workers have little, if any, real effective control over their destinies. Here are some possible ways in which the impact of closures like this may be minimized.

1. Responsibility for plant shutdowns or layoffs must be accepted by management. Industry should bear the initial cost of any shutdown.

2. A six month advance notice of termination of operations should be given to workers.

3. Mobility programs should be strenghtened with moving and other expenses paid for by companies and government, provided they are geared to distance and size of family. Also, a form of incentive program (bonuses) could be introduced to encourage workers to relocate.

4. The establishment of labour, management and Manpower committees should be mandatory in any shutdown.

5. If layoffs are inevitable, they should be on a rotational basis or a work-sharing program should be instituted. Layoffs by seniority should not always be the procedure.

These proposals, if implemented, would alleviate many of the hardships experienced by displaced workers.

This research on James Island was not meant to examine the everchanging process of capitalist development, but only to note its existence and, in a small way, its role in this shutdown. It has examined only one small element within the total context of monopoly capitalism. Future research in the area of displaced workers must examine plant closures on a macro-level. There are many questions to be answered. What forces lead companies to close down peripheral "hinterland" plants in Canada? What is the political potential of unions to combat monopoly capitalism?* Are measures possible to ease the problem of

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*In August, 1979, the 20,000 Canadian members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, following a resolution in the constitution, obtained full autonomy from the U.S. union. It joined the Canadian Chemical Workers Union in 1980 to form a totally Canadian union.

displaced workers? How can interplant programs be made effective?

This study was not meant to answer such broad questions but only to carry out a small case study on the hardships suffered by the workers of James Island. These workers should not go unnoticed or be forgotten.

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ent of Economics

YORK UNIVERSITY

ATKINSON COLLEGE

4700 KEELE STREET, DOWNSVIEW, ONTARIO M3J 2R7

July 17, 1979.

Mr. Roland A. Lacroix
403-970 Kings Rd.
Victoria, B.C.
V8T 1W6

Dear Mr. Lacroix:

In reply to your letter, I have no objections to sections being quoted from my report Collective Bargaining in the Canadian Chemical Industry. I am afraid I have done nothing further concerning this industry.

Yours sincerely

George E. Eaton
Professor

/af

APPENDIX A

SELECTED LAY-OFFS IN CANADIAN INDUSTRY AUGUST 1977-JANUARY 1978

Date of Announcement by company	Name of Company	Activity	No. of employees Laid off	Location	Circumstances
Aug. 11, 1977	Canadian Glassine Co. Ltd. controlled by Reed Paper Ltd. of Toronto subsidiary of Reed International Ltd. of Britain	Paper Mill	125	Quebec-City	Closing mill
Aug. 16, 1977	Irving Pulp and Paper Ltd.	Bleached Sulphite Pulp Mill	200	St. John	Shut down of plant
Aug. 17, 1977	Canadian General Electic Co. Ltd.	(Electronics) Electric-Appliances	200	Peterborough, Ont.	Permanent lay-off of workers, transportation section
Aug. 18, 1977	Abex Industries Ltd. of Montreal	Tiremold	140	Brantford, Ont.	Closing plant
Aug. 18, 1977	Lignum Ltd.	Saw mill	60	Williams Lake, B.C.	Closing sawmill
Aug. 23, 1977	Northern Telecom	Electronic-communication	300	St. Laurent,	Permanent lay-off
Aug. 23, 1977	Craig Bit Co. Ltd.	Mining Equipment	34	North Bay,	Permanent lay-off

Aug. 26, 1977	Masonite Co. of Canada Ltd. of Gatineau, Que. Subsidiary of Can. Int. Paper.	Housing	120	Plant in East River, N.S.	Permanent lay-off
Aug. 31, 1977	Crane Canada Ltd.	Water pump manufacturing	30	Cornwall, Ont.	Closing plant
Sept. 9, 1977	Harding Carpets Ltd.	Spinning plant	70	Guelph, Ont.	Closing plant
Sept. 16, 1977	Miramichi Timber Resources Ltd.	Wood industry	180	New Castle, Ont.	Permanent lay-off
Sept. 16, 1977	Electrohome Ltd.	Furniture plant	90	Kitchener, Ont.	Temporary lay-off
Sept. 20, 1977	Canada Building Materials Co. a division of St. Mary's Cement Co. of Toronto	Construction	35	Toronto, Ont.	Permanent lay-off
Sept. 27, 1977	Northern Telecom Ltd. Subsidiary of Bell Canada	Telecommunications	1,000	Montreal, Que.	Year's cut in work force
Oct. 6, 1977	Brunswick Mining and Smelting Corp. Ltd.	Mining	125	Bathurst, N.B.	Permanent lay-off
Oct. 25, 1977	Zephyr Textiles Ltd.	Textiles	150	Almonte, Ont.	Shut-down of plant
Nov. 3, 1977	Canadian International Paper Co. of Montreal	Paper industry, Mill	1,200	LaTuque, Que., Mill	Temporary lay-off

