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**A COMPARATIVE APPROACH
TO THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY AND WORK
IN CANADIAN MINING AND FORESTRY TOWNS**

**by
Louise Dignard**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research**

**Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
Canada**

Winter 1989

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A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF
COMMUNITY AND WORK IN CANADIAN MINING AND FORESTRY TOWNS

submitted by Louise Dignard, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

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April 28, 1989

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the thesis is to compare mining and forestry single-industry-towns in Canada in terms of their community and work structures. More specifically, what is examined is how these structures interconnect at local levels and impact upon social relations and class consciousness. Following a critical review of selected literature in political economy, labour and community studies, insights from Harold Innis' staple theory are expanded in order to link these three theoretical approaches and to justify the analysis of community and work in specific resource contexts. Drawing from this discussion, a comparative model of forestry and mining town structures is outlined. The main underlying idea is that the overall structure of forestry towns could be seen as more modern - in spite of its traditional elements - for it is more diversified and opaque, whereas that of mining towns is more archaic - despite the modern features of its industry - because of the greater control industry has on economic and community life. This theoretical model however needs further empirical testing.

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INTRODUCTION

This introduction will essentially state the object of the thesis, briefly outline its methodological context, summarize the work's main conclusions and findings, and condense the content of each chapter.

In essence, this thesis will ask and attempt to answer the two following questions: Are there any systematic differences between Canadian communities specializing in the extraction of forest and mineral resources? How may we come to understand the way in which these resource specializations among Canadian communities determine the latter's structures of community and industry, and in turn, how do they affect individual consciousness? This research will remain essentially theoretical in nature as it proposes to elaborate a comparative model of forestry and mining communities in a Canadian context, considering both their socio-political and economic structures. Although there exists a wealth of literature dealing with Canadian resources, single-industry communities or regional development, there has not been to my knowledge any attempt to examine resource sectors or resource communities in a comparative fashion. Therefore, the model presented will be of an exploratory nature, although inspired by the existing literature, and it is hoped that a new perspective for the empirical study of resource communities can be derived from this model.

The widely used term "single-industry community" seems to sum up three essential features of resource towns. "Single" connotes the dependency situations of these towns, their

prevalent economic insecurity and the strong external influences of international markets or corporate policy to which they are subject. "Industry" refers generally to the sphere of production, to the economic base of towns, and more specifically to the organization of the resource extractive activities (consisting of the main industry and also of other small industries and entrepreneurs linked to the resource) as well as to the main labour process around the extraction of the resource. "Community" refers to the socio-political sphere, particularly to the community power structure, and also it can help to understand the sphere of reproduction of the labour force, which can be seen as an institutional net, and even local culture.

A comparison of single-industry towns¹ (SITs), in order to reflect the particularities of their social, political and economic conditions, should take into consideration these three features. More specifically, these are: 1) their dependent situation on monopoly capital, 2) the economic sphere and the organization of work, 3) the socio-political sphere seen in the social structure and in elites wielding power at local levels. As will be shown in the literature review, the main theoretical approaches dealing with small resource towns - political economy, labour process, and community studies - have focused on only one of these three features. I will attempt to combine elements of these three approaches and see how assumptions made in one approach concerning a specific resource sector may reinforce or contradict those made in another perspective. This will be done in order to form a more consistent picture of how structures of

dependence, industry and community interconnect in forestry and mining SITs. It is hoped that the possible contributions made by this work may help research in other specific resource environments.

Another consideration, of a more methodological nature, concerns the unit of analysis. This work will focus on the local level, essentially on the economic and socio-political structures of SITs which consists of both the work environment (including the resource, as well as the radius of alternative work opportunities) and the living environment (including institutions and place of residence). The consideration that will be given in the thesis to the SITs' dependent situation in relation to monopoly capital will basically be geared towards explaining the features of these environments at a local level. Major approaches addressing Canadian SITs have seldom attempted to see these towns as entities. Community studies often exclude the institution of work, or at least the specific nature of work. The pathbreaking and classical study in the area of research, i.e., Rex Lucas' (1971) Minetown, Milltown, Railtown, constitutes a typical example of this neglect. Labour process studies often isolate work from community; here, consciousness and social relations are essentially determined within the workplace. Or again, political economy has usually addressed "regions" or still higher levels of analysis rather than SITs. Most often these "regions" remain abstract, defined essentially by their external linkages to monopoly capital and there is little attempt to see how this

regional dependence is translated locally in the SITs' internal economic and social structures.

A third consideration is that our focus will be more on the stability of structures and relations than on social change. By and large, in the social sciences there has been a tendency to emphasize social change rather than social stability, especially when this change could be interpreted as social development. In labour studies, there has been a tendency to underline change in modes of production as transforming social relations and to retrace the increasing capital control over labour. Although the resulting proletarianization of labour is not seen as positive in the short run, there is nevertheless often a note of optimism in the prediction of increasing resistance of workers or a marxist inspired vision of what relations could be like. In community studies, a process of social change is often seen in the advent of institutions to meet social needs, in the passage from a phase of disorganization to the creation of social bonds and common values between individuals. Often such change is seen in a positive light as Lucas' (1971) "stages of development" connote, whereby SIT residents graduate from an eclectic transient collection of individuals to a "mature" sedentary integrated collectivity. On the other hand when change leads to non-development, as many political economy perspectives espouse, the consequences are acute social problems and rather irreversible situations, thus inherent instability. The study of these rather irreversible situations has emphasized the existence of an array of phenomena, for example generalized job turnover and transience

(Marchak: 1983), social disorganization and eventual town closure (Bradbury, 1983), the destruction of traditional livelihoods by big industry (House: 1981), or fatal industrial disease (Leyton: 1975).

It must be underlined here that my own focus on social stability, on the relative consistency in the reproduction of social relations and structures in both resource environments, has neither a positive nor a negative connotation. In the two types of SITs, these relations and structures can lead to development or non-development, this would depend on their very nature and on the particular conjunctures. This implies that the perspective on stability adopted here is a very dynamic one: it accepts, for instance, the idea of an overall process of increasing monopoly capital penetration in resource sectors (with its implications for workers in terms of deskilling, unionization, etc) as well as the notion of a process of modernization of communities (in terms of urbanization, values, integration into national society, etc). It should also be noted that not only is the focus on stability congruent with a dynamic outlook, but it does not preclude a historical approach; and indeed I will attempt to outline how the staple frontier era conditioned the structures of SITs. Also a focus on stability does not exclude a conflict perspective for workers' relations with industry and with local elites are essentially unequal. Thus consensus is not assumed at the onset, although as we will see, certain structures may enhance this condition.

Given the comparative nature of this research, its local level of analysis and its emphasis on stability, what will be underlined in this work is the persistent unevenness existing between both types of SIT processes and structures. The thesis will emphasize the relative consistency of economic and socio-political structures in each resource sector over time, for this is what is striking when contrasting forestry and mining towns.

The next part of this "Introduction" will summarize the main conclusions and findings of the research. The key idea of the thesis relates to the nature of the "unevenness" between forestry and mining SITs. By and large, mining towns are more thoroughly penetrated by monopoly capitalism in both their economic (work, industrial bureaucracy, unions) and socio-political (local elites, institutions) spheres. Also, these towns are more "urban" in terms of the spatial setting of the community, the values of residents (economically-oriented), the nature of social relations (secondary ties) and, in terms of the nature of collective consciousness, they are more oppositional. In short, these towns have followed more faithfully the overall pattern of change seen in advanced capitalist societies or, in accordance to our stability argument, mining towns have always reproduced more industrially-determined structures, more "rational" economic structures and more urban-oriented populations. Forestry SITs, by contrast, have been less thoroughly penetrated by monopoly capitalism in their industrial sector, and even less so in their socio-political sphere of community. They also are more "rural"

communities in terms of the outlay of the community, values of residents (socially-oriented) or in the more frequent nature of social relations (primary ties) and, in terms of consciousness, they are more deferential. Here, forestry towns have shown a greater resistance to change in economic or social structures over time, or rather, they have always reproduced industrial and community structures which are respectively more independent of each other and populations which are more traditional.

In summary, my argument will be that the particular conditions in which a resource is exploited, i.e., the historic context in which a resource frontier expanded and thrived as well as the physical and spatial characteristics of a resource, have influenced the industrial and community structures which have evolved around the exploitation of a resource. Also, the industrial and community structures are interconnected in the sense that they both have economic and social functions and this interlocking affects the resistance to change thereafter. This would explain why in forestry towns pre-capitalist forms of production have survived: they have, because they remained relevant in the community structure. And vice versa, some traditional institutional forms of community survived in forestry towns because they continued to be not only compatible with, but often functional to industry. In mining towns, the industrial and community structures have fulfilled more strictly economic functions and this is why the community structure offers less resistance to possible "more rational" reorganizations by industry.

In contrasting community social structures of forestry and mining towns, I will argue that, in forestry, the greater independence of the socio-political structure (local elites and institutions) from the economic one (industry) leads to a more differentiated structure which is more effective in diffusing power and in obscuring the domination of individuals by elites and by industry. The existence of a wider set of elites having narrow and distinctive bases of power appears - and is - to some extent more democratic. This hides the industry's domination by diverting both the attention of individuals and the volume of their relations away from industry. Such a socio-political structure also increases the isolation of individuals, first, because the patterns of relations tend to be more vertical, each individual dealing with his many points of dependence, and secondly, because the set of relations tends to be individualized, each person having a different combination of relations.

On the other hand, the mining socio-political structure is less important in terms of the number of institutions and elites; it is also clearly dependent upon industry and thus relatively undifferentiated from the economic structure. Industry dominates institutions and services, and circumscribes the action of unions. This structure is therefore more transparent: the power structure is not only very concentrated, but also very visible. The patterns of relations available to individuals tend to be more limited and more similar and, as a result, they constantly reinforce the common position of individuals towards industry.

Such a pattern of relations is more apt to lead to an oppositional stance for the intrinsically antagonistic class relation between capital and labour found in work and industrial relations is echoed by the community socio-political structure.

My main conclusions concerning the organization of the main industry and of work at a local level are the following: in the economic sphere (including the main industry, ancillary industries, services and alternative work opportunities in the vicinity of the towns) what again can be seen in forestry is a more diversified economic structure where many income-generating activities are relatively independent from the main industry. This is due to the traditional dual vocation of forestry areas with agriculture (or with fishing, in coastal areas), the persistence of smaller scale wood-based industries (sawmills, plywood), the seasonality of logging, the larger informal economic sector resulting from wider networks of primary relations, the continued reliance of industry on small logging owner-operators, a wider institutional and service base and more work opportunities for women. Here individuals (or families) develop independent income strategies which comprise unique combinations of these possibilities (including a wider use of government social services as alternative income sources) and this enhances the isolation of individuals.

On the other hand, mining towns have very limited economic opportunities outside the main industry, workers are essentially miners or those working in the above ground operations, this on a full-time, year-long and continuous production (shift work)

basis. What alternative sources of income exist, are rather directly linked to the industry as for example, the service base whose expansion is sometimes directly planned by industry, or the "make-work" projects subsidized by government in times of massive lay-offs - projects which are generally administered by the industry itself. Hence in mining towns, workers are placed in an "isolated mass" situation (Kerr and Siegel, 1954), all experiencing similar conditions at the same time, and due to the predominance of their relation with industry, residents may also be more inclined to define their relation with others purely in economic terms. The undiversified economic base is also strongly felt by women who not only have fewer work opportunities but are also quite directly dependent on industry through their husbands wages; consequently they do not dispose of any margin of choice. This situation, plus the fact that these women are relatively modern (i.e., young, seeking work, and having a fairly good knowledge of the external world) explain why in mining towns, women have collectively joined the strike actions of men.

Within the industrial structure of the main industry, the labour process must also be examined in order to see if relations in the workplace enhance isolation or solidarity of workers. In forestry, industries freely contract-out logging operations to small companies or to contractors who then organize labour themselves often relying on their social network (Legendre, 1980); one such form of organization of labour is sub-contracting to smaller operators. This entire system does not always operate on a competitive basis and yet it is quite generalized: Marchak

(1983:174) notes that in the rather modern forestry sector of British Columbia in terms of Canada, 50 per cent of logging is done through sub-contracting. Furthermore in the sub-contracting segment of the industry, the remuneration system is largely based on a piece-work or bonus basis rather than on a rigid wage system (prevalent in mining). Since income is largely based on skill and on social contacts required to obtain work, and because individuals largely do not know the overall yearly income of others, individualism and isolation are enforced, as well as the notion that worker-employer relations are not essentially monetary but rather are social contracts based on individual performance.

Although primary ties play a role in organizing labour, in the work groups, loggers generally work alone and largely set the pace of their work, thus reinforcing independent attitudes and isolation. Also the forest environment is not as hostile as are mines; loggers own and often repair their equipment, thus individually enlarging their labour process scope and skills (Radford, 1982; Marchak, 1979). In brief, loggers do not feel as oppressed by the conditions of work since they have greater responsibility in organizing their labour and have remained a more transient work force. Also interesting, is that although there are about as many accidents in forestry as in mining (Reason, Ross, and Patterson, 1981:18), both sectors being the highest in Canada in terms of fatalities, loggers' attitude towards accidents has been one of individual responsibility and of

a certain defiance towards the dangers of the workplace (Harrison, 1982).

Miners, on the other hand, most often work in teams, and this in hostile environments, thus relying upon each other to complete a job and to ensure their own safety (Gouldner, 1954). The work environment is more oppressive, first because of the clear property rights of the industry, for instance, miners are not responsible for the maintenance and repair of equipment owned by industry; and secondly, because danger constitutes a constant threat, in that miners work below ground in dark, timeless and unstable workplaces. In mining the issue of safety has been a main rallying point of early coal mining in Canada (MacLeod, 1983) and continues to be one today (Clement, 1981). Therefore miners may feel greater solidarity towards each other and greater resentment towards the oppressive presence of industry and of the resource environment. It is likely that the current introduction of new technology in both the forestry and mining sectors will change the general situation. Indeed it seems that recent technology has had the effect of creating work teams in logging and in breaking them up in mining; however this study will only marginally tackle this aspect of the industrial structure and work process.

The last part of this summary of the main conclusions will consider the socio-political structures of both types of SITs. A comparison of these structures leads to the somewhat paradoxical conclusion that forestry towns can be seen as having a more

"modern" socio-political structure, and this despite their traditional elements, and in fact quite often because of them. This is so because the forestry structure is more diversified, diffuses power and dissipates tensions, and consequently, it maintains itself more effectively over time.

Mining towns can be seen as having a more "archaic-authoritarian" socio-political structure, and this despite the more modern bureaucratic features of their industry. The main reason for this is the overwhelming control that the mining industry has over both the economic and community spheres. This control makes the dependence of residents quite visible and tensions are less effectively dissipated: residents essentially have no alternatives and are put in "win or lose" situations (Suttles, 1972). This socio-political structure is more susceptible to tensions and the breaching of the basic exchange relationship, i.e., capitalist paternalism for worker loyalty, rather frequently occurs as seen in massive layoffs by capital and in massive strikes by workers. In short, mining towns are beset by recurrent accumulations of tensions which lead to crises. The latter are essentially economic in nature, but given the preeminence of the mining economic structure, the economic crisis immediately results in a socio-political one, particularly in crisis of legitimation (Habermas, 1973).

When trying to place both socio-political structures in their economically unstable context (cf. the cyclic nature of industrial production), it could be argued that mining SITs are relatively functional in times of economic prosperity. At least

from the point of view of labour, workers' unions are quite effective in increasing wages and benefits in these economically favorable times (Jamieson, 1979). However, in times of economic decline, workers are relatively powerless to lay-offs, and in the worse periods of impending closure of mines, the socio-political structures of mining communities are poorly equipped to accommodate such drastic change. This is because the union cannot function outside the industrial bureaucracy and thus cannot address the problems of individuals deriving from the community sphere. In these times, the rational structure of mining towns loses its coherence and the entire social fabric is really threatened by disintegration, leading to much stress and uncertainty for residents who are relatively "urban" and used to planning ahead.

In spite of the forestry towns' greater economic irrationality, workers are used to dealing with uncertainty on a continuous basis, be it seasonally or even on a day-to-day basis. Given the scattered and opaque socio-political structure of such towns, times of economic growth may not result in uniform gains or redistribution among residents. There continues to be greater disparity between incomes and situations of individuals, and social consciousness usually remains at its same low level. However, in times of economic decline, overall the structure may be more resilient in sustaining itself. The economic structure is more resilient because individuals are used to fending for themselves and because not all economic potential of the town is lost. Furthermore, despite a threatened economic structure, the

more independent community structure does not collapse and thus an economic crisis does not escalate into a legitimation crisis so easily. In these hard times, the local elite which had taken a position favorable to industrial interests may change sides and defend the common interests it shares with residents and which are vested in the community. For example, the elite may provide new impetus in maintaining the structure by contributing (or obtaining) funds and expertise to keep the industry going under a new endogenous management or to find a new type of industry.

Having presented the main conclusions and findings of this thesis, I will now briefly outline the content of each of its three chapters. Chapter 1 will provide a critical review of the literature that has addressed the situation of resource SITs—particularly political economy, labour process and community studies. This rather extensive review will situate the theoretical context of the research.

Chapter 2 will attempt to explain why a comparative and local level approach based on the nature of the resource exploited remains relevant in a Canadian context. The focus will be on the systematic differences in the community socio-political structure and economic structure which are rooted in the historical development of the staple frontier or in the physical and spatial context of the resource environment.

Chapter 3 will present the work and community structures of both types of SITs. The model presented will be an elite one, although often underlining the importance of economic variables,

and will by and large present mining towns as highly stratified and polarized structures and forestry towns as more layered and opaque structures. In presenting the work structure of forestry and mining SITs, aspects which will be examined more closely are, the labour process in the extractive phase of industry (mining and logging), alternative income sources and labour force characteristics. This last chapter will be briefer and of a more exploratory nature than the first two; it only pretends to outline some key theoretical aspects and will have a weak - and often a non-existent - empirical base. This chapter essentially aims to lay the foundation for future research in the area of concern.

Notes

1. In the first paragraphs of this "Introduction" the terms "single-industry community", "resource community", "resource town" and "single-industry town" have been used interchangeably. However, I will from now on use the latter term. There exists in the literature an array of loosely defined concepts designating these small dependent communities: single-enterprise communities (Institute for Local Government, 1953), single-sector communities (DREE, 1979), company towns (Porteous, 1976; Knight, 1975), single-industry communities (Lucas, 1971; Bradbury, 1984; Krahn and Gartrell, 1983), new industrial towns (Robinson, 1962), resource towns (Stelter and Artibise, 1978; Lauder and Pressman, 1978); resource frontier communities (Matthiasson, 1970), frontier towns (Baldwin, 1979), resource-based towns (Bradbury, 1979) pioneer towns (Derbyshire, 1960), one-industry towns (Himelfarb, 1982). By and large, social sciences approaches (sociology, political science) have most often used the term "community" while arts approaches (geography, urban planning) have used the term "town". The fact of referring to forestry and mining resource-dependent settlements as "single-industry towns" (SIT) may seem inappropriate at first glance. The wording "community" may be more exact for a sociological analysis, and indeed community social structures constitute an important focus of this study. However the word "town" has been chosen in order to include not only the sphere of community but also the sphere of work, and since both these spheres will be discussed independently, it is hoped that confusion will be avoided by using the term "town" when speaking in a general way of these social entities formed of both community and industrial structures.

Another advantage of the SIT term is that both mining and forestry towns are included in the broad category "single-industry"; the term has also been used to underline the external economic dependence and inherent social instability which is the common denominator in the two types of resource towns and to which each of them must adapt (although possibly in a different way). The term "single-industry" has furthermore been chosen in order to draw insights from literature which does not necessarily deal specifically with mining or forestry. Thus I will recurrently talk of single-industry towns to connote mining and forestry (and occasionally other resource or industrial towns), or in a more specific way of mining SITs and forestry SITs.

Chapter I: LITERATURE REVIEW: POLITICAL ECONOMY, COMMUNITY AND LABOUR STUDIES

A. Introduction

The object of this chapter is to draw upon a review of the literature on community studies and on Canadian resource extraction in order to demonstrate how elements of the respective social structures of forestry and mining SITs interact. What will be examined more specifically is their economic and socio-political structures, and how the external dependence of these SITs influences this interactional process. In reviewing the literature, I will essentially outline theoretical elements and considerations which will be useful in constructing an ideal type of forestry and mining SITs in later chapters.

The chapter will also give some consideration as to how residents of both types of SITs individually perceive the above-mentioned structures. This consideration is necessary because as the later chapters of this research will show, the remarkable difference between the two types of towns, particularly in terms of the levels of centralization and transparence of their socio-political structures, partially rests on the perceptions of individuals, especially on their class consciousness. The position taken here is that people perceive the class structure and situate themselves within it drawing from their immediate experiences in their local "milieu". Their conception of society is profoundly marked by their various primary and secondary relationships and is, to a large extent, the result of

generalizations from inequalities and rewards they have experienced in their daily lives. In this perspective, it seems relevant to focus on people's experiences at work and in their community as reflections of inter-strata relations and as a basis of construction of world views, for it is here where the first elements of class ideology are derived. It is also thought possible to infer the predispositions of individuals adopting certain values which may lead to militant or deferent viewpoints from objective observations of the social relations and conditions of daily life. Thus the ideal types will be cast in structural terms, emphasizing the importance of local institutions and collectivities; therefore in this literature review, approaches emphasizing structures will be examined more thoroughly. Although the ideal types will underline structures, they will also attempt to illustrate typical courses of action which individuals have with the dominant industry, the local elite as well as their relations with the external world. Hopefully, this will give more dynamism to the SIT's ideal types that will be elaborated later on.

Canadian forestry and mining towns have been characterized in the literature as located not only on the country's economic, but also often on its geographic frontier. R.T. Bowles (1982:3) pictures them as "social islands located in the hinterland and connected by long threads of transportation and communication to other islands and to the metropolitan centre". Indeed, they are precarious and isolated, having been the tools or instruments of

large corporations to aid in particular economic endeavours, which all too often favour distant corporate owners rather than the social stability and wellbeing of local communities.

This acute dependence on external markets and corporate policy, which for example sets Canadian resource towns apart from those communities most frequently studied by American sociologists and anthropologists, has undoubtedly left its mark on the economic and socio-political structures, as well as on the self-perception of individuals within these towns. However, although recent literature (Watkins, 1973; Bradbury, 1979; Clement, 1973) in political economy has identified the external forces creating the relative instability and underdevelopment of resource regions by focusing on the way the local economic elite, seen as a group of transient managers, articulate with these forces, seldom has analysis been pursued to examine how this economic dominance actually translates itself through the local power structure nor how economic domination is experienced by residents.

This work is therefore a modest effort in the direction of rejoining broad social and historical processes, such as uneven patterns of growth between industrial sectors and geographic regions, with the SITs' economic and socio-political structures. While keeping in mind that a macro power structure, that of increasing monopoly control over resources, should be linked to the local power structure in order to reveal how this structure operates and maintains disparities, I will concentrate on the micro level dealing with social relations at the point of

production and within the community. Thus rather than looking at these communities from a "top-down" perspective, i.e., seeing them as the last link in a chain of imperial relations, I will look at the situation from the "bottom-up", by focusing on local structures¹.

Although a lower level of analysis may be more limited, for it may not explain the causes of the dependency situation of these towns, it may however explain some of its consequences in terms of how communities react and/or adjust to their inherent instability. A greater attention on local settings may also permit to identify the staple as a significant factor in determining resources available and opportunities accessible to residents; this has been overlooked in more general analytical frameworks. Although the use of the staple as a basis of community differentiation could be seen as a descriptive categorization, explaining little in terms of broad structures responsible for disparities, the more context-specific scope of the staple

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1. Within this low level of analysis, some attention will be drawn to social action and daily life, despite the difficulties ensuing from this. It has been argued that "the explanation of features of social structure and the explanation of human actions have a different structure" (Ian Craib, 1984:24). Although some of the broader approaches often used to study SITs, such as the staple or the metropolitan thesis, mainly focus on structural relations, I will try to extend the scope of the staple thesis to include social action. Criticism for the errors resulting from attempting a shift of this nature have been numerous in the social sciences. My only defense to such a potential criticism is my awareness of the problem.

approach does have the advantage of underlining the historic dimension seen in the succession of different types of resource frontiers as well as the physical dimensions of the resource environment influencing social organization. To emphasize the nature of the resource as independently conditioning the social structures and experience of living in particular SITs may also reveal other dimensions often missing in political economy, such as the cultural images a resource invokes or the attitudes and perceptions of workers in such resource environments, which are factors contributing to individuals' identity and group identification and thus are relevant to this study.

Thus I propose to present a review of the literature reflecting some of the approaches adopted in the study of Canadian resource development and of communities in general. In doing so I will attempt to justify which elements of theoretical explanation are best suited to the study of resource communities in a Canadian context and determine the limits of my approach.

B. Sociological Approaches and Models of Resource Communities

There is a wealth of information concerning the settlement of the Canadian resource frontier, resource exploitation and single-sector communities. This concern is well justified since Canada's export-oriented and resource-extractive industries have been the backbone of the economy. However there are competing interpretations concerning the degree to which economic interests prevail over other societal institutions in the forming of

the social structures at both national and local levels. Often implicit in the structural analysis of society or community are images of the prototype resource community resident, and statements about dominant values and individual perceptions. Indeed perspectives on resource community life range from situations termed as "industrial feudalism" (Institute of Local Government, 1953:33) to something close to a grass-roots industrial avant-gard (Johnson, 1978:46-81). Theoretical assumptions underlying analytical frameworks give overriding importance to certain variables and processes, and to an extent predict the outcomes of research or at least narrow the scope of reality to a limited range of possibilities. In order to avoid such narrowing of scope, I will select in the forthcoming literature review elements of explanation which reflect the diversity within SITs rather than elements situating those towns within global processes, the latter outlook tending to standardize and reduce the complexity of the SITs' social realities.

