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Emergency Preparedness  
Canada

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Canada

**A VERY TANGLED WEB**

**The complex story of the effects on the Sudbury region  
of the 1978-79 strike against Inco Metals Ltd.**

**by**

**Brian Taylor and Joseph Scanlon  
with  
Therese Jarzab, Matt Maychak, Massey Padgham  
and Ted Wannell**

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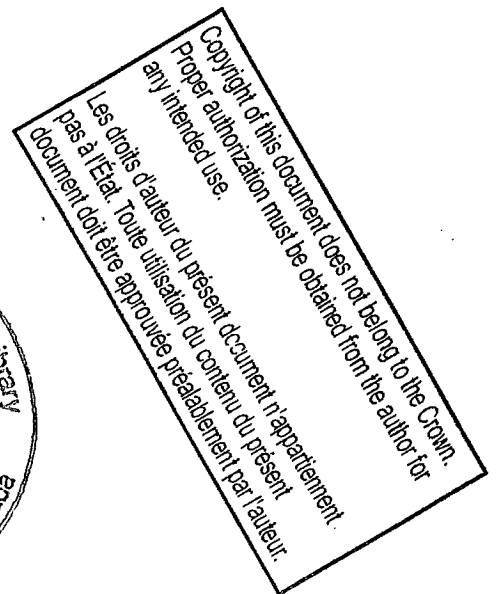
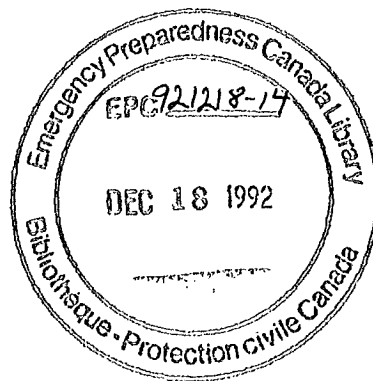
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**Emergency Communications Research Unit  
Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario**



### DEDICATION

This is ECRU's first venture into the treacherous field of industrial relations. We are pleased it was carried out without conflict with either the union, the company or the public involved. We wish to thank all of those who assisted in this study. We hope it will provide a basis for others who wish to do serious research into the nature of a strike and of its effects on the people who live where it is taking place.

ECRU TEAM MEMBERS WHO HELPED CARRY OUT THIS STUDY:

SURVEY 1

Rima Berns  
Peter Carter  
John Crump  
Denise Doucet\*  
Elaine Flaherty\*  
Nancy Hall  
Carl Hanlon  
Lori Harrop  
Chuck Hendrie\*  
Mary Hines  
Theresa Jarzab\*  
Ann Jansen  
Deborah Johnson  
Jill Lewis  
Matt Maychak  
Gerald Morton  
Karen Sallows  
Joseph Scanlon  
Nigel Sims  
Paul Smith  
Brian Taylor  
Robert Wooler

SURVEY 2

Lori Harrop\*  
Theresa Jarzab\*  
Matt Maychak  
Gerald Morton  
Joseph Scanlon

SURVEY 3

Veronique Basque\*  
Natalie Brisebois\*  
Becky Connor  
Margo Harper  
Kim Howie  
Shelia Keenan  
Denise Lachance\*  
Scott McLellan  
Massey Padgham  
Joseph Scanlon  
Sandi Sutherland  
Brian Taylor  
Ted Wannell  
Mardi Wareham

OTHER

Finnish Interviews -- Mrs. Loukko  
Italian Interviews -- Carmela Fragomeni  
and Hugh Adami  
French Interviews\*

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Preface

Our Approach

### I. The Sudbury Strike

A brief description of Sudbury, Inco, the union and the key dates in the strike.

### II. Review of the Findings

The study is a pioneer one. It involved searching for rather than testing hypotheses. Among the findings: the power of the union grew during the strike; there is some evidence of an ebb and flow of attitudes, almost a strike rhythm; the effects appear to have spread far beyond Sudbury; the strike had both negative and positive effects on Sudbury.

### III. The Overall View of the Strike

Everyone talked about it. They saw it as damaging to the entire region. It became worse after Christmas. Many people tried to help strikers. Strikers are a way of life in Sudbury. The region lost population overall but strikers who left returned. Total costs are hard to estimate but ran at least to \$1.3 million per week.

### IV. The Striker and the Union

A striker is a person of substance. The union became very important. Strikers received support from many sources -- unemployment insurance, other jobs, the union, income tax refunds, loans etc. There were emotional problems for strikers, changes in lifestyle. The strike was boring. There was little union activity. Most strikers were pro-union during the strike.

V. After it's Over: A Letdown

Attitudes shifted almost immediately. Recovery was quite fast. The strikers resented the union. They were not pleased with the settlement.

VI. The Wider Effects

Some strike effects lingered on. Persons other than strikers were hit by strike-related depression.

VII. Effect on Business and Industry

The strike had considerable impact on places of work above and beyond Inco. A case history survey of Walden Township showed considerable hardship for smaller retail outlets and manufacturing plants. A rash of layoffs, decreasing production and hours of work took place before reduced inventories and new markets stabilized the situation.

APPENDIX I: Methodology -- Household Survey of Sudbury Region.

APPENDIX II: Bibliography of Strike Literature.

PREFACE

For more than 10 years, the Emergency Communications Research Unit (ECRU) at Carleton University has been examining human behaviour in various kinds of crises. These studies have covered many aspects of such events; communications, organizational response, emotional effects, economic effects. Overall, they have enabled the development of a model of human behaviour in response to what have become known as unexpected events.

This study, a study of effects of the prolonged strike by United Steelworkers against Inco Metals Ltd., is somewhat different. It is true that the event was somewhat unexpected: the strike came after a period of layoffs and at a time when conventional wisdom was that the union members would not dare to vote to stop work. But it is also true -- as the research shows -- that strikes are not unknown as a way of life in Sudbury region and that people are even able to compare one strike against another. Therefore, it follows that, in many ways, the strike -- prolonged as it was -- was not a crisis in the sense that events such as man-made or natural disasters are crises. To some extent it was an event deliberately created, an event that, whatever its apparently negative effects, carried with it some sense of purpose, some sense of achievement even for those experiencing the most difficult times.

In addition to these differences between a strike and other forms of crisis, the Sudbury strike had one other element that made it attractive to researchers. That was that while other kinds of "crises" have been studied, studied even to the point that there are books describing in detail the whole range of human behaviour in such events, strikes have not been. As a review of the literature made clear, strikes as a phenomenon have been the subject of very little research. This is not to say that unions and management and labor-management conflict has not been studied. Quite the contrary. It is to say that studies dealing with strikes have concentrated on these events as if they were

solely labor-management disputes, disputes with no effects on the broader community. It was those broad effects that we wanted to look at in this study and that is precisely what we did.

To make absolutely certain that the above is fully understood, we want to state explicitly that ECRU did not set out to examine Inco's relationship with Steel or the "rights" and/or "wrongs" (if any) in the strike. Our interest and concern was: what effect did the fact that a significant portion of a region's work force remained off work for such an extended period have on the people of that region, both on those on strike and, equally important, those not on strike? This and only this question is what we could answer.

This focus was fully explained to those involved both at the company, Inco Metals Limited, and at the local union, Local 6500, United Steelworkers of America. It may explain, despite the strike, why all involved, assured us that they would not object to themselves, their employees and/or their members being interviewed.

Even with these promises, the research was of course, on delicate ground. A strike involves conflict between at least two parties and, often, heated arguments. It is an event which tends to force people to take sides. Aware of this, and anxious to avoid causing problems, ECRU made a commitment to company, union and to community leaders that the results would not be published or made available prior to a settlement. This explains much of the delay.

Finally, we should mention that like all other ECRU research carried out over the past decade the field study was carried out by unpaid faculty and students at the School of Journalism at Carleton University, Ottawa. Also, like other ECRU studies, this is public research and the data are freely available at cost to anyone who wishes to use them.

We are indebted to Labour Canada for a grant which paid for transportation, accommodation and other non-salary expenses, and we wish to express our appreciation of their co-operation and patience. The authors are

particularly grateful to those students in the School of Journalism who gave up two weeks or more of their time to help with the study. Their names are listed on the inside cover of the report. Without them there would be no study.

## OUR APPROACH

The study was originally designed to provide an overall appraisal of the social and economic effects of the Inco strike, and, to some extent, the previous layoffs, on individuals and households in the Sudbury Region, as well as on the region itself and its various municipalities. It was enlarged to take a preliminary look at the effect on the business, commercial and industrial life of the region.

ECRU first carried out a review on the literature relating to strikes\*. On the whole, we found little written about strikes in terms of social effects. Most persons discussing strikes are concerned about labor-management relations or, occasionally, strikers' apparent economic gains and/or losses: they are not usually concerned with the impact of the strike on the community generally. The literature, then, was not much help.

Second, ECRU designed a questionnaire to be used in the Sudbury Region with a sample of the general population. This questionnaire was used partly to gather factual information but it was also used to collect impressions and observations and to make contacts. This needs some explanation. ECRU has discovered that surveys, whatever their other merits, are ideal ways to obtain access to a cross-section of a community. By talking to these individuals, ECRU has been able to acquire a great deal of information and, perhaps more important, many ideas about the subject being studied. Our surveys\*\* were not primarily designed to gather statistical information (though this was gathered) but to gain access to general impressions and leads which could be followed up.

The original survey included interviews (often conducted with great difficulty) with those in the sample who had left Sudbury and those

\* This strike bibliography forms one of the appendices to the report.

\*\* The survey methodology forms one of the appendices to the report.

who had come into the Sudbury region during that same period. Finally, we interviewed all strikers living in sample household.

In addition to the first set of interviews, a second study was conducted in early summer with the strikers' original sample. A third survey was done, this time with the entire original sample, some months after conclusion of the strike.

Because the early results suggested that business was affected, a further sub-study was added in which the Town of Walden was taken as representative of regional municipalities. All non-household locations (churches, social clubs, professional offices, commercial establishments, industrial location) in Walden were visited at least once. These visits were supplemented by interviews with those businesses not represented in Walden and by interviews with retail and wholesale suppliers to Walden outlets.

Out of all these surveys emerged a number of things. One is a report on what people said -- their impressions. Another is a report on what the data seem to suggest. A third is a model of the strike and its effects, a model not entirely supported by strike data but not contradicted by it. A fourth result has been the attempt to use the survey findings, along with other approaches, to gather further information about the strike and its effects, especially on business.

This study is a preliminary and pioneering work. It is the start of an examination of a strike as a social crisis in the same way as natural as snowstorms and windstorms are situations as social crises. It does not ask why the strike began or whether the union and/or company was at fault but) what happened when the strike occurred. Inevitably, because the questions are new, the answers are tentative.

I. THE SUDBURY STRIKE

## Sudbury

Sudbury Region lies in Northeastern Ontario 250 miles north of Toronto. The region came under regional government in 1972 and comprises six area municipalities; Capreol; Nickel Centre; Onaping Falls; Rayside-Balfour; Valley East; and Walden.

Total regional population in 1977 was approximately 168,000 of which Capreol had 4,000; Nickel Centre 13,000; Onaping Falls 7,000; Rayside-Balfour 16,000; Valley East 20,000 Walden 11,000 and Sudbury itself 97,000 (in round figures).

The 1971 census gave the following ethnic make-up of the region: British 34%, French 36%, German 4%, Italian 8%, Polish 3%, Ukranian 5% and various other nationalities 10%.

There is two-tier government with regional roads and law enforcement comes under the regional municipality. Electrical power comes from Capreol and Sudbury Hydro-Electric Commission from Ontario Hydro (or directly from Ontario Hydro). Inco Metals Company also operates its own power system. Natural gas is distributed by Northern and Central Gas Corporation Ltd., while Bell Canada operates the telephone system.

There is a Sudbury Board of Education and a Sudbury District Roman Catholic Separate School Board, as well as Cambrian and Laurentian University.

The Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services administers a variety of social services. There is also the Children's Aid Society of the Districts of Sudbury and Manitoulin Island, and the District of Sudbury Social Services Administration. Altogether there are 21 provincial ministries represented in various locations through the region, as well as various federal government departments.

## INCO AND THE UNION

Two billion years ago a meteor explosion gouged out a giant crater near what is now Sudbury, Ontario. This is the probable origin of the Sudbury Basin -- 63 miles wide and 10 miles deep, the world's largest single source of nickel.

Ironically it was copper that was discovered first which led in 1886 to the first mine at Copper Cliff by the Canadian Copper Company. That company became the International Nickel Company of Canada, Limited (Inco) in 1902.

In Canada, nickel occurs with varying amounts of sulphur, iron, copper and smaller amounts of other minerals. Inco is the world's largest nickel producer and Canada's largest copper producer; also, a large producer of platinum metals.

In Ontario the company operates 11 mines, 4 concentrators, 2 smelters and a nickel refinery in the Sudbury region; a mine and a concentrator at Shedandowan, northwestern Ontario; and refinery and additive plant at Port Colborne. In Manitoba, Inco operates 3 mines, one concentrator, a smelter and a refinery at Thompson. A new rolling mill was built by Inco in the Sudbury region in 1976 and went into production in 1977.

Two new producers of nickel, both controlled by Inco, began operating in 1977. P.T. International Nickel Indonesia started production in March at Soroake, Indonesia. Exploraciones y Explotaciones Mineras Izabel, S.A. (Exmibal) began operating in Guatemala in 1977.

The value of Canadian mineral production in 1978 was \$19.7 billion, an increase of 6.4% over the previous year. This 1978 total was equal to 8.5% of Canada's gross national product, compared with 8.8% the previous year. Iron ore, copper, zinc and nickel were the four top-ranking metals by value in 1978 -- nickel dropping to fourth place from second place in 1977.

An estimated 7% of the employed labor force in Canada was either directly or indirectly employed by mining in 1978 (approximately 120,000 persons being directly employed by mining and processing operations and non-ferrous smelting and refining).

In 1978, mineral exports were valued at \$13.6 billion which accounted for 25.9% of the total Canadian commodity export value. Crude minerals, including coal and peat moss, were worth a total of \$4.1 billion (7.9% of Canadian commodity export value). Of this total, nickel and products accounted for \$770 million worth, copper and products \$775 million worth.

Worsening market conditions, coupled with increasing inventories of finished nickel products, were the reasons given by Inco for a series of increasingly austere production and cost-cutting measures in the last half of 1977 and in 1978.

During 1977 and 1978 the major union at Inco's Sudbury operation was Local 6500 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) (affiliated with the Canadian Labour Congress). The Steelworkers had assumed bargaining rights for the workers in 1962 from Local 598 of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, certified in 1943. In 1960 the CLC had rejected Mine Mill International's application to join. In 1962 the Steelworkers took over after winning a certification vote by a narrow margin, though in an attempted comeback in 1965 Mine Mill lost heavily. (Some of the interviewees talked of this conflict).