Nov. 10, 1977	Allis Chalmers Rumely Ltd. of Toronto	Motor-industry	140	Guelph, Ont.	Permanent lay-off closing plant
Nov. 10, 1977	Commodore Homes Ltd.	Mobile Homes	117	Cambridge, Ont.	Permanent lay-off
Nov. 11, 1977	Abitibi Paper Ltd. of Toronto	Paper industry	200	Sturgeon Falls plant	Temporary lay-off
Nov. 11, 1977	Campeau Corp. (Ottawa based firm)	Construction	60	Ottawa	Permanent lay-off
Nov. 17, 1977	MacMillan Bloedel Ltd.		54	Vancouver, B.C.	Permanent lay-off
Nov. 18, 1977	Canadian Vickers Ltd.	Shipping Construction	350	Montreal, Que.	Permanent lay-off
Nov. 18, 1977	Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd.	Motor car industry	90	Oakville, Ont.	Permanent lay-off
Nov. 21, 1977	Inco Ltd.	Mining	2,800 650 375	Sudbury, Ont. Thompson, Man. Port Calborne, Ont.	Permanent lay-offs
Dec. 2, 1977	Peoples Department Stores Ltd. (Marks and Spencer)	Retail stores (commerce)	172	Toronto, Ont. and other towns	Permanent lay-off
Dec. 14, 1977	Trident Aircraft Ltd.		28	Richmond, B.C.	Permanent lay-off

Dec. 16, 1977	International Harvester Co.of Canada	Motor-industry agricultural equipment manufacturing	485	Hamilton, Ont.	Permanent lay-off
Dec. 16, 1977	Yarntex Corp.	Yarning industry	150	Perth, Ont.	Temporary lay-off
Dec. 22, 1977	Proctor Silex Division of SCM Canada Ltd.	Electrical-appliances	35 38	Picton, Ont.	Permanent and Temporary lay-offs
Jan. 12, 1978	Reed Paper Ltd.	Paper industry	280	Toronto, Ont.	Permanent lay-off
Jan. 17, 1978	Christie Brown and Co. Ltd.	(Bread) Food Ind.	708	Toronto, Ont.	Permanent lay-off
Jan. 26, 1977	Chrysler Canada Ltd.		900	Windsor, Ont.	Partial shut-down of engine plant Permanent lay-off of 40 workers
Jan. 27, 1977	Ford Motor Co. of Canada	Motor-industry	not given	Oakville	Closing assembly plant
Jan. 28, 1978	Massey Ferguson Industry Ltd. of Toronto		1,700	Brantford	Closing plant for one week, temporary lay-off

Source: Globe and Mail in Caloren, 1978:162

APPENDIX "B"

CORPORATE BREAKDOWN OF IMPERIAL CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES (1978)

IMPERIAL CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES LTD.,
Imperial Chemical House, Millbank,
London, SWIP 3Jf

Abol Ltd. (d)
Agro Chemical Co. Ltd. (d)
Anglo American Plastics Ltd.,
Atlas Surfactants Ltd.,
Avlex Ltd.
Bayer Agriculture Ltd. (d)
Bexford Ltd.
Border Chemicals Ltd. (A)
Bri-Nylon Ltd.,
British Nylon Spinners Ltd. (d)
British Visqueen Ltd.,
British Visqueen Processes Ltd.,
    H. & A. Manufacturing Co. Ltd. (A)
Burmah North Sea Group (North Sea Exploration) (A)
Campaign for More Cleaning Ltd.
Carrington Viyella Ltd.
Chafers Ltd.
    J.W. Chafer Ltd.
Chipman Chemical Co. Ltd. (A)
Cleveland Potash Ltd. (A)
Cooke's Explosives Ltd.
Henry Corbett Ltd.
Covenant Industries Ltd. (A)
Crimplene Ltd.
Dulux Ltd.
Ellis & Everard Ltd. (A) (ti)
Engineering Services (Wilton) Ltd.
Farrow Group Ltd.
    Foundation & Structural Services Ltd.
    F. Rendell & Sons Ltd.
G.N.R.D. Patent Holdings Ltd. (A)
Goya Ltd.
Hargreaves Fertiliser Industries Ltd.
Hargreaves Fertilisers Ltd. (A)
Honeywill-Atlas Ltd.
Household Product Research Ltd.
I.C.I. Estates Ltd.
ICI Europa Ltd.
ICI (Export) Ltd.
ICI Gardens Ltd.

ICI Holdings Ltd.
ICI Insulation Service Ltd.
ICI International Finance Ltd. ICI Lankro Plasticisers Ltd.
ICI North America Ltd.
ICI Petroleum Services Ltd.
ICI Pollution Control Systems Ltd.
I.D. Chemicals Ltd. (A)
Imperial Chemical Industries (Turkey) Ltd.
Imperial Chemical Insurance Ltd.
Imperial Chemical (Pharmaceuticals) Ltd. (d)
Imperial Developments Ltd. (A)
Imperial Metal Industries Ltd.
Industrial Housing Association (No. 3) Ltd.
International Crop Protection Consultants Ltd.
Intex Yarns (Manufacturing) Ltd.
    Bambi (Children's Wear) Ltd. (d)
    Qualitex Yarns Ltd.
Ireco (Blasting) Ltd.
Irvine Harbour Company
Laurence James Electrical Ltd. (A)
Leicester Varnish & Enamel Co. Ltd. (A)
Lister & Co. Ltd. (A)
D. McDermott (Chemicals) Ltd. (A)
J.P. McDougall & Co. Ltd.
Magadi Soda Co. Ltd.
Magadi Soda (1975) Ltd.
Millbank Films Ltd.
Monckton Coke & Chemical Co. Ltd.
Nalfloc Ltd.
New Smoking Materials Ltd. (A)
Nobel's Explosives Co. Ltd.
    Perlog Ltd.
Northern L.P. Gas Ltd. (A)
Ozalid Group Holdings Ltd. (A)
R.R. Perry & Sons Ltd.
Perspex Ltd.
Philips-Imperial Petroleum Ltd. (A)
Pigot & Smith (Pharmaceuticals) Ltd.
Plant Protection Ltd.
Richardson Fertilisers Ltd.
    Richardsons (Ulster) Ltd.
Rolinx Ltd. (A)
Rose & Co. (Wallpaper & Paints) Ltd.
    A. & R. Wallpapers Ltd.
    W. Chamberlain (Paints) Ltd.
    The Morris Wallpaper Co. Ltd.
Scottish Agricultural Industries Ltd.
    The Benhar Moss Litter Co. Ltd.
    The Boothby Peat Co. Ltd.