It is my contention that efforts to generalize about social structures of resource towns can best be regrouped into four broad sociological approaches distinguishing themselves along the axis of social change sources and levels of analysis (See Figure 1, p. 24; the approaches have been numbered from 1 to 4). The social change considered here occurs within the communities and may either be exogenous (originating outside the locality, mainly from broad economic and political forces) or endogenous (originating within the locality, in the sense of a significant

Figure 1. Characterization of a Set of Single-Industry Towns and Community Studies' Authors
Along the Axes of Social Change Sources and Levels of Analysis.

SOURCE OF CHANGE		LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	
Exogenous	Endogenous	High	Low
(1) INSTITUTIONS		(2) COLLECTIVITIES	
Bradbury Robinson Hodge & Qadeer Stelter & Artibise Goltz Robson Kerr & Siegel Clark Innis Lower Wynn Clement Swift		Lucas Tonnies Stein Hughes Pope Miner Park Gangs	
(3) SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF ACTION		(4) ENDS AND DEFINITIONS OF SITUATIONS	
Marchak Legendre Radford Macleod Mellor Derbyshire Luxton Lane Hayner Leyton Suttles		Lockwood Matthews Freudenburg Porteous Mooney Harrison Larouche	

range of auto-determination or adaptation at the local level). As far as the levels of analysis are concerned, higher level studies focus upon the communities' social structure, either on their social institutions (when change is exogenous: Approach 1) or on local collectivities of actors (when change is endogenous: Approach 2). Studies adopting lower levels of analysis tend to focus on social actions occurring within the communities, either on the social conditions of these actions (when change is exogenous: Approach 3) or on the actors' definition and the ends of specific situations (when change is endogenous: Approach 4). In terms of the methodological contexts of these studies, a gradual shift from methodological pluralism to methodological individualism can be seen. Approach 1 situates SITs within broader societal forces, Approach 2 examines SITs as social entities to a certain extent, Approach 3 focusses on social groups sharing common situations and Approach 4 is more interpretive, focussing on individuals perceptions of their situation. Needless to say, Figure 1 considers only the main thrust of these authors' studies; the general level of sophistication of the authors means that none of them are strictly confined to a single spot on the Figure, and probably not even to a single Approach. The categorization attempted in Figure 1 is necessarily based on broad generalizations, however it is hoped to be a useful attempt.

The remaining sections of this rather lengthy chapter will consider separately the different approaches and explain which

elements of their authors' arguments have been thought as relevant to the Canadian context, and more particularly to this work. The treatment of the four approaches will be quite unequal in quantitative terms, the first and second approaches are studied in detail, while the latter two are lumped together in a shorter section. The reasons for this are basically twofold. First, Approaches 1 and 2 regroup the most important authors in the field and the works considered are more classical. These approaches also contain the most numerous works, Approach 2 probably slightly fewer so than Approach 1, especially if one considers strictly the Canadian content of these studies. Approaches 3 and 4 regroup authors that are by and large more recent and represent newer theoretical trends; they also comprise fewer studies, notably Approach 4. Actually the quantity of (sociological) works that may be located in the last approach is quite reduced and one has to try harder to fill the fourth box of the Figure². The second reason for the more reduced treatment of Approaches 3 and 4 in this chapter is that this study will make at a later point extensive reference to the authors gathered in these approaches; a more detailed treatment would have made this work at times repetitive. Given the number and importance of the authors and studies of Approaches 1 and 2, the risk of repetitiveness is less serious in their cases.

2. In that sense, it is probably no coincidence that the lower right corner of Figure 1 is exclusively filled with the names of three anthropologists, i.e., K.A. Mooney, P.H. Harrison and F. Larouche; and that the opposite corner of the Figure is occupied by two geographers, J. Bradbury and I. Robinson, and two urban planners, G. Hodge and M. Qadeer.

C. Approach 1 and the Study of the SIT's Institutions

As explained above, the authors grouped in Approach 1 consider change as essentially exogenous and focus on the highest levels of analysis within the communities. Political economy seems to be the main thrust of their studies; the theoretical frameworks they favour are labour process, dependency and the metropolitan thesis. Here of fundamental importance are economic institutions, in this case resource industries, which determine the existence and evolution of communities, the character of the labour force, socio-political structures, townsites, and individual world views. Collectivities of actors at the local level are important only in so far as they represent local instances of societal processes of class formation and class action. Therefore communities are seen as appendages to industries rather than more varied institutional nets accomodating the needs of individuals throughout their life cycle and adapting their functions to the specifications of populations. Emptied of their socio-cultural dimension, these towns seem to largely remain static, fixed in a company-town mode, where the overwhelming domination of industry over all spheres of social life evokes alienation and resignation. Or at most, the source of change seems to follow a linear historic progression of proletarianization of workers and of alienation through the workplace. Although this alienation has the potential of arousing worker resistance,

the power relationship between capital and labour is definitely skewed to the advantage of industry.

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

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

In this view, resource towns are for corporations merely a fixed cost, a "necessary evil" to resource exploitation (Robinson, 1962:10), which can simply be written-off as a capital loss when the local production is no longer viable. The class structure is also defined at an international level; determinant class relations are those of the international corporate bourgeoisie with the "comprador" bourgeoisie that acts as a broker between the national operations and the international firm itself. The various small local managers are but "peons" and completely subordinated to the decisions of the "international class" (Bradbury, 1979:156; Clement, 1973:109).

This approach is interesting for it explains the causes and process of town decline or closure through disinvestment strategies and capital relocation, and attributes the distorted social characteristics of towns (as labour turnover, economic dependency, demographic imbalances, impermanence) to functional and intentional corporate strategies. More geographically-oriented authors, reviewing the situation in a more empirical way, have accepted similar dependency relations either to industry (Robinson, 1962) or to hierarchical urban systems (Hodge and Qadeer, 1983). These authors deal with the instability of towns by focusing on its symptoms, and hope to alleviate them through regional or town planning. For instance, Robinson has suggested efforts toward population retention through municipal incorporation, housing ownership and greater community amenities. Such suggestions are sharply incongruent with Bradbury's ideas which claim that industrial disinvestment in local infrastructure only facilitates company withdrawal in periods of economic downturn by transferring property losses to individuals (Bradbury, 1984:138). However the opposite solution of moving toward completely mobile town infrastructures, as mobile homes or fly-in/fly-out arrangements are even more attractive options for industrialists (Douglas, 1984:17). Greater efforts to integrate towns in a regional (or even national) urban system have also been proposed as solutions to the SITs' decline or closure. This would be achieved, for example, by increasing their dormitory role or expanding their service and/or public sectors, in order

to diversify the towns' functions and dependency relations. (Hodge and Qadeer, 1983:97, 215). These solutions however seem to fall short from addressing the cause of the towns' economic and social instability. This is illustrated by the main thrust of the (mining) unions' perspective which does not emphasize infrastructure (i.e., capital) mobility, but rather greater mobility of the workforce by transferring skills and benefits to other communities or industries (MacDonald, 1984:24). By focusing so much on the capitalists' rationale which views resource towns essentially as infrastructures rather than collectivities, dependency approaches overlook important elements of solutions that would address problems of labour force isolation and immobility.

In summary, although the dependency thesis outlines a universal process of capital accumulation, it has its limits within a Canadian context by failing to see the diversity of SITs at social and even at economic levels. It is best suited to explain a monopoly sector, corresponding to new towns specializing in very lucrative resources (as oil, uranium, pulp) and which are most vulnerable to external market demands. Indeed Bradbury's case studies consisted of these capital-intensive and isolated towns, such as Quebec's iron belt (1984, 1979) or British Columbia's paper towns (1980). The situation of SITs specializing in less lucrative resources (as coal, lumber, fish) which often are older settlements operating in more depressed but stable markets is not explained as well by the dependency

thesis³. A greater attention placed on longer historic processes, as well as on local geographic contexts and labour forces would aid in explaining discrepancies between industrial sectors. The above is the reason why this study has chosen to compare forestry and mining SITs whose industrial base is mainly the extraction of the resource, and therefore excludes for example SITs that combine the former activities with the production of pulp and paper or steel.

The metropolitan thesis focuses more on a community level and on a wider institutional network while nevertheless remaining in a dependency perspective. Economically the towns are seen as warehouses, collecting staples for metropolitan centres and, in turn, distributing manufactured goods received from the metropolis to the local population. Culturally, the implantation of churches, schools, or other institutions, is considered as bringing the metropolitan way of life to the new frontier (Stelter and Artibise, 1978:7). What is striking about these analyses is how much they underline the urban character of lifestyles and attitudes of the populations. There does not seem to be any indigenous social structures to be integrated in modern society, nor does the isolated frontier environment foster

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3. If one considers Canadian SITs in terms of the lucrativeness of their resource, their vulnerability to external markets, their level of capital intensiveness and the age of the settlements, one extreme end of the continuum would likely be fishing communities and the other, mining SITs. Forestry SITs would probably be located around the middle of the continuum, and in this sense they are possibly more typical of Canadian resource towns.

distinct values or alter imported structures. The SITs are considered as purely "colonial towns" in terms of functions and the model is applied regardless of whether they are mining (Stelter, 1974; Baldwin, 1979), forestry (Goltz, 1974) or hydro towns (Robson, 1985). The result of this inherent integration into national society is an absence of local identity and a lack of opposition to the strongly polarized class structure existing within SITs. Metropolitan thesis studies have insufficiently explored what I consider as the main strength of their model, i.e., its multi-institutional base. Given that the thesis emphasizes that all institutions of national society are brought to SITs and that industry is the dominant one, it would have been interesting to investigate how the various institutions and elites in town contribute to legitimize the existing social order and to mask the company's domination. In fact, one article does hint at this area of concern, noting that "as the network of social institutions and controls continued to grow, so too did class divisions and pretensions" (Baldwin, 1979:28); however the correlation is not examined further. By and large, the metropolitan thesis merely assumes that social consent is transplanted along with institutions:

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

The role of elites in masking class divisions constitutes a central interest of the present research.

The labour process theoretical framework comes closer to including social action within its scope by focusing on the relations between labour, capital and technology in the workplace. The labour process framework is above all concerned with the confrontation between labour and capital: what are the means by which capital accumulation can take place; what is the process of capital control over labour; what is labour's response to this control? Labour process scholars represented here, assume an international context of increasing capital accumulation over resources and adopt lower levels of analysis concentrating on the points of production. Their efforts have provided important contributions in understanding the process by which the subordination of workers takes place, and how capital utilizes technology and the division of labour to deskill and isolate workers. The effect of the capitalization of industry is a reduced need of skilled and unskilled workers and an overall homogenization of the working class, particularly in mining. However this process is not entirely automatic for labour does resist management strategies, particularly the skilled miners (Clement, 1981:299). Although class action (among Inco miners for instance), has been somewhat curtailed by union factions, the increasing proletarianization of the labour force does carry with it a potential of greater solidarity:

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

The labour process framework is well adapted to analyzing relations of production within a local industry, a corporation or a resource sector, and this work will make extensive use of its contributions. However, the framework does present problems in explaining comparative differences between such resource sectors, as mining and forestry. In Canada, the turn of the century marks the advent of capitalist production in both resource sectors and the late 1940's and 1950's the advent of large-scale mechanization. But while the restructuring of the social relations of production seems to have been considerable in mining, Jamie Swift's account of the forestry sector depicts a relative failure of changing the production process despite an increasing penetration by monopoly capital. Thus while labour process studies have convincingly illustrated what happens in the case of core industrial staples, such as oil, minerals and pulp, they fail to explain why others, such as lumber, have maintained a more "archaic" labour process. Or again why certain pre-capitalist practices, such as contracting-out, have persisted in both mining and forestry sectors. This research will address such problems at length.

Jamie Swift, among other labour scholars, considers that there still is no convincing explanation as to why mechanization was so late to arrive and why there remains such a strong reliance on sub-contracting in Canadian logging operations (Swift, 1983:125-57). It seems that this research lag may best be explained by a set of skewed focuses in labour process

efforts: 1) by looking only at the workplace at the exclusion of social relations within the community, 2) by looking only at the main industry's management and labour force at the exclusion of small operators and local elites, 3) by abstracting the environmental character of the resource to concentrate on the technical factors of production, and 4) by ignoring the resistance to rationalization of production brought about by previous modes of production or social organizations. Actually one may infer from Swift's analysis several elements of explanation addressing why the forestry labour process retained a more "archaic" nature compared to mining. These are the more rural nature of forestry communities which remained linked to farming until after the second world war; the more independent nature of their labour forces due to the seasonality of logging operations and alternative work sources; the rather primary nature of relations between contractors and loggers which spill over into other spheres of social life; the survival of some elements of the pre-capitalist mode of production dating from the earlier historic period in which forestry thrived; the more intricate local political relations between operators, politicians and forest managers. It is my contention, that earlier social structures which have evolved around a staple production may persist and later be integrated in a more modern set of relations of production. Furthermore, while some labour processes or social relations may not be entirely justifiable in terms of the dominant industry, they persist because other social

functions they fulfill in the community have survived. In other words, these earlier social structures become "articulated fractions" of a more modern set of production relations, i.e., they are not merely absorbed by the latter. This is an important idea and this work will make extensive use of it, as of the ideas listed above which were inferred from Swift's observations.

Labour process studies, even when they are sensitive to the nature of the resource and to the historical development of the industry (Radford, 1982; MacLeod, 1983), do not extend their scope sufficiently outside the workplace to include the social structure of the community. Furthermore, their analyses, although detailed, usually have the inconvenience of remaining case studies from which it is difficult to make generalizations to encompass all similar communities within a resource sector, and it is even more difficult to compare the experience of work and life between industrial sectors.

Whereas authors, and theoretical frameworks, reviewed until now have focused mainly on industry, other authors of Approach 1 have tried to expand the scope of their investigations to either include community (Kerr and Siegel, 1954) or the historic Canadian context (Innis, 1936; Lower, 1936; Wynn, 1981; Clark, 1962). Not surprisingly, these authors have been located at the right - and more particularly at the lower right - of the first box of Figure 1 (p. 24). Given the general bent of the present work, the relevant ideas of these scholars will be reviewed in a more detailed manner. I will begin the critique of their work

with a key idea of C. Kerr and A. Siegel. They found that the mining sector had a very high propensity to strike while the lumbering sector had only a medium high propensity to do so (Kerr and Siegel, 1954: 190). They posited as general explanation of this phenomenon that it results from differences in the nature of the industrial environments and particularly from differences in the degree of integration of industrial groups into society as a whole. Thus their general explanation stresses the variables of isolation and homogeneity of industrial communities, especially in strike-prone industries. They state that:

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

While the quotation broadly regroups mining and logging (as authors often do), it is my contention that the points it stresses actually suggest that (Canadian) mining SITs approximate better the "isolated mass" image than do forestry SITs. Indeed, on the one hand, mining towns are not only geographically more isolated in relation to the metropolis but within their region as well, for they often are in a "win or lose" situation in relation

to neighbouring mining towns they compete with in their ore belt (Suttles, 1972). There also exists more social isolation within these towns: families are atomized because their kin are dispersed across the country, workers are more clearly defined by their secondary ties to industry, and the social distance is greater between management and miners due to the absence of a commercial middle class and of a sufficiently numerous and autonomous professional elite. On the other hand, mass lay-offs and generalized unionization, which are characteristic of mining, mean that grievances are experienced at the same time. And miners all have the same work experience, in the sense that they all work underground in difficult dangerous work environments, on a mass shift base. The whole of these elements points to a homogeneous, undifferentiated mass situation.

On the other hand, forestry communities are less geographically isolated especially in terms of integration in their region's river system, agricultural belt, and other economic activities such as tourism, wood related industry, etc. Individuals are also more socially integrated in their region, community and in social groups as family and friends; this is due to the seasonality of logging necessitating that individuals rely on their own income strategies established through their social networks. Furthermore the older rural origins of the settlements, the more permanent nature of the resource, and the greater autonomy of certain institutions in regards to the main employer, contribute to enhance integration in communities and to

reduce alienation. A wider institutional base and a larger diversity of middlemen, seen in elites and contractors, also bridge the social distance between individuals and corporate managers. Finally, loggers are less a "homogeneous and isolated mass" for they rely more on family income strategies and have alternative sources of employment. They do not all experience grievances together, nor are these always directed towards the main employer, nor are these mainly expressed in economic class terms. Due to the plurality of employers within each SIT and to the rather primary relations established with these employers, contractors and more generally with all elites, grievances are dispersed, handled individually and resolved on a partly personal level.

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

"In the more peaceful industries their inevitable grievances are dispersed - by stratification of the workers (as in steel), by scattering of the employees (as in agriculture), by absorption of the workers into a mixed economy (as in trade), by scattering of the targets (the employer, the landlord, the grocer, and the policemen being quite different people). The 'mass grievance', not the individual grievance, is the source

of the greater social difficulty." (Kerr and Siegel, 1959:192).

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

By and large, C. Kerr and A. Seigel define the "isolated mass" concept in terms of the occupational group and not in terms of the social relations within the community. In Canada, it may be that populations of mining SITs could be seen: (1) as isolated homogeneous masses in occupational terms, (2) as heterogenous, atomized masses in terms of community due to the diverse social origins of their populations, and (3) as masses integrated in the wider society in terms of lifestyles, participation in international unions, etc... On the contrary, the population of forestry SITs may be seen: (1) as heterogeneous and integrated in their region in terms of occupation, (2) as homogenous in terms of the cohesion of their communities, and (3) as relatively isolated from modern mass society in terms of lifestyles, participation in unions or lack of it, etc... To pursue the logic of these ideas could lead to interesting and lengthy developments. It is not the place here to attempt such an endeavour. However, it was useful to note these ideas derived from C. Kerr and A. Siegel for they show the fruitfulness of a comparative research, the only one among all the reviewed literature in this chapter. From C. Kerr and A. Seigel's work, this study will use several important ideas,

especially those of the inclusion of the sphere of community in the scope of research, of a comparative analysis, of the importance of individual perceptions, and of the impact of the levels of transparency and centralization of the institutional structure.

This section will now consider the works of H.A. Innis, A.R.M. Lower, G. Wynn and S.D. Clark. The first two scholars are the leading exponents of the staple thesis, particularly as applied to mining and forestry. G. Wynn is a more recent historical geographer analyzing the forestry frontier in early 19th century New Brunswick. S.D. Clark is an influential sociologist and former student of H.A. Innis who has considerably broadened the scope of the staple thesis. One of the key ideas of staple scholars is that many of the differences between mining and forestry SITs can best be explained by historical studies which span over the entire evolution of these towns, including the settlement period of resource frontiers. The staple thesis is most noteworthy for viewing the economic and social development of Canada as a historic succession of staples, each one reaching its prime production period within a particular production function and social organization to then fall into a period of relative stagnation following advent of a new staple. Forestry in general, and more particularly logging activities, having constituted an earlier staple frontier, could be seen as approximating today a "staple-trap" situation (Watkins, 1984:67), whereby towns continue to specialize in staple production not

because of strong market demands but because of their inability to further diversify their economic base. The mining frontier, having a more recent history, may not have reached this stage as of yet: it is still progressing, for example, in oil, gas and uranium.

What does the staple thesis have to contribute to a comparative study of forestry and mining? The basic assumption of this research is that the staple thesis has much to contribute, and the main purpose of this research is actually "to staple-ize" the study of the forestry and mining SITs. Such a "staple-ization" implies among other things extracting from H.A. Innis and A.R.M. Lower those concepts and observations that contribute to an understanding of how socio-political and economic structures interconnect. Basically the staple thesis states that trade relations with a metropolitan centre structures the pattern of economic order in a new country like Canada. However H.A. Innis rejected the view that the spread of trade relations to the new world engendered an automatic replication of the metropolitan pattern of development. Instead he insisted that the reliance on the staple exports created a distinct course of development, a novel set of problems and often an unbalanced industrial development. Moreover the pattern of economic development and the accompanying form of social organization are determined uniquely by the character of the specific staple. Thus the history of Canada could be written as the history of successive staple trades, each staple refashioning and

reorganizing the social and economic order in its own image (Watkins, 1984).

Thus an important point of interest is that H.A. Innis sees the nature of the staple as determining the techniques needed to exploit the resource, such as the kind of capital structure, demand for labour, transportation systems and methods of production. The main critique of H.A. Innis by marxist scholars (Clement, 1983; McNally, 1981) is that of having vested in the staple characteristics and processes which should be attributed to relations between actors. To a large extent I agree, for structures and relations should be seen as emanating from social life. Yet the strength of Innis' work lies in its strong empirical base and from it we can attempt to see how the nature of the staple influences the formation of economic and socio-political structures. Although not explicitly seen in this way by either H.A. Innis or A.R.M. Lower, a staple-focused research could nevertheless be considered as providing a more specific historical and geographical context to the study of SITs. Such a focus also lowers the level of analysis which could help to answer questions left unexplained by labour studies, such as the lagging behind of the forestry sector in terms of capital concentration.

For instance, both Graeme Wynn and A.R.M. Lower explain how the particular characteristics of the forestry frontier created their unique social and economic structures. The characteristics of staple frontiers essentially lie in their historic and

geographic contexts which together determine technological and social situations:

"Although the size and scale of lumbering ventures, and the nature of the men in them varied enormously, technology and climate imposed an essential unity upon 19th century lumbering operations. Lumbering was a wintertime operation... lumbering in New Brunswick was a technologically primitive industry... Neither the independent farmer-lumberer nor the largest lumbering party could ignore these ineluctable constraints" (Wynn, 1981:54).

Wynn (1981:6-9) sees the abundance of land, the predominantly rural society, the pre-industrial technology and the relatively unstable markets as significant factors which contributed to "imposing a fundamental unity" upon the early 19th century timber frontier in New Brunswick. Lower (1936:24-26, 38), who pursues the examination of the forestry frontier until the 1930's, also sees these factors as constant in the subsequent lumber industry in Ontario and Quebec after confederation as well in the 20th century pulp and paper frontier:

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

From the start, the frontier was socially, economically and geographically diversified (Lower, 1936:38) due to its dual vocation - agriculture and logging - which brought settlement and industrial interests either in confrontation or corroboration. Lower (1936:28) sees the forestry frontier as expanding from the clash, between two different types of motivation underlying the agricultural and forestry industries. The first was the social

ideal of establishing stable communities in the image of those already in existence, which was held by the promoters of agriculture, i.e., Ontarian townships and especially the Quebec Church. The other was the "predatory ideal" of exploiting the forest for economic or lucrative ends, represented by merchant capital and small entrepreneurs (in the 19th century timber trade), and by competitive industrial capital (in the later pulp and paper industry). This gave way to a pattern of development which was "diffuse" (Wynn, 1981:136), haphazard, highly uncertain and often irrational in achieving either ideals.

By and large in the social structure which emerged, industrial and forestry elites held separate domains of influence, formed complex webs of interrelations and engaged in local political tug-of-wars aiming the control of resources or of local populations. Wynn (1981:111-125) describes at length the loosely connective and broadly hierarchical timber trade industry. Here, "merchant-wholesalers, storekeepers, brokers, sawmillers, jobbers combined in various ways" (Wynn, 1981:118), "intimacy and informality where striking characteristics of this international trade" (Wynn, 1981:123), and many farmers and labourers who contracted their labour to lumber parties were often manipulated or left in debt (Wynn, 1981:76-77). In following the lumber trade on the Canadian shield, and in the current 1930's policy for allocating agricultural land and pulp and paper concessions, Lower observed a similar pattern. In eastern Canada, both roles of forestry settlements were conferred upon

Ontarian colonization societies (essentially lumber companies) and Quebecois "missionnaires colonisateurs" (essentially the Church) which resulted in hindering the development of either sector in terms of capital intensification (Lower, 1936:113, 62). Industry remained small-scale and competitive and the settlement of poorly agricultural lands promoted a subsistence economy (Lower, 1936:93). In the 20th century, the advent of large-scale pulp mills on the Canadian shield largely occurred in areas where agricultural settlement had preceded (Lower, 1936:114-116). The industries adapted and modified the existing organization of work without however eliminating the subsistence agricultural base or the relative autonomy of the community, be it the authority of the Church on its parishoners (mainly in Quebec), or the small-entrepreneurial and individualistic attitudes (especially strong in Ontario and English Canada). Lower comments on both the Quebec and Ontario forestry and settlement systems in the 1930's. In Quebec, where motives other than economics operate, the Church maintained its stronghold:

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

In Ontario, the more decentralized forestry bureaucracy, although seriously trying to enable serious settlers and lumberers, remains plagued by localism and corruption:

"The system with its lack of trained personnel, its decentralization, and its dependence upon local people

much too easily influenced by local patriotism and local lumber magnates, is open to serious criticism" (Lower, 1936:100).

Despite such a disorganized development pattern and an apparently constant tension between agricultural and forestry elites, these two industries are in fact compatible, at least from the point of view of elites. Lower notes that from the point of view of industry, the subsistence base is useful in retaining part-time workers (Lower, 1936:134) and the church usefully maintains traditional deferent attitudes (Lower, 1936:89). From the point of view of the Church (or community), industry has economically revived stagnant agricultural areas and in this way maintains the community structure. This can be seen in Lower's example of Lake St-Jean in the 1930's:

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

Therefore the overlap of different modes of production (petty commodity and industrial), the relative autonomy of industrial and community structures and the greater margin of choice individuals perceive as having in the labour market (between agriculture and forestry), are insights derived from the empirical observations of A.R.M. Lower. This may help explain:

- (1) how community and economic structures combine to retain

vestiges of older structures through time, and (2) why these structures lead to more deferential attitudes in workers. The ideal type of forestry SIT elaborated in this work owes much to these ideas.