On October 20, 1977 Inco announced a major curtailment in nickel production for 1978 with 3,450 jobs to be eliminated by mid-1978 through layoffs and attrition. Some 2,800 jobs were to be eliminated at Sudbury, 2,200 by the end of January 1978. Some mines were to be put on a stand-by basis and the Ontario Division was to go on a 6-week shut-down starting in July, 1978.

Layoffs started in December, 1977 and continued through January, 1978.

A Select Committee of the Ontario Legislature was set up and started public hearings into nickel industry layoffs in the Sudbury Region.

On February 13, 1980, 1800 Inco employees were laid off (to swell to a total of 2,800 through retirements and resignations). On April 6, the six-week shut-down of the Sudbury operation was announced again for July 17 - August 25, 1978. Even as the shut-down announcement was made, contract negotiations started between Inco and Local 6500 USWA. The contract was due to expire July 10th but was extended one week by the negotiator, which made the formal expiration date the beginning of the shut-down period.

USWA workers returned to work without a contract on August 25, 1978. Three weeks later, on September 15, 1978 the 11,000 hourly workers belonging to Local 6500, USWA voted to go on strike. The strike was to last almost nine months, and more person days were lost than in any other Canadian strike.

For three months there were not talks at all between company officials and the union. They resumed on December 17th. They resumed again on January 3rd and on January 30, 1979. On February 9, 1979 the talks broke off once more after the union bargaining committee rejected a company offer. In February USWA members at Inco's Thompson, Manitoba plant accepted a company offer. On May 6th a tentative agreement was reached and accepted by the bargaining committee, but on May 12th it was rejected by the union membership by a vote of 5,463 to 4,058.

On May 28th, both sides were brought together and, two days later, May 30th, a new agreement was hammered out. The union stewards voted to accept it. On May 31st and on June 3rd, the union membership also voted acceptance. Start-up began June 5th after nearly nine months without word. Although management personnel remained at work during the strike and some maintenance was carried and most activities effectively came to a halt. Sudbury Region's number one employer was shut down for nine months. It seemed a rare opportunity to study a major economic crisis.

III: A REVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

Given the fact that there was no basis in the literature on which to build hypotheses and no evidence of earlier research directly applicable to this study it should be evident that the results of this study can not be presented as firm conclusions. Instead they must be put forward as ideas to be tested by future researchers. If the field was well-developed, this tentativeness could easily be the subject of criticism. Given the pioneer nature of this work, we trust this will not be the case.

What sort of things did we appear to find?

We found that the role of the union changes dramatically during the strike. Given the situation in Sudbury, the union went from being a relatively unimportant body in the community to being the largest single employer in the sense that it provided an income base, however small, for more persons in the community than any other source. Equally important, the union was able to use this power base in very real ways: as will become apparent later, the union, because of its power both as a source of funds and because of its ability to monitor the way individuals spent those funds, had far more potential power -- in a total economic sense -- than it ever had during a non-strike period. (It has often been commented that unions cannot deliver the votes of their members. This may be true. It appears to be also true that unions -- at least if Sudbury is at all typical -- can deliver a great deal of economic clout during a strike).

There was something else. The ECRU study involved just three survey periods, one during the strike, one immediately after, and one some months later. The evidence is scanty, but it does suggest that there was a real ebb and flow of feeling towards the union during and after the strike. The data is not sufficient to draw any firm conclusions. It does appear, however, that support for a union does grow during a prolonged strike and there is a letdown, perhaps an inevitable letdown, when a strike ends. This may be simply because the end of the strike means a return and a return to work -- whatever the situation with hours of work, pay, benefits, pensions, security, safety, etc. -- appears to most to be a return to pre-strike conditions. Right after

a settlement a strike appears least useful.

Third, it seems clear from ECRU's data that the effects of a strike vary a great deal even on those who are on strike. Some persons are severely affected. Others cope very well finding other forms of income support despite the loss of income. The emotional effects, vary, too. In fact, one of ECRU's unusual findings was that the emotional and behavioural effects of the strike appeared to extend to all employees of the strikebound company whether they were on strike or still at work receiving regular income. It's depressing to belong to a strikebound company even if you are getting paid for going to the office.

This same unevenness of impact appeared to spread through the broader community. Some firms managed quite well, partly because they were providing products that remained in demand. Others adjusted and coped building up other sources of income to compensate for losses caused by the loss of business from strikers and/or the strikebound company. Some found things very difficult indeed. Tied either to strikers and/or the company they found the strike close to devastating.

Finally and this must be expressed in very cautious terms -- it does appear that the effects of a strike as prolonged and as much the subject of attention as the one in Sudbury Region may have effects far beyond the region. An analysis of population movement, based on limited though very suggestive data, suggests that during the strike the flow of persons out of Sudbury Region continued but the flow of persons into the region almost stopped. Perhaps, we can be no more firm than this, persons outside the region changed or delayed plans for relocation to the region because of their perception, however inaccurate, of the strike as having severe economic effects. Overall then, we found the story of the impact of the strike to be a very, very tangled web. These were effects of all kinds and they were very uneven in their impact. The picture is very far from being clear. One example may illustrate just how complicated the story really is.

Sudbury Region was full of rumors about the severe effects the strike had on family life. It was rumored to have caused family breakups and marital strain. No doubt some of this did happen. But it is also true that some persons found the strike gave an opportunity to share a closeness with their family not normally possible. One older man told us his time with his wife had gone so well -- they enjoyed being together so much -- he could hardly wait for early retirement. The strike to him was a rare opportunity for closeness and personal satisfaction. There are, in short, no absolutes.

All these points -- and others as well -- will emerge from the narrative on subsequent pages. They provide a glimpse of a major social phenomenon, the strike, and of what appears to be its effects on the broader society where the strike occurs. They should provide a base for more solid research in the future.

III: THE OVERALL VIEW OF THE STRIKE

THE COMMUNITY

Some social science research involves quizzing people about topics in which they have little interest or about which they have little knowledge. This research was not of that kind. Whether they were for the union, for the company, against the union, against the company, for or against both or simply neutral, the people of the Sudbury Region were very much aware of the strike and -- in most cases more than willing to toss out their opinions. And they also left little doubt that the strike was a subject of general discussion, almost to the exclusion of everyone else. Our interviews left no doubt about

Constantly...we argue about who's right, the company or the union.

...on the bus...we talk about how our families are getting along and how business is being affected.

All my friends, I've heard them talk. It's really affecting them personally, financially and socially.

It's the topic of conversation now. Some of my husband's friends are on strike and it dominates the conversation.

Yet despite the endless discussing, it is far from clear where the people were getting their information. In crises, studies show that persons normally shift from their usual media sources to interpersonal sources -- family, friends, and fellow workers -- and to the electronic media, especially radio. There are some indications this kind of thing was happening in the Sudbury Region but the evidence is far from clear.

Asked, for example, if they acquired any new sources of information during the strike, 57 per cent of those said "yes", and named friends or fellow workers as their new sources. Just 43 per cent named the media, and those who did -- named radio then television. This too, is directly in line with the pattern in crisis.

In addition, 40 per cent of the respondents said they had contacts with company people; contacts they were using to get information about the strike; and 40 per cent said they had contact with union people. But they were not all using these contacts; 34 per cent said they got information from these union sources; 25 per cent said they received information from company contacts.

Yet a closer examination of the data shows something else: A lot of people used only company or union contacts. About 50 per cent of those who used company sources did not use any union sources. More than 60 per cent of those who used union sources did not use any company sources. In short, the flow of information to a considerable extent went to two separate groups within the community. The community was divided.

One reason for this division was, apparently, that company and union people each had their own set of friends, at least during the strike. The single most important source of information from both company and union persons was friends. Among those who cited "friends" as their main source of information, 85 per cent mentioned friends either on the union side or the company side but not both.

Unfortunately this impressive data is contradicted to some extent by the answers to other questions. Asked what source of information was found most reliable for information about the strike, respondents named television first, all sorts of things second, none as third and friends fourth. When asked about the most reliable media source, they turned overwhelming to newspapers. The Sudbury Star, the local daily newspaper, was named by four-to-one margin as the single most reliable medium with CKSO-TV as second. Two other print sources -- the Globe and Mail (a Toronto newspaper) and Northern Life (a local publication) -- got mentions. The relative absence of radio makes the earlier data somewhat suspect.

Perhaps the real answer is that persons became consumers of all sorts of information during the strike because they were reacting to what they read, heard, and saw with skepticism. For example, a local radio hot line show appears to have had an increasingly high number of listeners -- there were constant references to the host by name but it also appears to have limited credibility. Many of those who said they listened accused the host of bias, though there was sharp disagreement about where the bias fell.

I think the moderator is trying to break the workers and he has no business getting involved...  
it gets me mad when he starts saying he's not a company man, and know he is...

...he had (the union president) and that other guy on and he didn't let people call in 'cause the people would ask questions...

Despite the intensity of interest in the strike, it was soon forgotten. Six months after the strike ended, almost a third of those questioned said the strike had stopped being the main topic of conversation as soon as the strikers returned to work.

It's referred to as an event that is gone by...  
history, in the same way as the Second World War...

WHAT THEY SAID

When they talked about the strike, while it was on, the respondents agreed on one point: any strike involving Steel against Inco was bound to have a detrimental effect on Sudbury Region. Too many people were involved for it to be otherwise.

This company is a part of the region and when something happens it's all the region that suffers.

I think the whole area is depressed both emotionally and economically.

The economic effects are disastrous...

Drastic, it is...if it continues any longer... it's bad.

There's a lot of unemployment, both for the young people and the one's on strike...

...severely...you can see by the way people are dressing and their attitudes toward the community. They have no more faith in the community.

...as a centre for the north, it's a problem. I think growth will transfer to other cities if this goes on. We can't afford a strike every three years.

Inco is the number one employer...people who work in secondary pursuits have been scared...

It will ruin the community if it doesn't soon stop, small businesses and everything else.

The strike is really affecting the related industry. Many people that did business with contracts with Inco no longer have contracts...I know people who have been laid off...

...I know CNR and CPR have cut down on their train crews, because they don't go into the Inco yards anymore...

The place where my husband worked...they had problems, and laid off...

Woolco is going to lay off. There's a lot of them that are laying off.

The staff had been laid off. They're working on minimum staff in these stores...

There's an awful lot of men walking around. It's quiet, not so many cars going by, where people used to go by downtown shopping.

All my friends' fathers have gone away to get other jobs and they're all moving and that just leaves me (student) here.

There's some that moved here a year ago and now they're moving back to where they came from.

I noticed walking around a four-block area that there were seven homes for sale, which is pretty unusual for this area.

Well, a lot of my friends who were working for Inco have moved out. I'd say twenty-five of fifty of them.

The car dealership -- Mercury dealership on Falconbridge Road has folded.

While some of the comments were general and some were related to specific businesses, others covered a wide range of perceived effects:

The Humane Society is overloaded with animals. People can't afford to keep their pets.

Some kids have to drop hockey. They couldn't afford the cost.

Used to be more flush with their tips but now they aren't. I work in a bar. They either come in a big bunch or not at all.

Not many people in bars...

The men have become more involved in the community: fixing up the community centre and baby sitting.

The effects, incidentally, were not just noticed by and among adults. They appeared to be hitting the school system as well.

The kids at my school they're being teased about the strike, well like people calling them poor and all that.

The kids are borrowing more money from one another and they are acting more buddy buddy. Can I have a five?

...you go to small dances, roller country. You go to less parties cause there is no money for booze.

You find kids saying "I'd have a car if my dad was not on strike.

I heard from a teacher I know who noticed that the kids were using peanut butter in their sandwiches and not meat.

There are less and less teachers, there's been a lay off of teachers.

We had a debate in our English class...we asked how many people in the class had fathers working for Inco, how they had been affected. Some were for Inco, some were for the union.

Guys at school are broke. A lot of guys you see in the cafeteria are bumming food off everyone because their parent's can't afford to give them lunch.

...daughter at school has found that some friends have had to stop taking dancing lessons, gymnastics and other private lessons...

People are teasing us and lots say we are going to eat at school and then people say "Well, let's leave the crumbs for them. Put it in a doggy bag".

In my science book it says the strike is affecting a lot of people because they ain't getting money or nothing. Once when we were reading that, my friend walked out of the class because...the minute we said it affected people, most of us looked at her 'cause we knew it was affecting her...

There was also a sort of strike or depression psychology setting in. People perceived the atmosphere of the community as depressed and talked about fighting and bickering going on:

Fighting's worse. There's more fighting at the bar. One disagreement and it's all blamed on the strike.

It doesn't take much to arouse people's animosities...

It seems a lot more gloomy and there's a certain amount of hard feelings, and jealousy.

At one time everything seemed to be going pretty rosy...It's not fun anymore.

It think it's survival of the fittest. Everybody is looking out for themselves. The community spirit has been lost.

There's more tension. People are aggravated more easily. They won't take as much. But then again, some people just take it easy and say, "It's gonna get better."

Some children (the interviews included children down to age eight) commented on the level of tension in their own home:

My parents are grouchy and snappy. They are worried.

My mother is uptight...always listens to the news. When talks broke down she got all upset. We don't want to stay with each other anymore because we are biting each others heads off.

It deals with my parents...they almost separated...

We're tired of each other. We've got three TV's at home. My dad goes downstairs, my mom in the living room and us in the kitchen.

Some people even saw this tension leading not just to fights but also to higher levels of crime:

I don't leave the house too much anymore because you're not safe in the streets anymore...people are desperate.

Mac's Milk gets robbed more frequently...

I hear there's a lot more street fights than I ever heard about before...

There was gas stolen out of the cars in the underground parking lot...it happened after the strike.

In addition to these negative comments -- there were a lot of positive comments about the strike. Some person reported more "togetherness" because of the strike. Others commented neighbours were helping other neighbours. Still others felt that they had learned something about coping with difficulty.

It brought us closer together and we know each other better now.

I enjoy more because there's always my parents around... at the beginning I thought it would be pretty dumb 'cause I thought I wouldn't like having my parents around. But I like them a lot.

You learn to appreciate him (your husband) more and you don't take him for granted. The kids miss more 'cause he's gone and they want his attention when he comes home on the weekend.

Everybody's helping one another...everybody's concerned and helping out in every way they can.

People seem like they're sticking together now. The people are trying to keep each other happy...

It taught us to count blessings. When my husband was working we didn't know how well off we were until the strike.

I think it's going to make people realize what it's like to be off work. Make them know a little bit of hard life.

Maybe the strike has helped me a little bit because of sales that are going on. I take advantage of them.

It opened my eyes. I've never been through a strike before. I really got shown what a strike is. I'll be prepared for the next one.