John Charlton & Sons Ltd. (d)
W. & A. Geddes Ltd.
The Nepture Mills Ltd. (d)
Perth Egg Grading Station Ltd. (A)
S.A.I. Horticulture Ltd.
SAI (South) Ltd. (d)
Scottish (Pentland) Fertilisers Ltd.
Sidlaw Grain Co. Ltd. (A)
Settle Limes Ltd
Sidex Ltd. (A)
Stuart Pharmaceuticals Ltd.
Tangent Foams Ltd.
Teijin Agrochemicals Ltd. (A)
Terylene Ltd.
Thames House Estate Ltd.
Thermalon Ltd.
Tioxide Group Ltd. (A)
Tootal Ltd. (A)
Transprints (U.K.) Ltd. (A)
Trimpell Ltd. (A)
Ulster Fertilisers Ltd.
Weardale Lead Co. Ltd.
Wight & Goodchild Ltd.

ICI Australia Ltd.	Australia
Albright & Wilson (Australia) Pty. Ltd. (A)	"
Ammonia Co. of Queensland Pty. Ltd.	"
Australian Fertilizers Ltd.	"
C.S.R. Chemicals Ltd. (A)	"
Newcastle Chemical Co. Pty. Ltd. (A)	"
Catoleum Pty. Ltd.	"
Commonwealth Fertilisers and Chemicals Ltd.	"
Consolidated Fertilisers Ltd. (A)	"
Dulux Australia Ltd.	"
Eastern Nitrogen Ltd. (A)	"
Fibremakers Ltd.	"
Nobel (Australasia) Pty. Ltd.	"
Nylex Corporation Ltd. (A)	"
Phillips Imperial Chemicals Ltd. (A)	"
Imperial Atlas Ltd.[5]	"
Pigment Manufacturers of Australia Ltd. (A)	"
Blair Insurances Ltd. (A)	Bermuda
ICI International Finance Ltd.	"
Atlas Chemical Industries Canada Ltd.	Canada
Imperial Chemical Industries of Canada Ltd.	"
Canadian Industries Ltd.	"
Alchem Ltd.	"
Bapco Paid Ltd.	"
C-I-L Ammunition Inc.	"
C-I-L International Ltd.	"

Canadian Freehold Properties Ltd.*	Canada
Canadian Hanson Ltd.	"
Canadian Safety Fuse Co. Ltd.[5]	"
Chemetics Ltd. Chipman Chemicals Ltd.	"
Continental Explosives (Alberta) Ltd.	"
Continental Explosives Ltd.	"
Inland Chemicals Ltd.	"
Mastex Investments Ltd.	"
Hayes Metals (Channel Islands) Ltd.	Channel Is.
Tema Chemicals Ltd.	Ghana
ICI (China) Ltd.	Hong Kong
The Alkali and Chemical Corporation of India Ltd.	India
Atic Industries Ltd. (A)	"
Chemicals and Fibres of India Ltd.	"
I.C.I. (India) Pvt. Ltd.	"
Indian Detonators Ltd.[5]	"
Indian Explosives Ltd.	"
Dorowa Minerals Ltd. (A)[1]	Kenya
Triangle Fertilisers Ltd. (A)	"
Twiga Chemical Industries Ltd. (A)	"
Chemical Co. of Malaysia Bhd.	Malaysia
I.C.I. (Malaysia) Sdn. Berhad	"
I.C.I. Agriculture (Malaysia) (1972) Sdn. Berhad	"
I.C.I. Chemical Distributors (Malaysia) Sdn. Berhad	"
I.C.I. Paints (Malaysia) Sdn. Berhad	"
Malta Synthetics Ltd.[3]	Malta
Dulux New Zealand Ltd.[2]	New Zealand
ICI New Zealand Ltd.	"
Ammunition House Ltd.	"
Dyes & Chemicals Ltd.	"
Resin Products (NZ) Ltd. (A)	"
Tasman Vaccine Laboratory Ltd.	"
Mount Fortune Pastoral Co. Ltd.	"
Mount Possession Run Co. Ltd.	"
Tasman Vaccine Laboratory (U.K.) Ltd.	"
ICI Paints (Nigeria) Ltd.	Nigeria
Atlas Chemical International Inc.[5]	Singapore
ICI Explosive (Far East) Pte. Ltd.	"
I.C.I. (Singapore) Pvt. Ltd.	"
I.C.I. Paints (Singapore) Pvt. Ltd.	"
Chemical Industries (Colombo) Ltd. (A)	Sri Lanka
Twiga Chemical Industries (Tanzania) Ltd.	Tanzania
Brandram-Henderson (West Indies) Ltd.	Trinidad
I.C.I. Paints (West Indies) Ltd.	"
Twiga Chemical Industries (Uganda) Ltd.	Uganda

* Owns Laurel Point Inn, Victoria, B.C.