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

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

By and large, the absence of an alternative agricultural employment base (Innis, 1936:173) and the "strength of the pecuniary motive" guiding workers and companies alike possibly led to a more acute dependence of mining companies on the vagaries of external markets and of workers on their sole employer.

Therefore in mining, the pattern of development followed more strictly the path of capitalism. In terms of local social structure, what emerged was a highly polarized structure opposing the mine concession owners to the wage-working miners. The first years of the gold rush (1896-1903) were characterized by small independent entrepreneurs operating seasonal operations (Innis, 1936:203-207); however due to the strong markets and the existing technology, mining soon large-scale, year-long, mechanized

operations. Innis (1936:213-30) describes at length the rapid concentration of industry, the introduction of many labour-saving devices as well as the growing discontent among small entrepreneurs and arriving populations who were either losing their land claims or being proletarianized. These modern and skilled people were quite aware of their situation and rights. They either reacted in formal ways through mass meetings, forming Clubs opposing the concessions, and addressing petitions to the government and open letters in newspapers, or they reacted in an individualistic and instrumental way by moving on to newer, booming areas (Innis, 1936:224-30). Later, as the gold and silver frontier expanded in Ontario, so did the increasing proletarianization of labour. Innis relates the situation in Cobalt in 1905:

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

The control by industry over daily life escalated to include not only the work place but the place of residence; not only wages but also the cost of living, town services and infrastructures were provided by industry. Dawson City was possibly the earliest company town (1898), planned and built by two companies (Laduc and Henderson) only two years after the initial gold discovery on Bonanza (Innis, 1936:187). In the first years, Dawson was essentially a collection of warehouses

and miner's cabins where the absence of services such as, a hospital or fire protection caused serious ravages (Innis, 1936:209-11). Here:

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

As the mining frontier spread to Ontario, this same pattern of settlement was reproduced, however the double alienation, in the workplace and in town, crystalized into collective action. In Cobalt, 1905:

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

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

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

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

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

As a result, very early, the miner became conscious of his class relation to capital. The miner, who immigrated to a mining centre with a clearer view of enhancing his standard of living and confronted a powerful company also operating on a pecuniary motive, may be better equipped to understand his situation and react in effective ways. This can be seen in the formal protests or mass out-migration of unsatisfied populations in Dawson (1901-03) as compared to the retention of population in a subsistence economy in forestry. Miners were also aware that decisions were made by large companies at national levels since they repeatedly protested to the government and media. Whereas in forestry, the decisions were essentially taken at local levels, in mining, as soon as the Yukon days, issues were located at a higher political level. In the workplace, opposition and consciousness was

also heightened when capital introduced technology in order to reduce labour costs. This corresponded with the first signs of sabotage (as high-grading) at the risk of being arrested, with the first strikes at the risk of expulsion, or even with an incipient unionization at the risk of being blacklisted (Innis, 136:326). Therefore it may be stated that the miners' oppositional attitude dates back from the beginning of mining in the country. What can be drawn from H.A. Innis' empirical work is that the main attributes of the resource environment which conditioned this oppositional attitude are: the geographic isolation of mining towns (in relation to agricultural and urban regions) and the social integration of miners (in relation to national society and industrial bureaucracy). Both these factors reinforce alienation of workers at a local level and promote more "modern" values and secondary relations. These factors are also congruent with the "isolated mass" idea of C. Kerr and A. Siegel.

S.D. Clark was the only student of H.A. Innis to emerge from the 1930's nationalist movement in Canadian social sciences as a major sociologist. Clark retraces the development of the different staple frontiers of early Canada yet places them in a sociological perspective. Although the general area of concern of his work is social change within groups in transition, his topic being historical and collective, the variables he stresses in his conclusions are ahistorical and individualistic, in that it is the individual's ambition to accumulate property that in the final analysis causes the progression of frontier

collectivities and leads to the structuring of their social life. In this sense, the early Canadian community is cast in a different light than in metropolitan thesis studies, because greater emphasis is given to indigenous variables and to social action in the explanation of change in the institutional structure of frontier populations. S.D. Clark sees the settlement of the frontier as characterized by social disorganization until its eventual economic prosperity brings about its integration into national society. What is most interesting in his work is its greater in-depth look at interactions between institutions, particularly religious and economic ones (Clark, 1962:147-166). Given the general bent of this research, the way Clark viewed such interconnections will be examined more closely.

Where frontier economic development took place in context of free enterprise rather than monopoly capital (as farming in the prairies, mining on the precambrian shield, or fishing in Nova Scotia), there existed no agency for transfer of social institutions from national society and the general context was one of relative economic (and social) instability. Given this environment, sects provided a first form of (cultural) control over rather socially undisciplined populations by their function of canalizing economic dissatisfaction through a religious interpretation of acceptance of economic hardship. In this way, the sects sparked and facilitated the advent of capitalist enterprises and eventually of prosperity by promoting an ascetic

outlook favoring the accumulation of capital. As capitalism continued to thrive, this increasingly led to the passage from sectarianism to religious denominationalism and more conservative outlooks (Clark, 1962:149, 159).

On the other hand, where large-scale capitalist enterprises initiated and controled the settlement of frontiers, the church was able to entrench itself so deeply in the community that new religious movements had little opportunity to develop (Clark, 1962:160). This is the case of ne-planned company towns, where financial support to churches makes the arising of rival religious bodies very difficult because "the centralization of economic and political life favors the centralization of religious life" (Clark, 1962:164). In these frontiers, the dominant role of the Roman Catholic Church, for instance, was not detrimental to the expansion of capitalism. This is true even in Quebec, where the political claim of patriotism had reduced the measure of company over social organization.⁴ Although the church kept a large portion of the frontier working class isolated and organized in a hierarchy of social classes divorced from the more fluid class system of the nation, populations had

4. It is my contention that in this province, the stronger position of the church may have also kept workers marginal to urban society by placing them in a rigid status system. This may be more so in the semi-rural forestry areas where settlement had a religious-ethnic mission as compared with the mining areas where the role of the company in providing the institutional base was stronger. Such a point of view provides a good example of the interconnectedness between economic and community spheres.

nevertheless been drawn into its productive forces. In conclusion, Clark shows that in the frontier, sect or church tended to provide an important support to industry:

"the bureaucracy of business combined with bureaucracies of the church and state (contributed) in maintaining the controls of the society" (Clark, 1962:160).

By and large, the structural approaches reviewed in this Section, the staple thesis to a lesser extent, seem to emphasize industrial production and to cast social structures in class terms. By putting conflict based on class at the heart of the analysis, attention is directed away from the social relations of a more primary type which also characterize communities. The concept of exploitation and the theory of class formation provide a valuable starting point in the construction of ideal types of communities. However, although they offer a fruitful explanation of their structural set-up, they leave a great deal out in the explanation of some aspects of their dynamics. Occupational solidarity or worker's definition in relation to the workplace do not encompass the whole of community identity or social structure, for what is lacking is the realm of communal sociability within the collectivity. Thus place should be made for the lingering obligations of mutuality between employer and employees, as well as the nature of social relations within groups, with elites and institutions. In doing so, it would allow a role for endogenous influences at the structural level and show greater awareness that the existence of multiple role relationships and association patterns give the locality its

distinctive social character. Mining and forestry towns are not simply subject to the pull and push of economic or institutional forces but develop dynamics of their own which result in a degree of local autonomy, and indeed conscious apartness from the wider society. Socio-cultural characteristics of forestry and mining towns may either counteract or reinforce the tone of relationships found in their industrial environments.

D. Approach 2 and the Study of SITs as Collectivities

As was stated earlier in this Chapter, this Section will deal with collectivities, essentially with community within SITs. The term "collectivity" was preferred over "community" because several authors in the field have shown the sometimes weak communal relationship existing in SITs, for example the loss of vitality and even the virtual disappearance of mining SITs during periods of severe economic busts. Such declining mining SITs may eventually lose everything, including their population, but before they do, they usually lose their sense of community; what is left in such cases are mere collectivities of individuals. Thus while Approach 1 was concerned with institutions, more specifically with industry, the focus will now be placed on actors and their forms of sociation, i.e., on collectivities, which in the case of SITs, happen to frequently - but not necessarily always - be communities.

Implicit in the concept of community is the image of the good society, whereby ties of community are characterized by

legitimacy in associations, a high degree of personal intimacy, moral commitment, social cohesion, continuity in time and often in place. Here the individual is conceived in his wholeness rather than in one or another of the roles, taken separately, that he may hold in the social order. Community draws its psychological strength from levels of motivation deeper than those of mere interest, and achieves its fulfillment in the submergence of individual will that is not possible in unions of rational assent. Thus community is a different subject matter than the previously described secondary contractual ties of occupational solidarity or integration of individuals into societal institutions. Given the strong affective and ascriptive base of social relationships within the community, its understanding will require frames of reference that are different from those characterizing Approach 1. However diverse combinations of both types of relationships coexist at one place and time, and both should warrant attention. For as Robert Nisbet explains:

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

Hopefully this work has by now adequately suggested that Canadian SIT research has above all stressed the role of non-communal relationships, i.e., the secondary ties of work and class which are largely determined from outside. These are of key importance of course, as shown in the review of the literature in Approach

1, but it should not be overlooked that there often exists a community in SITs. The major community scholarship has been produced in the United States, and when Canadian scholars have dealt with community (S.D. Clark (1978), for instance) they have rather stressed its progressive demise because of the increasing predominance of non-communal relationships in these relatively modern industrial towns. The present study intends to give equal attention to both types of relationships, and examine how they complement each other, which is what Robert Nisbet implicitly calls for. In sum, this research tries to avoid an exclusive "rational man, homo economicus" kind of frame of reference derived from macro-industrial perspectives as well as that of the "consensual man" derived from a low-level view of communities as insular organic wholes.

A founding work in community studies, which has left its mark on subsequent writings by Emile Durkheim (mechanical and organic solidarity), Max Weber (communal and associative types of relationships) as well as the Chicago school (human ecology), is Ferdinand Tonnies' typology of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Tonnies: 1887). At the heart of his two concepts is the image of a type of social relationship and the affective and volitional elements of mind entering respectively into each. *Gemeinschaft* largely corresponds to traditional communal society whereby relationships are largely based on affective states and traditions, the three pillars of communality being blood, place and mind - kinship, neighbourhood and friendship. There is an

element of nostalgia and morality in the community concept, for all cherished elemental states of mind - love, loyalty, honor, friendship - emanate from it. Work is transformed into an art, giving it dignity and rank in its order, symbolized by the artisan calling; an element which, for example, is clearly present in forestry SITs and makes the strict application of labour process frames of reference constraining when studying such SITs. In contrast to Gemeinschaft, Tonnies sees Gesellschaft as both substance and process, reflecting the passage from traditional to modern society. In pure Gesellschaft, symbolized by the modern economic enterprise, associations are no longer based on friendship but on rationality and calculation. The pecuniary or individual best interest are the sole incentives to work.

These two concepts were intended by Tonnies to be used as ideal types, whereby some Gesellschaft elements could be found in the traditional family and some Gemeinschaft elements in the modern corporation (Nisbet, 1966:76). However, the conventional use of this dichotomy has been to illustrate a historic process of growing individualization of human relationships, with impersonality, competition and egoism becoming gradually dominant. This is the passage from a collectivity essentially united in spite of all separating factors, to one which is atomized in spite of all uniting factors. Thus with the advance of Gesellschaft, with all its cultural brilliance and economic opportunity, must go the disintegration of Gemeinschaft. Because

of their small size and isolation, Canadian mining SITs are far from being pure *Gesellschafts*; however given their strong dependence on one industry, the capital intensiveness of the latter and the rather modern values of residents, impersonality and alienation may be quite high in their collectivities. On the other hand, because of their exogenous economic base, forestry SITs are far from being pure *Gemeinschafts*; however, given the relative diffusion of their power structure, the lower capital intensiveness of their industry and the rather traditional values of residents, impersonality and alienation may be quite low in their collectivities. Therefore what should be kept in mind when studying resource communities is that the social relations which reflect the viability of its industrial base are not the same as those reflecting the vitality of its community, and yet these two spheres are not separate, for the tone of relations in one area of social life is to a certain extent echoed in the other.

Robert Nisbet sees as Tonnies' main contribution his explanation of the rise of capitalism and the modern state in strictly social terms. Tonnies achieves this through his differentiation of types of social organization and through his historical and comparative use of these types (Nisbet, 1966:78). What Marx found in the economic mode of production, Tonnies found in the social area: the existence of community and its sociological displacement by non-communal modes of organization. Whereas in Marx, the loss of community is seen as a consequence of capitalism, for Tonnies capitalism is treated as the

consequence of loss of community, as an outcome of a more fundamental social change: that of the passage of *Gemeinschaft* into *Gesellschaft* (Nisbet, 1966:78). What Tonnies and community studies do is give community an independent causal status in relation to the economic area of social life. In the case of SITs, this means a stronger emphasis on endogenous change, in the sense that collectivities are seen as having some potential for organic growth that makes them respond to a different set of objectives than those of their corporate managers. SITs therefore are not seen as mere transplants of industrial structures, even if they may originate this way. Despite the fact that social relations within these collectivities are "conditioned" by their respective staple and remain dependent on their industry, the communal relations are not exclusively created by industry but also in part by people, i.e., by grass-root actors. The extent to which the collectivities are successful in asserting and maintaining their communal relations (and structure) is another question; as will later be seen, forestry SITs are more effective in doing so than are mining SITs. However it should be noted that both types of SITs have these communal needs and the degree to which they find or are denied expression will be reflected in perceptions of individuals.

Much of the *Gemeinschaft* concept has remained in the views of community held by prominent community scholars, such as Robert Park, Robert Redfield, Horace Miner, Everett Hughes, Herbert Gans

and Maurice Stein; much of the theory of *Gesellschaft*, implying an increasing incompatibility of communal types of relations with the advent of modernization, is echoed in their analyses of community change, particularly in Stein's (1960) idea of an "eclipse of community". In his overview of American classical community studies, Stein adopts a perspective similar to Tonnies' for he identifies a rather linear process of change throughout the twentieth century whereby external modernization processes of urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization gradually destroy the self-contained community structure and the primary-group relationships. What these studies show is an increasing structural differentiation, whereby institutions are pulled out of the close articulation that characterized the undifferentiated *Gemeinschaft* community. While these institutions become more specialized and autonomous within the community, they are also increasingly dependent on bureaucratic decisions emanating from a national level rather than from the local community level. The result is a generalized social isolation of individuals, often leading to alienation and even anomie, due to the dissolution of primary ties, moral codes of social cohesion, and networks of interaction based on territorial proximity. Thus Stein describes the eclipse of community:

"American communities can be seen continuing the vital processes uncovered in Muncie by the Lynds. Substantive values and traditional patterns are continually being discarded... Community ties become increasingly dispensable, finally extending to the nuclear family... On the one hand, individuals become increasingly dependent on centralized authorities and agencies in all spheres of life. On the other, personal loyalties

decrease their range with the successive weakening of national ties, regional ties, community ties, neighbourhood ties, family ties and finally to a coherent image of one self... Suburbia is so fascinating just because it reveals the 'eclipse' of community" (Stein, 1960:329).

Due to the recognition of a certain thrust toward endogenous change in Approach 2 of this chapter, the SIT collectivities studied by authors regrouped in the Approach cannot be viewed as having evolved along the linear process outlined above: this process only contributes to characterize the SITs, hopefully to categorize them, but seldom - if ever - has a given SIT itself evolved in such a way. This idea is important because it shows both the limit and strength of Approach 2. It shows its limit because the Approach's high levels of analysis within the SITs' confines are unable to adequately explain the macro-dynamics of the forces shaping the broad patterns of the SITs' social organization. On the other hand, the idea shows the Approach's strength because the SIT studies reviewed in Approach 2 have an accuateness, a sharpness of focus and, by and large, a convincingness that the studies of Approach 1, for example, seldom reach. In this realm, this work's goal of staple-izing Canadian SIT research is an attempt at retaining some elements of the broad external determinants of Approach 1 while still being able to obtain a sufficiently detailed perception of the particular features and internal adaptation of individual SITs.

In his ambitious and excellent book, Maurice Stein (1960) is likewise interested in an integration of individual community studies into a globalizing framework. He treats the American

classical studies as historical documents and attempts to underline the main trends in the evolution of American society as a whole over the last century. His view is that the American community studies can be ordered as an escalation of group integration into American culture (Park), capitalist economy (Lynds) and mass society (Warner), where destinies of communities and individuals are shaped along irrevocable lines:

"We watch the doomed craftsmen of Muncie, the doomed families of Newburyport and the doomed first-generation immigrants go their respective ways toward oblivion".
(Stein, 1960:296)

Stein makes generalizations about social change at a societal level, but in spite of his reliance on community ethnographies he does not provide a synthesis of community structures at a local level or of the internal processes affecting them. He does not even provide a clear definition of community, implicitly accepting the definitions of the different authors. While the assumption that the three processes of modernization occur together may be valid for (American) society as a whole, such high level analysis does not necessarily provide important insights when the unit of analysis is some smaller segment of society such as a community. For instance, not all communities change at the same rate in terms of urbanization, industrialization and bureaucratization, nor are they all situated at the same level of modernization at a particular point in time. Needless to say, this latter idea is central to the present study, for it will be argued that in SITs these three modernization processes do not always concur nor do they

necessarily foster modern values. For example, the more bureaucratic structure of the forestry SIT, reflected in its ramified net of institutions, is combined with a less urbanized and industrialized structure and could be seen as maintaining more traditional outlooks.

Another criticism which could be addressed to Stein and others, such as Park and Gans, is the functionalist frame of reference of their community model which reduces conflict and denies a voluntaristic conception of man. Whereas Stein's analysis is more structural for he looks at how communities - as microcosms of society - are related to the whole and adapt to external change, his conception of community is nevertheless, like Park's ecological one, functional for he sees communities as organic wholes where institutions develop to respond to fundamental needs of local populations. The ecological conception sees communities as "natural areas", as the outgrowth of competition and segregation brought about by the increasing differentiation and division of labour in cities, creating utilitarian ties of interdependence between communities. Here the community is an urban sub-system, an entity in its own right, for it is a social construction having its own ecological, institutional and normative bases. Once established, it has the tendency to perpetuate itself and maintain a certain stability, partly because behaviours are regulated by local agencies, and also because primordial ties of solidarity based on common goals, sentiments and values are established through communication,

creating internal consensus and conscious co-operation (Stein, 1960:20-23). Thus in this functional ecological perspective, communities are viewed: as universal phenomena, as unplanned grass-roots constructions based on durable differences as race, ethnicity, income; as following a gradual evolutionary process whereby local institutions adapt to internal or external change without severe disruptions; as cultural areas as well, forming homogenous and cohesive groups, where sentiments and traditional forms of affiliation through marriage, religion, ethnic associations are avenues along which their internal order is developed (Suttles, 1972:3-18). Canadian mining SITs can hardly be considered as "natural areas". Mining SITs are seldom entities in their own right, collectivities are formed around the utilitarian ties of work rather than premordial ties and their dependence on external centers of power cause severe disruptions giving them little stability. However forestry SITs, due to their older and less strictly industrial purpose, have a higher degree of internal consensus, and are more stable and homogenous. They do suffer social discontinuities, but are generally able to overcome them, even when they are severe, by using individualized grass-roots strategies.

The ecological conception is interesting for it is more flexible than Tonnies' *Gesellschaft* process since it seeks to explain how unity is preserved in the context of the diversity of the city instead of the custom-bound homogeneity of rural life. It does so through indentifying the institutional control

mechanisms by which a community "maintains its own distinctive way of life without endangering the life of the whole" (Stein, 1960:17). Awareness of mass society can take different forms in each community, the homogenizing influences of modernization may affect public life styles leaving intimate manners less affected or vice versa. However there seems to be a clear separation between instrumental/secondary relationships, such as those of work (which seem to be the links between urban communities), and sentimental/primary relations which are those proper within the communities. The local community is viewed as a complex system of friendship and kinship networks, and of formal and informal associational ties rooted in family and on-going socialization processes. The relations evolving around making a living are left out. Indeed Kasarda and Janowitz explain that, in Park's systemic model:

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

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

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

In the ecological conception, exclusion of occupational relations is a first reason explaining the reduction of class conflict and emphasis on a status quo that supports arrangements by explaining communities as outcomes of invariant principles such as race, income, etc. Another is the ecological analogy whereby communities themselves sort out the population functionally and spatially, largely according to individuals' position in the social structure and life cycle stage. For these reasons, this perspective could be seen as espousing the interests of dominant groups in society, for it seeks to maximize efficiency while ignoring the issue of social justice, and to maintain an equilibrium through gradual readjustments while ruling out the possibility of fundamental restructuring (Saunders, 1981:77). Here the city is viewed as a mosaic of bounded sub-communities reflecting a stratified social structure

and where the unique institutional arrangement of individual sub-communities masks the broad class inequalities among them. Action is not seen in class terms but in individuals' social mobility, an individual action which is at the source of community disorganization and erosion of moral constraints. As Stein underlines, "status becomes an autonomous motive and a mode of life" in these eclipsing communities (Stein, 1960:284). In this sense, the ecological perspective is useful in that it points to the processes that need to be overcome - such as the increasing division of labour - if fundamental change is to be worked for. But in another sense, the perspective is inhibiting in that it denies the possibility of acting on these processes since communities are bounded by them; at best it is reformist, at worst it is reactionary. There is some margin for individuals moving within the structure, but the structure essentially remains the same. Although SITs have at times been depicted as essentially homogeneous occupational communities (Kerr and Siegel, 1954), unlike the urban sub-communities they are stratified and potentially conflictive, since they contain at least workers and managers. The extent to which SIT residents are overtly oppositional and engage in class action is another question that will be addressed in our model, and this would depend on how the social structure and characteristics of residents contribute to clarify or obscure class inequalities. Although some high technology oil SITs have been seen as avenues of social mobility (Krahn and Gartrell, 1983), it is my contention that this

"privatized" type of outlook is not representative of other staple SITs. Here the re-introduction of the staple theory will be useful in explaining the advent of different settings for social action, mining SITs representing a rather new staple frontier however subject to accute boom and bust cycles of production will be contrasted with the somewhat older forestry SITs in a relative staple-trap situation.

Another conception of community complementary to Tonnies' and Park's conceptions is the urban-rural dichotomy. It originated in the Chicago school and was instigated by Wirth's famous paper "Urbanism as a Way of Life" (1938). It is a typification of social relations rather than types of settlement contrasting emotional and rational, personal and contractual, and communal and individual aspects of human interaction. What is similar to Tonnies is that these paired concepts designate a direction of change in society rather than differences between geographical areas as seen in Park's ecological perspective. However in contrast to Tonnies, the two basic patterns of human association are recognized as coexisting and characteristic in a modern age, as existing within both the country and the city, and are not expected to be found in pure form but only to serve as yardsticks of urbanism and ruralism where empirical cases would be situated somewhere along the continuum. The hypothesis that Wirth advances is that variations in patterns of human association may be explained as the effects of three factors - size, density and heterogeneity - which constitute the parameters of

his conceptualization of the urban. In this way, a greater range of traditional and modern aspects of relationships is possible within society at any one time. However the ordering of empirical cases along the continuum could possibly be problematic since it is not evident that the variables forming the ideal types cluster together, are interdependent and vary consistently with each other. Stein, for instance, has shown that in a very homogeneous group, such as Park Forest studied by William H. Whyte, where most residents were employed in a single industry (communication), social relations were far from communal but were rather very individualized (Stein, 1960:199-207).

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

"Such a society is small, isolated, non-literate and homogenous with a strong sense of group solidarity.

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

What is important about this conception is that the determinant factor in forming and maintaining folk ways of communities is the cultural one, i.e., the fact that the people are bounded (for Redfield) or choose to participate (for Gans) in "common understanding rooted in tradition" (Miner, 1939:xiii). For its ascribed or voluntaristic base, this conception distinguishes itself from the universal spatial differentiation at the base of urban ecology (Park), the latter inspired by a functional view of the city where competition stimulates a division of labour and distributes different economic groups to different niches in the urban environment.

In Redfield's conception of folk society lies the hypothesis that small size, low density, geographical isolation and internal homogeneity are independent variables explaining the maintenance of rural ways (Saunders, 1981:99). Indeed in the application of the model to the Quebec rural community of St-Denis, Horace Miner (1939) showed that the old land-church organization was disrupted by 1) an increasing population density, whereby farmer's sons could no longer all have access to land; 2) a loss of isolation due to the introduction of modern education and agricultural practices (the most important manifest function of these

innovations was to aid in maintaining the "surplus" youth or to prepare for its outmigration); and 3) increased heterogeneity and instability of population resulting from the necessity of finding alternative work sources, furthering the integration of the community in modern society by extending kinship networks to the city and creating a group of local day labourers outside the land-church culture.