As we reported before, the effects were far from even. There were economic hardships, bickering, affects on the children. There was also a feeling of coping and togetherness.

## A STRIKE RHYTHM

It appeared to us the strike followed a sort of emotional pattern with reactions changing over time. During the first few months, in the base, for example, the strike was seen as a short term of affairs, something that would be done over by Christmas (reminiscent of the way people saw the beginning of World War I). Later attitudes shifted and, at times, when negotiations were not going on there was almost an air of depression: Would it ever end?

ECRU conducted just one set of interviews during the strike so it was not possible to establish precisely when these changes in perception and attitudes took place; but it does seem clear that they were there; and it was possible, for example, when doing interviews and returning to the same place for a second and third interview to observe substantial change in atmosphere.

There are some problems with research during a strike because the data could have enormous implications to the company or union. In retrospect, the concern of both that our data not be published or shared during the strike seems reasonable.

Yet, given the shifts in attitude, it seems clear that post strike research, however competent, will not establish precisely what happened at various stages during the strike. Everything looks different in retrospect.

(One of the interviewers happened, on one occasion, to mention something that an interviewee had said during an earlier visit. It was a slip and it was not well received. The interviewee reacted quite negatively. The feelings of the strike period were tucked away and were not happily recalled).

On the basis of the interviews, however, it does seem that Christmas was a crucial time in the strike.

I would say that possibly after Christmas they have felt the crunch. Before Christmas they said people were having and people were paying for cash.

Well, at Christmas time they said business wasn't much lower, but now the strike is three months older.

They have a big drop in business, particularly since Christmas.

You just have to be in (stores) and look at the evening. That's when it used to be booming business. If there are people in there then they are just looking. It didn't affect people at Christmas time. You can really tell the change now...

The earlier, 1958, strike had ended at the three months mark, (in affect at Christmas). This time, the strikers had settled in for a similar time period, and they were forced to readjust when their expectations were wrong. It seems that perhaps strikers, certainly experienced strikers, enter a strike with certain expectations. About its duration if their expectations are not met (and the strike drags on), they may have to support their expectations).

Whatever their expectations were in the fall and winter, by mid-March when the strike had been over for six months, people were generally in agreement the strike was having serious economic and emotional effects. By the following November, when the strike had been over for six months, some said the effects were gone. Quite a few of those interviewed commented on the improving economy:

Hotels were fuller. People are spending money.

Things are starting to roll. The stores are giving sales, the morale in town seems to be up...

A lot more people are going out. They're having a lot more more dances...

Tout est retourné au normal.

Getting back to normal -- look back and kind of grin.

Businesses were hard hit, but now things have picked up.

I think everybody is pretty well caught up.

Others looking back, praised the strikers, for sticking together and argued

that the union had been successful in getting what it set out to achieve.

I think they probably had to do it...it really shows something about the people...they stuck it out and didn't give up.

It shouldn't have lasted as long as it did but the strikers did the only thing they could.

I think it was good for what they stood up for what they wanted even if it did take that long...

I'm glad that Inco got beat and that the miners didn't take just anything.

Still others said the strikers weren't the only ones to learn something from the strike:

The strike reunited the people in the community.

It has made me appreciate of what I have.

I learned how to manage money.

Those in school who had been very conscious of problems faced by strikers' children also said the situation had changed; although there were some who said the strike had left its permanent effects:

There were more new clothes. Last year you could distinguish between the strikers' kids and the ones who weren't.

They're not as worried and tense as they were.

Kids don't borrow as much.

Kids don't have to move away or stay at home to help Mom, or go to work.

Less kids are bringing money to school for their lunches,

But some took the opposite view. They reported the effects of the strike were still being felt and that the strikers were still having difficulties. They said that many of the strikers barely made it through the strike.

I lost sales -- down to 22 per cent.

Slowed down hours...less business...not even getting minimum wage.

I have heard of small businesses that have gone bankrupt after the strike. I guess they couldn't collect.

Businesses have cut back a lot on their staff.

My brother's family used up most of their savings to get through and now they're going to have to try and build it back up again.

People who go to borrow money borrowed it for the longest period of time. In about three years they'll have to start paying back.

There are still a lot of money problems. My brother has and took how long the strike has been over.

Friends of ours lost their house and had to sell their trailer for a lot less money.

I never got paid for babysitting the kids of a strike... He went into bankruptcy.

Her father dipped into his savings over \$10,000.

One couple we know got really behind. They're meeting their bills, but the bills are from six months ago. They're not caught up.

We can't buy a house. We didn't get in debt so I'm not complaining.

We didn't finish our house. I think the world has shed with its champagne taste for beer taste.

Our family was saving for a pool and they couldn't buy it because their savings were spent.

We had to postpone a few things we were planning on buying.

On a pas pu rentré dans le hockey cette année là. Il fallait qu'on fasse beaucoup de sacrifices.

A lot of guys are from construction...had to move.

...housing drops off. We're doing half the surveying we did last year.

I've been a construction worker...Inco's our main supplier of work. There's no jobs.

A feeling has developed among many in the community that the real problems faced by the strikers had begun once the strike ended.

In March, most interviewees had commented on various kinds of aid being given out to strikers. The churches were assisting:

I think that the church is playing a major role in the strike, financial and spiritual assistance towards our Inco parishioners.

I go to church regularly. It makes you feel better to go to church...

The banks and other financial institutions were making things as easy as possible:

...they're carrying the people. The loan companies are making them into one big loan...the bank's aren't worrying to much...

I think they (banks) have made it much easier to borrow. And as soon as you walk in and say you are working for Inco they'll lend you whatever you want.

...deferred mortgage payment.

I think finance companies are more lenient. Mortgage companies are.

In November it was quite the opposite: those who had left held off were now asking to be paid:

People were affected more now. Now everybody is hitting them to pay back what they borrowed.

They are living and eating as if they are on strike to try and get caught up...

A small number of businesses are still recovering.

They weren't paying the bills during the strike. They've got to pay them now.

...they got to catch up on their mortgage payments,  
pay double payments instead of one.

Most of those not directly involved in the strike assumed that the process of recovery would take years, perhaps forever. They had no doubt that the strikers had got themselves into problems that would take a great deal of time and solving:

I don't think they will ever catch up.

Workers never catch up with what they've lost.

Pour un couple, agé, l'arhent perdu ne se recupera plus.

They'll never get over it. They are behind and will stay that way.

It takes a long time. Sometimes they don't get over it, can't make what they lost.

Misère, ça peut prendre dix ans...

It takes a long time to get back on your feet.

How long does it take when you've gone bankrupt to start all over? For some people, that's about what the situation is.

FAMILY HELP

In addition to talking, people were doing something to help those on strike.

In March, many persons told us they had offered assistance to relatives though more said their relatives had declined to accept:

Offered financial assistance to relatives, not accepted.

Like our tenants, they can't pay. I guess they'll pay as soon as they can when the strike's settled.

We gave my husband's uncle financial help. He didn't accept. It's there if he wants it.

I have a friend that I helped out who is on strike... but you know it's hard to help a lot of people. Most are too proud to accept.

In November, with the strike over, a fair number reported that they had not only offered assistance to strikers but that the strikers had taken it: (We're not sure why the change; perhaps it was easier to talk about something said back).

My brother asked for help with the mortgage but he paid it all back.

...family...we helped them and they paid it back.

I helped my own family to make payments...at the end they tried to pay back and I said, 'We'll mark you paid'.

I've got an apartment building. One of them (tenants) didn't have enough money. I told him its OK.

They (parents) had a couple of bills to pay and we gave them the money. They didn't have to pay interest that way.

There was another change. In March, it was quite clear that many in

Sudbury were depressed about the region, especially about the feelings of people living there. There was an air of pessimism. A comparison of answers to one of the questions posed on both occasions shows that people had, in fact, become much more positive six months after the strike ended than six months after it started.

TABLE ONEHOW PEOPLE FELT ABOUT SUDBURYREGION AS A PLACE TO LIVE

Chi square comparing the answers in March and November.

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>MUCH BETTER</u>	<u>BETTER</u>	<u>ABOUT SAME</u>	<u>WORSE</u>	<u>MUCH WORSE</u>
March	4	25	161	73	16
November	2	30	181	24	5

Significant at .005

### FACTS AND FIGURES

How much did the strike by Local 6500 United Steelworker of America, against Inco Metals Limited cost the Sudbury Region?

The net figures are not available. No one calculated, for example, how much income was earned by strikers who left the Sudbury Region during the strike to obtain employment insurance. The answer also is rather complicated. While none of the strikers were being paid by the company, a number of them were obtaining income from other sources such as Unemployment Insurance. And there were a number of other complications. The decision of the union to pay for needed medication, for example, affected the amount of money available and spent in this area.

Despite these problems, it is possible to do some rough calculations, that gives some impression of the sort of effect the strike was likely to have. First, it is known that 11,750 persons went on strike. While this figure dropped during the strike (some strikers resigned, some retired, some accepted company positions, some died) it is a starting point. Second, it is also known that the average union member who went on strike normally was paid something like \$12,000 to \$15,000 a year. (Some miners, receiving bonuses for added productivity, would earn more than that). Third, it is possible to make a reasonable estimate how much of normal payroll would be taken by taxes and other deductions and would, therefore, not come into the region.

Taking all of these things together it seems reasonable to suggest that the strike cost the region with wage losses of about \$85,000,000. (This figure is a rough estimate, and was not confirmed by Inco).

On the opposite side of the ledger, it is also possible to make some estimates. First, a substantial portion of those on strike received

voucher payments which ran around \$33 per person per week. (This would cover a married striker with one independent child). Second, a smaller but significant portion of those on strike went elsewhere to obtain work. Assuming that their pay levels roughly matched -- their normal income and making allowance for deductions and maintenance (their costs would be higher since they had to live away from home). It can be estimated what this would bring in. Third, almost all the strikers, because they had been laid off during the summer because they had been on strike for three months, received substantial income tax refunds during the strike. Putting all these together, it seems reasonable to suggest that the strike generated additional income of \$35,000,000.

Combining these two estimates, it is possible to hypothesize that the strike cost Sudbury Region at least \$50,000,000 or about \$1.3 million per week in cash flow.

Even in these figures are not precisely accurate and they suggest two things:

- .the loss of the Inco payroll was a real loss to the region;
- .the extra income created by vouchers, the strikers obtaining work, income tax refunds and other sources (including Unemployment Insurance) was also substantial and provided a very real shot in the arm for Sudbury Region.

Yet, taking these two together, it seems very reasonable to conclude that, overall, the region suffered some severe economic effects. Given the fact that Inco had laid off a number of employees not too long before the strike and had closed down for almost the entire summer before the strike started, the Sudbury Region was certainly bounding to be hurting economically.

OBSERVED EFFECTS

With economic effects of this magnitude, a cross-section of the population should inevitably have experienced and observed specific effects of the strike. That was the case.

Asked if their household incomes had altered since the strike began, most reported that they had dropped:

INCOME IN MID-MARCH COMPARED TO INCOME PRIOR TO THE STRIKE	
Up Greatly	2 per cent
Up	2 per cent
Unchanged	27 per cent
Down	52 per cent
Down Greatly	17 per cent

These results suggest that the strike involved a drop in income levels in Sudbury Region, a check of other data supports that conclusion. Owners and managers of large businesses reported an overall increased income between mid-September and mid-March. All other occupational groups were level or down. There were sharp decreases in the income of skilled workers.

Given this, it should not be surprising that 40 per cent of those questioned said the economy was depressed, or that people short of money or that most people saw problems in all aspects of society. Even when asked, for example, if there were any changes in their neighbourhood, they reported observing economic changes:

Empty Houses	39 per cent
Construction Down	18 per cent
Sales Down	6 per cent

In one part of the questionnaire we read the respondents a list of categories of activity ranging from small to large ones. On the whole, substantial portions of those who replied reported observing various kinds of problems.

REPORTED EFFECTS ON  
REGIONAL BUSINESS

	<u>Industry</u>	<u>Large Stores</u>	<u>Small Businesses</u>
Sales Down	26.3	50.0	36
Layoffs		11.0	19
Closures			3
Other			
Effects		11.0	3

Contingency Table:'Same Number of Employees at Work?'By'Change in Number of Employees Strike Related?'

	<u>STRIKE RELATED</u>	<u>NOT STRIKE RELATED</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>
Many More	4%	3%	0%
More	7%	31%	16%
About the same	11%	18%	11%
Less	50%	36%	62%
Many Less	27%	10%	0%
Other	0%	3%	11%

---

Perhaps we should not again at this point that we are reporting survey data -- the opinions of a cross-section of the population. The figures do not mean that 50 per cent of the large stores had fewer sales but that 50 per cent of the population interviewed said that sales were down in large stores. In some cases, nevertheless, the opinions had considerable foundation. Among those interviewed were persons who were involved in business. Many of them reported substantial income changes during the first six months of the strike and made these reports on personal experience.

In addition, individuals interviewed were asked whether the place they worked had more or fewer employees and whether those changes were related to the strike. Their replies should have been accurate. Those who reported an increase in employment generally labelled that as not strike related. Those who reported a decrease usually tied it to the strike. It seems clear the strike was readily blamed for whatever economic evil prevailed.

Effects of this magnitude should have lasted for some time so that even in November, six months after the strike ended, persons would have been still identifying problems associated with the strike. This did not happen. While some respondents in November still said there were strike effects they had trouble giving specific examples. And they were no longer reporting themselves and their place of work as affected. Furthermore, a number of respondents estimated that things were back to normal either by July, by the end of the summer or early fall.

When asked about things that they had noticed specifically, November the respondents were far more likely to speak about positive indications: spending was up (18.4 per cent); financial conditions generally had improved (5.7 per cent); construction was up (5.7 per cent). Even in terms of its economic effects, a strike appears to be something that is tucked away rather quickly once it has ended.

IV: THE STRIKER AND THEIR UNION

All of the foregoing material is concerned with the general community, with the answers to questions from persons in the community at large. What about strikers themselves and their families. How accurate are the observations of the community? Where the strike affected there was other suggestions? The answer in general is "yes". The interviews with strikers disclosed much the same patterns as those with the general community.

PORTRAIT OF A STRIKER

One of the most exciting findings from this research is the portrait of a striker. We found (this may be due to our naivete) that the striker was, in short, far from being the victim, we perhaps, had pictured. We are not suggesting strikers did not experience hardship. A great many did. Some had personal problems, even family breakups. Others had economic problems, sometimes coming close to going under financially. But other things were also happening.

Many strikers, especially older ones, were persons with assets and a stake in the community. They owned their own homes, their mortgages were small or paid, and they had some small savings. They had no pressing needs. They were able, sometimes right through the 37-week strike to take care of their needs by drawing on their own personal resources. (One striker maintained himself and his family and provided assistance for a striker who was a relative).