I.C.I. Zambia Ltd.	Zambia
Kafironda Ltd. (A)	"
ICI Oesterreich GmbH.	Austria
Atlas Chemical Industries S.A.[3]	Belgium
Nèerlandaise de l'Azote, Cie. (A)	"
Chemurgie GmbH.[5]	"
I.C.I. Belgium S.A.	"
ICI Europa Fibres S.A.	"
I.C.I. -Pharma S.A., N.V.	"
Propafilm, N.V.	"
Solvic S.A. (A)	"
E. V. Abrahamson A/s	Denmark
I.C.I. (Danmark) A/S	"
ICI-Pharma A/S	"
Associated Irish Gases Ltd. (A)	Eire
Harringtons & Goodlass Wall Ltd. (A)	"
I.C.I. (Ireland) Ltd.	"
Irish Industrial Finishes Ltd. (A)	"
Finnish Chemicals Oy (A)	Finland
ICI-Pharma Oy	"
Suomen ICI Oy	"
Atlas Chemical France S.A.R.L.[5]	France
Francaise Duco, Stè(A)	"
I.C.I. France S.A.	"
ICI-Pharma S.A.	"
Protection de l'Agriculture, Ste. pour la	"
Solvic S.A. (A)	"
Chemurgie GmbH. (A)	Germany
Deutsche ICI GmbH.	"
ICI (Europa) Fibres GmbH.	"
Elmpter Texturierwerk GmbH. (A) (ti)[3]	"
Elmpter Texturierwerk GmbH. & Co. KG (A) (ti)[3]	"
ICI-Pharma	"
Klinger Manufacturing Co. GmbH.[3]	"
Hermann Wiederhold KG	"
ICI Hellas Ltd.	Greece
Benelux Chemicals B.V. (A)	Holland
ICI Alpha B.V.	"
ICI Gamma B.V.	"
ICI Holland B.V.	"
ICI Theta B.V.	"
Atlas Europol S.p.A.[5]	Italy
Imperial Chemical Industries Bete SpA	"
Imperial Chemical Industries (Italia) S.p.A.	"
Solplant S.p.A.	"
Solvic Industria delle Materie Plastiche S.p.A. (A)	"
ICI Norge A/S	Norway
ICI-Pharma A/S	"
Carpecor (A)	Portugal
Fabril de Tintas de Construcao, Soc.	"

Finicisa Fibras Sineteticas S.A.R.L. (A)	Portugal
ICI Portuguesa S.A.R.L.	"
Indofil - Soc. Ind. de Filmes Plasticos S.A.R.L.	"
Alcudia Empresa para la Industria Quimica S.A.(A)	Spain
Ertisa S.A. (A)	"
ICI Espana S.A.	"
Hispavic Industrial S.A. (A)	"
ICI-Farma S.A. (A)	"
Intermedios Organicos S.A. (A)	"
Medica-Vinas S.A. (A)	"
Nurel (A)	"
Zeltia-Agraria S.A. (A)	"
ICI Fiber AB	Sweden
ICI-Pharma, AB	"
Mediplast AB	"
Silketvinneri AB (A)	"
Skandinaviska Aerosol AB	"
Svenska I.C.I. AB	"
Uppsalaplast AB	"
I.C.I. (Switzerland) AG.	Switzerland
Duperial S.A.I.C.	Argentina
Cartucheria Orbea Argentina S.A.	"
"Electroclor" S.A. Industrial y Comercial (A)	"
Atlas do Brasil Produtos Quimicos Ltda.[5]	Brazil
Atlas Industrias Quimicas S.A.[5]	"
Brasileira de Cartuchos, S.A., Cia. (A)	"
ICI-Farma	"
Imperial de Industrias Quimicas do Brasil, Cia.	"
ICI Farmasi Indonesia, P.T.	Indonesia
ICI Paints, P.T.	"
ICI Pesticida, P.T.	"
ICI (Israel) Ltd.	Israel
Achilles Foam Board Co. Ltd.	Japan
Imperial Chemical Industries (Japan) Ltd.[5]	"
Kao-Atlas Company Ltd. (A)	"
Nippon EVR (A)	"
Nippon Polyurethane Industry K.K. (A)	"
West African Explosives and Chemicals Ltd. (A)[1]	Liberia
Atlas de Mexico S.A.[3]	Mexico
Ayerst I.C.I. Laboratorios Asociados S. de R.L. (A)	"
Canamex S.A.[5]	"
ICI de Mexico S.A. de C.V.	"
Imperial S.A. de C.V., Cia.	"
Plasticlor S.A. (A)	"
Industrias Quimicas Atlas de Centroamerica S.A.[5]	Nicaragua
ICI Pakistan Manufacturers Ltd.	Pakistan
Imperial Chemical Industries (Pakistan) Ltd.	"
The Philippine Explosives Corporation	Philippines
ICI (Peru) S.A.	Peru

IC Puerto Rico	Puerto Rico
Acorga Ltd. (A)	South Africa
ICI (South Africa) Ltd.	"
AE & CI Ltd. (A)	"
Afex Holdings (Pty.) Ltd. (A)	"
I.C.I. South Africa (Pharmaceuticals) Ltd.	"
Atlas Taiwan Corporation[5]	Taiwan
C-I-L Products Inc.[1]	U.S.A.
Fiber Industries Inc. (A)	"
ICI Americas Inc.	"
ICI Financial Corp.	"
Atlas Chemical International Inc.	"
Stuart Pharmaceuticals	"
ICI United Sates Inc.	U.S.A.
Katalco Inc. (A)	"
Rubicon Chemicals Inc. (A)	"
Fabuca S.A.	Uruguay
ICI Kern S.A.	Venezuela

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1 Held through Canadian Industries Ltd., Canada
2 Held through ICI Australia Ltd., Australia
3 Held through Intex Yarns (Manufacturing) Ltd.
4 Held through ICI New Zealand Ltd., New Zeland
5 Held through ICI America Inc., U.S.A.