As already stated, for Robert Redfield, it is within the cultural system that are to be found the determinants in forming and maintaining folk ways of communities. What also stands out in his analysis is the organic functioning of the cultural system: for instance, institutions overlap, and society and habitat are integrated. Change is gradual, in the case of St-Denis, for it is filtered and reinterpreted through the dominant institution which is the church, and it is endogenous because its seed - the necessity of bearing large families - was inherent in the community organization. However St-Denis could be seen in a more conflictive and dynamic way if the urban-rural dichotomy influencing the community was replaced by a national-local one. Indeed as Miner underlines, the cure and the senator, owed their high status and authority from their affiliation with the national society (Miner, 1939:250-51). This permitted them an elitist class behaviour and lifestyle, both for instance owned summer houses on the riverside nearby (Miner, 1939:41). In view of inevitable change, the Church assumed an active role in the modernization of some aspects of the community in order to

maintain its local control. For example, it condemned traditional folk practices and superstitions which undermined its influence, promoted new agricultural techniques in order to enhance production and population stability, and tolerated the new landless residents without supporting or integrating them in the farming mass. In sum, the Church adopted a dynamic perspective on social stability. It did so by selecting and interpreting external innovations in terms of the preservation of local traditional values and ideology, and also by maintaining the isolation of the core agricultural population from potentially threatening groups, such as the new landless proletarians developing different schemes of reference or the merchants and craftsmen which possibly represent a burgeoning middle class. In Miner's representation of St-Denis' social structure, the latter two new social segments were regrouped into a marginal sub-class comprising those outside both the culture and the traditional subsistence economy (Miner, 1939:250).

Thus St-Denis, although presented by Miner in a consensual cultural framework, could also be seen in class terms as a quasi-feudal relation between church and "habitants", the parish replacing the "seigneurie". Its institutional organization could be seen, not as organically intertwined, but dominated by the Catholic Church. While this domination is accepted and maintained by those integrated in the traditional culture and farming economy, it may very well spark resentment and opposition by the surplus population expelled from the traditional way of

life. In this case, the visibility of the Church in all major spheres of life makes it only easier for excluded individuals to hold the Church accountable for their loss of opportunity. Indeed, Miner (1939:253) found that the deferent attitude of landless day labourers (especially toward religion) had been eroded by their necessity to find alternative ways of earning a living (Miner, 1939:253). This is my own contention since the author does not discuss such signs of opposition. However they seem to have been present in St-Denis, for example, in the incident where a priest's beach house was looted by "discontented settlers whom he had sent to the cold lands of Abitibi" (Miner, 1939:41).

The point of this discussion is to underline that although St-Denis can be seen as organic and consensual, its traditional (ie, simplified) institutional structure bears within it the potential of exacerbating opposition by those marginalized from the cultural and economic land/church system. This because St-Denis is authoritarian, dominated by one particular institution, and undifferentiated⁵. This tends to accentuate the visibility of horizontal strata within the community, i.e., between a small

5. These ideas seem quite congruent with Everett Hagen's theory of status withdrawal in traditional societies, the difference being that while Hagen rather stressed the emergence of innovative personalities in case of social groups forced to accept a status much below their expectation, I am more inclined to stress the anxiety and alienation resulting from the said change in such societies (Chodack, 1973:160-1).

visible high status group of religious/moral leaders and a low status group of peasants and day labourers, rather than vertical cleavages separating distinct provinces of autonomous institutions. There is also an absence of a middle ground of neutrality or of a middle class which could provide a measure of flexibility and diversity in the community. Therefore, whereas St-Denis may be seen as rural and traditional in the nature of its social relations, these being of a primary nature and promoting an ascribed status social structure, it may also be seen as having a rigid, potentially conflictive structure where church and industry are fused. Such an undifferentiated structure increases the visibility of groups included or excluded in the economic/cultural system and tends to accentuate a class dichotomy in the long run. Indeed, expulsion of individuals from one sphere of community (in this case agriculture) entails expulsion from all others (as the Church, and more broadly social life including values and kinship relations). Such an emergence of secondary social relations and of new groups of acquired statuses - in the case of St-Denis, of a non-farming group who "have prestige according to wealth" (Miner, 1939:251) - is typical of the demise of community.

Despite their very urban, industrialized and bureaucratized nature, Canadian SITs have often been viewed as having - like the community of St-Denis - a traditional institutional structure, in this case dominated by industry rather than the Church. In contrast, SIT residents have been characterized as "urban" not only in terms of the ways they make a living, but also in terms

of their systems of values, as seen in Rex A. Lucas' following statement:

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

As hinted above, these modern cultural world views coexist with a quite traditional institutional structure; not only is there no contradiction between both, but it would seem that the former has the potential to strengthen and legitimate the latter. The SITs' undifferentiated institutional structure may, and actually does, accentuate differences between high and low status groups rather than vertical distinctions; this structure also narrowly defines SIT residents according to their secondary relation to industry. Given such a situation, it would appear logical that an oppositional perspective is more apt to develop among the SITs' low status group. This is due to the visibility of the industry as the locus of power in maintaining other institutions and jobs, to the dissociation of local community interests from those of the metropolitan-based industry, and to the absence of an intermediary middle class entrepreneurial or professional group which could either mask the industry's economic power in terms of monopoly of employment or diffuse it in terms of leadership.

On the other hand, if presented in an "adequate" framework by the local and metropolitan elites, these same elements may be called upon to strengthen and legitimate the maintenance of the SITs' internal social stratification system. Indeed, "the visibility of the industry as the locus of power in maintaining other institutions and jobs" of resource towns may be used by the industrial elite to demagogically foster or maintain a communal sense in SITs by interpreting industry's control in community life as altruism. Also "the dissociation of local community interests from those of metropolitan-based industry" may be used by elites as an argument stressing the precarity of the SITs' community and justifying the necessity for workers to avoid placing their economic needs ahead of those of the elites. Also "the absence of an intermediary middle-class entrepreneurial or professional group" indeed unveils the concentrated nature of the SITs' power structure, but this very transparency may also contribute to make SIT residents acutely aware of their isolation, their difficulty in developing local counter-elites, and hence, their necessity of cooperating.

These considerations lead to the core of the SIT problematique, i.e., what makes these towns possible? To address the fundamental Hobbesian question at this point is relevant because the vertical vs horizontal stratification divisions discussed above refer to a key problem of social order. Furthermore, posing this problem in a SIT context provides an environment that comes closer to experimental conditions than do most units of

analysis in modern society. In spite of the sophistication of his pathbreaking book, Rex A. Lucas considerably impoverishes his debate of the issues at hand because he does not integrate in one coherent framework the most important variables concerning SITs. In his premises, Lucas presents SITs as externally dominated, as emphasizing the contractual nature of labour relations and as having a simplified institutional base. As discussed above, these factors have good explanatory potential when considering conflict vs integration as well as horizontal vs vertical divisions within SITs. Yet, paradoxically, Lucas puts these considerations aside in his analysis of the internal community structure of SITs. He analyses communities in a context that excludes the industrial or occupational structure, and especially ignores the power relationship between industry and institutions or the impact of external decisions on community life.

Lucas' main problem seems to lie in having defined SITs as urban and potentially conflictive, yet analyzing their community in a rural consensual framework⁶. Consequently, he overlooks some crucial features of these communities, particularly the cyclic nature of their production dependent on external corporate decisions and their undifferentiated institutional structure; features which - paradoxically - are clearly stated as characterizing SITs in his first chapter defining the subject of

6. This bias is similar to Park's functional organic model (Stein, 1960:26) and to Miner's cultural approach focussing on small size, homogeneity and geographical isolation (Miner, 1939:28).

study. Lucas' understanding of SITs is simplified: he empties these towns of their industrial sphere and limits himself to an organic community perspective. He views SITs as largely hermetic to outside decisions when actually these decisions may have drastic impacts on both economic and social life. For Lucas, SITs progress through an endogenously induced life cycle towards an eventual termination caused by the exhaustion of their key resource (Lucas, 1971:96-98). This recalls Miner's study, where the shortage of the land resource (and erosion of the value of bearing large families) leads to the demise of St-Denis as a community. Lucas' depiction of the SITs' life cycle, from a construction to a maturity stage, is also a process of gradual "ruralization" of the population for it implies a transition towards primary types of relations. This change occurs not only on the part of residents, as seen in the loss of the "make quick money" syndrome prevalent in the SITs' construction phase, but also in the industrial bureaucracy entailing the rise of paternalism, nepotism, ethnic stereotypes, and localism. During the (third) transitional stage toward maturity, Lucas sees the emergence of an isolated, homogeneous and consensual community, as his following quotation clearly states:

"It should be noted that people refer to 'the company', the 'community' or the people, in much the same way as they refer to the 'government' as though there were consensus about what the corporate group thinks, wants and does" (Lucas, 1971:84).

Obviously, the view of the mature SITs is the complete reversal of Lucas' initial definition of SITs which are metropolitan

industrial transplants into the wilderness having urban populations and modern outlooks on life.

Lucas' progressive ruralization model, describing the slow release of industry's grip upon the towns' community, leads to some problems. For example, Lucas analyzes the mature SITs' different institutions and fields of activity as if equally relevant, thus underplaying their dependence on industry, neglecting their overlapping nature and omitting an analysis of the interrelationships between them⁷. Another problem is that Lucas sees the community structure as based on status rather than class, where local elites such as the clergy, doctor or school teacher occupy a position of respect overriding that of the industrial management (Lucas, 1971:149). Here the union is but a functional organ of social control of the industry wherein grievances are "handled locally and amicably"; worker loyalty is toward the industry rather than the union (Lucas, 1971:140-41). Industrial conflict is absent: "strikes and labour conflicts are linked with impersonal national and international trade union policy" (Lucas, 1971:141). Identification is with industry despite the fact that industry represents metropolitan interests. Thus Lucas describes workers' consciousness:

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

7. This weakness is well shown by the fact that Lucas studies each institution or field of activity separately in rather self-contained chapters.

In sum, despite its general sophistication, Lucas' approach is somewhat problematic due to its switch from an initially urban definition of SITs' to a rural analytical framework, and due to its view of the evolutionary process of SITs as regressing along the rural-urban continuum. Since external ownership of the industry was defined by Lucas as a crucial variable in explaining the nature of community, greater attention should have been given to examining its impact. For example, how does this outside force articulate with local institutions in the case of older established towns? Or again, in the case of new towns, how do the prevailing industrial interests increasingly come into conflict with a developing sense of local or occupational interests?

Another shortcoming relevant to this work, is that Lucas excludes as a significant variable, the nature of the industrial base. Indeed his three main case studies, of one mine, one mill and one rail town, are treated as largely interchangeable despite the possibility that there may exist fundamental structural differences in industry and community in these three types of towns. For instance, as depicted by Kerr and Siegel (1954:193), railtowns exemplify the model of the "integrated individual and integrated group", having the least propensity to strike. For these authors, in rail SITs, individuals are integrated into the community, attached to their local employer and are more restrained by social pressures because hiring practices are decentralized and of an informal type. This is similar to what

Lucas observed in his railtown, which can be seen in his comment on the recruitment of workers in this SIT:

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

Simultaneously to railtown individuals' integration in their community, Kerr and Siegel (1954:195) consider them as integrated as a group, for individuals are conscious of national society and know that group members may be coerced by government to avoid strikes. The fact that the more passive railtown has been used as the SIT prototype in Lucas' chapters dealing with the organization of work and with social stratification, may explain in part the recurrent tensions in his analysis, between metropolitan industrial bureaucracy and local paternalistic relations, or again between workers' transient or instrumental "get-rich-quick" attitudes (Lucas, 1971:27) and their consensual subjugation to localism.

In contrast to railtowns, mining SITs are seen as "isolated masses" par excellence and as containing the most oppositional groups, because in terms of their social and occupational structure "there are few neutrals in them to mediate the conflicts and dilute the mass" (Kerr and Siegel, 1954:191). Wallace Clement (1981) and John Bradbury (1984) have also underlined similar processes of increasing homogenization in mining SITs. In Sudbury, Clement saw the homogenization of the population as resulting from the deskilling of the labour force

and for Bradbury it resulted from the overwhelming dominance of industry over the institutions, infrastructures and conditions of daily life in iron towns of Quebec-Labrador. Thus at the root of the oppositional stand existing in mining towns, may be the combination of Lucas' premisses, i.e., that of a traditional undifferentiated institutional base dominated by an external industrial interest, in combination with a modern "urban" population having secondary type relations in the workplace and generally in the institutionally impoverished community. It is my contention that mining towns could be typified as having political and, to a large extent, social structures which are more traditional while the social relations occurring within the economic sphere are more modern, being of a formal-secondary type. Furthermore, it may be that the rather oppositional view of mining populations is an outcome of this situation, where on the one hand, the institutional structure makes transparent the industrial power relation due to its sheer concentration, and on the other, the class perception of the population is more acute for individuals are more narrowly defined by their work relations and see this definition confirmed in other non-work relations in the community⁸.

Forestry towns based on logging, were argued as being less oppositional compared to mining due to their more heterogeneous

8. In this sense, it is interesting to underline that Lucas (1971:104-111) uses the minetown to describe the prototype old fashioned company town where industry dominates work and life and has a very authoritarian structure and role.

work organization that breaks down the undifferentiated mass. Also their older community structure allows institutions to develop a greater autonomy from industry. Their plurality of elites, including a group of small employers, provides a more stratified status-based hierarchical social structure. In terms of the dominant type of social relations, it may be that in forestry SITs several factors reinforce primary type relations: the more rural origins of the population, the dispersed residential setting, the greater reliance on family income strategies and the importance of the informal economic sector. Here there exists a more pronounced occupational individualism based on one's family's social network, a situation which may retard the development of labour solidarity. It is my contention that in forestry SITs, relations within the community's social structure are, as in the case of work, of a more individualized and personalized nature because individuals must deal with multiple points of dependence - church, municipal government, welfare services, schools, housing market, merchants. Unlike the mining community, spheres of social life appear, and to some extent are, relatively more autonomous and dissociated from the main employer, which makes it more difficult for individuals to generalize their situation or to focus their discontent.

According to Kerr and Siegel (1954:192), an important aspect of the oppositional "isolated mass" phenomenon is that members of an occupational group not only have the same grievances, but have them at the same time, at the same place, and against the same people. Thus forestry towns may be inherently more peaceful

communities for grievances are inevitably more dispersed due to:

- 1) the stratification of the workers within the main industry (between pulpmill, sawmill, logging activities; unionized and non-unionized; seasonal and full-time; and wider skill range);
- 2) the scattering of employees (more rural residential setting; individuals are mobile within the region);
- 3) the absorption of the worker into a mixed local economic base (wider range of services; more employment opportunities for women; small entrepreneurial base);
- 4) the scattering of targets (industry, contractor, landlord, grocer, policeman, mayor, being different unconnected people).

Therefore, compared to mining towns, in forestry towns class relations and identification may be obscured by the more "rural" primary nature of relations in both place of work and residence, and by the more "urban" locally differentiated institutional structure.

In contrast to mining towns, where the social relations are more modern (secondary) and the institutional structure more traditional (authoritarian and undifferentiated), forestry towns have social relations that are more traditional (primary) and an institutional structure that is more modern (pluralistic and differentiated). The combination of types of social relations and structure may explain why individuals in mining towns hold a dichotomous class view of their SITs' social structure, and why those in forestry towns hold a more hierarchical status-based view, one which obscures the economic dominance of industry and fragments social action. This work will to a large extent adopt

this perspective partly inspired by Kerr and Siegel's (1954) thoughtful article. Such a perspective contrasts with that of Lucas whereby SITs are regrouped as a homogeneous batch sharing a common structure regardless of the resource exploited, which transpires from his comment on the organization of work in railtowns:

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

While recognizing that Canadian SITs share a common external industrial domination, it is my contention that the precise nature of the resource exploited, the peculiarities of work seen in the labour process of the core industry, and the combination of work opportunities, reveal significant differences in both the social relations and community institutional structure of these SITs.

In my previous discussion of Horace Miner's (1939) views about St-Denis, I have tried to underline that a mono-economic (and mono-institutional) structure is less resilient in countering conflict. In St-Denis, where agriculture was the sole occupation and the church by far the most determinant basis of social organization, there was - for instance - no alternative work or institution to buffer the alienation of the surplus population expelled from the land-church system. This surplus population became day labourers, unstable and transient as workers, and marginalized from their traditional culture for

their primordial ties with the community were shattered. This led to alienation (Miner, 1939:253), but to little opposition, possibly because of the transience of these day labourers and because of their proportionally smaller number as compared to St-Denis' in-group. I made a parallel between this potentially conflictive situation and the "traditional" (authoritarian-undifferentiated) position of industry in mining SITs, although recognizing that workers in such towns function through secondary-type relations and are organized and aware of their dependence on industry, which are factors enhancing an oppositional stance. Also in mining SITs, the marginalization of surplus workers by massive lay-offs in periods of economic downturn, may lead to labour unrest. This may be explained by several factors: 1) workers are not young outcasts but part of the main workforce; 2) they are largely sedentary or at least have restricted geographic mobility within the region; 3) their skills are not easily transferable to other types of work; and finally 4) there is no middle class, which politically could bridge the gap between workers and industry by providing leadership and/or which economically could constitute a substantial employment base. Forestry SITs have been argued as having more diversified institutions which enhance the maintenance of more primary relations, for in such towns, each individual has a rather unique set of relations based on his many points of dependence. Also the social structure is more diversified, containing a wider professional or entrepreneurial

class, which has an ambiguous position toward industry or workers for its interests are divided between both camps. This middle class may serve to diffuse industrial power, mainly in times of economic prosperity, to the advantage of industry. However in times of economic decline, or especially if the town is threatened to closure, this local elite may side with workers thereby augmenting the town's resilience in a more effective way than mining towns.

Whereas my discussion of Horace Miner's St-Denis illustrated some aspects of social structure which may be apparent in mining towns, the following analysis of Everett Hughes' study of Cantonville (in fact Drummondville; 1943) will illustrate some structural features which may be more particular to forestry towns. This may appear surprising when looking only at their subject of study, since Miner studied an agricultural community and Hughes an industrial textile town. What is remarkable and makes both these classical studies all the more comparable, is that they have been written by authors pertaining to the strong Chicago school tradition and have been published more or less half a century ago, at a mere four year interval by the same university press.

Hughes' study, which he considered entitling Jean Baptiste Comes to Town could be seen as a continuation of Miner's St-Denis for it examines the relocation of surplus agricultural population in a manufacturing town and focuses on the tensions ensuing from the confrontation of traditional and modern cultures. Although

Cantonville is a textile SIT, the specific nature of the industrial structure is not a dominant feature of Hughes' analysis. Rather, the importance of industry is weighed in relation to other community institutions, and the position of industrial management is examined through its relations within the entire social structure. In Cantonville, workers are French speaking while management is English speaking; despite this remarkable feature of the social environment, Hughes' study is not essentially a study of ethnic groups to be limited to a Quebec context. For him, the underlying dichotomy is between rural-folk and modern-capitalist cultures which happened to be reflected in the linguistic groups. In this case, the ethnic factor primarily had three somewhat contradictory consequences. First, it amplified the resistance to modernization of the French culture, mainly by reducing to a minimum the interaction and mobility between the two social worlds. Secondly, the ethnic factor influenced the reorientation of traditional organizations towards the working classes. Unions for instance, are offsprings of the church which organized workers on a scale transcending the community by embracing some of the rural "middle class" values (Hughes, 1943:186) that were moderately favourable to occupational solidarity. Thirdly and paradoxically, the ethnic factor also facilitated the penetration and dominance of a modern capitalist culture. Indeed the union's nationalist guise interfered and slowed the formation of class consciousness and the adoption of values relevant to workers' objective situation.

2

Micro-D

The linguistic difference however, had no effect in preventing the collaboration between the local French elite - the only bilingual group - and the English industrialists. The former acted as brokers on behalf of the latter, thus contributing to ground external interests in the local structure. However, Cantonville's French local elites continued to control the Church, the municipality, local businesses and the professions, thereby effectively excluding the English industrialists from these domains. Therefore in political and cultural terms, the town remained essentially French, which made its power and institutional structures quite opaque and diffuse to workers.

For Hughes, the community structure of Cantonville is not unique to textile towns or constrained to a bilingual setting, for neither the nature of work nor the ethnic factor are seen as crucial in explaining social processes. Rather the main factor is the mix of traditional and modern cultures reflected in the institutional differentiation especially between the economic (industry) and cultural (religion) spheres, as well as in the stratified social structure wherein the intermediary French elite stratum bridges the cultural and class gap. Hughes attempts to demonstrate the "organic ties" (Hughes, 1943:1) between the new and old cultures, which could also be seen as the functional survival of traditional elements of the institutional and social structures:

"It was because of the presence of these towns-people (French-Canadian commercial and professional group) with their traditional institutions, the middle term in

the Quebec contrast between old and new, that this town was chosen" (Hughes, 1943:3).

Whereas Maurice Stein viewed industrialization and increasing institutional differentiation - at a societal level - as provoking disorganization, what is shown here - at a local level - is the consolidating of a more diversified institutional and social structure which despite inherent tensions and ambiguities remains essentially stable. What is most interesting is that the source of stability results from these structural points of tension, ambiguities in social standing, or apparently contradictory world views. This gives the social organization its flexibility and resilience, by the capacity of obscuring class conflict and by containing within certain limits individual or collective deviation from established norms. The resulting structure while seemingly "traditional" in terms of form (i.e., the old elite maintained its status position) is nevertheless more modern in function. This is because the appearance of institutional neutrality derived from the greater degree of bureaucratization of the Church, Chamber of Commerce, unions and industry serves to indirectly reinforce the modern industrial culture, and the plurality of the social structure in fact maintains class interests.

The result of Cantonville's more complex structure, in terms of individual action and consciousness, is not as Stein would have predicted, i.e., greater alienation, deterioration of primary relations or loss of a sense of community, but rather the opposite. The separation of culture and economy benefitted both.

The Church maintained the paternal-type relations and deferent attitudes which led workers to perceive the social stratification system as essentially based on status and topped by traditional community and parish leaders. This assured a sense of local identity while also providing a relatively docile labour force to industry. Industry, on the other hand, only had to interlock with a traditional French elite that was secure in its status and leadership position. This led to a consolidation of class interests between elites and industrialists. The link with elites had the further advantage for industry of rendering a direct patronage relation with the Church unnecessary, thus allowing industry to organize along more impersonal bureaucratic lines. This contributed in giving the appearance of a more democratic structure at a local level due to the greater separation of economic and political power. Besides the local elite, other French controlled institutions took part in diffusing the local power structure. These are: the service sector which provided a "wider diffusion of hiring power" (Hughes, 1943:65), the local municipal government where the "indigenous English population has disappeared from political offices" (Hughes, 1943:86), and the parish where industry's managerial and technical staff did not gain any position of leadership for "the parish and the 'Grand'messe paroissiale' belong to the farmers and the town, not the mill" (Hughes, 1943:98). In sum, alienation was reduced because the local traditional elites maintained their due position in the authority

hierarchy. This status-based hierarchy however, obscured the underlying class relations for the highest level of power, rooted in industry, remained firmly in English hands. As Hughes puts it, "the local and visible authority may be French, but the absent higher authority is English" (Hughes, 1943:73).

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

The support given by the town's main parish to the local status hierarchy topped by businessman and professionals enforced its own leadership position as well as that of the local elites, creating an "intimacy and solidarity of the parish" (Hughes, 1943:99). Not only did this reduced alienation, but it gave an impression of community auto-determination which compensated for the status loss of new proletarians by giving them a moral status and provided the Church with the liberty of openly attacking some

modern industrial practices which violated Christian ethics, such as the operating of mills on Sundays (Hughes, 1943:100). Although this structure of relative autonomy and solidarity of the parish generated consent, it also permitted opposition. It permitted the more recently settled parishes bordering the town to increasingly move toward addressing the problems of labour, which formed the mass of its parishioners. Although this adaptation led to tensions with the central parish - the bastillion of the local elite - and with industry, it also resulted in a greater overall community stability. This because the social integration of workers was maintained through their adherence to the traditional value system and institutions. For instance, the parishes presented as solutions to modern industrial life "the stout adherence to rustic virtues and family solidarity" thus promoting independent attitudes of workers toward industry while retaining a traditional outlook, and rallied workers under the Church's own sponsored unions (Hughes, 1943:101). The Church promoted two labour movements, both had relatively modern structures for they transcended a local parochial base, were quite issue-specific in their demands, and proved to be effective in pressuring industry. Therefore the structure provided workers with a certain measure of power. Also the bureaucratic structure of unions, seen in their outside link to higher levels of the Church, gave them an obvious degree of freedom at a local level, yet it also created tensions with local traditional authorities:

"The active promoters of both (labour movements) are young priests and centrally appointed laymen; through

them the church deals directly with the masses of working people without the mediation of those old allies of the church, the middle and upper classes. The latter, the people who are church wardens and parish leaders are a little apprehensive both of the emphasis on the labouring class and of the tendency of the church to by-pass the local, middle-class lay leaders" (Hughes, 1943:217).

Despite (or maybe because of) the workers' margin of freedom, the Church was able and willing to contain the level of labour dissidence, an action which directly benefitted industry. This is seen by the fact that the town's central parish, which always sided with the small bourgeoisie, maintained some authority over the working-class parishes by its role as community spokesman. The central parish cure continued to endorse the bourgeoisie's most powerful members (Chamber of Commerce) whose interest were aligned with those of industry (Hughes, 1943:137) and in return he was regularly "consulted by business and industrial people as the leading representative of the Church in the community" (Hughes, 1943:93). Even in the more labour-oriented parishes, where the church-sponsored unions burgeoned, a close watch was kept on the level of opposition. For instance, in one of the three strikes led by the unions against management:

"the cure tacitly blessed it by holding prayers for peaceful conduct and a 'just' solution" (Hughes, 1943:137).