Secondly, some strikers, especially the older ones, were able to support themselves and their families by obtaining employment during the strike. Sometimes this employment matched what they had done at Inco. Often, it did not. But even ECRU's small striker sample revealed many strikers had gone to seek work elsewhere, a search that sometimes took individuals thousands of miles.

(This seeking work may have had one rather interesting side effect. When the first formal vote on a company offer was announced (a vote which when held led to the company's offer being rejected) many of those working away from Sudbury gave notice to their new employees and returned home. They expected the strike to end. When it did not end, they found themselves in more difficult circumstances; they were still on strike, and they had now lost their second job. They constituted a new set of voters in the second vote, a set of voters now anxious to end the strike. (Up until they had given up their second jobs, many of them were not too concerned about a settlement).

All strikers who remained in Sudbury and who did not work had some help from their union and from other unions. Meagre as the weekly allowance from the union was (\$25 per week for a single person) it was a regular source of income for every striker not otherwise employed. And it was backed by other support. The union paid, then arranged for payment, of OHIP (Ontario Hospital Insurance Plan) payments guaranteeing that Inco strikers had access to medical help. The union paid drug bills for those needing medication. (The amounts involved were very substantial). The union provided special help to those who had children born during the strike. It stood by, when needed, with legal advice and other assistance for those who found themselves in real difficulties.

The strikers had one other thing going for them, something hard to measure. As persons of substance, persons who, in many cases, owned their own homes, the strikers found they could tap community financial resources and could do so without difficulty. Many of the strikers borrowed money and when they did so usually went to first lending agencies such as banks. The banks were almost always willing to accommodate them. This assistance was available partly because the strikers were viewed as person temporarily short of funds, persons who would be returning to work, persons with a sound employment and credit records. It was also available because the union, Steel, has a very powerful presence in Sudbury Region. Any financial institution which became unreasonably difficult with strikers might have found itself a target of Steel opposition. In Sudbury, that is not to be desired.

This impression of the union power becomes much stronger when we examine the way the union dealt with one or two firms that attempted, very briefly, to challenge its position.

Each week the union issued weekly payments called vouchers to each striker not otherwise employed. These vouchers, were in effect, credit notes, promises by the union. They were not cheques. (They were \$25 for a single person, \$5 extra for the first dependent, \$3 for each additional dependence.

These vouchers could be taken by the striker to selected stores and exchanged for groceries. The striker could get a small portion of the face amount in cash, but most of the value had to be spent on that store.

Controls on the use of these vouchers were applied to guarantee that they were not spent on items such as alcohol or other non-essentials. This was done by limiting where vouchers could be taken to large grocery stores. But these controls had another effect. They meant the union -- by fiat -- could determine which stores would receive income each week from the strikers. Steel, Local 6500 now had the largest total number of individuals on weekly payroll for the region and of the largest weekly pays. (Even at \$25 a week -- the minimum rate -- 11,750 strikers would be receiving and spending close to \$300,000 a week).

There were sound reasons to restrict the use of vouchers to a small number of large stores. It was easier to control what went on. And that meant the strikers would, on the whole, get better value for their money. (Large stores can buy in bulk, and charge less). But the decision had other inevitable effects. It meant that the union had arbitrarily decided that the men on strike would use their vouchers in large stores and not in the small stores. Since vouchers were many or the only source of income, this meant that the smaller stores were virtually cut off throughout the strike. (The union did make a few concessions when a particular store got several union members to intercede for it; but these concessions were not widespread. On the whole, the union decision cut out the smaller store owners).

Whatever its effects, the smaller stores, the decision had one other key consequence. It meant that Steel could by asking strikers to stay away from one grocery chain or another, alter the pattern of spending

of a huge portion of Sudbury's labour force. The potential clout was enormous. (Even very rough statistics suggest that by cutting off one chain, a chain let's say that got 30 per cent of the trade, the union would cut that chain's income by as much as \$40,000 to \$75,000 in a single week). Once the union did make use of its potential power. It posted a notice asking strikers not to use their vouchers at a particular store. The store had not made what the union considered to be an appropriate contribution to the strike fund. Within 24 hours, the notices came down: the store had contributed.

Given the nature of the vouchers incidentally, the union would have been able to tell, almost immediately, which strikers had chosen to ignore the request. The vouchers were issued individually each week to each striker in person. (Even spouses were allowed to make only one or two pick-ups: this guaranteed payments would not continue in the case of a striker who had gone out of town).

The voucher system incidentally is a method whereby the union, in effect, borrows money from the large chain stores. The vouchers are promises to pay. The store gives out goods and some cash for those union promises. It then eventually takes its vouchers to the union and is recompensed. During the time between the cashing of the voucher by the striker at the store and the paying at the store, by the union, the store had in reality, loaned the union money. Using the figure of \$300,000 a week -- and considering that payment took about 10 days the union could be considered to be saving something like \$700 per voucher per day in interest).

Union power was demonstrated in other ways. One company declined to provide formula (milk substitute) free of charge to striker families who had had babies born. The union persisted. The company was informed its reluctance to co-operate would be publicized, if necessary,

by union pickets at its outlets. The company caved in on the understanding its support not be announced.

These situations illustrate power of the union in a strike situation. Equally important they illustrate the power of the union to provide a basis of support for the individual striker. The striker, far from being an individual left to his own resources, has, through his union, certain clout that he would not otherwise have. This sounds like the piece of union propaganda. That may be. The point is this clout above exists during a strike and it was used, and does affect the status of the striker in the community. It is worth noting that much of the union's direct economic power faded once the strike ended.

Support from the union, some of it from funds donated by other unions, was not only important to the union and the strikers, it was also seen as important by others. When we questioned the general population about support for the union, most respondents said there had been help from other unions. One clear affect of the striker was that is convinced people in Sudbury Region that unions help other unions during a strike.

OTHER SOURCES

The strikers had other resources their unions to draw upon during the strike. Some were able to get Workmen's Compensation. Others drew unemployment insurance. By the time the strike ended, somewhere between 10 and 15 per cent of the strikers were receiving unemployment insurance.

On the surface, it would seem that a striker cannot get unemployment assistance. This is not the case. The circumstances varied from striker to striker. Some strikers were unable to get unemployment assistance throughout the entire period. A few obtained it only near the end of the strike. One can obtain unemployment assistance if one had lost a job after acquiring sufficient work to build up eligibility; but the job loss must not be because of a strike. Further, the job loss must be in the same category (the same type of work) as the one held when the eligibility was acquired. What this seems to mean is that a mechanic who goes on strike, then gets re-employed as a mechanic (same job status) then, shortly after, gets laid off from his new job, and is eligible for benefits. On the other hand, an electrician who goes on strike, finds work as a ditch digger then, long after gets laid off is not eligible unless that "long after" was sufficiently long to make him once again eligible this time because he had worked long enough as a ditch digger. He can't qualify as an electrician because as an electrician he is still on strike.

This means that some Inco strikers who found work immediately in their normal job status and were then laid off acquired benefits soon after the strike began and continued to receive them throughout the strike. It meant that some others who obtained work different from their previous occupational status were not able to obtain benefits despite the fact they worked for some time. It was a very unequal situation.

Inco job categories are not equivalent to the similar licensed position outside the company. This means a man classified by Inco, as say, an electrician would be held on the employment roles as an electrician in terms of eligibility for assistance. However, outside of Inco he would not be considered an electrician. Since he is on strike against Inco and can't work there, and since his qualifications at Inco are not accepted elsewhere he cannot obtain work at his same position. He is therefore, barred from acquiring benefits from a new job until he re-establishes a complete eligibility period.

If the above sounds confusing it is. But it also appears to be factual. It is one of the peculiar circumstances that showed up in interviews with individual strikers.

The question of what benefits should be paid or not paid is not discussed only the facts are presented. They are certainly sufficient to suggest there is inequity.

INCOME TAX, HOLIDAY PAY

There is two other income tax sources that had a significant effect on the ability of strikers to cope with the effects of the strike; income tax and holiday pay.

Almost all of those on strike had been involved in an extended lay-off during the summer before the strike. Most of them were off work from mid-September until the end of the year. This meant that the vast majority of strikers had a sharply reduced income during the 1978 tax year and were therefore entitled to substantial income tax refunds.

Shortly before the strike ended, these refund cheques, many of them for more than \$1,000, began to pour into the Sudbury Region. These cheques had significant effect on the ability of strikers to withstand the continuing strike. They may even have had an impact on the first strike vote since the cheques came in just in time to give the workers a boost.

Since a strike living solely on vouchers was getting something like \$33 a week (given a spouse and one child) an income tax refund cheque for anywhere from \$500 to \$1,000 plus inevitably had an enormous effect on his financial outlook.

The holiday pay did not affect the situation during strike. It did help later financial recovery. What happened was that some strikers chose to work their holidays after the strike ended. Since they had already received holiday pay, they therefore effectively doubled their pay during the regular holiday period. At \$200 to \$300 a week, this again represented a substantial boost to persons who have been living on vouchers.

All and all, the strikers, though as things were, had a great many resources to call upon during the strike. But -- despite, all these resources -- there were forced changes in lifestyle.

THE STRIKERS

Despite the various forms of income support; by mid-March, when the strike had lasted six months, many strikers were experiencing severe economic problems. Most had had to make adjustments because of the strike:

"...money problems. Just money."

"The money's not coming in...you're not making it."

"It takes the money away. I could use the extra money".

"We get farther and farther in the hole".

"We are spending all of our savings."

"My wife she's suffering because there's no money coming in. You get money and you have to draw from the bank what you saved in the older days."

"I'm the kind who can't hold a penny in his pocket, but now it's tight. I have \$30. You can buy \$22 bucks in groceries and that's all."

"Last year we never bought nothing for the kids and they agreed but what can you do. A strike is a strike..."You never have enough food."

"I can't go out and buy things I would, like the meats."

"There are improvements which have to be done, but I'm going to wait until I go back to work."

"I was supposed to go back home to Newfoundland this summer for my sister's wedding and I cannot go now."

"We were going to buy this house and we can't. We only thought the strike would last a few months."

"It's mostly you got to live differently because you, well, you have to cut down on everything: electricity, heating, everything."

The money from the union was helpful but not substantial; strikers living on vouchers alone found the going difficult:

"They give you a food voucher every week which isn't enough but it's better than nothing. At Christmas they gave us \$15 dollars for the kids. They paid one prescription."

"Well, I get vouchers. Thirty-three dollars a week for three grown kids."

"Les \$39 par semaine. On ne va pas loin avec ça."

"All the union gives is \$30 a week plus \$3 a week for each child. Nobody could live on that."

Despite the strains and despite the small amounts coming in from the vouchers, most strikers said they were reluctant to accept money from members of their family though some did:

"No we didn't need it. Because the wife's been working for two days."

"We've been offered loans but we don't need it and I don't figure that's any sense going any further in debt."

"My mom and dad gave us money, mostly for clothes and stuff."

"I haven't borrowed any money, just from mom and dad."

But they were not hesitant to get money in other ways. They borrowed it. They postponed payments, and they accepted the willingness of many firms to take a rather lenient view of their debts or over-due bills:

"I had a loan there (the bank)...no money coming in...have to lend me some more...that's all."

"Back in September I had to borrow \$600 to get myself out of debt."

"If I had to pay what I owe in back rent, they (savings) would all be used up."

"Lately I borrowed from the bank to pay off my little bills lying around."

"Phone bills. Every month it's \$6.75 or so. So I don't pay them that month. Next month it comes in the same price. When it gets to \$40 I have to pay it or else they cut it."

"Don't have to be paid until after the strike. You can miss payments on account of the situation."

"I had Simpsons Sears and Bell Telephone call me. I thought I was behind on my payments but they said 'No, I just want to survey'. I guess they just want to make sure that no one runs up a lot of debt."

"Nobody's pushing. All I got to do is phone and they just hold it. My cable, hydro, I just phoned them up and they said, 'Okay, no problem.'"

"If I didn't get assistance from this credit union, I'd definitely go under."

"Finance...they wanted to lend me money...I told them I didn't need it...they kept phoning me back every two weeks...I don't have to pay the payments if I don't want to..."

While they seemed to be able to cope with most of their financing problems by cutting back, putting off payments, etc., they were quite outspoken about the Unemployment Insurance system which they felt had failed them. Quite a few applied and were rejected:

"At first, they really gave me a hard time. I wrote a letter and talked to my member of Parliament. He cancelled - the appeal, reopened the case, and got me Unemployment Insurance."

"I was working in construction before the strike. I had applied for Unemployment Insurance after the last job. We applied...they said we were disqualified because we did not follow our job description. Mine was diesel mechanic at Inco. I had to take the next one down, which was construction and I was disqualified. I've put in an appeal...the union is trying to help me fight this appeal."

"Ils ne voulaient pas me le donner. Ils m'ont dis que ce n'est pas le meme job."

"I applied for Unemployment Insurance benefits but they turned me down."

Some strikers tried another way of coping: They tried to find work as soon as the strike began. Even if successful, they found things didn't necessarily go that well; for one thing most jobs were outside of Sudbury Region:

"As soon as the strike went, we went there. Me and a friend slept in a tent. We were fortunate we had a job until December...I'm glad I wasn't alone in the bunk house. When you're used to having your wife and child there, you know you have a good family life. It was so depressing."

"Maybe it's brought us (him and spouse) closer together. One thing, when I went away to Longlak I really appreciated home when I got home."

"I get home on weekends most of the time...lonesome... He's only eight years old."

"It's been rough here and there's no doubt it's been rough. I've had to leave town and find work elsewhere...a guy hates to be away from his home, from his wife and kids..."

WORK

"I change around, I get outside jobs. The first two weeks I've been out at Clarabel mine."

"I worked at Electrolux all the way through but I seldom went. I drove a taxi for 2 months."

"...farming and carpentry..."

"The same weekend that the strike began. We went on strike on Friday and I was hired on Monday."

"I never really looked for work around here, I knew the guy on the farm before the strike."

"After the six week shut-down I went to work (at Elliot Lake) and they granted me two weeks leave of absence to come back to Inco but they went on strike, so I went back the first day they started up."

"Well, I went to work for Household Finance and I got some experience there and I guess it showed me my career. I wasn't planning on staying at Inco, I was just working there to pay for my university."

"I didn't lose no money. I got another job. I'm not making money. I'm just breaking even."

"I've got to look for another job. I've had to room and board to stay there..."

"Same thing I was doing when I was working at Inco, but the money isn't as good..."

But, in quite a few cases, strikers reported that they had not obtained work or had not tried. Those who said that were usually older than those who had sought jobs. (The average age of those who sought and found work was well below the average age of strikers generally and still further below the average age of those who did not work).

"I just want to be near the family. I could go out and look for other jobs but other than those two bills, we really don't need it financially..."

"Well it would be a waste of time. I'm too old... I haven't got the money, the means to go around."