Taken from WHO OWNS WHO United Kingdom. . . A Directory of Parent, Ass. and Subsidiary Companies, Vol. 1, page 359, Dun & Bradstreet Co., London, 1978

APPENDIX C: SUMMARY OF DATA*

AUTHOR & STUDY	FACTORS AFFECTING REEMPLOYABILITY
Robert, J. Myers - Occupational Readjustment of Displaced Skilled Workmen, Journal of Political Economy, XXXVII (August 1929), pp. 473-89	Age and Sex: Men in the 35-39 age group were more successful than others.
Lubin, Isador -The Absorption of the Unemployed by American Industry, Washington: Brookings Institute, 1929, pp. 42	Age: Workers under 45 years were more sussessful than others. Skill: Reemployment was related to skill adaptable to changing technology.
Palmer, Gladys L. & Constance Williams - Reemployment of Philadelphia Hosiery Workers After Shutdown in 1933-34 (E.S.) Works Progress Administration, Report No. P-6 of the National Research Project & Und. Res. deprt., Uni. of Pennsylvania, Jan. 1939, pp. 100	Age: Workers over 50 years were less successful.
Sheppard, Harold L. & James Stern - Impact of Automation on Workers in Supplier Plants, Labour Law Journal VIII (Oct. 1957), pp. 714-18	Age: Most significant factor - the older the workers, the less chance of their reemployment. Skills: Less skilled were less successful than others. Sex: Women were less successful than men. Race: Negroes were less successful than whites.

* taken from Haber, 1963

AUTHOR & STUDY	FACTORS AFFECTING REEMPLOYABILITY
Wilcock, Richard C. - Impact on Workers and Community of a Plant Shutdown in a Depressed Area. Monthly Labor Review, LXXX (September 1957), pp. 1047-52	Education: Most important factor - the less educated were less successful than the better educated. Age: Workers over 45 years had less reemployment. Age: Most important factor - the older workers were less successful than others. Skill: Skilled workers were more successful than semi-skilled and unskilled workers.
Sheppard, Harold, Louise A. Ferman, et al - Too Old to Work - To Young to Retire: A Case Study of a Permanent Plant Shutdown. Special Report - 86th Cong. 1st sess. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960, pp. 74	Senority: Workers with high senority transferred to another plant. Age: Young or old age were not significant factors in reemployment.
Fowler, Irving & Luke M. Smith - Ford Relocation Follow-up Study, Unpublished data on file in the School of Social Work, Univ. of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y. 1958	Age: Older workers were reemployed less frequently than younger workers. Education: Less educated were reemployed less frequently than others. Mobility: Geographically mobile workers more successful than others.
Ferman, Louis A. & James R. Hudson - Job Dislocation Among Brass Workers in a Small Community. Published data on file in the Uni. of Michigan-Wayne State Univ. Inst. of Labor & Industrial Rel. 1959	
Wisconside State Employment Service -LaCrosse Reemployment Study. Unpublished paper distributed by Wisconsin State Employ. Service in cooperation with the Unemployment Compensation Depart. September 1960, pp. 21	Age: Younger workers were more successful than older workers. Sex: Men were more successful than women. Skill: Skilled workers were reemployed more often than less skilled workers.

APPENDIX D

Roland A. Lacroix

Dear :

I am a graduate student at the University of Victoria and I am investigating the effect of the C.I.L. plant shutdown on James Island. I would like to know how it affected workers and what problems workers faced in regaining employment. I am seeking assistance from you and other former C.I.L. employees from the James Island plant to help me with my research. Your co-operation is vital, so that this study will not only record the history of your experience as workers and as union members, but also will perhaps aid other workers in similar shutdowns.

My research has the support of Larry Ryan, Victoria Labour Council, Larry Smith, former president of Local 9-696 and the University of Victoria.

The questionnaire should take no more than fifteen minutes of your time. Upon completion, please enclose it in the envelope and mail it. Please do not write your name anywhere on the questionnaire or the envelope; this is to ensure that you will not be identified in any way. Please mail separately the enclosed postcard, so that I will know that you have received the questionnaire. All answers will be treated with the utmost confidentiality.

I wish to thank you in advance for your co-operation and support. The study upon completion will be made available through the Victoria Labour Council (Larry Ryan) or the University of Victoria.

Thank you again,
Yours sincerely,

Roland A. Lacroix

P.S. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me at 382-3326, anytime. Thank you.

Questionnaire

1. When did you first start working at James Island?
(month/year) _____

2. a) What was your last job at James Island? Please give a two or three word description, e.g. 1st. repairman, truck driver, pipefitter, etc.)

_____

b) What was your average hourly wage rate? $_____/Hour

3. When the announcement of the shutdown was made, which of the following best describes your first reaction?

( ) I did not expect it, and was completely surprised.
( ) I expected it, but was surprised when the announcement was made.
( ) I expected it, and was not surprised when the announcement was made.
( ) Other, please explain _____

_____

4. When did you leave your job at James Island?

( ) Before the final layoff
( ) With the final layoff

5. Answer this side only if you left before the final layoff.

On what date did you leave?

_____

Why did you leave before the shutdown? (Check as many as apply)

( ) Had a good job offered to me
( ) Did not know about the severance benefits
( ) The company retired me
( ) Other _____

_____

Answer this side only if you stayed until the final layoff.