This obscured the workers' perception of their class interests. By maintaining deferent attitudes, ascetic values and a rigid status system, the Church prevented social mobility, increased social distance between workers and English management, and

provided industry with a relatively submissive work force which justified such stereotypes as:

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

Moreover, the traditional rural values and life-objectives inculcated by the Church, particularly the prizing of family income strategies and patterns of individualism, were functional to capital for this countered the alienation ensuing from proletarianization and indirectly created consensus to a social stratification based on class. Although "the situation of workers in industry is the complete antithesis of that of the independent farmer" (Hughes, 1943:173) in terms of ownership and control of the means of production, the compartmentalization of work relations and the displacement of ties of solidarity towards the family served in retarding leadership and in keeping class contradictions latent. Furthermore consent was established this way because, as Hughes observed, "the values of the habitant are essentially of a middle-class character" (Hughes, 1943:186). Objectives such as family cooperation in enterprise, developing family property or determining the careers of children "remained vigorous" among workers despite the fact that they were mainly achieved by the middle-class and needless to say - by the local elites (Hughes, 1943:177). Such examples of French self-made men and the partial success of a few workers maintained the myth of social mobility alive as well as reinforced an adherence to fundamental capitalist values such as private property. This can

well be seen in the "plethora of small businesses, many of which are run by families some of whose members are at work in industry" (Hughes, 1943:173) or in the creation of the outlying worker parishes where "each family, for and by itself elected to live outside" (Hughes, 1943:180).

In sum, it may be stated that the Church contributed to the development of unions, but controlled and oriented their action. In terms of control, it was underlined above that the effectiveness of the unions could be explained by their relative dissociation from the local authority structure. Yet these unions led by "young priests and centrally appointed laymen" were nevertheless bounded by the Church because of their strong nationalistic guise based on common language and religion. In these unions:

"Freedom of international taint figures about equally with their conformity to papal encyclicals on the labour problem" (Hughes, 1943:136).

As far as the orientation of the unions' action is concerned, the ethnic constraint imposed by the Church was largely detrimental to them. This constraint contributed to fragment labour by excluding those of different origin, to divert the potential class identification as an ethnic one, and to prevent local unions from forming broader labour alliances possibly with organizations having more experience or militant views. Furthermore the Church's tutelage of unions, whereby "chaplains give sufficient moral guaranty that unions will stay within the bounds of religious rule" (Hughes, 1943:136), was also very detrimental to

workers' interests. The unions' situation prevented workers from questioning the legitimacy of either the Church or industry since the former sanctioned the latter, for example, by explicitly preaching in sermons the maintenance of status quo and the protection of private property (Hughes, 1943:101).

It is interesting to underline that while the Church saw the necessity to contain workers by creating unions, it made little attempt to organize the business and professional men into special groups (Hughes, 1943:105). It dispensed the well-to-do from adhering to traditional morality (Hughes, 1943:101), and by doing so, showed its tacit approval of the modern capitalist culture and class system. This is still another proof that the Church's involvement with unions was essentially functional, for although tensions were created, these were not potentially threatening to the system, but quite the opposite. For instance, industry at times qualified unions as "red" (Hughes, 1943:136), or the local priests and elites, seeing their power curtailed, eyed unions suspiciously (Hughes, 1943: 138), but there seemed to be no real opposition to the Church leadership of unions coming from either industry, local elites, or even from the workers themselves. In conclusion of this lengthy discussion of Everett Hughes' important work, let me simply observe that in Cantonville, and possibly in forestry towns of more rural background, it may be that the greater institutional differentiation, the more ramified local bureaucracy and the more complex social stratification system combine to produce more stable communities.

One year before the release of Hughes' book, Liston Pope published a study of a North Carolina SIT, Gastonia, also a textile town. The dissimilarities between the two case studies are noteworthy, not only because each of these SITs evolved quite differently, but also because their authors' perspective are divergent. Whereas Hughes approaches his study from a cultural framework to thereafter identify the emerging class cleavages, Pope does the converse, for indeed in Gastonia's company-town structure the absence of institutional differentiation and of a stratified social structure brought class differences to the foreground. Pope reviews with much insight the establishment and demise of a paternalist economic culture as well as the key role of churches which sanctioned the economic institution but lost their legitimacy by becoming increasingly the latter's captive. Paternalism in Gastonia is described as "capitalism at its peak over culture". Here the capitalist did not merely provide capital, he also established the facilities and set the norms for politics, morals, religion, leisure, and all major spheres of culture (Pope, 1942:208). The relations were essentially capitalist from the very beginning, seen in industry's relations with workers (Pope, 1942:20) and in the churches' alliance with industry (Pope, 1942:34). However the form of relations took on an altruist primary appearance due to localism and the absence of institutional differentiation which permitted an increasing exploitation and isolation of workers. Indeed, such actions as the installation of screen windows on mills to prevent sickness,

the provision of cheap housing or the subsidizing of church programs could be seen as benevolent intentions but Pope shows that they were in the first instance directly profitable to industry.

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

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

Culturally, the Gastonia uptown people achieved the "rural ideals" seen in Cantonville, such as family property and orienting children's careers, and therefore maintained some esteem for independent farmers as well as a nostalgia for farm life (Pope, 1942:69). At the bottom of the social scale,

millworkers became increasingly urbanized, proletarianized and alienated. On the one hand, their traditional rural values, as the individualism and solidarity of the family, which could have attenuated alienation faded with the increasing dependence on wage work and on the company-town organization. Indeed Pope notes that relations between parents and children became the reverse of those prevailing in rural families. Parents, for instance, had little control over their children who often were the breadwinners, and the poor conditions of mill towns led to high juvenile delinquency and sexual promiscuity (Pope, 1942:64). On the other hand, urban standards of income, amusement, housing and the like increasingly became normative in the life of millworkers, possibly the result of their contact with managers, their more urban setting, or their alienation through work (Pope, 1942:55). For instance, whereas farmers looked down upon the new forms of leisure and lifestyles adopted by uptown people, "millworkers responded to them positively, with a mixture of admiration and a trace of bitterness" (Pope, 1942:67). Therefore millworkers were placed in a context which favoured their alienation, putting them on the margin of both traditional and modern worlds. Mill villages proved an effective means of controlling labour and of making rural attitudes of autonomy obsolete, while the deterioration of material conditions deprived workers of the means of having access to urban lifestyles or standards of living.

In the short-term, the geographical, social and cultural isolation of workers, greater than in Hughes' Cantonville, prevented class confrontation. Also the churches' key role in sanctioning industry's actions on moral grounds maintained the image of industry's primary obligations towards individual workers, thus preventing the organization of workers along militant secondary lines. Indeed, at first workers reacted in an atomized and economic fashion; there was no political consciousness:

"Their sense of repression sometimes lead to abnormal forms of behaviour, such as extreme suspicion of strangers, ecstatic recreational and religious activity and occasional outbursts of violence" (Pope, 1942:69).

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

economic gain surfaced in industry it also transpired in all other institutions. This led to the "rude awakening" of workers, suddenly made aware of their exploitation and dependence (Pope, 1942:216).

A parallel development which also contributed to an escalation of tensions was the churches' conservative outlook and overwhelming dependence upon industry. Eventually, this made them less effective instruments of social control because they disguised capital interest less well and provided little emotional outlet to increasingly alienated workers. In Gastonia, the lack of a relative institutional independence, a situation contrary to that of the Catholic Church in Cantonville, meant that the mill preachers had little knowledge of economic processes or labour relations. They were therefore easily convinced by the only persons who in their view knew such matters, the mill owner and manager (Pope, 1942:115). The Church's refusal to acknowledge either class lines or cultural polarization (Pope, 1942:70) led to its progressive loss of control over workers and to the emergence of many sects. The arising of sects therefore was an acute reaction on the part of workers to both economic and religious institutions, to both the prevailing economic order and the economic culture:

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

The sects initially did not attempt to penetrate social spheres outside of religion. They exclusively attempted to be

moral communities separate and sufficient to themselves and as such were a sign of fragmentation and disorganization which permitted the release of tensions. However they gained momentum when they began addressing a broader group of workers. They were drawn toward this because of the absence of other institutions which could provide focal points of social life and because of their responsiveness to militant views due to their marginality in the social and economic structures. Sects provided a first stage of expression of alienation, permitted the transfer of loyalties away from mills and churches, and made the workers more responsive to outside union organizers' messages which presented a new world view, so much so, that there arose an open conflict between paternal capitalism and radical communism. This conflict culminated in Gastonia's major labour clash, the 1928 so-called Loray strike, which brought about not only the definite diminishing of the Church's influence over workers and its greater irrelevance in economic matters, but also the end of the institutional centralization that characterized the industrial sphere. Indeed alongside the textile company's bureaucracry, the National Textile Worker's Union became very powerful. It is my contention that this new structure is a better way of dealing with alienation and releasing tensions, although it does so in a rather conflictual way. Also the dual nature of the class structure which emphasizes secondary class relations leads workers to identify with their community mainly in this way.

In the preface of his book, Pope advances two reasons for explaining why certain industrial communities, as the American textile towns, did not develop a strong class consciousness. These are: the lack of integration of workers into the middle-class, implying the development of labour unions or voting rights, and the isolation of workers from "corrupting" influences through paternalism, implying the benevolent guidance and control of the workers' off-the-job life by industrialists (Pope, 1942:XI). In relation to Canadian forestry and mining towns, it may be that certain features seen in Hughes' and Pope's studies could also be contrasted in them. However what I will attempt to show in this study is the inverse of Pope's thesis, i.e., that in Canadian mining towns, a potentially oppositional class consciousness is enhanced by the workers' lack of integration in the middle class - and singularly their non-adoption of middle-class values - as well as by the maintenance of paternalism mainly in the community institutional structure. In forestry, on the other hand, a relatively deferent attitude could be seen as the result of an adherence to rural independent values congruent with the middle classes as well as from a community institutional structure which is less dominated by industry.

Canadian forestry towns, like Hughes' Cantonville workers, may be seen as having remained more traditional in the sense that they are bound to their community by primary rather than secondary relations. This is particularly noteworthy in the forestry towns' work sphere: the income strategies are carried

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

It is my contention that, contrary to Pope's (1942:XI) assertion, the adoption by workers of middle-class values and the abolition of paternal institutional structures may not invariably create militant attitudes or strong class consciousness. In Canadian forestry towns, these elements contribute to preserve a greater sense of individual choice and this may be an important

factor in maintaining a certain level of consent, stability and sense of community. Whereas individuals may not always have the economic means to leave the region, they do have a greater choice in terms of residence within the region, of alliances outside the family, of employment strategies, of staying-on in times of industrial withdrawal. This element of choice within the physical environment and in lifestyles is important. For Herbert Gans for instance, this choice is what distinguishes the "urban village", where people try to adapt their culture to the urban milieu, from the "urban jungle", where people are either trapped by their old age or forced by their poor material circumstances (Gans, 1962:4; Saunders, 1981:104). Individual election of one's environment leads to greater residential stability which favours the sharing of values and the establishment of primary relations, especially peer group ones (Gans, 1962:14-15, 22).

Mining towns, on the other hand, have a structure which brings traditional and modern elements in confrontation rather than convergence. Miners could be seen as more modern or middle class in terms of higher incomes, participation in large-scale unions and adoption of mass consumption behaviours, such as taking trips and buying leisure consumer goods. However miners could also be seen as more "traditional proletarians" (Lockwood: 1982) or working class in the sense that within their SITs, the social distance between workers and managers is greater, and the values or life-objectives are not shared. There is however one major exception concerning unshared values: both miners and

managers have a strictly economic definition of their situation in relation to the community. This definition results from their integration in (and loyalty to) modern industrial bureaucracies, i.e., multinational corporations or international unions.

At a local level, the mining SITs' concentrated industrial structure and its extension in other spheres of social life may not appear bureaucratic, democratic and neutral but rather the opposite, having paternalistic, authoritarian, and arbitrary tinges. Moreover this structure, which actually is quite traditional in form, makes class lines more visible and reinforces workers' identification with unions as well as with instrumental oppositional world views. For instance, horizontal mobility within the industry may extend only to the managerial and technical staff, miners' careers being more or less grounded in the economic viability of specific mines. Miners also have little vertical mobility in terms of alternative employment and there is a near absence of work for women. To this is added the absence of associations, institutions and social strata reflecting either the local interests or those of miners. Such a structure, offering so few choices in lifestyles or mediums of expression, may explain the strong transference of loyalties and possibly the strong emotional projections by workers in their union locals. In a way similar to what Pope observed in Gastonia, the institutional structure (churches, municipal government) of mining SITs remains largely paternalistic and undifferentiated due to its economic dependence on industry, a dependence which

results in institutions adopting and transmitting the industry's economic discourse. The organization of other aspects of daily life, as housing, planning, retail, leisure also have little autonomy from industry. Even if these services are no longer directly controlled by industry, it still maintains some prerogatives in these sectors, or at least, their future development and value remain directly linked to industrial production. The continuing dependence of the local economy and institutions on industry as well as vestiges of company-town planning, such as housing segregation between managerial staff and miners, do not enhance the individuals' perception of choosing their physical environment or lifestyle, nor do they obscure class relations.

Since industrial domination is quite visible and because production fluctuations directly impact on the mining SITs' social and economic stability, this leads to a perception of industry's accountability towards residents for their economic and social welfare. Therefore in mining towns, there exists a stronger class identification overall and a more instrumental short-term perception of the workplace and community. However, in times of serious economic downturn and industrial divestment, class consciousness may easily crumble, entailing cultural alienation and disorganization, as in the forming of sects. The powerlessness of unions in the face of town closure brings to the surface the latent sense of transience and the essentially economic ties between miners and industry, which may in turn lead

to attitudes of fatalism in residents. Alienation in times of drastic industrial cutbacks may become generalized because what is at stake for miners is more than the loss of employment but also the loss of community which presents issues denied expression in the industrial negotiations.

In sum, in Canadian mining SITs, in contrast to forestry SITs, workers could be seen as being less middle-class in term of their values and attitudes and mostly because of their dependence on industry. The community structure also could be seen as more paternalistic whereby the concentration of power in industry becomes apparent and brings class relations to the surface. Since the cultural sphere is more or less appropriated by industry and has little social or political leverage of its own, the unions become emotional outlets and absorb local natural leaders, thus becoming rather efficient industrial watchdogs in times of relative economic stability. However in times of crisis, when industry threatens to close down, workers have little resiliency in terms of economic or emotional resources. Unions have few arguments for they cannot offer solutions outside an industrial context. Thus alienation and social disorganization may be generalized in these times.

Forestry SITs workers, on the other hand, may be much less efficient in obtaining economic advantages from industry in normal economic climates. Workers are more dispersed, they define themselves - and are objectively defined - more broadly than only in class (or occupational) terms, they are not all

directly employed by companies, nor necessarily are they all unionized. However in times of industrial withdrawal they may be more militant and effective than mining town workers because not all sectors of their life are put into question. Therefore they can become more instrumental and less emotionally involved or drained (fatalistic) than miners. Also the local commercial and entrepreneurial elite is likely to change camps in such times, thus providing new sources of leadership and means of reorganization which mining towns do not have.

I will now consider Louis Baril's study of Labrador City (1972); it is a rather weak and preliminary work, but its author witnessed first hand the emergence of a millenarist sect of Jehovah Witnesses during a period of economic instability in this North Shore iron belt town. Baril's field work was carried out between May and August 1969, a period which coincided with a major transportation strike in Sept-Iles. This strike eventually brought industrial activities of inland mining towns to a standstill by halting these towns' provisionment in construction materials as well as their shipment of ore outside the region. The neighbouring town of Wabush, which had no stockpiling facilities, stopped production instantly; all workers were laid-off and the town virtually became deserted. Labrador City continued production throughout the first month of the strike (June), then proceeded to do some repairs to the plant, but finally all workers were laid-off in August. The author's intent was to study the seasonal Quebecois North Shore construction

workers in these Labrador towns: however since no seasonal migration occurred that summer, he only assembled a brief overview of some features of kinship, marriage and religion in Labrador City. Although Baril does not relate his observations to the prevailing economic instability or to the structure of community, it is nevertheless possible to interpret some of his observations in such a way, as I will attempt in the remainder of this discussion.

The author notices that membership of Jehovah Witnesses had been steadily growing whereas that of other religions, more specifically Catholicism, had been losing ground (Baril, 1972:59). On the one hand, the Catholic Church had always benefitted from a privileged relation with industry because it had been the founding religion of other Iron Ore Towns in the region, of the local population and management, and still continued to be the dominant religion among the managerial staff in Labrador City. As in Pope's Gastonia, industry had provided the material and financial means for the construction and the continuing maintenance of Catholic churches and presbyteries. In return, industry possibly expected the church to sanction the industrial order, and indeed, past and present managers were reputed as morally "very Catholic" (Baril, 1972:60). Religious sanctioning also extended through the Sunday sermons; their blatantly materialistic content is termed by the author as closer to the "protestant" spirit and left him perplexed (Baril, 1972:62). Here the churches' direct transmission of the industry's logic,

praising the morality of accumulating material wealth, shows not only the total dependence of the Church on industry but also the absence of a formerly independent local religious or cultural sphere which would provide a more subtle disguise for the churches' condoning of industry. The fact that the Catholic Church failed to mask its alliance with industry or to obscure class lines possibly reinforced the workers' alienation as well as their instrumental attitudes towards the community.

The workers' first reaction to the Catholic Church's extreme dependence on industry seems to have been a move away from Catholicism towards other religions, in an attempt to allow themselves more freedom of expression and to attain a greater differentiation of the economic and cultural spheres. Indeed for such a small town (8,000 population) of recent settlement (it was only 7 years old during Baril's field work), religious institutions were numerous, very developed, and actually constituted the only institution of importance besides industry. Here alongside the Catholic Church, Anglican, Presbyterian, United and Baptist Churches as well as the Salvation Army, all had their own places of worship (Baril, 1972:60). While Baril does not provide any information about the non-Catholic Churches it may be assumed that the majority of them had been created to address local working-class needs. Also given their number, it is possible to assume that they did succeed better than the Catholic Church. However some of these non-Catholic Churches may have eventually benefitted from some industrial support in return for loyalty to

the economic culture, and were possibly becoming more conservative.

Although the newer religions seem to have provided a better means of local working-class cultural expression, possibly this was not sufficient to counter the alienation of some workers in view of the realization of their overwhelming dependence on industry for all basic necessities and their increasing uneasiness at suddenly losing their job and being forced to move. The fact that the Jehovah Witnesses sect was the only denomination drawing members from others churches, especially Catholics, in a time of bleak economic prospects may indeed be seen as a sign of alienation, powerlessness and personal crisis of the townfolk. This sect probably held its appeal in the fact that it was less formalized and institutionalized than the other denominations, and that it was totally detached from industry or from any concerns of the secular world for that matter. In contrast to the local strain of Catholicism reflecting the economic culture, the sect had a non-material explanation of the world and of the workers' life situation which possibly gave them a stronger basis of self-worth. It also provided them with uncomplicated solutions to problems as seen in the simple formula for redemption based on the scriptures; and it was a more autonomous and self-contained explanation, for it excluded industry much more explicitly than the explanations offered by other denominations. In all likelihood, it also provided members with a sense of community because the sect relied entirely on the

financial contributions and labour of its members. For example, the small local temple was built by collective effort and it was the women who mainly did the door-to-door soliciting while their husbands worked. Thus the sect created collective property, integrated women and gave its members an economic role and status; to an extent this fulfilled the "traditional rural values" of independent property ownership, and of a family-oriented economy which usually find little expression in mining SITs. In sum, Jehovah Witnesses found in the sect a greater sense of control over their lives, freeing them in an emotional way at least from their dependence on industry, for individuals perceived as having within them the means of success or redemption.

It must also be underlined that the extreme nature of the millenarist sect, predicting the end of the world in six years time (1975), may be more congruent with the reality of mining towns which are often subject to abrupt closures. The acceptance of such a radical religious perspective may be a way of sublimating the eventual catastrophe of town closure or the continual danger of working underground, thus justifying the workers' extreme fatalism. It may also justify their alienation from industry and from themselves. For instance Baril notes that some workers had refused to pursue occupational advancement or even abandoned their jobs in order to spread the word of the coming events, and that certain couples accepted sterilization because "the end of the world was near" (Baril, 1972:63).

Therefore in Labrador City the decline of the Catholic religion and the rising of the non-catholic denominations - and singularly of the Jehovah Witnesses - could be seen as a single process. It could be seen as a reaction of protest against the paternal relation of industry regarding the Church, making the latter a simple transmitter of class ideology and economic culture. It is as well as a reaction of protest against the sudden impending threat of being expelled from the paternal economic structure of the town, i.e., the workers risked losing both their jobs and homes which remained under the control of industry.

Baril offers little explanation for the religious changes he observed. His interpretation was that both the decline of catholicism and the rise of Jehovah Witnesses reflected the new values and reality of present-day company towns, that of "making quick money". That the residents' initial family-oriented rural values and seasonally ritualistic religion became obsolete, therefore people either stopped going to church or adapted their religious values and behaviours to their new "making quick money" values. This would explain the overall decline of religious fervour as well as the "protestant" spirit of catholicism and the rise of sects (the latter are also perceived by the author as seeking materialistic ends, however in unorthodox ways) (Baril, 1972:65). I disagree with this interpretation for the author contradicts himself concerning the values of residents which he describes as essentially secondary and instrumental from their

arrival in town, for unions were quite effective in obtaining short term wage increases (Baril, 1972:46). Labrador City miners do not seem to have been the devastated, broken traditional individuals depicted, for instance, by Elliot Leyton (Leyton, 1975). Contrary to Baril, I think that an examination of the local industrial power structure, the class cleavages and the unstable economic climate, rather than the "making quick money" syndrome, explain better why churches adopt a discourse favourable to industry, why workers may feel marginalized and retreat from Catholicism (or from any other formal religion for that matter), and why they would seek to express themselves through apparently "eccentric" sects.

This discussion of Baril's work concludes this long section dealing with Approach 2 and the study of SITs as collectivities. Given the preliminary nature of this authors' research and the importance of the names included in Box 2 of Figure 1 (see p.24), Louis Baril has not been included in the Figure. The last and much shorter section of this chapter will discuss the authors contained in both Boxes 3 and 4 of Figure 1, i.e., authors mainly concerned with the study of the social conditions of action in SITs (Approach 3) and with the ends and definitions of situations in SITs (Approach 4). As explained earlier, the authors of Approach 3 and 4 are by and large more recent, represent newer theoretical trends, and are less numerous, notably in the case of Approach 4. This, as well as the fact that this work will make an extensive use of - and hence may repeat - the ideas of these

authors, explain the more superficial presentation of their contributions.

E. Approaches 3 and 4 and the Study of the Social Conditions of Action and of the Ends and Definitions of Situations in SITs

No study of SITs can be entirely satisfactory if it limits itself solely to a macro-structural account. Indeed, it must also consider the properties of the set of social relationships which constitute the basic form of sociological research, properties which are better studied using lower levels of analysis. This is not an argument for over-emphasizing methodological individualism for indeed few authors in Approaches 3 and 4 rely, for example, entirely on biographical data. Rather it is an argument for taking into account factors such as the role of small groups or of individual consciousness. The authors situated in the two bottom categories attempt to get closer to the motives of social action, to the social meanings which actors attach to their actions, their definition of the situation at particular times, and to the ends which they are pursuing. The third Approach regroups authors concerned with the social conditions of action, and who seek to explain action in a rather objective way in accordance to individuals' social roles and relations in wider society. The fourth Approach regroups authors concerned with individuals' ends and definitions of situations and who emphasize subjective orientations or more cultural aspects of social life.

The former category could be considered as exogenous to SITs in the sense that individuals are seen as collectively defined by - and reacting to - institutions, mainly industry. More specifically, it examines how industrial policy and the nature of the workplace modify behaviour and perceptions. For this reason, actions are nearly always of a secondary type, cast in class terms, thus depicting the nature of relations as essentially antagonistic and viewing society as conflictive (Marchack: 1983; Legendre: 1980; Radford: 1982; Macleod: 1983; Mellor: 1983; Derbyshire: 1960). Elliott Leyton (1975) is an exception because he uses an anthropological approach of life histories illuminating the wider cultural and personal dimensions of what he calls - quite rightfully - "industrial carnage". However, since the autobiographies focus specifically on industrial disease and are meant to be seen in a wider political economy perspective of industrial production, this author was placed under the exogenous category, in other words in Approach 3 rather than in Approach 4. Like Leyton, Norman Hayner (1945) attempts to give a broader cultural overview of the condition of west coast loggers by depicting lifestyles and attitudes rather than class relations. What justifies placing Hayner in Approach 3 is that he views the source of change and the social conditions of action as essentially exogenous: these are the technological and organizational changes in industry which reduced the physical isolation of logging operations and permitted the transition

from paternal company-town settings to communities of independent families.

The work of Gerald D. Suttles (1972) needs to be considered in more detail than Leyton or Hayner. Suttles' reexamination of the concept of community presents elements which would warrant his exclusion from Approach 3. For instance, in his concept of "defended neighbourhood", Suttles attempts to bridge the physical structure of communities with subjective cognitive maps of individuals; this should place him in the definition of situation category, i.e., in Approach 4. Or again, Suttles sees communities of limited liabilities as largely defined by external organizations and populations, and views the main function of these larger residential solidarities as its role in negotiating with higher institutional levels or big business enterprises would warrant placing Suttles in the exogenous institutions category, i.e., in Approach 1. However, the author was placed in the exogenous/social conditions action category because his work marks a clear departure from the endogenous "natural community" category by emphasizing how the more instrumental ties and external demands placed on communities define them and make them more or less cohesive. Furthermore Suttles, as other authors in Approach 3, depict society as conflictual although not essentially of a class nature, in the sense that his "defended neighbourhoods" are the result of individuals' response to fear of invasion from adjacent areas. Also on a broader scale, the existing communities of limited liability fall short from an

ideal consensual democratic type community for they remain fragmented and issue-specific. In both cases communities are based on opposition; in the case of "defended neighbourhoods", it is individuals' mutual opposition to outlying areas rather than their primordial solidarities which creates a sense of identity; in the case of larger residential groups, identity is defined in contradistinction to one another, by the existence of adversaries and advocates.