"We didn't look for work. Some younger people are working in Elliot Lake. My partner went to work in a coal mine in the States...he had no money saved. He was a young man, only 39. I'm not healthy and you can't get a job over 50..."

"No, because I'm not very healthy and I know guys who were looking and never got a job. They say you're on strike and you're not supposed to be looking for a job."

"Well not really because I know guys who were looking and couldn't find a job. If jobs were plentiful, I probably would have looked. I have friends who went to Alberta, at some time, but even they didn't find jobs."

EMOTIONS

But economic problems were not the only problems.

The financial strains and the inevitable togetherness created by the strike often caused strikers genuine unhappiness. The observations of non-strikers were uncertain. Some couples actually separated during the strike:

"She (wife) wants me out of the house...we're having troubles for sure."

"It's changed at home for sure. We probably get on each other's nerves. Not working doesn't help."

"They (couples) argue more 'cause they're home more."

"You could see that it brings pressure on both husbands and wives, the tight budget and that, and also it must effect children when the parents are cautious on the budget."

"...on \$33 a week, there's strain on the relationship."

"Un peu parce qu'elle dit c'est tannant un homme dans la maison."

"I'm here to help her more (wife) but sometimes she's tired of seeing me around."

"It's hard to be separated..."

"...not spending time with the baby..."

Not all, however have suffered. Some were able to use the strike as a time when they could share things not normally possible. Fathers, for example, found they could spend a great deal of time with their children:

"I hope to get back to work really soon. Want to get back with my family." (father is out of town).

"I think it's going to be hard on him (young son) when I go back to work. He's grown quite attached... I can't hardly go anywhere without him."

"It seems to draw the whole family closer."

"Improved...spend more time with my son...play hockey...visit more."

"He (a baby) has more fun with me. The first six months are the hardest."

"He's (son) coming to me since I'm spending more time with him. He was close to (wife) and now he's getting closer to me. It is a natural thing, I guess."

"I used to spend time in Florida visiting friends. This time I'm going to camp with the wife and kid."

"The young lad, he's got hockey on Saturday. I go with him. One time he came home and asked me to make a birthday cake for his teacher."

"I play with the kids more."

"We are closer together, and I get a better chance to take them (kids) hunting except that I can't give them an allowance anymore."

"Probably does it more often. Nothing else to do. Graveyard shift is hard on the sex life, you know."

"Well, my wife's working, but I spend more time with her."

Whatever the capacity to cope with the effects of the strike, most strikers admitted that a long-term strike, in time, has real effects, among them uncertainty:

"Demoralizing in general. People lose element of faith in themselves."

"I think it's given me an ulcer because of tension. I've been nervous..."

"It bugs you just to know what's going on but not knowing for how long."

"The longer it goes on the more bitter the guy gets."

"We have little arguments...everybody has them. It seems to lay in me. I just can't stop worrying."

"...I'm a little more grouchy, I guess."

"I've been in stupid arguments with friends, like in the Steel Hall...seems to be more bitchy persons."

"I hope it's over pretty soon. It's hard on my nerves. You can't help worrying, you know...it changes your whole life. You do nothing but worry."

"People are uptight with each other. Everybody is in a hurry. I guess it is because of the pressure. They want to get things done, and still remain well...polite."

And they were equally clear that the strike had forced some changes in their lifestyle: in many cases the change was in their sleeping and eating habits:

"I'm sleeping too much now. I guess I see all the late shows, anyways."

"Watch the late show until four o'clock and sleep until noon the next day."

"Sleep a little longer in the morning."

"I sleep all kinds of hours now..."

"I'm sleeping like a white man. Sleeping in the night and getting up in the day...matter of fact, I'm thinking of giving up the graveyard shift when I get back. Graveyard screws up your life. I'm a family man."

"Eating too much. Eating more often. Putting on more. I don't drink as much beer as I do when working. I have to handle the budget strings tighter."

"I only eat two times. You don't do very and you know if you eat you're going to get fat."

"We've cut down on food. Not that we don't have a lot but I don't need as much now that I'm not working."

"Eat whenever I please now...I'm overweight..."

"I eat all the time. I never did before but I do now."

"I don't eat as much as I used too...when I don't work I don't feel like eating."

"Les, poor nourishment, put it that way."

"I gained 20 pounds since the strike began...I get more to eat."

"...a lot of munchies in between meals."

"It's going to weaken me 'cause I'm not eating the same food I was before I went on strike."

BOREDOM

Short of money and long on time, many strikers frankly admitted that boredom was their biggest problem. For them of them working is what life, for years, had been all about. Suddenly, the opportunity to do that had been taken away:

"You don't get out like when you had money coming in."

"We don't go out very much before we used to go out alot. I'm home all day."

"Maintenant on prend beaucoup de marches...la on sort pas."

"No sporting activities because of the strike, and getting fat."

"It makes me goddamn lazy staying around here all day. It's boring. There's nothing to do."

"It's getting really boring to me."

"I love to watch TV...all them women's shows in the afternoon."

"I work in carpentry and ski about five miles a day. You've got to do something to pass the time."

"...very boring indeed. A guy tends to get lazy. The longer he's out of work the lazier he gets."

"I'm home so much I'm bored, especially when it's cold. out. I read but I even get bored with that."

"In the afternoons I go to bed alot. I've nothing to do."

"For the first time in three months we spent 6 or 7 hours a day playing cards."

"It's not the strike. It's not working. In 14 years of work, I've missed one and one-half days."

"My wife is pregnant. That's what happens when you have that much time."

The data seems to suggest that studies of coping with a long term strike might reveal a great deal about the problems of coping with retirement: the two don't seem dissimilar; both involve an enormous increase in available time and a sharp drop in available time.

By the time the interviews were conducted in mid-March, the strikers were somewhat guilty about the way they used their time:

"Don't know what I have been doing with my time. I can't understand that, it seems I can't do the things that should be done."

"J'ai la chance mais je n'ai le monnaie pour le faire. La beaute de la maison, mais je n'ai pas le monnaie..."

"I haven't really done very much. I fixed up the house. Done some work on the car. I applied for the correspondence course..."

"I would have gone outside more except when it's 20 below I don't feel like doing more more than clean the driveway."

"Well, I was painting while the weather was nice but after it got cold I wouldn't be able to do anything. Just fooling around with the wife and fighting...sometimes I lay down on the couch and have a snooze for half an hour just to pass the time."

(ECRU asked questions about courses or other means to improve their work skills. Just one reported such activity: he had taken a course in cooking.)

One might have expected that being on strike itself would be a time consuming activity. There were picket lines to man, vouchers to look after, special services to perform, strike meetings to attend, rallies, etc. The fact was that with nearly 12,000 persons on strike and no need for extensive picket activity, the strike made very few demands on the strikers. Most of them reported almost no union activity during the strike except

an occasional turn at picket duty. (The sample of strikers' families was too low to be significant but it appeared this applied to members of strikers' families as well).

"...nothing to do with the strike itself except the picket line."

"Only picket duty, that's about all and that's not very often."

"I did my turn at picket duty. That's all. Attended a couple of meetings..."

"...other than picket duty I never bother."

"...everyone goes on picket duty to collect vouchers. It's boring, really. This is a very quiet strike."

"It makes a guy lazy. I know I should be hanging around the union hall more, but usually you get some fanatic who wants to kill everyone at Inco, so that's why I don't hang around."

MORALE

There can be little question that the morale of the strikers ebbed and flowed at various stages during the strike and after it. We found evidence, of a sense of solidarity in mid-March. Most of the strikers were behind their union, even those who had originally noted against the strike.

We found evidence also of a sense of bitterness after the strike, a bitterness that continued for six months later. (Our final set of interviews were done in November, six months after the strike had ended). Finally, we saw some signs that this emotional state varied during the 37 weeks of the strike. Spirits rose when negotiations began, felt when negotiations began, felt when negotiations stopped, soared when an offer was rejected.

(It would appear that a carefully designed product involving regular contacts with a set of strikers during a long-term strike would reveal continual shifts in attitude.)

But, despite these changes of moods, we also found in the Sudbury Region, evidence that the strikers felt they were respected by and supported by the bulk of the community. They feel undoubtedly grave that the strikers had a sense of solidarity and togetherness that provided emotional substance. It was something that obviously could not be shared by those still working at Inco.

This separation between continuing employees and strikers, company and union, was however, not complete. Many Inco families found ways to support the strikers. (Many found they had persons on both sides). And, despite all the appearances of a bitter dispute, the company and union managed to get along rather well in some respects.

Throughout the strike, though not always promptly, the company provided the union with information about employment status. This included employees who had resigned (some did) employees who had retired (some

accepted early retirement or reached actual retirement age during the strike) or employees who accepted company positions during the strike. (A number of union members on strike decided to accept positions as company employees, usually as shift bosses, while the strike was on.)

Throughout the strike as well the company notified the union on a regular basis of any activity that might be necessary to avoid damage to the mine or simply involved maintenance. The picket lines made no attempt to interfere with activity of such a kind which involved traffic across the lines.

Throughout the strike except for the first ten days, there was no indication of any sort of violent activity of any kind. Police records suggest the last item which could have been considered strike related occurred at the ten day mark. The strike in fact was so peaceful that Sudbury Regional Police did not maintain any form of patrol at the picket lines. After holding meetings with company and union officials and making sure that each understood their legal position, the police remained out of the strike completely.

(The lack of police participation and the lack of need for it resulted in some examples of journalistic ingenuity. Television crews arriving in Sudbury would ask the union to step up picket activity so they could get appropriate strike pictures. It seemed never to occur to them the fact that there was no need for active picket lines was a commentary on the strike).

## THE STRIKE

This moderate level of co-operation did not affect strike attitudes. The majority of those strikers interviewed (at least at the six months mark) expressed antagonism to the company and support for the union.

"I used to be proud at one time to work for Inco. I wouldn't tell people now...I don't think they care about their workers...as far as I can tell, you are a number and that's it..."

"Inco's doing just what they set out to do. Every ten or twelve years they set out to strangle the economy of Sudbury..."

"They're the ones that brought on this through their bad management..."

"When I first went to work for them I thought it was the only thing to do to have a secure future. Now I don't think so anymore..."

"...it takes them so long to give us a decent wage to live on..."

"...now the President of the union, they're waiting to get a good contract. I want a good contract."

"I think we've got a strong bargaining committee and a strong union..."

"...I back them up 100 per cent. I figure we finally got a guy that's not going to sell out..."

"I'm behind him (Patterson) 100 per cent even though it's us older guys, who are carrying the thing on our backs..."

That support was usually expressed even by those who had voted against the strike in the first place:

"I didn't vote for the strike to begin with. Now I don't want to go back for nothing..."

"I just hope the guys can hold off a little bit longer. No use going back for pennies. The longer we wait the better it will be."

Part of that feeling of support for the union may have stemmed from the fact that strikers, on the whole, found themselves respected by and supported by others in the community:

"Being a striker made other people respect us more... take the business people...insurance companies will not give us hassle...we are inclined to think better of the business community..."

"A lot of people are concerned about our welfare financially. They phone me up to let me know if there are any jobs available. They offer financial help."

"They respect our rights."

"To them...I'm not the happy-go-lucky guy I used to be."

Certainly there was no question in the minds of those who had gone through the 1958 strike (when the union was seen to have caved in under pressure) the 1978-79 was very different:

"In 1958 we went back for nothing. That's what I worry about, that we're going to go back for nothing."

"...the union has got more money, more support..."

"C'est le strike le plus tranquille. Les banques financent tout le monde. En '58 personne voulaient se financer..."

"...they're much better organized, they're more tougher and together now and there's more determination."

All of this appears to support the idea expressed earlier that a strike has a definite pattern and that the mood of the strikers may be as important as their economic circumstances. By mid-March, six months after the strike had begun, many of the strikers were in financial straights and somewhat bored and depressed. But they felt they had general community support, and, on the whole, were giving backing to the union.

V AFTER IT'S OVER: A LETDOWN

AFTER THE WAR

Within a month after the strike ended (the men went back to work on June 4th) ECRU was back in the Sudbury Region, this time to talk solely to the small sample of strikers.

Even on the basis of observation, it was clear a great deal had happened. Many of those who had been tight-lipped and tense during the first interview (even though co-operative) were now relaxed and ready to chat. The strike was over and they talked about it as something in the past.

Some of the strikers reported that they had survived the strike quite well:

"I paid everything."

"Yeah, because we bought our car and a house and our business. We spent more money in the strike than we did in years."

But others again reported (we asked a whole series of questions about financial help) and they received all kinds of assistance during the strike. They had postponed payments:

"I don't pay mortgage but I postponed my rent for 5 months."

"I don't have mortgage. But I postponed my hydro, phone bills, payments at the bank and my rent. We pay \$175 a month here and she put it down to \$100. When I got my income tax cheque I was six months behind and I gave her \$600."

"We stopped payment on the car."

"Yep. My car. I owe \$69. My car payment and second mortgage were postponed for about four months but they're up to date now."

"I tried but they wouldn't let me. They cut off my phone once every month. The only trouble people had was with Bell Canada."

"Skipped the phone bill a couple of times, 3 or 4 times before March."

"We fell behind with the phone bills."

They had managed to get credit extensions:

"Extension on a TV payment. It was extended from April until July."

"The landlord didn't get the rent at all. The landlord said he'd wait for the rent."

"I, they, like anything else, some payments I could not make. I let it go. I had an A-1 credit rating."

They had various ways of obtaining other income:

"I sold some smelts in Montreal."

"He fixed cars during the strike on the side and made \$800."

"We sold a few things. I forget what. The wife would tell you how to scrape and scrounge. It cost fifteen dollars or so a week. But she made it through."

They either got money from the union or put off medical needs:

"I was very fortunate. Not a thing went wrong...TV, fridge. I was very lucky."

"A tent trailer."

"The union paid, \$30 involved in payments for the children...I also had an ulcer."

"I was covered for my children, they gave us a slip and the union paid."

"The union paid. We were all paid for that. By the union."

"No, the doctor was covered by the union. If you needed it badly the union would pay."

"The kid was supposed to see the dentist but we cancelled that because we weren't covered."

Now that the strike was over, they like their families seemed less reluctant to admit they had received help from their families:

"...sort of, we worked up at the parents' farm for a while..."

"All the way through. My dad would stop here and help out with meat and more expensive things."

"Yes, money and clothes."

"No, I haven't borrowed any money, just from Mom and Dad. I was never broke or anything."

If things got really bad they borrowed money and apparently had little difficulty in doing that:

"I had borrowed \$300 from credit union."

"I had money there but I didn't go nowhere near there."

"In December for the kids for Christmas. I'm luckier compared to some."

"Two loans, one in January one in March."

"Not during the strike. I borrowed last week."