What were your reasons for staying at James Island until the final layoff? (check as many as apply)

( ) Get all the severance benefits
( ) I was sure of another job after the shutdown
( ) I looked, but I could not find another job
( ) I planned to retire after the shutdown
( ) I wanted to start my own business after the shutdown
( ) Other _____

_____

6. Are you satisfied with what the Union has done for its members since the announcement of the shutdown?

YES ( ), NO ( )

b) Which of the following best describes your answer?
( ) Union did all it could
( ) Union did a good job under the circumstances
( ) Union did not do all it could
( ) Union did not do a thing
( ) Other, please explain _____

_____

7. Did the Union do anything to help you find a new job?

YES ( ), NO ( )

If **YES**, please explain _____

_____

_____

8. Are you satisfied with what the Company has done for its workers since the announcement of the shutdown?

YES ( ), NO ( )

b) Which of the following best describes your answer?
( ) Company did all it could
( ) Company did a good job under the circumstances
( ) Company did not do all it could
( ) Company did not do a thing
( ) Other, please explain _____

_____

9. Did the Company do anything to help you find a new job?

YES ( ), NO ( )

If **YES**, what did it do to help you?

_____

10. Did the Company offer to transfer you to another C.I.L. plant?
YES ( ), NO ( )
If **YES,** why did you not accept?

_____

_____

11. a) Did you register your name with Canada Manpower?
YES ( ), NO ( ) When (Month/year) _____

b) Did Canada Manpower do anything to help you find a job?
YES ( ), NO ( )
If **YES,** what?

( ) Explain services available
( ) Provided job leads
( ) Offered a retraining course
( ) Other, please explain _____

_____

c) Did you apply for unemployment insurance?
YES ( ), NO ( )

12. Did any other private or public organization provide you with help to find another job?
YES ( ), NO ( )
If **YES,** name the organization and the help given. _____

_____

13. Do you feel you received enough advance notice of the shutdown, to take the necessary measures before the layoff?
YES ( ), NO ( )
If **NO,** how much time would you have wanted? (months) _____

LOOKING FOR WORK

NOTE: IF YOU RETIRED EARLY AND ARE NOT LOOKING FOR WORK, PLEASE GO ON TO QUESTION 40

14. After you heard of the shutdown, how did you see your prospects of finding another job?

( ) I thought I could find something better than my C.I.L. job (on James Island)
( ) I thought I could find something as good as my C.I.L. job.
( ) I thought I could find something, but not as good as my C.I.L. job.
( ) I thought I would not be able to find any job at all.

15. Shortly after you heard about the shutdown, what steps did you take to face the situation? (check as many as apply)

( ) Register with Canada Manpower for employment.
( ) Register with Canada Manpower for retraining.
( ) Investigate for job leads from friends, ads, etc.
( ) Apply for jobs at various companies.
( ) Investigate possibilities of starting your own business.
( ) Too discouraged to do much of anything.
( ) Decided to wait and see what happened.
( ) Decided to retire after the shutdown.
( ) Other, please explain _____

_____

16. If you began to look for a new job, what kind of work were you looking for?

( ) Plant work similar to your job on James Island.
( ) An opportunity to start your own business.
( ) A trade outside of plant work.
( ) Plant job different from your job on James Island.
( ) You had no preference, and were looking for any reasonable job.
( ) Other, please explain _____

_____

17. When did you first begin (when will you begin) to look for a new job?

(month) _____

18. How did you find out the job leads for which you applied? (check as many as apply)

( ) From friends and relatives (personal contacts)
( ) By going directly to the companies
( ) From Canada Manpower
( ) Advertisements in newspapers
( ) Companies contacted you about a job opening
( ) Other, please explain _____

_____

19. If you turned down any job offers, could you list the reasons for turning them down? (low wages, poor job, had to relocate, etc.)

_____

_____

20. Following is a list of factors which are usually related to a job. Rank only what you consider to be the top five factors, starting with 1 for the most important, 2 for the next most important and so on to 5.

( ) High wages
( ) Good fringe benefits
( ) Good working conditions
( ) Work you like
( ) Opportunity to use your skill
( ) Job security
( ) Strong union representation
( ) Fair supervision
( ) Distance from home
( ) Shift
( ) Work in the same district (You do not have to move)
( ) Other, please explain _____

_____

PRESENT WORK

21. Are you presently working?

YES ( ), NO ( )

If **YES,** go on to the next question.

If **NO,** go on to question 33, page 8.

NOTE: ANSWER QUESTIONS 22 - 32 ONLY IF YOU ARE PRESENTLY WORKING

22. What is your present job? (two or three word description)

_____

23. Where do you work? (employer) _____

Location (Victoria, Sidney, etc.) _____

24. Is your present job (check as many as apply)

( ) Permanent
( ) Temporary
( ) Part time
( ) Full time

25. When did you start on your present job? _____

26. How did you find out about this job? (check one box)

( ) You applied directly to the company
( ) Friend or relative provided the lead (other personal contact)
( ) Canada Manpower provided the lead
( ) "Help Wanted" advertisement
( ) The company contacted you
( ) Private placement agency provided the lead
( ) Took a retraining course which led to a job
( ) Other _____

27. Compared to those of your job on James Island before the shutdown, how do you rate **EACH** of the following factors in your new job?