Approach 4 has been characterized as regrouping authors that focus on the study of the ends and definition of situations; these authors present a more subjective and voluntaristic basis of social action, thus giving more emphasis on attitudes and culture rather than on roles and socio-economic status. Instead of seeing action as individuals' reactions to external structures or sources of change, there is a greater stress on how external structures and conditions are modified by individuals' pre-existing lifestyles and value-systems. Here individual consciousness is seen as emanating from within the community, through local reference groups outside of work, subcultures, and individuals' primary relations. The local community comes to be seen as a sort of aggregate by-product of individual action where interactional networks account for the progressive development of a localized web of interpersonal relations and intimacy. Such a focus, underplaying the foreign relations of communities with the outside or the macro-reference groups of individuals, leads to a perspective on society which is more diversified and less

conflictive than those of the authors in the preceeding category. By and large, the authors of Approach 4 constitute a less homogeneous group due to the very nature of their endeavour: that of including the specific local contexts and individual motivations. What can be seen as a common element within these works however, is a certain emphasis on continuity rather than change, on the process of maintaining legitimacy, accountability, identity, and social cohesion.

Again the authors included in Approach 4 adopt a variety of perspectives. David Lockwood (1982) for instance, attempts to show how individuals' images of society are derived from their various primary social experiences in their local industrial and community environments. He presents three ideal types of individual consciousness based on individuals' immediate perceptions and social relations, which is an interesting attempt to link workers' structural situation with their perception of that situation and of the world at large. William R. Freudenburg's (1986) introduction of the concept of "density of acquaintanceship" is interesting; he views this density as a significant variable in the study of community for it intends to refer to a community-level structural characteristic rather than an individual level phenomenon. However, Freudenburg was placed in Approach 4 because he empirically verifies and rejects Louis Wirth's thesis: that the process of urbanization lowers the density of acquaintanceship and leads to the replacement of primary ties by secondary ones which manifests itself by

increased social isolation and estrangement. Thus Freudenburg's concern with acquaintanceship which he defines as reflecting primary relations and his attempt to include the psychological dimensions of sociability justify including him in Approach 4. Douglas J. Porteous (1976) as well examines the psychological dimensions of SIT residents by monitoring their attitudes towards stereotypes of such towns found in the literature; he used a questionnaire survey focussing on the qualitative value judgements of residents. Peter Harrison (1982) and Fernand Larouche (1973) focus on cultural aspects of SITs' workers through anthropological interpretive perspectives. Harrison's ethnographic study of Queen Charlotte Islands' logging camp workers, depicts their distinctive subculture that stresses personal independence and 'manliness' without however compromising the social cohesiveness of the group. Larouche, through a phenomenological study of ethnic groups, presents a contrasting image of mining town residents whereby the community is fragmented and isolated along ethnic lines. Here there is an absence of a local occupational subculture, parallel to what Harrison saw in logging camps, for the basis of the partial integration of ethnic minorities of Rouyn-Noranda in the dominant English culture is essentially their economic motive. Finally, Ralph Matthews' (1983) analysis of Newfoundland fishing villages fits into a global political economy perspective. However, because of his emphasis on the indigenous resources of communities, on the duality of the formal and informal social, political and economic structures in the

community, and on the importance of the socio-cultural sphere, Matthews' analysis is much broader than most dependency approaches. Here communities are seen as interacting with - and influenced by - not only exogamous forces, but also by small groups and individuals within the locality. This very brief discussion of some of the most characteristic authors of Approaches 3 and 4 mainly intended to show the general mood of their analyses. The remaining paragraphs of this section will consider one last author, of Approach 3, Patricia Marchak. I will outline some arguments and facts which remain of secondary importance in her work but which will be stressed in my comparative study of SITs.

Marchak's overview of the British Columbia forestry sector could be seen as a political economy of SITs for she attempts to explain how social conditions and relations in SITs are determined by their external economic environment, particularly the structure of industry. Her initial preoccupation is to explain why more or less half of workers engaged in logging remain transient. She explains this in terms of class, i.e., in terms of the workers' overall direct or indirect dependence on large corporations, rather than in terms of workers' personal characteristics (Marchak, 1983: 116-19). She does this by showing how under certain conditions large corporations profit from creating an unstable labour force. In her extensive study Marchak (1983) analyzes three British Columbia SITs, each representing an industrial dominance of the pulp and paper,

sawmill and logging sectors. She argues that the labour force segmentation, essentially between stable high-wage and transient low-wage workers, does not strictly correspond to monopoly and competitive sectors for the various employment strategies of industries depend on market variability, overhead costs for technology and the replaceability of the workforce (Marchak, 1983: 164). The empirical examination of these structural conditions as well as the characteristics of the labour forces in these three forestry sectors lead to the conclusion that systematic differences in the labour market are greater between forestry sectors (in this case pulp, sawmill and logging) than between individual firms of different sizes within sectors (Marchak, 1983: 181).

This idea remains of secondary importance in Marchak's book, but it is a key argument in defense of attempting a comparative study between forestry and mining SITs based on the resource extractive activities. What Marchak observes is that loggers share certain types of work histories, of socio-economic characteristics, perceptions and attitudes, regardless of whether they are self-employed or working for large pulp companies, or of whether they live in the "old logging town" (of Terrace) or in the "new instant town" dominated by a pulp and paper complex (of Mackenzie). Structural reasons for this are that logging operations, in contrast to pulpmills and sawmills (or mining operations for that matter), remain essentially labour intensive and pre-mechanized in terms of labour process whereby groups are

involved in a total production task, use light and mobile equipment which they often own, and require little supervision (Marchak, 1983: 162). Thus when seasonal market slumps occur, in response to construction periods, interest rates, fashions, or other economic and social conditions, employers will respond by dismissing workers because labour is a major cost factor in production. Therefore labour's dependent class position explains to a large extent the existence of a transient labour force in logging operations.

Marchak's view of the transience of labour however remains highly structural in that industry is the sole determinant of social patterns within SITs. Such a view which excludes the wider resource context which is mainly rural. She incidently notes that half of loggers have worked on farms at one time or another during their lives. As well, she dismisses the role of the informal economic sector, a sector which responds less directly to market forces. Thus the broader local economic sphere is overlooked. This sphere not only gives loggers wider employment opportunities but also may inculcate in them values of independence that reinforce transience and constitute a subconscious way of resisting capital. Therefore, the persistent job-jumping of loggers may not only be linked to their class position as a floating labour surplus as underlined by Marchak, but could also be explained in terms of the social and cultural traits of workers. A closer examination of how the local setting influences the perceptions and lifestyles of workers by imposing

different sets of opportunities and constraints on individuals would be a starting point in this direction. Therefore when considering SITs more than the formal economic sector should be taken into account; the analysis should include a broader picture of the local context. Here the staple thesis may contribute to presenting a more complete analysis as the next chapter intends to do.

Chapter II: A STAPLE-IZATION OF THE STUDY OF SITs

A. Introduction

This chapter will essentially attempt to justify the relevance of a comparative approach based on the nature of the resource for the study of single-industry towns in Canada. In this endeavour, my starting point will be the revisiting of the staple thesis for it pretends to consider the nature of the staple as a determining - and thus potentially comparative - factor, addresses a specific Canadian context, and circumscribes well our subjects of analysis which are the small resource towns. Although Harold Innis' and Arthur Lower's works remain central in Canadian regional development studies, their main explaining argument, the staple, has largely been discarded by contemporary scholars. It will be argued here that the character of the staple - seen in historic, geographic and technological situations - remains a valuable insight in a sociological explanation of the formation of social and economic structures in different SITs. A staple focus may be considered as an alternative approach to the study of resource development for it can be seen to combine relatively unresearched directions, such as: 1) to underline the diversity in Canadian society; 2) to present a low level of analysis of these communities without neglecting the broad structural forces creating them; and 3) to broaden the sociological interpretation beyond a purely economic or materialistic conception of social relations by including the

sphere of community and the perceptions that individuals have of their daily environments. In order to present this approach, I will outline some of the staple theory insights found in contemporary SIT literature as well as explain how certain insights which have largely been de-emphasized could be useful in a comparative analysis of SITs. I will thereafter define what is meant by a staple-specific approach and how staples contribute to shaping community and production structures as well as impact on individual consciousness and action.

B. Staple Theory Insights within Political Economy, Labour and Community Studies

Canada's resource-dependent and foreign-owned economy has been central in explaining the country's socio-economic development and structural inequalities throughout the social science disciplines which have contributed to Canadian studies. The staple thesis is possibly the single most important contribution giving impetus to a Canadian nationalist perspective in the social sciences due to its focus on the unique character of Canadian social organization based on diversity and resource extraction. The staple approach initiated by Innis is designed to explain the atypical case of Canada for it applies to a new country with a favorable low man/land ratio. This interpretation of Canadian economic history asserts that: 1) international trade is the medium of transmission of "civilization", i.e., metropolitan demand on the new country; 2) the new frontiers do not replicate the "old country", rather new patterns are created;

3) these new patterns of development and accompanying forms of social and political organization are determined by the character of the specific staples; 4) the history of Canada could be seen as a succession of staple products, each refashioning the social and economic order when reaching its prime, and through this process, contributing to the advent of the next more lucrative staple and thus to its own demise (Watkins, 1984:53, 60; McNally, 1981:42-46).

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

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

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

"the economic history of Canada has been dominated by the discrepancy between centre and margin of western civilization" (Innis, 1984:18).

Innis' dissent from adopting a conventional optimistic liberal perspective in his time has led to the insight of enlarging the scope of analysis to focus attention on the lack of growth or unequal development of resource regions, whereas the original thesis centered mainly on the advent and expansion of the resource frontier. Kenneth Buckley (1958:447) was the first to criticize Innis for neglecting to examine regions which are no longer experiencing growth. This aspect was later examined more closely in Mel Watkins' (1984) "staple trap" concept corresponding to a process of underdevelopment which sets in following a shift of investments to a new frontier. Watkins (1973) among others, has attempted to transpose Innis' staple thesis in terms of dependency theory by underlying the structural and class relations leading to underdevelopment and de-industrialization of resource hinterlands. However the political economy focus on regional dependence has, by and large, continued to underline the external domination imposed upon these communities by international markets and capital, and has omitted to examine how the specific historic or physical context of resource exploitation conditioned the internal structures and ramifications of domination within the region.

As shown in the preceeding chapter, Marchak's political economy of British Columbia's forestry SITs is a case in point. She sees the rational economic behaviour of industries, in

response to international markets, as the sole determinant of labour force characteristics and social structure in these resource towns (Marchak, 1983:156-58). However, the author recognizes - and leaves unexplained - certain features of these towns which are inadequately explained by this process. For example, the existence of an important "non-rational (economic) sector" is largely discarded as "deviant cases" (Marchak, 1983: 164-65). The wide diversity in the residents' work histories (Marchak, 1983:144-55) is explained in terms of industrial strategies rather than in terms of the workers' social condition and relations with employers. And, although the impact of the physical resource environment on working conditions is noted, for instance in regards to safety and to the seasonality of employment (Marchak, 1983:186-88, 203-09), this contextual factor is largely disregarded in the explanation of labour turnover. In this sense, Wallace Clement's (1984) elaboration of social categories relevant to the fishing industry comes closer to fitting a complex pattern of worker-employer situations, for indeed, he bases his categories on the relations of production at a very local level. By lowering in such a way the level of analysis, Clement comes nearer to the Innisian idea of emphasizing the importance of the geographical background of the staple, an idea which underlines the relevance of studying the individuals' interaction with their environment. Yet, for Clement, the forces of production - capital, technology, markets - still remain the determining causes of local social patterns

and relations, and as a result the range of possibilities have to be understood in a strictly economic marxist logic. Here the physical nature of the resource environment or the individuals' wider range of economic possibilities (for instance, when viewed in a regional labour market perspective) have no role in molding local social patterns.

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

Another ardently exploited vein of Innis' work, by those who became known as the second or "Marxian" version of the staple theory,¹ is the explanatory focus on the macro-structural

1. Prominent scholars having diffused this revised staple approach are Kari Levitt (1970), Mel Watkins (1977), Tom Naylor (1972), Wallace Clement (1975), and Daniel Drache (1977).

relations between capital, markets and staples (i.e., the latter seen as regions). Innis adopted a centralist position, to a large extent portraying the imperial relations to which Canada was subjected on a staple-by-staple basis. His insistence that Canadian development must be understood through integrating the specific factors of resource production with broad external factors as market demands, has become the common link between the original and contemporary analyses of modern day staples. In Innis' view:

"The economic history of Canada has been dominated by the discrepancy between centre and margin of western civilization. Energy has been directed toward the exploitation of staple products and tendency has been commulative... Agriculture, industry, transportation, trade, finance and government activities tend to become subordinate to the production of the staple for a more highly specialized manufacturing community" (Innis, 1984:18).

In contemporary studies, regional inequalities are explained through the external class relations which dominant classes entertain with the centre. Here a chain of imperial relations are examined either within an international context (Canada vis-a-vis the United States), the interprovincial context (eastern and western hinterlands within Canada), or the intraprovincial context (for instance, New-Ontario versus the Golden Triangle).

Therefore in critical political economy approaches, the centralist tradition which explains regionalism through external class relations has its inspiration partly rooted in Innis' work, yet this current of thought has downplayed other staple theory features. Three neglected Innisian insights are noteworthy. The

first, is the extensive empirical examination of local staple areas which points to the usefulness of a low level of analysis.

For indeed, as Clement (1978) notes:

"Both Innis's staple theory and the Lower/Creighton 'Laurentian thesis'... analyse structural power links, binding them into a whole founded on geography, regionalism and resource extraction" (Clement, 1978:93-4).

Secondly is the consideration of the interrelations between many staple-conditioned factors such as the type of capital structure, transportation system, demand for labour, production methods, and even in an indirect way, workers' living environments, the SITs' community institutions and the residents' perceptions and actions in their local environments. Thirdly is the historic relationship between staples whereby each succeeding staple frontier determined its unique production function, geographic frontier and social tissue.

Innis' work has also offered raw material and insights, at least through its critique, to scholars espousing more empirical marxist approaches that seek to understand capitalism as a mode of production. These contemporary studies² on staple production

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2. Examples of such works are labour process studies such as those of Wallace Clement (1981, 1983), Donald MacLeod (1983), Ian Radford (1982) or class studies such as those of Carl Cuneo (1978) and Bryan Palmer (1983). Clement (1981) explicitly reviews Innis' work on mining areas and draws extensively from its empirical information. Palmer (1983:2-3) attempts to develop a more "national" argument of the working class experience in Canada; he sees class consciousness as having grown out of the economic relations of production, although his approach is broadened by giving a role to other formal and informal ways, such as individual experiences and institutions outside unions and shop-floor struggles.

or class formation focus on the internal class relations between labour and capital rather than on the external (class) dynamic seen in Innis' work - that between staples and metropolitan markets. These studies transpose, although in a marxist framework, the two latter staple theory insights overlooked in political economy, i.e., the insistence that each staple frontier (seen as a mode of production) be viewed as interrelations between numerous factors and the historic interrelations between modes of production. Here the interrelations between forces of production - capital, technology and labour - and the ensuing class antagonism and struggle explain not only why resources become prime staples but also how the relations of production change in the movement from petty commodity production to capitalist production, and within the latter, from entrepreneurial to corporate capitalism. For Clement (1981), differences between the dominant mode of production (petty commodity and capitalist) explain changes in the types of materials that become staples. Whereas fish, fur, wheat were commercial commodities geared to consumption and gathered by independent commodity producers, mining and forestry mark a critical break in Canada's staple production for bringing the advent of industrial materials and the penetration by industrial capitalists. The early stages of both these industries were characterized by independent commodity producers - as in the gathering of gold in the Yukon or the square timber trade in the Canadas - but each one rapidly changed as the product f mines

and forests became integrated into industrial production. The result was the disappearance of independent commodity producers and the proletarianization of the labour force through the creation of wage labourers, despite the fact that some vestiges of traditional practices dating from earlier modes of production have persisted (Clement, 1981:17-18).

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

In order to explain these discrepancies, it may be useful to broaden the scope of the determinant interrelated factors to include more than the economic forces of production emphasized by Clement (1981) or the working-class institutions seen in Bryan Palmer (1983). A wider breadth of analysis is an insight found in the original multi-faceted staple situation. As David McNally (1981) underlines, this was one of Innis' innovative departures from the conventional political economy of his time:

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

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

the labour force, the type of labour market and the integration of pre-capitalist forms of production (Radford, 1982:95; Legendre, 1980:200). Such an emphasis on structural factors related to the geographical and historical background allow that a more specific and diversified social organization be depicted. This, I think is closer to the original staple theory insights than Clement's analysis of mining where he explicitly sets out to show that:

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

Few authors concerned with mining have specifically underlined how the nature of the staple environment has impacted on social relations and structures, be it in the workplace or in the community. Those who have examined local or micro-environments, for instance the company-town structure of the community (Frank, 1981) or the dangerous underground working environments (MacLeod, 1983), have tended to see the mining context as clarifying class relations and exacerbating class struggle. Such conclusions are contrary to those found by scholars having examined forestry, where loggers are seen as more socially isolated, unorganized and showing much less overt resistance to management strategies (Radford, 1982; Legendre, 1980). In this light, Clement's (1981) study of mining somewhat abstracts the relations occurring in the workplace from the global experience of life in a mining town and fails to examine how a broader scope of analysis, including community structures and specific work

environments, could reinforce or confirm his conclusion of a greater "homogenization of the working class... and a stronger, more unified class in a political and ideological sense" (Clement, 1980:148). Similarly, Palmer's (1983) neglect of the specific work and community environments in his analysis of a Canadian working class culture - whereby all workers are seen as sharing similar experiences and institutions - may have led to an interpretation overemphasizing an oppositional class outlook. This because mining is recurrently seen as central in the labour movement, and thus mainstream and representative of Canadian workers, yet its history and resource environment may in fact have made it more prone to labour unrest and thus not so typical of the Canadian working class.

Although important steps have been made by sociologists³ to expand the staple theory (and subsequent regional dependency perspectives) to account for social structures and relations other than those strictly relating to production, these structures and relations have remained somewhat abstract and static, in the sense that they are divorced from the specific nature of the resource or the historic interrelations between staple frontiers. Watkins (1984:58) sees that "the original

3. See for instance Mel Watkins (1973) and Wallace Clement (1978) as examples at high-level structural class analyses of regions; Ralph Matthews (1983) for a low-level analysis of class relations and social interaction in SITs; S.D. Clark (1978) for a cultural interpretation of economic underdevelopment, and Rex A. Lucas (1971) for a local community structure analysis.

staple may create a social structure", yet what is examined is not the impact of the resource environment upon the social structure, rather it is the impact of dependency relations, for the latter determines the technology of industry, the demand for goods and supply factors, and the distribution of income, the latter leading to the formation of social classes. The regional class structure tends to be viewed in a political-economic perspective which becomes rather asocial or formally structural, as seen in Clement (1978) and Watkins (1973), where all SITs are predetermined ramifications of international class relations and where the dynamic interactions of people are left out.

S.D. Clark (1978) advances a cultural interpretation of the chronic poverty of certain mining and forestry SITs which attempts to rejoin the communities' social and economic structures. Residents are considered as remaining poor because they are maintained culturally on the fringe of urban society - retaining their rural values and subsistence way of life - while having been drawn into an industrial economy (Clark, 1978:99). This is an interesting approach for its focus on the individuals' life histories and the wide range of family income strategies in both formal and informal economic sectors (Clark, 1978:33-47, 71-85); for its consideration of social institutions, such as Church and kinship which uphold social cohesion and values (Clark, 1978:48-51); and for its explanation of the ensuing population retention, whereby residential immobility is seen as a product of economic and social immobility, due to the residents' attachment to tradi-

tional values and lifestyles and to their lack of education viewed as an obstacle to entering the modern national society represented here by the industrial company-town (Clark, 1978:90-95, 121-131). However Clark's SIT case studies remain unrelated to the specific character of the resource exploited for both mining and forestry towns are seen as interchangeable, as "communities brought into being by industrial development" (Clark, 1978:99), and as serving as receptacles drawing poor unskilled rural labourers from adjacent agricultural areas (Clark, 1978:107). Forestry SITs indeed seem to constitute a poor man's frontier (Clark, 1978:107), as demonstrated in Clark's study of North-Eastern New Brunswick (Clark, 1978:13-71), for the author explains the forestry SIT poverty among other factors by the presence of a subsistence agricultural base and by the fusing of an older rural institutional power structure to that of the company town (Clark, 1978:101, 103, 125). This appears quite likely for forestry SITs, but the assumption that such conditions are the norm in the mining frontier is much less convincing. Whereas Clark's (1978) study is empirically well founded concerning the farming/forestry frontier, it extends the explanation to the mining sector without verifying parallel data concerning for example, the prevalence of a mixed farming/mining environment, the origins of workers and the way they were recruited, and the values and expectations of miners.

Clark's view of the SITs social structure is that the towns contain two separate social hierarchies - that of industry and

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

Ralph Matthews (1983) advances a most interesting model of resource communities structures derived from his starting definition of regions as social rather than economic phenomena which are characteristically, in Canada, diverse in structure and embedded in conflictive relations (Matthews, 1983:86, 95). Although regions are seen within a dependency approach, a narrowly economic explanation is avoided by extending the concept

of regionalism to an analysis of community which includes both the structural element of social organization and the relational element of personal interaction (Matthews, 1983:154). The framework of analysis presented is therefore low-level and complex, involving the interrelations between both formal and informal aspects of social, political and economic spheres of social organization leading to the integration of community life. In order to include processes of discord and conflict, attention is also given to individual action and perceptions of personal integration into a community (Matthews, 1983:154-164). This analysis is particularly interesting due to its empirical grounding in the experience of Newfoundland fishing communities; for its recognition of the diversity in forms of development and dependence; for its emphasis on the interrelations between different spheres of power, which presupposes a wider network of elites; and for its consideration of the relations within the informal social networks, which develop alongside formal ways of social organization and which are indicative of individual responses of adaptation or change.

Matthews advocates a "sociology of natural resource development" which would imply "combining the best of small community analysis and large political economy analysis" (Matthews, 1981:218). Such an attempt would contribute to a distinctive Canadian sociology capable of identifying the most salient features of Canadian society, i.e., regional diversity and resource dependence, and form them into an explanation of the

whole society (Matthews, 1981:90). In this way, the author recognizes the staple thesis inspiration in his approach for its attempt to explain the many different local expressions of metropolitan relations:

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

His approach, however, falls short of tapping the most original and central insight of the staple (and the Laurentian) thesis: the effect of particular resources or frontiers on society. In his attempt to find a purely sociological explanation of regions, the author intentionally excludes from his analysis specific territorial and/or resource aspects of regions (Matthews, 1983:86) as well as their early frontier history (Matthews, 1983:91). Also, in order to give equal weight to social action and structure, any allusion to forms of structural determinism is avoided, be it the historic frontier, the material features of the staple, or the mode of production. Although Matthews' framework does not give the staple the same explanatory weight as do the recent marxist labour process analyses of forestry, concerned mainly by man's concrete control over nature, it remains highly original for its view of SITs as having complex internal structures and networks of relations leading to diverse expressions of their common external dependence. In doing so Matthews comes closer to bridging the economic and social spheres

of SITs and to considering as well the psychological-cultural dimension of living in these small towns. Matthews' image of SITs is less static than that projected by political economy or labour studies⁴ whereby SITs are seen as situated along a continuum according to the capital-intensiveness of their industry, or that often projected in community studies⁵ whereby SITs are viewed as a homogenous group situated along a continuum reflecting their institutional formation process. It is interesting to note that the elaboration of Matthews' model has been inspired by empirical observations of fishing communities rather than mining areas for instance, and it may be that the specific resource environment and history of fishing has contributed to the emergence of more complex SIT structures.

I will end this section by briefly commenting on the relevance of one last staple theory insight, namely the linking of two theoretical dimensions, history and geography. These two dimensions are seldom blended together. In marxist political economy and, to a large extent in the labour process tradition, emphasis is on time; space is largely abstracted for there is an intention of universalism, of applying the conclusions to any

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4. As an example of labour process studies see Wallace Clement (1981); in political economy, see Patricia Marchak (1983), John H. Bradbury (1980) and Harvey Krahn and John W. Gartrell (1983).
 5. The most noteworthy community study is that of Lucas (1971); also see Institute for Local Government (1953) and Bowles (1982).

place or society. On the other hand, in community studies - especially in the Chicago school - the concept of community emphasizes space rather than time, as seen in the biological analogy of the human body or ecological community where the focus is on patterns that are spatially circumscribed. Furthermore the insistence community studies place on equilibrium is to an extent a denial of time, or at least it underemphasizes social change. By attempting to rejoin both the historical and geographical dimensions of SITs, it is hoped to account for both broad historical forces shaping development patterns as well as local manifestations of these forces mediated through specific social and industrial contexts. Therefore, I will now examine how Innis' geographical dimension, which stresses specific local contexts, and the historical dimension, affect industry and community in SITs.