When they did borrow money they went to the prime lending institutions, the banks (17 per cent) or the credit union (7 per cent). Just a small percentage went to finance companies (1.6 per cent).

The amounts borrowed however, were not large. While the strikers estimated they lost, on the average, \$9,300 during the strike, only one in six reported borrowing more than \$1,000 and only one couple (the number is not statistically significant) reported borrowing more than \$5,000. Inter-

viewed after the strike ended, most said they would be able to pay back their debts in less than a year.

EMOTIONS

But, as was the general trend, they were quick to put the strike aside. Even just a month after the strike some of the strikers were saying it had not been too bad:

"It was a waste of time but no effort personally for me."

"I really didn't feel it that much, not considering the one I went through in 1958, I thought this was a good strike."

"It hasn't had any financial effect on me. My life really hasn't changed me."

"We bought our house through the strike."

But others could still recall the problems. There was separation:

"Well, on just my wife and my family it didn't effect me none, I made more money than I did with Inco."

"It had a certain effect...we were separated for a while..."

"...a guy hates to be away from his home, from his wife and kids..."

"...lonesome...my son is very lonesome...he's only eight years old he's very lonesome..."

There was the loss of savings:

"The main effect, it's dwindled my savings account to the bottom of the barrel."

"Economically everything went, ce n'est pas pareil."

"...cut into savings quite a bit..."

"You've just got to start over again, that's all."

And there were restraints:

"You couldn't do the things you wanted to do, you couldn't go out, sometimes you couldn't get along with people."

"...on a pas pu faire ce qu'on a voulu. On a essayé a voyager toute les ans, but if you are out. We are going to start going to Florida every year."

"On ne sortaient pas, pas d'argent, tu ne peux pas vivre tu ne peux pas partir, tun n'a que manger."

"Tu ne pouvais pas depenser, tu devais survivre."

"Everybody is short of money. Before when you made a good wage you didn't care what you spent it on, but now I feel you care."

"It's been rough there there is no doubt it's been rough...I've had to leave town and find work elsewhere... it's caused a lot of people problems...financial problems."

THE UNION

But the most common expression was one of concern with what had happened. One month after the end of the strike the strikers were bitter toward the company, angry about the settlement, irritated about their union. Just as the six month mark had seemed to be a time when support for the union was very high, the one month post strike mark was a time when there was considerable antagonism toward the company and the union.

"I haven't got nothing to say against it. I'm satisfied."

"I think that Mother Inco is still supporting me."

"Yeah, it has a bit. More in favour of Inco now."

"...(company) they are good to work for at least I find them good to work for..."

"...reasonable..."

"They're still Inco, I don't feel anything."

"The company attitude seems to be better communication. They're treating us like kings right now. I don't know why. My attitude hasn't changed because I've worked for them too long. I can't judge the company itself but all the bosses worked hard during the strike -- they're so glad to see us back. And the bosses -- they're changed."

"...(company feeling) I haven't made up my mind... working for three weeks to see effects..."

"I feel the same as I did before, not badly but indifferent. Put it this way, they don't care for me, it's the type of company that can't have any soft spot in their hearts for the working man."

"The same. Neutral shading to bad. Not particularly happy with them."

"Ils ne pensents pas a nous autres, pas beaucoup. Mes sentiments ne sont pas si pire, I worked very hard for them before now I just do a days work and that's all."

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"Ils ne pensents pas a nous autres, pas beaucoup. Mes sentiments ne sont pas si pire, I worked very hard for them before now I just do a days work and that's all."

"Badly in some ways. Neutral in others."

"They don't give a shit for us...we are just a number as far as they are concerned...I haven't got the same incentive."

"It sure hasn't. I think they're a cheap miserable company. Not when they can deliberately keep us on strike for nine months, and do it deliberately."

"They laid me off for 18 months in 62. I don't have much loyalty to them."

"J'ai ecoute la radio de plus en plus, la premiere fois j'ai vote contre le traivaille, le deuxieme fois pour. I am not happy with the company as they forced us to strike, on a gagne 15 cents par semaine pendant la greve, on a pas voulu ca mais ils avaient le stock-pile."

"The company always does what it wants. For my own good I'll find a way to improve things. "Il va etre different."

"Envers la companie on a pas le meme interet qu'avant. Je n'ai que rien de misere pour la companie. Those they were going to train left. La companie se demande pourquoi les hommes ont ses attitudes la, la companie a probablement cause de strike en utilisant son stock-pile, c'est la raison. It aura pu retourne avant ca quand on est alle en strike, it's a poor attitude for a company to use the stockpile that they have and force men to go on strike."

"Yeah, I guess. You know just how Inco used us out on the strike. They pushed us out on the street and did not give us that much to get us back. The resentment is still there."

"La companie n'avait pas de sentiments pour nous autres."

"...sold us down the drain the bastards...that's the national officers not the local...we should be a Canadian union not affiliated with the States..."

"As far as I'm concerned, what settlement? What did we get for 9 months? We got more last strike. We got 70 cents on the last contract. We got 61 on this one. That's what I got, plus two dollars a week on my pension. That's what I got."

"No...well its...I wasn't for the strike in the first place. But I didn't vote to go back to work. If you're gonna fight a battle, you should be out to win. That's why I say the union and companies are both big business today. Companies and unions are going to treat their people better or they'll have longer strikes because the union people are getting smarter."

"Je ne suis pas satisfait, je n'ai pas vote pour le strike, je n'avais pas de choix."

"What really riles me up the most...a year before the strike the company started to give us overtime and to anyone who wanted so they could build a stockpile and have a lever against us when the strike started. That really bugged me. When they gave us time and a half whenever we wanted but when we asked for a few extra dollars they wouldn't give it to us. And wasn't that much we asked for."

"I figure we got fished in because if we had stayed out another two weeks or two months in September the stockpile would have gone...I think we would have got a lot better contract..."

"Okay, they did their work, you can't have everything. To me it was a fair contract. I got a job to do and so does the company. I feel it was a fair contract."

"Settlement? It's fair."

"We got what they gave us. It was the same all the time. We wish we had more unions."

"I think we have to have it (union) but I'd like to see them come up with a policy where you don't have to strike, something like Inco you can't get anything without a strike. And it costs you so much it isn't really worth it."

"Well, it has. I believe that the unions today aren't what they used to be. They're big business now. It's too early in the game to judge the union. My feeling is they're big business. What can I say? Union... when we go on strike it's to get better for the work force. When we started out we got nothing. We were up against a wall. They had three million pounds of nickel and they had that against us. The union saw

position and the members voted for a strike. The company...after 9½ months we had the company. A strong union could demand a lot more for the men. Better pensions, and more equally divided. What they got...but for all members."

"I had no use for it then and I still have no use for it now."

"Je ne suis pas satisfait mais c'est toute auparavant."

"I think they could have got a better settlement in pension, no it hasn't changed."

"The union didn't bargain in good faith."

"I think that they took too long. They fooled around too much it wasn't necessary all that waiting. You wanna see the guys at work, the boss won't say two words to nobody. They were told to watch what they say to the men. This is the time to go on strike, now, not in the winter time."

"I feel they were stupid in a way, in coming back the way they did. They should have stayed another two weeks and their attitude towards the men was wrong, just from the reason that they came back the way they did, they should have taken their time in contracting more money."

RETIREMENT

One of the issues fought out during the strike was a union suggestion that employees be allowed to retire after 30 years service. (They would have to accept a reduced pension).

A few of those interviewed looked forward to that option:

"...if I could afford it I would...at least when it is 20 below...wouldn't have to get up at 5 o'clock and go outside ..."

"Yes; as soon as possible."

"Oh yes, in 20 years from now."

"I sure hope to. It will probably be four years because I have to make up another years of strike time... because of the strike."

Most did not:

"I have my doubts...depends how old I am when it comes..."

"Doesn't make any sense at all...pension should be at the same level for everyone at 30 years...not good at all...I know when I get pension I'll be 54."

"I don't like taking my pension. I would rather be working."

"It's no good. Nobody will take advantage of that. I don't think so. It's no good."

"This clause was "no good."

"It doesn't make me much good because I started too late. I don't plan to work more than 25 years."

"No, very few are. It's the pension. That was the wrong thing on the pension. If you look at it from the pension point of view, it's no good except if you have money on the side. It's no good for the working man. Very few are going to take that."

On balance, the strike appeared, at least at that point, to have left a somewhat bitter taste in the mouths of those who had gone through it. Certainly they did not appear to feel that they had a victory on issues. It had, if anything, soured their attitude toward the company. But it had also left them with negative feelings toward the union. Perhaps all strikes inevitably left the workers somewhat dissatisfied immediately after the end. The goals, presumably, are never all reached so there is bound to be some dissatisfaction.

LINGERING EFFECTS

Finally the strike still had some lingering effects.

There were the things they had not been able to do:

"Summer vacation...couldn't go where we wanted to."

"Unfortunately, we would have gone to visit our daughter, but it cost too much."

"I usually take a holiday. It spoiled my holiday last year and the coming year."

"The strike was a threat. I was gonna build a house and then decided not to."

"I needed another car, then I couldn't buy one."

"This basement was all supposed to be done for last Christmas."

"I know friends who were going to retire but now they have to work three or four years longer; Myself too."

There were the adjustments that were still being made:

"Didn't eat steak every day. You had to watch your money."

"We cut down on grocery bills, rolling cigarettes."

"I cut down on buying things like clothes and luxuries and also we brought cheaper foods...I used the wood stove to cut down on the furnace."

"I ran my car less."

"Cheaper cuts; we watched everything."

VI: THE WIDER EFFECTS

ACTUAL EFFECTS

Earlier (see "Facts and Figures") we tried to give some idea of the real cost, in economic terms, of the strike to Sudbury Region. We admitted the problem was a difficult one. An examination of the replies of strikers to our questionnaires illustrates just how difficult this problem was. Asked to give estimates about the financial cost of the strike to them, most of them talked solely about actual wage losses. They did not appear to be able to consider the various income benefits as part of an assessment of an overall cost. When it came to savings, some strikers (perhaps 1 in 11) had none when the strike started. Some had some but had used these up in March. Most had run out of money by the time the strike ended in June, but even after 37 weeks on strike about one in four strikers reported they had still some savings available.

In terms of earnings, although close to half the strikers worked at some point during the strike most earned far less than they would have done at Inco. Perhaps one in six made as much as \$5,000 and the same number between \$1,000 and \$5,000. (Even the lowest paid would have made close to \$9,000 during the same period at Inco).

In most cases where the strikers were able to turn to their wives for extra financial support. Two-thirds of the wives had no jobs at all during the strike according to our data. The ones who did and who made any substantial income had all had jobs before the strike. (Their income was of help but it had been part of the regular family income before the strike).

## LIFESTYLE

Six months after the strike, significant proportions of the strikers were still aware of the effect the strike had had on their lifestyles. Almost one third recalled that the strike had changed their eating habits. Off shift work, not carrying lunches, they had become part of the normal family meal hours. Over half had changed the amount of time they had spent with their families and what they did. They were far more likely to spend time in family sports or to take time to go outdoors. (Hunting and fishing are popular in the area). While some did spend part of their time on strike doing renovations, others reported that, while they would have liked to have done so, they could not afford it.

In our earlier interviews, in an attempt to analyze changes in lifestyle, we asked strikers if they saw more, less or about the same number of people during the strike as before it. Most said nothing had changed. Once the strike ended, however most reported (in answer to a similar question) that they saw a good many more people now that they were back to work.

(It seems clear from our observations, though the data do not confirm it, that the strike caused a substantial change in social contacts. The strikers congregated with fewer people and with different people). This offers research possibilities.

One thing that did not interfere with activity during the strike was the union: between March and July only 40 per cent of the strikers reported having been involved in any union activity, even picket lines.

HEALTH

Our attempts to look briefly at health unfortunately came too late to be significant but they do suggest that strikes may have an effect on health: they make people more healthy. By November, six months after the strike ended, almost one-third of our striker respondents reported some sort of medical problem. The largest single group said the problem had begun after the strike; the next largest group before the strike. On balance, their health generally had been better during the strike than before or after. The above figures are supported by reports from strikers about medication. More strikers went on medication after the strike, than before the strike or during it.

It seems reasonable to suggest that the hazards of working in a mine are more of a threat to health than the hazards of being on strike. (Of course there is also the possibility that the men were weakened during the strike and therefore became ill or were even forced on medication when the strike ended and they had to take on the physical demands of being back to work).

Earlier, in sketching the portrait of a striker, we reported that many persons had made adjustments in their lifestyle in order to cope with the problems posed by the strike. In fact, many of these adjustments were not reported just in the interviews with strikers and members of their families, but in the general population interviews as well. It seemed as if the general area of concern about the economy had spread well beyond the circle of strikers:

As Inco people are more cautious so I have learned to be. I figure if the family next door can feed themselves on a food voucher, how do they do it? And if they can I want to know how. I've become more budget conscious...

I am very conscious of avoiding convenience foods -- the higher price...I'd rather make everything myself from basic ingredients. I avoid what I feel are exorbitantly priced goods such as lettuce when it's over 79 cents.

Why buy higher things when you can get the same thing cheaper. For me, sirloin steak and T-bone steak is the same thing...And look for specials.

...because people can't afford expensive clothes.

Our meals are a little different. There's not so much steak or more expensive meats...

I've switched to buying no-name brands and there's a lot of people doing that.

Don't go out in the car because it costs too much for gas.

We went back to renting an apartment instead of a house. It's cheaper.

We don't buy gifts anymore. We can't afford them...

...being a teacher and seeing children whose parents have been affected by the strike I established restraints on my own children and myself that correspond to those possibly being experienced by the children I teach at school... my children didn't get the many Christmas presents this year because I didn't want them to compare with children who didn't have that much.

People ask the prices of things more than they used to. They used to just ask if we had it, but now they ask how much it is, and if they think it's too much, they just say, 'OK, thanks'.

We don't buy as expensively as we used to.

Am making dollar stretch a bit more...made more aware of the need to economize because of the strike...

We look more for sales, you watch a lot more...

When the data were more carefully analyzed, however, something even more intriguing emerged. It turned out we had uncovered four categories of persons: those either on strike or in families in which someone was on strike; those employed by Inco or in families with an Inco employee but not someone on strike; those on Inco pensions or in a family where there was an Inco pensioner; those not connected with Inco.

When the data were processed, it turned out that a number of areas revealed significant differences between those connected with Inco either as strikers or as continuing employees and others.

One question, for example, dealt with the question of whether the persons in the sample had cut back on major expenditures, purchases of such things as cars or trucks, motor homes, electrical appliances. A great many had but those who had were not evenly distributed throughout the population.