	Better	Same	Worse	Don't Know
Wages	( )	( )	( )	( )
Fringe benefits	( )	( )	( )	( )
Working conditions	( )	( )	( )	( )
Type of work	( )	( )	( )	( )
Opportunity to use your skills	( )	( )	( )	( )
Job security	( )	( )	( )	( )
Supervision	( )	( )	( )	( )
Union representation (if any)	( )	( )	( )	( )
Distant from home	( )	( )	( )	( )
Working hours	( )	( )	( )	( )

Others, please specify _____

_____

28. Overall, how do you rate your present job, against your past job on James Island before the shutdown?

( ) Better
( ) About the same
( ) Worse

29. What is your average hourly wage rate?

$_____/hour

30. How does your present average weekly take-home pay compare to that on James Island?

( ) Higher
( ) Same
( ) Lower

31. Are you still looking for a job, (better job)?

YES ( ), NO ( )

If **YES**, explain briefly why _____

_____

32. After leaving C.I.L. did you have any other job(s) before the one you have now?

YES ( ), NO ( )

If you answered **NO**, go to page 10, question 40. If you answered **YES**, please list the job(s), the company(ies) and whether you were laid off or you quit.

Company	Job	Quit	Laid Off
_____	_____	( )	( )
_____	_____	( )	( )

Please go on to page **10**, question **40.**

ANSWER QUESTIONS 33 - 39 ONLY IF YOU ARE NOT PRESENTLY WORKING

33. Which of the following applies to you?

( ) Not working, but looking for a job
( ) Not working and not looking for a job now
( ) Starting my own business
( ) Taking or will be taking a retraining course
( ) I have retired and do not intend to work again
( ) Other, please explain

_____

34. After you left C.I.L., did you take some vacation or time off before starting to look for a job?

YES ( ), NO ( )

If **YES**, how long did you take? _____ weeks.

35. Have you worked for wages since leaving C.I.L.?

YES ( ), NO ( )

If **YES**, answer the following:

a) How many weeks? _____ weeks.

b) Please list:

Company	Job	Quit	Laid Off
_____	_____	( )	( )
_____	_____	( )	( )

If you are **NOT** looking for work now, go on to page 10, question 40.

ANSWER QUESTIONS 36 TO 39 ONLY IF YOU ARE LOOKING FOR WORK

36. What kind of work are you looking for?

( ) Same type as my usual C.I.L. job
( ) A trade outside of factory work
( ) A factory job different from my C.I.L. job
( ) I have no preference, I will accept any reasonable job offer
( ) Other, please explain

_____

37. What is the minimum hourly wage rate you are willing to accept?

$ _____ per hour

38. Do you expect any difficulties in your search for a job?

YES ( ), NO ( )

If **YES**, why? _____

39. Indicate how you feel each of the following will affect your chances of getting a job?

	For	Against	No Effect
Age	( )	( )	( )
Education	( )	( )	( )
Training	( )	( )	( )
Work Experience	( )	( )	( )
Skills	( )	( )	( )
Race	( )	( )	( )
Health	( )	( )	( )
Past Union Activities	( )	( )	( )

Other, please explain _____

_____

Please go on to question **40.**

40. Age of last birthday? _____

41. Are you a Native Indian? YES ( ), NO ( )

42. a) How long have you live on Vancouver Island? _____years

b) Do you have strong community ties or community attachments, that is, you would not like to move? YES ( ), NO ( )

43. Years of school completed:

( ) 1-5
( ) 6-8
( ) 9-10
( ) 11-12
( ) 13 or more

44. Have you been to a trade or vocational school?

YES ( ), NO ( )

If **YES**, what trade did you learn? _____

45. Marital status?

( ) single
( ) married
( ) widowed
( ) separated or divorced
( ) other _____

46. Number of dependents (including wife) _____

47. As a result of the shutdown, which of the following have you received/will you receive? (check as many as apply)

( ) Severance pay
( ) Unemployment pay
( ) Own share of pension
( ) Company share of pension
( ) Vacation pay
( ) Paid-up pension
( ) Other, please explain

48. How many members of the household (besides yourself) work for wages?

_____

49. Did any of them start to work because you lost your C.I.L. job?

YES ( ), NO ( )

If **NO**, go on to question **50**

If **YES**, please answer the following:

a) Who? Wife ( ), Son ( ), Daughter ( ), other ( )
b) Will this job be permanent: YES ( ), NO ( )

50. Do You:

( ) own your home (no mortgage)
( ) own your home (with some mortgage)
( ) rent your home/apartment
( ) other, please explain _____

51. Taking into account unemployment insurance, severance benefits, savings, other sources of income, how long could you be without work, before having to cut down on essential expenses (clothes, food, medical, etc.)

( ) less than one month
( ) up to two months
( ) up to three months
( ) up to six months
( ) up to one year
( ) more than one year

52. Do you believe retraining programs lead to better jobs?
YES ( ), NO ( )

53. Do you favour more government control over shutdowns?
YES ( ), NO ( )
If YES, please explain _____

54. Do you favor more worker control over the decisions of management?
YES ( ), NO ( )

55. Are you better off to-day (financially), than when you worked on James Island?
YES ( ), NO ( )

I would appreciate your comments or suggestions about the shutdown and finding new employment. **THANK YOU AGAIN FOR YOUR COOPERATION**

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX E

MANPOWER ASSESSMENT INCENTIVE AGREEMENT

THIS AGREEMENT number dated this day of , 19 , IS ENTERED INTO BETWEEN:

THE MINISTER OF EMPLOYMENT AND IMMIGRATION
(hereinafter referred to as "the Minister")

AND:

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR
OF THE PRIVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
(herinafter referred to as "the Provincial Minister")

AND:

_____
(hereinafter referred to as "the Company")

AND:

_____
(hereinafter referred to as "the Agent")

WHEREAS the Minister of Employment and Immigration is authorized under the Labour Mobility and Assessment Regulations to enter into agreements with provinces, employers and workers in respect of labour mobility and assessment incentives:

AND WHEREAS the Company and the Agent have jointly requested the Minister to assist them, through the Canada Manpower Consultative Service, in examining and assessing the manpower problems arising from

AND WHEREAS the Provincial Minister has been duly authorized by the Government of the Province of British Columbia to enter into this agreement;

AND WHEREAS the signatories of the Company and the Agent have been duly authorized to enter into this agreement by and on behalf of the parties they represent;

NOW, THEREFORE, THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH that the parties hereto have mutually agreed as follows:

1. The Company and the Agent agree to establish a Joint Manpower Adjustment Commmittee (hereinafter referred to as "the Committee") consisting of members appointed by the Company and members appointed by the Agent.