C. Reconsidering and Extending Innis' Staple Factor

What is surprizing, in the three Canadian traditions of political economy, community studies and labour process, is that Innis' central focus on the staple as a significant factor in forming society has systematically been neglected. Innis' emphasis that each staple product embodies a complex of geographical, technical and historical factors which uniquely shapes the organization of the new society, could be seen as a powerful insight in view of explaining the diversity of Canadian society. It could be seen as an invitation for adopting a lower level of

analysis, i.e., as a more holistic approach combining social, political and economic spheres of life as well as an attempt to come closer to social action in its many dimensions. Although Innis neither clearly defines the components of the staple factor, nor advances a comparative analysis of different staple frontiers, the strong empirical base of his (and Lower's) studies on mining and forestry permits that such a comparative model be drawn in sociological terms. Since some of these empirical observations have already been presented in the literature review, I will not recall them here. Rather, I will attempt to extend the staple theory to include social action and individual perceptions.

Innis' stress on geography as embodying the character of the staple has largely been discarded by recent scholars who consider it as a materialistic, deterministic, unscientific residue. In particular, marxist scholarship has viewed it as "commodity fetishism" where crudely material features of human history-geography and technology - are made determinants of social life thereby ignoring that they are socially mediated (McNally, 1981:57). Ascribing a creative role in the historical process to the primary commodity itself, although underplaying the role of social relations, is nevertheless an effort on Innis' part to break away from the ahistorical and unchanging conception of the utilitarian man which dominated classical political economy. It is also an effort to depict the richer texture of local contexts, extending to structures (physical and social) that do not follow

the same logic as the market price system or any other single process, be it international class relations or internal relations of production.

Indeed mining and forestry SITs should be viewed as having distinct industries, communities and labour forces. Here the broad process of industrialization (in terms of monopoly capital penetration), the levels of bureaucratization (in terms of the weakness or strength of a web of local elites and of separate spheres of power in the community), and modernization (in terms of individuals' perceptions, values and lifestyles), have been molded by the staple, i.e., by the physical characteristics of the environment as well as by the historical context in which a resource frontier emerged. In this sense, Innis' emphasis on the staple remains a valid point of departure away from contemporary marxist models which discard as epiphenomenon or super structure any aspect of social life outside economic class relations. Compared to such models, a staple approach to the study of SITs may permit more varied and nuanced models of social structures and relations, although it could not pretend to be of universal application due to their historical and spatial specificities.

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

"Geography provides the grooves which determines the course and to a large extent the character of economic life. Population in terms of numbers and quality, and

technology are largely determined by the geographic background..." (Innis, 1946:83).

Consideration for the consequences of the specific spatial-physical settings of a resource industry, in particular for its social and technological components, and for its relative position within a historical succession of staples may enlarge the explanation of the present-day organization of industry, of the prevalent forms of social relations, and of the social characteristics and world views of populations. Often the specificity of the resource environment has been overlooked, especially in marxist political economy⁶ which has emphasized a teleological model of economic and industrial development where the labour process and, to a certain extent the political consciousness, are deductible from the capitalist mode of production. The mining industry⁷, for example, has often been seen as typical of such a model of development whereby transformations in the labour process, in terms of displacement

6. See for instance: Jamie Swift (1977, 1983), Patricia Marchak (1979, 1983), John H. Bradbury (1979), Robert Robson (1983), David Frank (1981), Wallace Clement (1981).

7. Mining, especially coal mining in Great Britain, has often been seen as a very clear example of the working class experience (Bulmer, 1975; Lockwood, 1982; Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, 1956; Coussins and Davis, 1974). This is possibly because the coal-iron-steel industry in the U.K. marks the advent of the industrial revolution and of capitalism. Although the mining industry of the U.K. may be representative of the English working class experience, and comparable to other industries such as textiles, in Canada mining may not be so typical of its resource-based industries and working class experience. Thus the British scholarly tradition may have been erroneously generalized by Canadian scholars to suit all staple frontiers.

of craft control and proletarianization, follow the same trajectory as the passage from competitive to monopoly capitalism. Furthermore, mining has been seen as an archetypical case of resource exploitation in Canada, if not explicitly, at least implicitly in the fact that more is written on mining than on the other primary sectors, especially in marxist perspectives.⁸ However, it is legitimate to ask if mining is really an archetypical case in the context of Canadian resource exploitation.

Mining exploitation, because of its rapid escalation in scale, its proletarian labour force, its planned nature and early state control of the resource, its strong links to foreign markets, its urban community setting, its oppressive resource working environment, may be typical of the trajectory of capitalism but may not be so representative of Canada's staple history as a whole. Within the succession of Canadian staples - furs, fish, wood, wheat, minerals - the latter may best reflect a continuous process of capital concentration. For other staples, such as wood, the more gradual transformation of industry, its more bourgeois nature of independent producers, its unplanned

8. A look at the bibliography of this work would point in this direction. An example of a study wherein the militant history of Canadian miners is extended to a certain point to reflect the national working-class experience is Bryan Palmer (1983). Undoubtedly canadian miners have been at the forefront of the working class movement and it is precisely because of this that they may not be typically representative of resource workers.

nature, the less stringent control of the resource by the state, the greater independence from foreign market influences, the more rural community setting and the greater diversity of resource working environments, may be less typical of the global process of capitalism yet more similar to the advent of other staple frontiers and to the overall Canadian experience in resource development. It may be that in Canada, resource exploitation did not replicate so faithfully the logic of capitalism in terms of organization of industry and class formation. Therefore simple political economy analogies of the "branch-plant" nature of resource industries or labour process representations of increasing managerial control over workers on the shop floor do not adequately reflect the reality of the primary resource sector. This is understandable for, ever since Marx⁹, these images have been derived from frameworks that evolved around the analysis of manufacturing in urban environments.

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9. The branch plant analogy has been widely used to present general models of resource communities as seen in Roy T. Bowles (1982:3), Patricia Marchak (1983:22), Wallace Clement (1973:99); while the lower level comparison of resource industries with the manufacturing sector is seen, for instance, in Clement's (1981) presentation of a class approach to relations between labour and capital, particularly in capital's attempt to control labour through the introduction of technology and a detailed division of labour. Clement's sources of inspiration for these class relations, like Marchak (1983:151-52) are Gulielmo Carchedi (1975) and Harry Braverman (1974) who have written essentially about the secondary sector.

1. Impact of Geography on Industry, Community and Consciousness

Resource communities are much more complex and diverse structures than manufacturing environments because the nature of the resource imposes constraints that are physical, social and historical which do not follow a capitalist rationale. Particularities of resource environments which are overlooked are the physical constraints that the resource places upon the labour process and on the local industrial organization, and how this in turn may affect worker consciousness. Here, resource work environments are not so narrowly conceived or controlled by capital as are activities within factory walls. Managers and workers in primary industries have continually had to confront the challenges and opportunities posed by the particular characteristics of the resource workplace, for instance those posed by the location and concentration of the resource, the changing weather and seasons, and the danger and health hazards. In mining and logging environments, these physical constraints have undoubtedly enhanced the autonomy of workers in terms of their control over the labour process, submission to industrial bureaucracy and management supervision, and in fostering a particular occupational folklore. However the question of whether this autonomy and tradition were translated into social isolation (and consent) or solidarity (and alienation) may be partly explained by how the resource workplace - and to a certain extent, the physical townsite, and the region - are perceived by individuals.

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

Therefore the role of industries in resource areas is not seen a priori as overwhelmingly structuring economic life. There is no predetermined or automatic relationship between the corporation, advanced technology and the deskilling of labour. In different resource frontiers, the distinctive patterns of development emerged because the corporate strategies (of mechanization or town planning) were partly shaped by the decisions and behaviours of individuals and by the material

environment of the resource workplace and region. In this sense, industrial organizations are not viewed necessarily as agents of social change but are seen rather as adapting themselves to the conditions (physical and social) of the environment in order to maximize their advantages. They are seen as attempting to stabilize the changing economic and social environment through the organization of work, the division of labour and through a web of exchange relations with other actors in the environment in order to secure a specific (variable) optimum amount of power to pursue their objectives. In logging for instance, due to greater uncertainty in predicting yearly production outputs because of the greater variety in physical features (topography, weather, tree stands, etc.), and due to the characteristics of populations (independent rural values, occupational plurality, small entrepreneurs), industry has settled for a more flexible organization which diffuses economic power through contractors and local elites, in order to pursue its organizational goals. In mining, on the other hand, due to the control industry has over ore extraction at a local level, and the social characteristics of the workforce (modern values, absence of previous or potential occupations in the region), industry had little to adapt to at a local level and could more directly follow its own rationale and impose its own structure. Therefore in mining SITs, the industrial bureaucracy is more transparent, organizing labour through the creation of an internal labour market (promotions, seniority) and an internal state (unions, safety

regulations etc...), as well as planning the growth of the community in terms of housing, services and infrastructures. In forestry the presence of industry is more discrete, diffused by the existence of a regional labour market and the variety of commitments between workers and employers, as well as by a more endogenously grown community setting where industry, although a major taxpayer, is relatively withdrawn from the community sphere.

Resource industries also correspond to communities. There is a greater interaction between economic and social institutions (and elites) due to the insularity of SITs for both industry and community share a common space. There is also an interconnectedness between industrial and community spheres of life, seen either in their structures per se, as in the overlap between industry and community institutions in the centralized mining SIT, or in the range of effective power elites held in other domains in the more decentralized plural forestry SIT. Industry and community spheres also overlap through the values and perceptions which individuals carry with them in the workplace and at home. In this sense there is a certain reinforcement of one structure through the other, regardless of the degree of dependence of the community structure on industry, for the structures serve complimentary functions, have adjusted to each other through time, and reflect the process of man's intervention in the environment. Therefore it is more difficult to accept marxist approaches which isolate the industrial institution, even

if dominant, from those proper to the community, and which separate the sphere of production from that of reproduction of the labour force. This because workforces are not dissolved daily into anonymous urban settings since industry and community form enclave environments which share a common evolution and a common fate.

Moreover resource communities are not necessarily the proletarianized urban labour forces depicted by marxist approaches, nor are they necessarily the rural deferential powerless, populations seen in some community studies. Indeed marxist and community studies have often presented somewhat contradictory images of typical SIT residents¹⁰. The consideration of the nature of the resource exploited, in terms of its complementarity with other resources such as agriculture and fishing which provide a basis of subsistence, or in terms of how individuals perceive their place of work and residence could give some indications concerning residents' lifestyles and values. The frontier's time of settlement as well may help to indicate the relative degree of urbanization and modernization of values, for instance, the older forestry frontier could be seen as the product of a more traditional society where basic traits

10. For example one could contrast the marxist image of the urban and economically-oriented SIT resident seen in Krahn and Gartrell (1983) and Clement (1981) to the rural and deferent individual reflected in the community studies of Clark (1978) and Lucas (1971).

have remained due to their complementarity with industry and also because of an ensuing staple-trap situation.

Therefore a more adequate level of analysis for resource SITs would neither be the micro shop-floor or industrial bureaucracy level nor the macro international landscape of economic dependency, but an intermediate level which would include the organization of the resource industry with its formal and informal ramifications, labour market and adjacent institutional and service base - a level which corresponds to the community social structure. Such a level of analysis would also more easily allow a social action perspective of the staple thesis, for the level of analysis corresponds to the range of action of individuals in their daily environments rather than the range of influence of monopoly capital or of local industrial management.

The consideration of how the spatial and physical nature of the resource shapes the community setting, the organization of work and the perceptions of individuals may help in presenting a comparative model of mining and forestry towns. By and large, to contrast the SITs' working and living environments - and the possible perceptions they instill in residents - would show that in mining SITs, spatial features help to underline a duality and position of confrontation of interests, whereas in forestry SITs, things are not black or white but always shades of grey, i.e., there is a greater variety in spatial settings which accomodate a

plurality of interests. I will elaborate on how some spatial features impact on individuals' perceptions and consciousness.

By and large, forestry town residents may perceive themselves as less geographically isolated within their region while more socially isolated, whereas the inverse would be the tendency for mining towns. The reduced geographic isolation of forestry SITs may be attributed to their usual location on river waterways which historically provided the industry with transportation and energy means. A sense of accessibility and of territoriality may result from the combination of resource environment factors such as, the river which permitted the logger to penetrate his area through the floating of wood and the extensive nature of the forest concessions bringing the logger out of his community to reach alternating workplaces. Also the close association of forestry with agriculture, in which loggers often took part as an additional source of income, contributed to creating a more diversified and continuous sense of space, a greater sense of individual self-sufficiency and also reinforced the perception of a more autonomous and autarchic region supplying its own agricultural market, labour market and main industry. Therefore not only are forestry areas often less geographically far from continuously inhabited areas in terms of absolute distance, but the characteristics of their environment may not appear as hostile or unknown to individuals. This greater sense of integration into their environment stems from the more gradual mixing of urban, rural and resource

landscapes, and from the greater use and knowledge individuals have of their region¹¹. This may enhance individuals' election of his place of residence by reason of personal preference rather than for purely economic reasons. This choice in turn may enhance a sense of "home" as well as the integration of individuals in their community and the retention potential of these areas.

Mining areas may often be located in remote, rugged and infertile terrain; the environment sharply contrasts the urban town with the empty wilderness. The townsite and mines are concentrated in one spot, often being nearly superimposed (as in Asbestos, PQ), or where the industry's smoke stacks tower above the townsite. There is also little interaction with already-settled populations, such as native Indians; and if other economic activities exist in the area, miners do not actively take part in them for mining is a year-long, full-time job. Because of the punctual nature of mining SITs, whereby the surrounding area is not utilized by the residents as a place of work or residence, there may be an increased feeling of isolation, and identity may derive from an inward focus on a community dominated by the industry rather than from personal knowledge of the surrounding region. This may accentuate the feeling of dependence on the industry as well as underline

11. See for instance, Hayner (1945) concerning the loggers' free election of residential areas divorced from industry's control.

residents' sole economic purpose for living in the community. Therefore the objectively harsher mining environment in terms of its distance to continually settled areas, climate and compatibility with other resources, as well as the concentration of individuals in more dense urban environments where they share a common position in regards to industry, possibly set the stage for more alienated labour forces.

Forestry areas may be seen as permitting more social isolation because people rely more on their own resources, social networks and family ties when seeking employment contacts with the several local small operators, contractors or farmers that contribute to their income strategies. Income equations, especially for loggers, may be very individualized and varied, depending on the overall employment situation in other forestry activities (as sawmills, plywood); on employment opportunities in services (as transportation), farming or construction work; and on the seasonality of their main work in forestry, here even welfare and unemployment insurance are often perceived as viable income sources.¹² As a result, this may obscure the class relations by reinforcing perceptions of independence. The economic domination of the forestry industry over workers is also obscured for labour is often organized through contractors whose relationship with workers is just as much social as it is

12. See for instance, Radford (1982:76), Matthews (1983:156) and Sacouman (1980:236) concerning the recurring use of welfare and unemployment insurance by loggers.

economic.¹³ These more personalized work relations and the small entrepreneurial nature of many logging activities undoubtedly reduce the alienation of workers through their labour process.¹⁴ The diversity of income sources, the seasonality of work and the often social primary relations associated with work may promote models of individualism and lower occupational group assertiveness.

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

13. See for instance, Legendre (1979:312-314) concerning the traditional ways contractors recruit labour among their primary relations.

14. Marchak (1983:263-265; 1979:16-19) observes the stark individualism and pride in their work displayed by loggers working with independent operators or contractors as well as their contempt for loggers employed directly by large pulp companies and their mistrust of unionization.

allowed in relation to the in-groups. This reduces alienation in relation to oneself and to groups.

Mining towns, on the other hand, may be less socially isolated due to the sheer concentration of workers living in town compared to the more dispersed settlement patterns around forestry towns, and due to the concentration of workers working in mines. While loggers may often be allocated a forested lot and left on their own to work, the nature of the mine environment imposes a necessity to cooperate for safety reasons. In these dark and oppressive workplaces the perception of danger is more imminent. Indeed there is a long tradition of struggle around the dangers of the workplace.¹⁵ Also there may be a tendency for workers to see their situation in dichotomous terms, for despite the existence of income scales according to job definitions and experience, all miners work underground while company officials and technical staff are largely above ground. Furthermore underground miners, partly due to the danger element inherent in their work environment, share a common body of superstitions and stories which justify their condition and reinforce a vision of "us" versus "them".¹⁶ Also the fact that most mines operate on shiftwork means that miners who work together also socia-

15. See for instance, MacLeod (1983).

16. This factor was noted by Gouldner (1954:117-136) as reinforcing informal group solidarity and in differentiating the miners from the above ground workers and managers.

lize after work together; this further reinforces the miner's identification to his work group.

In the community, miners may also find themselves threatened by the overwhelming presence of the industry, which because of the geographic isolation of the town and the absence of previous settlement, provides all services, infrastructure and housing. Since much of the town planning is done by mining companies—even in the new mining towns which have been incorporated from the start - this imposes a particular urban form upon residents. This community setting is on the one hand, highly urban, often depicted as suburbs in the wilderness, yet on the other hand, offers limited services or choice of residence to workers.¹⁷ This may create a status-inconsistency in workers which could foster opposition, for miners are modern in terms of values, living environments and being engaged in wage work¹⁸, yet they have a low access to consumer society or in choosing what they consume, since the industry largely controls their standard of living. Although industry imposes homogeneous living conditions upon workers, it also transposes the industrial hierarchy on the urban landscape, in that housing is often segregated between workers and managers/technicians, and the

17. See for instance, Bradbury (1980), Derbyshire (1960) and Centre for Resource Studies (1983) concerning town planning and housing.

18. See for instance, Larouche (1973) concerning the modern values (instrumental and materialistic) which are held by miners as well as their awareness of society outside their town.

quality difference in housing is visible. The reflection of the work stratification in the housing market - and in access to community services - may further reinforce alienation towards industry and foster occupational solidarity. Furthermore, homogenization also extends to the family unit; women have fewer work opportunities and are essentially housewives who plan their activities around the work schedules of their wage-working husbands.¹⁹ This absence of choice for women and their dependence upon the husband's wages in turn possibly creates alienation towards the industry and town.

Therefore in these urban, homogeneous environments, there is possibly greater pressure to integrate individuals completely into the dominant in-group. This is because of the strength of work groups and their reflection in social community activities, as well as because of the limited range of income strategies and lifestyles of individuals resulting from their common position as wage workers. The visibility of the industry in controlling the workplace and the place of residence superimposes images of dominance that reinforce the common position of workers. This, despite the fact that the previous socialization and place of birth of workers may be more diverse than in forestry towns, for

19. See for instance, Luxton (1980) concerning the social condition of women in mining towns.

there is a lot of in-migration to isolated mining SITs²⁰. Therefore in mining towns, the greater pressures to integrate residents in the dominant occupational in-group may in turn increase alienation by an intolerance of out-groups or by an alienation of in-group members from themselves in order to conform.

The physical and geographical nature of the resource may contribute to creating particular community and work settings which in turn may influence individual's perception of their situation. Forestry environments may be less alienating to workers since they may promote a sense of integration of individuals in the region; this because the workplace in the woods is less oppressive and threatening, and the townsite which is often dominated by the church steeple symbolizes a tradition of basic common values. There is also greater integration of place of work and residence for many loggers live outside the town in rural areas, and the place of work is also one of leisure for loggers view the forest as a healthy environment which they often also enjoy in fishing and hunting activities.²¹ The seasonality and changing rhythm of work through the year may also give workers a sense of integration in time; the more simple tools needed to cut wood also permit a greater control over his

20. Innis (1936:175) notes that, as early as the Yukon gold rush, the mining frontier has attracted large scale immigration from all parts of the world.

21. See for instance, Radford (1982:86) concerning the appeal the forest has for workers, or again Hayner (1945).

labour process and a varied seasonal mix of economic activities may give him a greater perceived, and therefore real, sense of independence. In mining, the work and residence places are more alienating for workers' points of reference and dependence all converge on the industry and the dependent nature of the relation is more visible. Not only are miners relatively cut off in space, due to the few relations they have within the region, but their perception of time is also annulled for work in the mines is timeless - not only is there no daylight but work may go on throughout the night and also work goes on unchanged during the seasons. The most strongly felt time in minetowns are the shifts; a time imposed and "bought" by industry, a time which also is "unnatural", repetitive and homogeneous. Therefore the individual's perception of both time and space in his daily environment may enforce perceptions of social integration into the community (in forestry) or alienation towards industry (in mining).

In their book, The Deindustrialization of America, Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison (1982:19-21) quote at length a passage by John Friedmann who identifies the contradiction between the imperatives of capital and the people's need of community and economic security. The struggle between capital and community is seen as stemming from the inherent conflict between "two geographies" which constitute a "unity of opposites", that of "life space" and "economic space". Here life space is understood as:

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

In contrast, economic space is:

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

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

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

In relation to mining and forestry towns, it may be that mining towns approximate more closely a situation where the industrial rationale and economic relations dominate not only economic space, but also become the only expression of life space. At a micro spatial level, the town's community setting, institutions and services are reduced by industry to their most simple expression. Mining SITs are physically close to Bowles description of the single-industry town, i.e., as "social islands located in the hinterland and connected by long threads of transportation" and which essentially serve as "tools or instruments to aid in particular economic projects" (Bowles, 1982:5-6). Since the industrial (economic) space dominates in the physical townsite as well as in the community social

structure, the life spaces of the residents in a physical and political sense are overwhelmed by industry and consciousness may focus on the oppressiveness of their daily life. In places with names like Asbestos, Uranium City, Noranda, Schefferville, Val d'or, Fermont, the antagonistic relation between industry and the environment stands out in the very punctual and urban image projected. Also in such SITs, there is no forgetting the determinant role of industry and there is less opportunity left for the expression of a more diversified life space, be it in terms of adopting alternative lifestyles or deviating from the economic culture. This impoverishment is undoubtedly felt by its residents. However, whereas individuals' definition of class may result from this confrontation with economic space, their reaction and demands stem from compressed life spaces which follow a different logic, for life spaces are social and political.

In forestry towns, with names evoking the region, the parish, the local history, such as St-Simenon, Campbell River, St. Joseph-de-Beauce, Kapuskasing, Port Alice, Espanola, Fort Coulonge, the nature of the staple and of the industry may have permitted a broader expression of communities' life spaces. By and large, the forestry SITs constitute an older frontier and could be seen as both older "mature" communities having stronger endogenous institutions, as well as older industries (and technologies) which have fused with pre-existing rural practices. This gives individuals a wider range of choice in organizing both

their working and living environments. Although economic space is still essential for the maintenance of life spaces, the less oppressive and more diffused expression of economic relations in the workplace and community may have attenuated individuals' purely economic definition of class.

2. Impact of the Historic Dimension of the Staple on Past and Present-Day SITs

A second dimension of the staple pertains to its historic Canadian context, whereby the formation of the Canadian working class could be seen as the layering of successive distinct resource frontiers, rather than having been cut out from a same cloth as often presented in marxist approaches.²² Each frontier was a product of its unique conjuncture combining specific technological capacities, capital formations, political climate and socio-cultural tissue. The period in which a resource frontier first rose and reached its prime spawned particular forms of social and production relations with their manifest community and industrial organizations. It is my contention that during its expansion phase, when considerable resources were directed to the frontier, there occurred a certain interlocking and crystalization of community and industrial structures for they were complementary and functional, while also being adapted to the material features of the resource environment. This set a

22. See for instance Palmer (1983).

precedent in the creation of subsequent settlements, imposing a fundamental unity on the frontier.

In this way, each resource frontier possibly remains entrenched to a certain extent in its early formative social and economic structures which, due to the cohesive arrangement of social relations between community and industry, and their grounding in cultural life, presents some resistance to the penetration by monopoly capital later on. Thus while monopoly capital interests have today come to dominate these resource frontiers, it is not without initially having had to adapt their structures to some of the basic features of pre-existing forms of social organization. This adaptation permitted to tap these structures with less time and cost, while benefiting from the social control these structures provided and from the efficient way they were adapted to the material conditions of resource extraction. Thus the monopoly control of resource frontiers may take an array of different forms of social organization, each resource frontier presenting a unique manifestation of the embedding of economic life into socio-cultural life, and each resource sector today presenting a distinctive interconnected community and industrial structure which is the product of its evolution and of the action of man upon his environment.

Furthermore, if the staple thesis were to be pursued and the idea of a "staple trap" situation considered, this would help to explain the uneven development between resource sectors and their resulting unevenness in class formation. It could also help to

explain why certain SIT structures have remained fixed in less advanced forms of capitalism, either by retaining earlier forms of economic practices or more traditional types of social relations. The staple trap marks the relative stagnation of a resource frontier, following a decline in its markets and a shift of attention to a new, more lucrative staple. Watkins, who coined this term, explains the staple-trap pitfall:

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

Today certain areas in Canada specializing in less favourable resources may be caught in a "staple trap", characterized by underemployment, out-migration, declining incomes and a partial reliance on a subsistence or informal economy, while continuing to specialize in the export of a resource in the absence of alternative opportunities. By ordering Canadian SITs within a historic succession of staple frontiers we may better understand why SITs specializing in older staples, such as forestry, may have retained more traditional community or industrial features. This is partly the result of the fusing of economic and social structures in the period in which the

frontier thrived and the ensuing period of stagnation following the shift of focus to a new frontier. Also, at a more micro and day-to-day level, earlier forms of economic practices have persisted because they remain functional to the community sphere, and vice versa. For instance, industry's greater use of contractors and entrepreneurs or the prevalence of workers owning their tools may reflect the more layered stratification of the forestry community, the measure of real power held by the local elites and the more rural independent values of residents. Moreover, it is my contention that whereas broad political structures associated with a staple production, such as economic policies, may be redirected towards new resources, the local social and industrial structures which have evolved around a staple may persist in spite of the disinvestment and may later be re-integrated in a new system of relations in the advent of a resurgence in demand for the staple. Therefore the consideration of forestry and mining historical contexts may help explain the uneven penetration of monopoly capitalism within these sectors, especially concerning the resource extractive activities which are characteristic to the frontier period and which are directly affected by the physical character of the resource.