INDIVIDUALS REPORTING CHANGE IN MAJOR EXPENDITURES

	Inco Household	Striker Household	Inco Pensioner	Non-Inco
Yes	47%	40%	25%	25%
No	53%	60%	75%	75%

significant at .022

The same kind of relationship showed up when individuals were asked whether they were making adjustments. Many of those not connected with Inco reported being more thrifty but the real adjustments were tied to being a

part of the Inco family, whether on strike or not:

	<u>CHANGE IN SHOPPING HABITS</u>			
	Inco Household	Striker Household	Inco Pensioner	Non-Inco
No Effect	26%	23%	61%	56%
Thrifty Prices Up	9%	23%	27%	25%
Buy Less	26%	33%	5%	6%
Choose Cheaper Cuts	23%	4%	0%	1%
Cut Out Frills	9%	7%	2%	3%
Other	6%	9%	5%	9%

significant at .00001

Finally, those who had made changes were asked specifically if the changes they had made were strike related. Those not connected with Inco said no. Those in Inco households -- whether on strike or not -- said they were:

	<u>CHANGES IN LIFESTYLE RELATED TO STRIKE</u>			
	Inco Household	Striker Household	Inco Pensioner	Non-Inco
Yes	76%	84%	60%	41%
No	24%	16%	40%	59%

significant at .0005

All of the above data are significant.

Perhaps it would be wise at this point to indicate precisely what statistical significance means in such circumstances. It means that the pattern of answers differs significantly from what could be expected if the answers differed simply by chance. It does not mean the answers are true -- one can never be sure in a survey whether answers are accurate; it does mean they follow a pattern.

The last table above suggests that Inco pensioners, for example, followed a pattern somewhat similar to other Inco households. The first two tables contradict this. It would appear that the pensioners wished to be connected to the strike, perhaps because of sympathy but that when they were asked factual questions their answers indicate that this relationship did not exist.

The pensioners incidentally present an interesting example of persons who are not affected by a catastrophe. Despite the strike, they being on fixed incomes, were relatively unaffected. In fact if one assumes that the general air of depression reflected a real economic recession they probably gained rather than lost as a result of a strike. (A depression or recession has certain positive benefits to someone on a fixed income).

What all this leads to is an intriguing picture of Inco employees, whether on strike or not, making adjustments to their lifestyles because of the strike. The strikers did it because they were in many cases forced to. The non-striking employees did it sometimes because not doing it would make them feel uncomfortable. The fact appears to be that going to work at Inco during the strike was not necessarily a pleasant experience. There wasn't any problem of harassment crossing the picket line. But there was not, in many cases, much to do once that picket line had been crossed. And a number of employees who

normally enjoyed their work found themselves in much less interesting jobs, carrying on such things as security patrols or maintenance work or other things they normally would have avoided. In addition, it seems reasonable to suggest that the strain of the strike would have taken its toll on those still at work. They would be unable to share in the general community support for the strikers. They would inevitably, to some extent, feel a bit like outcasts.

The pensioners, in contrast, concerned though they might be, did not have to make adjustments in their lifestyle. They were probably already living on an income well below the population norm and they had probably stopped, in many cases, making major expenditures. They might have become depressed about the situation of many of their former workmates and their families but their reaction would have been emotional rather than financial.

Support for all those arguments comes from two further bits of data, both again significant. The further shows how people felt the strike had affected them personally. It reveals that the emotional effects did hit the strikers and the Inco households and the pensioners more than they hit those not involved with Inco.

HOW THE STRIKE AFFECTED INDIVIDUALS PERSONALLY

	Inco Household	Striker Household	Inco Pensioner	Non-Inco
Very Positive	0%	3%	2%	2%
Positive	3%	13%	11%	5%
Not Noticeable	34%	30%	40%	57%
Negative	45%	42%	40%	27%
Very Negative	18%	12%	7%	9%

significant at .01

The second table is, perhaps, even more revealing. It shows that Inco households, even though presumably reluctant to get involved in such direct strike activities as contributing to the strike fund, did play a more active role than any of the other groups in trying to assist strikers. On balance, if the data are to be believed (and the answers were consistent) company people were most active in a sense in supporting the strike.

ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO THOSE ON STRIKE

	Inco Household	Striker Household	Inco Pensioner	Non-Inco
no	45%	72%	60%	55%
Money to Family	11%	8%	8%	6%
Money to Friends	5%	4%	6%	11%
Food/Clothes to Strike Fund	5%	0%	2%	2%
Money to Strike Fund	0%	3%	3%	2%
Food/Clothes to Family	5%	0%	3%	3%
Other Help	23%	12%	18%	20%

All this raises some interesting questions about the nature of a strike and its effect on a great many groups of people in a community. It would seem past studies that have examined only labor-management relations or strikers and their so-called gains and/or losses have missed a great deal of what a strike is all about. A strike is an emotional affair with real effects on a great many people.

It even seems reasonable to suggest that it may be difficult to feel

comfortable in a situation where a large number of persons, persons you normally associate with, have taken a stand and taken it very strongly and are suffering as a result while you and your associates are doing quite well at the same time.

Our data would suggest there is a great deal of room for studies of what happens to management morale during a strike as well as studies about what happens to the other side.

(It would be unfortunate if we gave the impression that all company employees sat around during the strike. Some aspects of the company operation -- exploration for one -- went ahead almost as if normal. Others did not. The effects therefore varied. The point is that company people do not escape the effects of the strike just because they keep going to work and their salaries continue.)

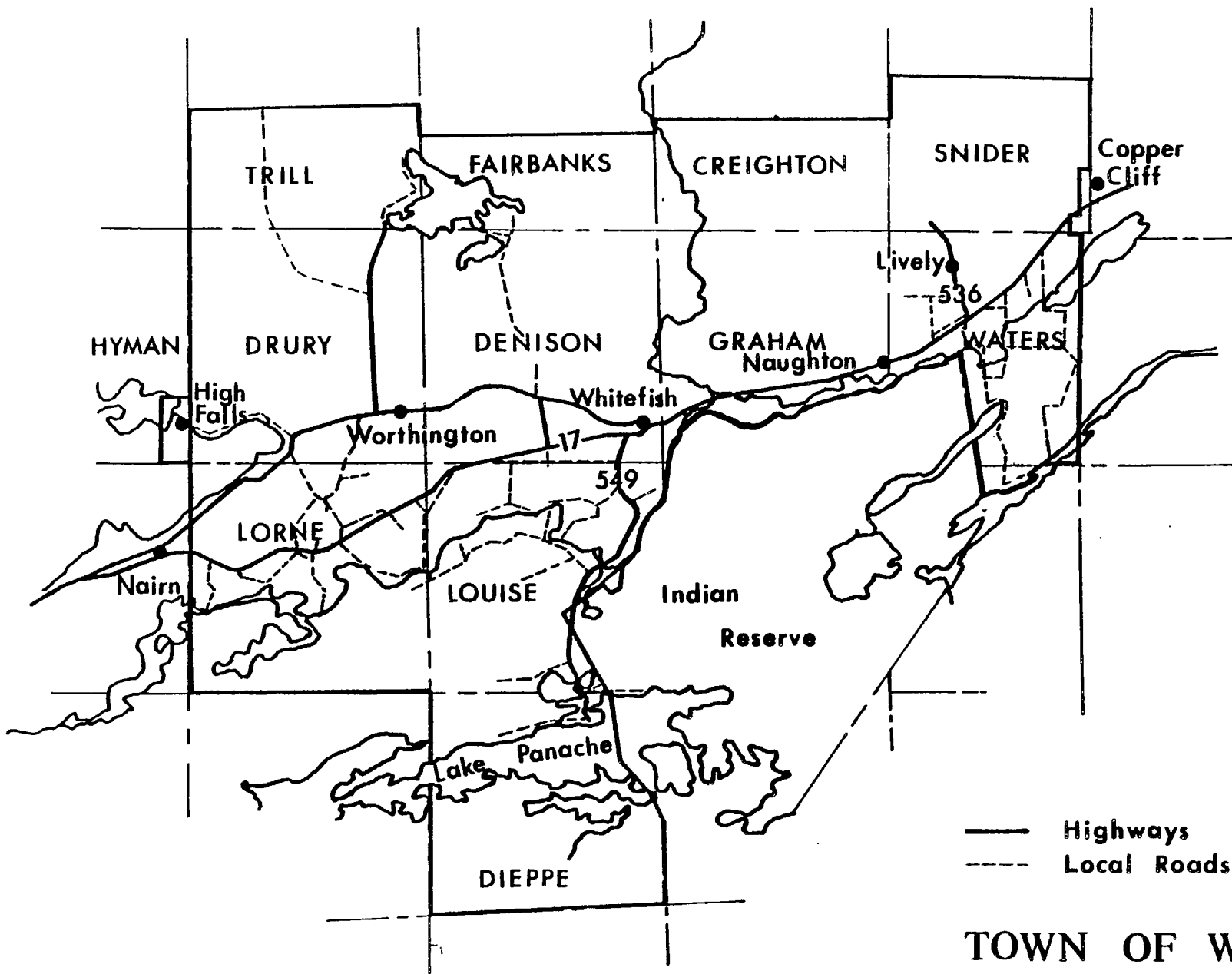
All of the foregoing material suggests that the effects of the strike vary a great deal. Some persons are hit harder than others. Some experience economic effects. Others suffer emotional strains. Some find ways to adjust. Others don't.

Most important, strike effects aren't confined to strikers. A prolonged strike, whatever its real effects -- in terms of economics etc. -- also has too emotional effects. It is perceived as causing difficulties. It is perceived as changing the situation in a community. There is a reaction to in terms of what it appears to be as well as what it is.

ECRU, of course, was concerned with real effects, specific effects that could be documented as well as apparent, emotional reactions or perceptions. In an effort to pin down some of these "real" effects a specific study was launched in one of the regional communities, Walden. It is dealt with next.

VII EFFECTS ON BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY:

A CASE HISTORY



— Highways  
 - - - Local Roads

**TOWN OF WALDEN** 102

SCALE: 1" = 4 MILES

WALDEN

The town of Walden, the largest town in Canada according to the municipal handbook, lies within the regional municipality of Sudbury. Though called a town it is really an area municipality. It encompasses 35 miles of the Trans-Canada Highway No. 17 from the point where it leaves the city of Sudbury (just past Inco's Copper Cliff refinery and the super-stack) as it winds southwest towards Espanola and Georgian Bay.

It covers 308 square miles, from the town of Lively towards the eastern (Sudbury) extremity to just short of the town of Nairn at the westernmost extremity. Lake Panache and the Whitefish Indian Reserve (Ojibway) form the southern boundary and Creighton Mines the northern edge.

This area municipality was picked for the study of non-household locations for several reasons. From a geographical and population point-of-view it is comparable with other areas making up the regional municipality. It has a high proportion of striker residents because the town boundary actually takes in several Inco mines and major processing and production centres. Partly because of this there are a large number of primary, secondary and service industries located within the area, either in the Walden Industrial Park or in several other clusters of industrial growth. It is also along a major highway access to the city and there are several concentrations of population necessitating churches, schools and other social services at Worthington, Whitefish, Naughton and Lively. There is an Indian reserve within the town boundary. Perhaps the only drawback is that of a slightly lower ratio of French-speaking to English-speaking residents than in several of the other areas.

Walden Industrial Park is one of the largest of several such parks in the region operated by the Sudbury Regional Development Corporation. This one straddles Highway 17 near the intersection of the Highway 69S

Toronto bypass and the CPR transcontinental railtrack, close to the new Inco rolling mill.

WALDEN METHODOLOGY

Altogether, 173 non-household locations (store, service companies, social clubs, churches, credit unions etc.) were visited at least once in Walden municipality: 59 in the main town of Lively; 68 spread throughout the district; and 46 businesses and industries in Walden Industrial Park and other industrial clusters in Walden.

These visits took the form of interviews following a questionnaire guideline, usually with the manager but quite often with other employees.

In addition, 140 other non-household locations were visited outside Walden, mostly in Sudbury, which were Walden-associated. That is, they were the regional suppliers or offered services not available in Walden (large shopping centres, specialized services such as travel agencies etc.) likely to be visited by Walden residents. This total included regional services such as power, water, police, and other government services.

It should be stressed that this was a 100 per cent sample: that is, EVERY non-household location, no matter of what sort, throughout the Walden municipality was mapped in and visited by team members. Of course some of those locations were closed (summer camps, for instance) and a few owners/managers refused to be interviewed, or answered too briefly to be of much use, but this number represents less than 10 per cent of the whole.

All these locations were grouped into categories and the numbers of specific locations in each category which were visited are shown as (bracketed numbers) following the sub-titles in this section of the report. Some locations appear in more than one category as, for instance, a multiple cluster of motel-restaurant-tavern-gas station all under the same ownership on the highway.

The following fifty or so pages form a descriptive summary of the

effects of the layoffs and strike on these businesses and industries within each category. Generally, speaking, the interviews with regional suppliers agreed with the interviews with retail outlets in Walden, and there was sufficient similarity in the experiences of most of these outlets that they could be summarized in this way.

SUMMARY: WHAT WE FOUND

As might be expected, automotive supplies and services (gas stations, garages etc.) suffered losses during the strike, though probably less than in other areas of the Sudbury Region because the Trans-Canada Highway goes through Walden.

Stores suffered considerably before inventory control brought a degree of stabilization. However, non-essential items just stayed on the shelf and there was a noticeable shift to cheaper foods and bulk discount deals. Hardware, appliance and clothing stores all suffered greatly except for shoes. Generally, business was down at least 10 per cent below the previous year's experience, not including 10 per cent inflation.

Corner convenience stores were especially hard-hit and they were the ones mostly reporting increases in break-ins and pilfering.

Barber shops did hardly any business but beauty shops experienced a slight increase.

All classes of restaurants reported a decrease in business, the medium-level and cheap, fast-food restaurants indicating heavier losses than the more expensive ones. Bars suffered even more than restaurants, particularly those catering to the younger set.

Sales of boats, recreational vehicles and similar items shows that the more expensive units were still being sold but the cheaper ones were harder to move.

Luxury stores (such as gift shops and florists) were very badly affected, as was the taxi service.

Churches and social clubs found that they both had trouble getting money to operate but that there was more help of other kinds from members.

Dentists and other professionals offering services not covered by the unions were very hard hit.

Overall, most categories showed the same pattern: most places lost money but there was usually a spread between those with sufficient resources, or expertise, who lost heavily and those with cash reserves or managerial know-how who managed to break even and (the case of some country corner stores, for instance) to attract more customers from their rivals and make a profit.

Industrial locations mostly suffered quite heavily, sometimes leading to employee layoffs and shorter hours. However, it was quite evident that those not tied to Inco were in relatively much better shape than their competitors...in fact a few reported record years.

Small manufacturing companies and service companies were generally badly hit except for those associated with sports and recreation.