2. The parties to this agreement shall select and appoint an impartial and qualified person to act as Chairman of the Committee. The Chairman, so appointed, shall be responsible to the Committee. The appointment will be made by instrument in writing stating the tenure, remuneration and duties of the Chairman.

   The Chairman shall:

   (a) Preside over and conduct the proceedings and activities of the Committee;

   (b) In consultation with the parties to this agreement, establish a manpower assessment program within the financial limitation of the budget established under the program;

   (c) Certify for payment all shareable expenditures of the Committee;

   (d) Prepare a detailed report of the Committee's activities, study and research projects, and the measures pertaining to the adjustment of manpower recommended by the Committee and submit same to the principal parties for their consideration with a confidential copy at the same time to the Minister.

3. The representative of the Canada Manpower Consultative Service shall receive a notice of every Committee meeting; he may attend for the purpose of advising and assisting the Committee in the performance of its functions. If applicable, provision should also be made for a representative of the Provincial Minister to attend such meetings.

4. All persons appointed as representatives to the Committee agree to hold in strict confidence information concerning any party's plans or operations, personal data on individual workers, and any other information of a confidential nature which is revealed to them by reason of their appointment by the Committee.

5. Coincident with the date on which the Joint Manpower Adjustment Committee submits its final report to the parties, this Committee shall have no further duties and responsbilities under the terms of this agreement and it shall thereafter cease to exist.

6. The principal to this agreement shall be vested with the responsibility of assessing the report and its recommendations. They may implement its recommendations as they deem advisable to facilitate the adjustment of the workers affected.

7. Funds required to defray the expenses of the Committee shall initially be supplied by the Company.

8. Expenditures made in respect of this Manpower Assessment Incentive Agreement are limited to those items of shareable costs as listed in Clause 13 hereto.

9. This agreement shall remain in full force and effect for a period of months effective as from 19 , subject to Clause 20 hereunder.

10. The parties may by mutual consent, by an addendum in writing approved by the Canada Manpower Consultative Service, extend the termination date of this agreement should additional time be required by them to fulfill its terms and conditions.

11. The Minister may, by notice in writing to the other parties, terminate this agreement when it appears that the Committee has ceased its activities.

12. The parties signatory to this agreement may terminate the same by giving 30 days notice in writing to the other parties.

13. For the purpose of this Manpower Assessment Incentive Agreement, the shareable costs are defined as follows:

    (a) The regular straight-time salaries of the employees of the parties to the agreement for the time actually engaged in business of the Committee as certified by the Chairman. Such shareable costs shall not include salaries or wages for any time spent for any other persons who may be required to give information of whose work may be interrupted by duties of the Committee.

    (b) Necessary disbursement for travelling, office supplies, clerical and stenographic services, preparation and printing of reports and such other expenses as are approved by the Canada Manpower Consultative Service.

    (c) Salaries as follows, provided prior approval is obtained from the Canada Manpower Consultative Service:

i. remuneration of the Chairman of the Joint Manpower Adjustment Committee.

ii. remuneration of persons or organizations appointed by the Joint Manpower Adjustment Committee to conduct investigations and research.

iii. Other costs, such as consulting or research fees, salaries and expenses incurred on behalf of and approved by the Committee and Canada Manpower Consultative Service consistent with the Regulations pertaining to Canada Manpower Adjustment Program.

14. The Minister shall pay the Company an assessment incentive equal to % of the total costs paid by the Company in respect of the shareable costs incurred under and listed herein. Such incentive payment shall not exceed $ or such additional amount as the Minister may subsequently approve.

15. The Company or its agent shall pay all shareable costs as set forth in Clause 13 upon presentation of vouchers of statements of account, which have been approved and submitted to it by the Chairman, in accordance with the regular administrative practices of the Company.

16. The Company or its agent shall keep and make available to the Minister such records as he deems necessary to substantiate any claims for the payment of the assessment incentive and shall allow free access to such records at convenient times to all persons authorized by law to keep or examine the records relating to the accounts of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission.

17. The Minister shall not be rquired to make progress payments totalling more than 80% of the cost of the program, prior to receiving the copy of the Chairman's report as defined in item 2 of this agreement.

18. No payment shall be made by the Minister on account of the assessment incentive unless an application therefor is made in such form as the Minister may prescribe and accompanied by such other forms or documents as the Minister may require.

19. The Company undertakes to submit not less frequently than every three months its claim for reimbursement of expenditures paid on account of the Committee.

VITA

Surname: LACROIX Given Names: ROLAND ANDRE

Place of Birth: LAPASSE, ONTARIO Date of Birth: Nov. 30, 1950

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

YORK UNIVERSITY, TORONTO, ONTARIO	1973 to 1975
GUELPH UNIVERSITY, GUELPH, ONTARIO	1975 to 1977
UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, VICTORIA, B.C.	1978 to 1981

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.A. (Honors)	1977	Guelph University, Guelph, Ontario
Masters	1981	University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C.

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Publications:

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A CASE STUDY OF JAMES ISLAND, B.C.

Author: [redacted]

ROLAND A. LACROIX

April 21, 1981