By and large, the mining sector, which succeeded the forestry frontier, could be seen as relatively more modern in terms of technology (and mode of production) and outlooks of populations (in terms of values, integration into national society) while having kept a more traditional authoritarian and

undifferentiated community institutional structure. The mining frontier could be seen as having known a period of continuing expansion since its early gold rush days in the late 19th century where increasing capital concentration set the tone of social relations and organized the local level. While the overall structure may be quite functional to industry and workers in periods of expansion and of strong market demands, it is poorly equipped to withstand long periods of recession when the economic rationale that sustains the SIT structure crumbles.

In contrast, the forestry sector, product of an earlier technological era and process of settlement, could be seen as having retained some of its early features of industrial organization and more traditional values of populations, yet its community institutional structure, while maintaining traditional values, could be seen as having a more modern structure since it is more differentiated and complex. Since the forestry frontier underwent its first expansion in the early 19th century (Lower, 1984:29) in a political context that promoted agriculture and in relation to smaller markets, industry was not from the start the main organizer of local structures. Furthermore having fallen into a staple trap before the onset of the penetration by large-scale capital (around 1850), the industrial and community structures largely remained fixed in a rural community and small entrepreneurial mode. Also the recessive staple-trap situation further reinforced the complementarity between capitalist and subsistence economies, as well as maintained the traditional

community structure and values. The advent of monopoly capital with the expansion of the pulp and paper industry in the early 20th century, after a prolonged stagnation period, essentially superimposed itself to the existing structure. Therefore forestry SITs have inherited more complex structures which do not follow so closely an economic rationality. This accounts for the greater stability of the overall structure especially in times of economic downturns because its subsistence base and community structure give it greater resilience.

The staple approach initiated by Innis due to its attempt to explain a resource dependent economy and to reflect the Canadian experience, provides a fertile context for further speculations in view of developing a relevant analytical framework for explaining and comparing resource communities. The staple thesis by comprising elements of economic dependency, industrial organization and population settlement, and this in specific resource frontiers, could be seen as a starting point for rejoining political economy, labour process and community studies, and this through the adoption of a local level of analysis reflecting the range of individual interaction and perceptions in specific resource contexts.

Chapter III. TOWARDS A COMPARATIVE MODEL OF FORESTRY AND MINING SINGLE-INDUSTRY TOWNS

The purpose of this last chapter is to present elements of a comparative model of the work and community spheres of Canadian forestry and mining towns. Since such an effort has not been attempted in the literature dealing with Canadian communities, labour process analyses of resource industries, or regional dependency studies, the model advanced here will be tentative and still remains to be empirically verified. However, it is hoped that some contribution can be made to the study of Canadian SITs through combining some of the concepts and processes central to the three aforementioned approaches which have addressed the realities of such towns.

Before presenting the tentative comparative model, the first section of this chapter will consider what is to be gained from a staple approach when studying Canadian forestry and mining SITs. These considerations should strengthen the theoretical rationale for attempting such a comparative effort.

A. The Advantages of a Staple-ization of the Study of SITs

As suggested in Chapter II, the objective of presenting in this work a comparative model of forestry and mining SITs is essentially the reinstatement of the staple factor as significant in explaining the contrast in social conditions and processes existing in these towns. The main advantages for using the

staple as the basis of comparison are basically twofold: 1) a greater ease of bridging two important spheres of explanation of social structure and relations, these being work and community; and 2) a greater facility to address the related issues of social change and stability in these towns. The next paragraphs will successively consider each of these advantages.

By and large, the spheres of work and community have been examined in isolation, with the result that sometimes studies have presented generalizations about their sphere of interest which override - or even totally omit - the other sphere. Such studies now and again present patterns and processes which appear oversimplified for they overlook the complexity and variation which result from the interconnections between work and community. Distinguishing between SITs of different resource base permits one to broaden the scope of analysis and to better address such issues as the differences in the types of settlement, social structure, industrial structure and labour force. More importantly, it permits one to examine whether characteristics of social structure and action found in one sphere are transposed in the other, and how work and community relations intermesh to reinforce or counteract certain patterns of relations and consequently also certain world views.

Although Wallace Clement's (1981) and Rex A. Lucas' (1971) studies have been reviewed in Chapter I, it is nevertheless interesting to reconsider them here for they are good examples of one-sided approaches focusing either on work or community.

Indeed, to the extent that it is discussed, the type of social relations found in the sphere which is the focus of each author is seen as replicated in the other sphere, with the result that opposed images of SITs transpire from these studies.

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

On the other hand, Lucas presents a process of community changes. This change is also viewed as a unilinear process, however it consists in a progression which by and large goes in the opposite direction than that seen in Clement's study. Lucas depicts a passage from an "urban-modern" type of society to a more "folk-traditional" one, through the replacement of the mono-industrial structure for a more complex network of institutions and elites, the dissipation of the dichotomous social structure for a more layered one, and the weakening of the potentially conflictive monetary incentive of workers for a more consensual outlook. Implications in terms of industrial structure are: an increasingly obsolete technology, the maintenance of labour intensive practices, the slowing down of production and eventual

closing of towns, and the advent of a captive labour force essentially powerless in resisting capital.

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

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

The remainder of this section will consider the second advantage of using the staple as the basis of comparison between SITs, i.e., the greater ease of addressing the related issues of social change and stability in these towns. Traditionally, sociology has been more interested in social change than in stability, and this interest has been even greater when such change could be considered as social development.¹ This is also true for the study of Canadian SITs. Reconsidering the examples of Clement's (1981) and Lucas' (1970) works, one sees that the former looks at the capitalists' use of new technology as a social force changing industrial relations, but what is implied is that whereas in the middle term such change may be detrimental to the workers' material and social condition, it hopefully will lead to development in the long term, as viewed in the increasing resistance and possible socialization of the relations of production (Clement, 1981:358-359). Likewise, Lucas clearly shows his preoccupation with change. For instance, his "third stage of development" of SITs, the so-called "transition stage", is seen as the graduation of the SITs' community from a dependent company-town mode to an indigenous community participation mode; Lucas considers this transition as important and very positive.

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1. Social change and development are to some extent opposed concepts, the distinctive element between the two being that of directionality. Hence some social changes are developmental, others are not. For Robert A. Nisbet, for example, social change is almost synonymous with social disease (Nisbet, 1969:208).

Many other writings follow in a similar vein to Lucas, such as social impact assessment studies (Bowles, 1982) or regional planning perspectives (Pressman, 1976; Hodge and Qadeer, 1983), in the sense that change through industrial or urban growth and planning are seen as fostering development. Also illustrating this trend is the work of Freudenburg (1986) on boomtowns. Here urbanization and industrialization are seen as enhancing the social and psychological well-being of residents.

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

By and large, studies focussing on social change as either beneficial or detrimental tend to identify overwhelming external forces structuring SITs. In such a perspective, towns are seen as responding rather passively in the sense that residents lose old structures and advantages, yet do not gain from - or transform - the new structures to obtain more functional work or community arrangements. What seems to be understudied are the endogenous processes of adaptation and structural maintenance in everyday life situations which would include the consideration of individuals holding power at grass-roots levels and the particular response of local communities to their inherent economic domination. Thus by trying to see how specific work and community structures intermesh and congeal to reinforce certain types of relations and/or to colour in a particular way the experience of living in a particular town, I hope to be able to illustrate how work and community social structures are reproduced. It should be noted that such a focus on stability need not exclude a dynamic approach nor exclude conflict.

B. The Work Sphere in Forestry and Mining Single-Industry Towns

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

through their impact on work and industry. A more detailed look at the labour process and industrial environments would be warranted here. However I will only briefly call upon some of the elements which stand out when contrasting both resource sector industries.²

As repeatedly suggested in this study, there are contrasting images of the type of perception arising from living in SITs. Rex Lucas, for example, pictures SITs workers as engulfed in a traditional paternalistic environment, unaware of class relations (Lucas, 1971:145). In contrast, David Lockwood sees them as potentially different in nature due to their relative isolation and their preponderantly working-class populations, displaying a high degree of proletarian traditionalism; in a footnote he remarks:

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

Neither image may be false, for our position is that the staple contributes to give forestry town residents a more deferent attitude and mining towns residents a more oppositional stance.

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2. For instance, it would be interesting to apply Robert Blauner's framework whereby each resource sector could be contrasted on characteristics determined by its industry, characteristics such as technology, division of labour, social organization, economic environment, all of which may - or may not - create alienation through objective forms of powerlessness, self-enstrangement and isolation. We could then try to see if the social community settings translate these working conditions into similar subjective perceptions (Blauner, 1964).

Indeed if strikes are seen as an indicator of class consciousness, then mining towns appear to be more militant overall due to their frequency and because they affect towns of all sizes and income ranges, while forestry strikes seem to predominantly occur in towns having large pulp mills and seldom in smaller towns³. The strong class perception in mining SITs is also reflected in such actions as wives organizing to support their husbands' strikes and offering their experience to other mining towns, which is a phenomenon not seen in forestry SITs (Lane, 1983; Seager, 1981; Luxton, 1980).

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

Studying the case of logging activities in northern Ontario pulp and paper industries between 1950 and 1970, Ian Radford (1982, 1987) analyzed how physical factors such as the great

3. See for instance, Jamieson (1976).

variety in terrain and forest characteristics or the changing weather and seasons of the north, considerably hindered both processes of mechanization and deskilling. This, in turn maintained the social isolation of loggers in their work environment. Also, the continued reliance upon relatively simple technology gave workers a greater control over their labour process and buffered alienation. Wallace Clement's analysis of Sudbury, on the other hand, shows that the nickel mining conglomerate has been very effective in introducing new technology to replace skilled and semi-skilled workers. As a result:

"the overall trend has been towards a homogenization of the working class in mining. The net effect may well be a stronger, more unified class in a political and ideological sense" (Clement, 1981:148).

Camille Legendre (1980) has illustrated how persistent precapitalist methods of production have been used for the profit of large pulp companies since the 1930's. By continuing to rely on a widespread contracting system, these companies have been able to obscure class relations through maintaining: 1) patron-client relations based on the primary relations of loggers and contractors; 2) an impression of self-sufficiency on the part of workers; and 3) a marginal agriculture. Also, the nature of the forest resource has favoured the persistence of traditional systems of payment, such as piece rates rather than fixed salaries. This contributed to maintain high turnover rates and attitudes of individual independence within the labour force, and has retarded the organization of workers. (Legendre, 1979). On

the contrary, in mining SITs, the subordination of labour to industry occurred earlier through the abolition of contracting systems of employment and the simultaneous generalization of wage labour. And although the latter is supplemented by bonus systems, which are a way of fragmenting the work force and isolating workers, by and large, in mining SITs the wage-bonus system and the absence of intermediaries, such as contractors, directly oppose the two forces of production - capital and labour - and thus leads to greater social polarization (Clement, 1981).

The aspects of the work sphere considered in this brief section definitely need to be developed further in order to adequately contrast forestry and mining towns. Still, it is hoped that these short pages have been able to show that it would be erroneous to ignore the nature of the staple in any discussion of the work sphere of Canadian forestry and mining SITs.

C. The Community Sphere in Forestry and Mining Single-Industry Towns

This section will try to explain how forestry and mining communities, particularly their local power structures, can be depicted in contrasting ways and why they can be seen as fostering opposite world views. My main contention will be that, in Canadian forestry towns, the nature of the logging activities has favoured the emergence of more numerous and differentiated institutions and of a web of elites having narrow and distinctive

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bases of power. This produced a diffusion of the local power structure which is more effective in diverting responsibility from the industry and thus in obscuring the reality of domination from residents' perception. In Canadian mining towns, on the other hand, the nature of the exploitation of the resource has encouraged the formation of a dichotomous and polarized social structure dominated by the industrial-managerial elite. This led to a transparent class structure where economic domination is reflected in both the work and community structures, thus reinforcing class perceptions and bringing them to the forefront of social relations.

The stratification framework adopted here is more an "elite-mass" approach rather than a class approach in order to account for the diversity of the power bases of the resource town leaders, especially in forestry SITs; however the framework adopts numerous elements of a class approach when it deals with mining towns. Although elite analyses generally assume that the dominant economic structure does not contribute significantly to the understanding of the power structure, my analysis will diverge from this viewpoint and often stress the importance of economic variables. Power is seen here as the product of the institutional landscape of society and the elites are composed of those who hold the leading positions in strategic hierarchies (Mills, 1956). Another important factor in the elites' capacity for social control lies in their ability to organize into a cohesive force, presenting a common front to the masses. The

role of elites will be seen as performing functionally important tasks requiring their abilities as a result of the needs of society, but as also performing, disruptive and exploitative activities for which there is little functional reciprocity. In this sense, consensus is not assumed.

The following pages will overview the main ideas that I think worth developing in comparing mining and forestry community power structures.

1. In mining towns, the workers establish fewer patron-client relationships, and more generally, fewer dyadic contracts⁴ than in forestry towns. The latter are more folk-oriented in terms of rural values and origins⁵, have developed a more diversified and seasonal economic base, and have family incomes that are more dependent on the number and scope of dyadic contracts. This implies that in forestry SITs, the income strategies of the workers are more individualistic and family-oriented.⁶ On the contrary, in mining towns, workers do not

4. For a classical discussion of the concept, see George G. Foster, 1967.

5. Patricia Marchak (1983) looks at the occupation of loggers' fathers in British Columbia and finds that the most frequent occupation was agriculture.

6. K.A. Mooney (1979) shows that, for non-Indian families in forestry SITs, such family income strategies resulted in fragmentation and individualism. Mooney attributed the solidarity existing among Indian workers to their collectivist ethos, an ethos which prevailed in spite of the fragmentation fostered by the family income strategies.

seek the protection of individual patronage relationships and/or dyadic contracts outside their social world. As a result the workers' political and social consciousness is higher in mining towns for their relations in employment and in obtaining the basic life necessities are of a more secondary nature and expressed in economic terms.

2. The social isolation existing in forestry towns makes it easier than in mining towns to exact worker's deference, political loyalty, and more generally, consent. This social isolation results from higher levels of social differentiation and more varied life (and work) histories⁷. All these elements contribute to lower levels of expectation and integration in national society, which in turn leads to lower levels of class consciousness. Figure 2 categorizes some factors which may play a role in this respect.

Social isolation may also be portrayed in a more detailed way than presented by Kerr and Siegel's (1954) "isolated mass" concept. Forestry workers may be viewed as integrated (and thus less alienated) at lower levels of family and friends, community and region (see Figure 3). This means that within their local milieux, residents may feel they have a greater margin of choice, are allowed to deviate from the occupational "in-group",

7. Patricia Marchak (1983:181-213) underlines very well the employment diversity and horizontal mobility of loggers and saw-mill workers.

Figure 2. Factors Affecting the Social Isolation of Workers (or lack of it) in Canadian Forestry and Mining SITs

FORESTRY SITs

- Strong economic autarchy; some agriculture, tourism, hunting, services, fishing; some co-operatives.
- Weaker perceived (and to an extent real) integration of the workers in the national society; a strong sense of being rural.
- Lower incomes; greater income disparities between workers and elites; greater variety of incomes and work opportunities; fewer contacts with the national society; stronger folk culture.
- Weak tradition in terms of union political struggle; local unions that focuss on regional issues; many workers are non-unionized.
- Higher levels of social differentiation and more variety in the life-histories.
- Lower levels of information and expectations.

The relative social isolation of the forestry worker may be considered as a measure of his low level of social consciousness and activism.

MINING SITs

- Very weak economic autarchy; strong dependence on the company store.
- Stronger perceived (and to some extent real) integration in the national society; more pronounced urban lifestyles and values.
- Higher incomes; smaller income disparities between workers and supervisors/managers; greater social distance, i.e., two-tiered structure; relative homogeneity of incomes among workers; more frequent contacts with the national society (trips, cars); personal identity defined in more strictly in economic terms.
- Strong tradition of union/political struggle, for example among miners of Scottish descent; integration in international unions; political and labour information of world scope.
- Lower levels of social differentiation and less variety in the life-histories.
- Higher levels of information and expectations; knowledge of union rights, of the general political situation of the country and region, of industry's and company's investment policies.

The relative integration of the miner in unions may be considered as a measure of his higher level of social consciousness and activism.

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

Type of SIT	Group or Society of Reference	(Relative) Isolation or Integration	Critical Variables and Comments
Forestry SITs	Nation	Isolation	Few contacts and information in terms of consumer goods, travel, lifestyles, news.
	Region	Integration	Many contacts with the regional city through local markets, work relations, seasonal jobs, kinship ties.
	Community	Integration	Rural life styles; values of individual independence; multiplication of the points of dependence; numerous elites, contractors.
	Occupational Group	Isolation	Identity is placed on family rather than on work mates; the diversity of labour sources, the absence of unions; the existence of independent contractors hamper the emergence of strong occupational groups.
	Family/Friends	Integration	Strong ties of kinship and friendship; these ties are essential within the informal economic sector.

			By and large forestry workers are integrated in the «Community» social sphere, i.e., in family and friends groups, in the SITs' community and in the region.
Mining SITs	Nation	Integration	Political awareness and world outlook; lay offs and town closures are known to be linked to multinational and government policies; information and contacts through union, travel, lifestyles.
	Region	Isolation	Mostly an antagonistic relation within the often desolate and empty environment; rivalry and competition with outlying mining towns (cf. Suttles' «win or lose» situation).
	Community	Isolation	Little communal sociability; ties are mainly instrumental and secondary; culture is essentially economic; workers are heterogeneous in terms of place of origin and social milieux; nuclear families.
	Occupational Group	Integration	Work identity is strong and it is of critical importance in the prevailing culture; affective transference to unions in times of economic instability; lack of other groups and institutions; in general, class predominates over ethnicity.
	Family/Friends	Isolation	Due to migrant life histories, family and/or friends may be far away; extended families are less important for they have no role as an economic support; the typical family is the two generation nuclear family.

			By and large mine workers are integrated in the economic/work sphere, i.e., in their occupational group and in national society.

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

3. My next point will be based on the following hypothesis: the more complex the power structure, either in terms of the number of points of dependence or in terms of the different dimensions (institutions) of the structure, the lower the level of political and social consciousness (see Figure 4). In forestry SITs, the local power structure is more complex, due to these towns' earlier historic period of settlement (see Lower, 1936), their dual vocation with agriculture, their multiple purposes (church, trade), their continual small free-enterprise scale (contractors, wood-related industries), and their wide web of patronage relations. The bases of the elites' power are more diverse and also more distinctive, in that they do not overlap that much. Whereas the relative independence of the institutional structure from industry and the distinctiveness of the domains of authority/domination of elites may create tensions between elites and between elite-mass, by and large, this type of

and Mining SITs

structure is better in maintaining itself because it is diffuse. This diffusion however does not hinder the tacit support that elites give each other: they maintain the power structure by resolving possible punctual conflicts among themselves. The diffuse power structure of forestry SITs can be seen as a more functional and modern type of power structure because issues and conflicts are more likely to be fragmented, directed at only one institution or elite at a time, and diverted from industry and from class interpretations. Thus the whole social structure is not threatened when, for instance, the economic base of the town collapses.

In mining towns, the power structure remains quite authoritarian and paternalistic. The mining company still maintains prerogatives sponsoring institutions such as the Church (Pope, 1942), the medical service (Leyton, 1975), the Chamber of Commerce or the Kiwanis Club, and indirectly controls many aspects of daily life, such as the municipal government, zoning, services, housing, commerce, sports, "make-work" programs. Although the community does have an institutional net, it is not differentiated from the main industry because its maintenance is intimately linked to the latter. In sum, in mining SITs, the power structure is essentially transparent and makes visible the relationship of dependence/domination of residents towards the economic structure.

4. In forestry towns, it may be assumed that the administrative agents and political authorities act in more rational/legal ways, be it administratively or politically. This results from the fact that the forestry SITs' administrative/political structure is older, has a stronger tradition, is less closely linked to the economic/managerial hierarchy of the dominant industry, is more complex, more differentiated and, finally, is quantitatively more important than in mining towns. While the manifest function of these administrative elites is whatever their formal position claims, the latent function is to contribute to a diffusion and legitimization of power. For example, among other legitimizing factors, these administrative/political positions often imply elections, diplomas and/or experiences that workers do not have. They also maintain the illusion of the autonomy of the community structure. They do all this largely in conformity with industrial interests. Thus in forestry SITs, because the process is more bureaucratic, the style is more democratic. But the reality is that there is neither democracy (for there is de facto political and economic exclusion of the bulk of the SITs' population), nor are actual bureaucratic guidelines respected (for the personal political and economic relations between elites frequently decide the outcome of deals): the elites of forestry SITs are in collusion and maintain a front. In mining towns, on the other hand, although the industrial bureaucracy is well developed, and also possibly because of it, the emergence of a group a community

administrative/political elites has been curtailed. The relatively sparse intermediary stratum of local elites cannot fulfill a hegemonic function for industry and therefore industrial leadership in "public" community matters may appear more paternalistic and dominating to residents.

Also forestry SITs have a more complex structure and network of relations, not only in so far as the internal structure of these towns is concerned but also in terms of their relations with regional, provincial and federal centres of power. It may be assumed, for instance, that mining companies do not require intermediaries or "help" from the administrative/political formal power system at local and intermediary levels in order to promote their interests; they are able to lobby and negotiate directly with different centres of power. Forestry companies, on the other hand, may be inclined to ask for the collaboration of such intermediaries at local or higher levels, first because the forest resource is perceived, and to some extent is, managed in a more "public" way, and secondly because there exist possibilities of conflict with other interests, such as agriculture, conservation, or other entrepreneurs. For example, forestry companies may lobby local MPs, civil servants, regional governments or local foresters, in order to obtain more concessions, a forestry land classification, regional infrastructure or regional development aid. Because the relations are more indirect and involving different levels of

power, they may obscure the reality of the domination of industry in resident's perceptions.⁸

5. A final idea which could be useful in comparing forestry and mining SITs structures, although applying to the economic sphere of life, is Erik Olin Wright's (1982) model of contradictory class locations. This could further the explanation of the role of intermediaries (or middle class) in the community power structure and add to the idea that more complex social structures are more modern, for they diffuse power as well as conflict. Wright explains that while all classes are intrinsically antagonistic or contradictory, some are "doubly" contradictory in terms of the three basic dimensions of power underlying capitalism, i.e., control over the labour task, control over labour power and control over the allocation of resources. The fundamental class antagonism between capitalists (bourgeoisie)

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8. For example, in forestry SITs, obtaining timber rights to crown lands is decided and can be acted upon at a more local level. Here rangers, foresters, inspectors, crown land agents, or MPs of the region can greatly influence the allocation of the resource. Lower (1936:100) describes the "decentralized" system prevailing in Ontario, a system where officials are political appointees usually from the region. And in Quebec (Lower, 1936:80-81), although the system is more centralized, the local assistant rangers (paid by licence holders) and the cure (also in league with licence holders) are the most decisive actors in allocating the resource. Swift (183:230-52) also relates similar intricate political dealings at local levels in a contemporary forestry setting. Thus there is much interaction at a local level in the forestry context. On the contrary, in mining, decisions are by and large made at a ministerial level and with corporate high officials.

and workers (proletariat) could be seen as a polarization in each of these three underlying dimensions of power. Capitalists have control over all three dimensions while workers control none, and the positions of both held in the class system is unambiguous. On the other hand, managers and supervisors, semi-autonomous workers and small employers occupy a contradictory class position, for they objectively share the situation of two opposed classes (See Figure 5). The result of this relative diffusion of power is that, in subjective terms, these three latter groups are divided between the interests of two opposed groups (i.e., bourgeoisie and proletariat) and "as a result it is much more difficult to assess the general stance they will take within class struggle" (Wright, 1982:126). In other words, the existence of "intermediaries" blurs the essentially dichotomic nature of the class stratification.

Wright sees a change from unambiguous class positions to contradictory ones as characteristic of modern capitalism and considers that this change permits one to explain the continuing stability of the capitalist system. His model could be applied to SITs; indeed forestry towns have both quantitatively and qualitatively more contradictory class positions, for example farmers, forestry contractors, merchants, small entrepreneurs, while mining towns have a clearer capitalist-proletariat structure. This may reinforce my thesis that forestry towns (despite their mixture of traditional and modern modes of production and their remnants of earlier institutional organization)

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

CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

SIMPLE COMMODITY PRODUCTION

Source: Erik Olin Wright, «Class boundaries and contradictory Class locations», in A. Giddens et al. (eds), *Classes, Power and Conflict*, University of California Press: Berkley, 1982:114.

in fact present a more "modern" social structure; a structure which, because of its interconnections and diversity, is more effective in diffusing power and in accommodating conflict, and therefore is more stable. On the other hand, mining SITs (despite their modern capital-intensive industrial mode of production and their industrial bureaucracy) in fact present a more "traditional" social structure in terms of the mechanisms of social control and of structure maintenance; this is due to the visibility and polarization of their antagonistic class interests.

This chapter has presented a summary of the main features that could be developed in order to compare forestry and mining SITs. The key idea that has been underlined in this research is that in order to adequately study the SITs' social structures and the consciousness of their populations, both the nature of the staple as well as the way in which work and community intertwine have to be considered. The comparative model presented in this last chapter tends to show that a class model is more relevant in explaining social structure and relations in mining towns while a more political and elite model best suits those of forestry towns. Of course, it should be noted that throughout this work the differences between the two types of SITs have been exaggerated somewhat in order to simplify the comparison; in reality, these differences do not constitute a clear cut

polarity, rather they are shades within this broader Canadian social reality.

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