Most managers said that they had to hustle for work: moving to Elliot Lake or going far beyond their usual market area; sometimes trying new product lines. Most said that it had been a hard time but that they had ended up in far better shape because of the new opportunities they had been forced to realize.

Some industrial locations were almost completely dependent on Inco and in a few cases, they had to close down or move elsewhere. Some said that it would be years before they caught up again.

The regional suppliers echoed the same problems as their retail outlets in Walden: slump in demand; some problems with cash collection leading to credit restrictions or cash-on-the-line. They noticed that there were shifts in customer shopping with a considerable drop in

luxury items (canned drinks, for instance). Regional bakeries and dairies were hard-hit and, in some cases, the numbers of delivery trucks were decreased, or the frequency of visits became much less.

The union credit slips made some considerable difference going mostly to the large chain store outlets and by-passing the smaller stores.

Again there was same pattern of few concerns doing very badly because they were dealing with hard-hit commodities or services; the majority suffering but able to cope over the long-term and a few which did not do well out of the strike.

Moving companies, for instance, did well because of the larger number of people moving away or moving to cheaper accommodation, and because of the increased real estate activity (people trying to sell in a buyers' market). Social services went through a very busy time and many of them (Unemployment Insurance Commission for instance) had to hire on more staff.

The financial institutions had a difficult time during the strike. On the one hand there was less actual business going on in banks (no line-ups) but there was a lot of interviewing and counselling of people moving further into debt or cashing in their assets. The financial institutions almost uniformly took a soft line right from the beginning of the strike and were fairly lenient with their customers. However, as the strike lengthened and head-offices became more concerned there was a general hardening of attitude, especially in view of a threatened rash of bankruptcies.

There seemed to be a surprising lack of hard cases, however, due presumably to the awareness of strike effects in Sudbury and the number of older workers with savings. Immediate strike hardships were rare and it seems as though hardships will take the form of long-term in-

volvement with higher loan and mortgage re-payments.

The police report normal crime levels though it appears from store owner interviews that there was a lot of petty crime (rip-offs) not reported.

If one had to make a summation of the across-the-board effects of layoffs and strike on non-household locations in Walden it might be tentatively set at on one-third loss in business over the year, not counting inflation, with some alterations in working hours, some employee layoffs, a very few bankruptcies and some considerable sell-out of businesses. On the positive side, it brought a heightened attention to customer demand and store inventories, a search for new customers in new areas and a determined effort to diversify manufacturing and sales, particularly away from a too-great dependence on Inco.

Our model which shows a spectrum response with the less-efficient, unsupported businesses dying away at the bottom and a few aggressive, efficient or well supported businesses doing exceptionally well at the top as a response to this large social, economic and financial threat seems vindicated.

LOCATION LIST

1. Household supplies and services
  - (a) Automotive: gas stations and garages
  - (b) Food stores
  - (c) Drug stores
  - (d) Hardware stores
  - (e) Furniture and appliances stores
  - (f) Clothing, shoes and sports stores
  - (g) Barbers and beauty-shops
  - (h) 1st class restaurants
  - (i) 2nd class restaurants
  - (j) Cafes and snack bars
  - (k) Hotels, motels
  - (l) Marinas and boat sales
  - (m) Gift shops and florists
  - (n) Dressmakers
  - (o) Banks
  - (p) Taverns
  
2. Community supplies and services
  - (a) Transportation
  - (b) Schools
  - (c) Churches
  - (d) Professional services
  - (e) Post-offices
  - (f) Social clubs
  - (g) Media, libraries etc.
  - (h) Government
  
3. Industry
  - (a) Small contractors
  - (b) Small manufacturing companies
  - (c) Small service companies
  - (d) Construction companies
  - (e) Heavy mining-related industries
  - (f) Fabrication mining-related industries
  - (g) Transportation companies
  - (h) Contracting (mining-related) services
  
4. Agricultural-related business

## 5. Regional supplies headquartered in Sudbury

- (a) Gas and oil supplies
- (b) Food and grocery supplies
- (c) Drug supplies
- (d) Cars and boats
- (e) Industrial and business supplies

## 6. Regional services headquartered in Sudbury

- (a) Real estate and housing
- (b) Bank, finance companies, trust companies, insurance companies etc.
- (c) Telephone service
- (d) Power service and water service
- (e) Social services
- (f) Travel services
- (g) Media services
- (h) School services and supplies
- (i) Moving companies and motor licensing
- (j) Large store complexes in Sudbury
- (k) Police services
- (l) Other governmental services

1. HOUSEHOLD SUPPLIES AND SERVICES

(a) Automotive -- gas stations (8) and garages (7)\*

A number of these businesses depend on Highway 17 for business. The highway runs to Elliot Lake where quite a few of the strikers moved to find work during the strike. Some of them commuted along the highway by chartered bus everyday so traffic was fairly heavy. Despite this, gas stations' business went down and gas sales plummeted during the strike. "Customers who usually filled up two or three times a week were getting \$2 or \$3 worth of gas at a time", said one owner.

Highway gas pumps had to depend on tourists passing through that spring and summer. "We haven't seen the local people at all since the strike," complained one man who said he had lost half his customers since the strike started.

Another owner reported selling far less gas. The amount of gas delivered to his pumps in April was half what it was the year before. "Last year we had so much business that one of us would have to sit outside the store to run the pump continuously." The owner had to lay off an attendant. Now his family runs the store.

One gas station in a rural area off the highway changed hands in December. Business had declined during the strike but it really began to suffer noticeably in August when the tourists disappeared. Gas sales nose-dived to less than one half than normal from December on and only picked up a bit during the next summer. The station's gas suppliers previously billed them at the end of the month for the amount they sold. But during and after the strike the company charged them in advance for the amount the station bought.

Gas pumps on the rural roads in Walden going to camp areas weren't as

\*Bracketed numbers refer to numbers of locations visited.

affected as strikers spent the summer at their cottages and they had to buy gas to get there. But even on the rural roads sales were down because, "People didn't have extra change for that additional tank of gas".

At the marinas, "People went to their cottages and didn't do as much cruising around the lake."

Another owner, whose profits come from Elliot Lake and Espanola traffic, said sales were down a bit, about 2% less than the year before. When he was re-interviewed in November the owner reported that people were back to regular spending for gas. He estimated a 6-month recovery time before business was back to where it would have been if the strike hadn't happened.

One service station on the highway reported that gas sales were down slightly, with people buying smaller quantities of gas at a time. Garage service and tire sales were level with the previous year. But the station made fewer small repairs as people made do, or fixed the problems themselves. "People really watched their money. They just let tune-ups go. They used shocks until they fell off or waited till the car wouldn't go," the owner said. Another service station owner said, "We're getting a lot more calls asking how to fix things. Sure we tell them-it's good PR." More people asked for estimates on repair jobs and "they want to know exactly, to the penny." "A lot of people are trying to do jobs themselves -- like brake shoes' and mucking it up. They call me to straighten things out again." He said the business was just barely making overhead and he had to lay off one mechanic. "We're just getting piece work...the bottom-line stuff... just enough to keep the car on the road."

An auto supply store estimated that business was down 35% over the year before. "People are buying small things to repair their cars by them-

selves. They can't afford to go to the garage but our walk-in trade is down 70%."

One auto-body shop reported a real decline and that hadn't picked up even by November to what it should have been. Icy January, too slippery. Marches are normally the best months for repairs. The owner noticed a sharp slowdown. "Business has picked up but not to what it used to be."

One service station just outside Lively said that, at the height of the strike, business dropped \$10,000 a month compared to before the strike. "Without the school buses we'd be dead," he confessed. Gas sales were down some and repairs even more so. "We just took a beating, it really did a job on us," he said. "We had been here only two years and were doing really good. We never lost any payments but now I've got to work it all out again." He expects things to pick up again in spring. Credit card usage was up 50% during the strike and was even higher in November.

Another service station owner in Lively told much of the same story. Use of credit cards has doubled, orders from their supplier had decreased by 25% and gross sales were down about 25%. He said "People are waiting until the very last minute, waiting until they absolutely have to get their car fixed, but it's a necessity...It's doing better than I had thought. I expected it to be dead, but people are still coming through... they're scrounging."

(b) Food Stores (16)

It would seem natural that food stores, which supply essentials, would not suffer as other "luxury" stores did. But most owners said business had taken a dive. A confectionary in Lively lost about \$100 a day during the strike. That had almost returned to normal in November. The

owner said she ordered less inventory than she did before the strike.

Another confectionary in a rural area found business was very slow except for fishing-bait sales. Overall business was down 75 per cent and groceries were down about 60 per cent in March. The store was closed in November.

The manager of a larger store, a national grocery store outlet in the region, said his total sales in dollars were the same as the year before but more people bought cheaper products. He stocked more staples and he offered more special deals and bargains. Luxury items, like "grenadine syrup" gather dust on the shelves. He had more customers buying cheaper cuts of meat but overall meat sales didn't go down. This store has been owned by the same family for 50 years and has lots of stable customers in the area he said.

There were no lay offs during the strike. He noticed no increase in shoplifting or other crimes in the strike period. This store was accredited by the union for their food coupons.

The other large grocery market laid off no workers either, even though business was down about 30 per cent from the same time last year. The owner noticed meat sales were up but people bought the cheapest cuts. He credited increased advertising and specials for his store's survival. "You can't go and hide, you have to keep pushing." He noticed the number of bottles returned doubled and "People argued over one cent." But sales of junk food remained level. He explained, "People got too much time and gotta eat and they eat junk." More popular than usual were peanut butter, jam and juice. The owner said, "anything you can keep kids quiet with and is nutritious, they'll buy." Another thing he noticed was customers taking calculators into the store. Sometimes he saw three or four in a day.

He said "doing okay during the strike is a matter of survival of the fittest". If you want to survive you're better off to take less profit and live through it. Don't quit and don't go into a shell. They guy who's well prepared and anticipates the situation will survive."

One meat store that could have benefitted from this advice lost 35 per cent of their business during the strike. They had to lay off two full-time employees. The manager contradicted the other managers by saying, "people haven't changed the cuts of meat they buy. They're just buying less, even though the prices have gone up."

Most small grocery stores in rural Walden suffered, but one prospered during the strike.

The owner of one store admitted that he was on edge during the strike. "If you were 40 per cent down in sales, you would be too." The year before he grossed \$200,000, but he figured that in 1979 he would only gross about \$150,000. He laid off one employee. His wife worked more at the store after the strike started.

Pop and chips slowed in sales while flour, potatoes and vegetables went up. Instant foods were almost not selling at all. This owner doesn't normally give credit, just a little to senior citizens, pensioners and friends. This group owes him \$4,000, he said.

A store just outside Worthington extended credit to about 10 local strikers and the clerk said half of it wasn't paid back by November, 1979. She noticed a decline in business in the fall during the strike, although she gave no estimate of the percentage difference between 1978 and 1979. Powered milk and roll-your-own cigarettes had risen in sales. Bread, canned lunchmeat and junk food sold less during the strike. In contrast to the former two stores, a general store owner doubled his sales the year of the strike. But he said some of his customers were from the Espanola Mill, the Nairn Mill, and Agnew Mine, and some were transients heading west.

His store was getting soft drinks delivered once a week whereas most area stores received orders once a month. Milk sales were constant (\$300 to \$300 a week) and hadn't dropped off as they had in other areas. He was still selling 15 boxes of chocolate bars each week. Over the summer of 1979 he sold thirty-four canoes at a price of \$300 each.

He didn't lay off any employees and he had no break-ins during the strike. This particular owner had recently purchased the store after considerable business experience and prided himself on good management and good relations with customers. He even expanded the store during the strike period despite the fact that similar stores down the highway were doing very badly.

(c) Drug Store (1)

Although the drugstore in Lively doubled its floor-space just before the strike started, sales figures remained on par with the year before. The owner said prescription sales were down 20% in March but were back to normal three months after the strike.

These included antibiotics, cardiovascular drugs, anti-convulsants, eye-nose-throat preparations, insulins, and anti-diabetic drugs. Birth control pills were not included. The result of this was an increase in sales of other forms of contraceptives. Sales were back to normal volume now. Nevertheless the druggist predicted with a chuckle. "there will probably be an increase in local population." He sold more tranquilizers and sleeping pills during the strike and he noticed that many people started to roll their own cigarettes. "Roll-your-own" sales were still high after the strike ended.

(d) Hardware stores (9)

A drop in sales of 20-25% was common at the stores visited and one building centre assistant manager said he lost 35% of his sales during the strike. "Saturday mornings used to be absolutely, totally nuts. Before the strike people lined up at the cash register twenty deep." Paint sales during the strike went down by half, he said. One hardware store in Lively reported that cash sales were the same during the strike as the year before. But with 20% inflation, that is actually a decline. Expensive items such as snow-blowers, lawn-mowers and bicycles didn't sell at all during the strike, but people bought them after the strike. "Do it yourself" home repair products like nails, screws and bolts sold well during the strike and sales went back to normal afterwards.

The owners of one variety store say they'll never recover their strike losses unless the economy booms. "We have no real hopes of good things." The couple lost 20% of their sales because of the strike and had only recovered about 10% of it when re-interviewed in November after the strike. About two-fifths of their customers were strikers. Many of them went away to find work, they said. They found that magazines sales really suffered. They decreased by half. Disposable diapers were another item that sold less. They went from selling five or six cases, in a three-week period, to two cases. The owners theorized that young strikers with families had moved to find work, or they switched to cheaper cloth diapers. However, another store owner in Lively said disposables sold just as well as ever. "Buttons, zippers, and thread are going like they've never gone before. People are fixing last year's clothes...also, people must be writing letters like crazy. Stationary sales are up. The wool is going very good. A lot of people are knitting at home." His sales figures showed that February 1979's sales

volume was down 24% from February 1978 (discounting inflation). He cut back his stock by a third, he said.

The effects of the strike on his business, "could have been worse. This is a bread-and-butter type of store. We handle only the basic stuff and this is why we weren't affected like some of the others." He cut back on big sales in which the specials are supposed to attract customers to buy other products. He found that people bought only what was on sale and nothing else.

Another general store owner said he had noticed, "people are digging out the empty bottles they've had in the closet for the last seven or eight months." Work-clothes, footwear and valentines were selling less during the strike. The owner found he had to lay off one worker during the strike.

The owner at the lumber and building centre said he laid off three full-time employees in November. In other years they had been laid off only for a month in the winter.

One other store owner didn't replace an employee when she left.

One owner concluded: "a lot of customers have gained weight during the strike. I know because the men come into the store for work-shirts after the strike. They'd say they need a neck size 16 but they'd changed to 17½!"

(e) Furniture and appliance stores (2)

For the first four months the strike didn't affect the major furniture and appliance store at all, even though a third of their clientele were Inco hourly workers.

But by February and March of 1979 business was down 20 per cent from the same time last year. The manager estimated that only five per cent of his business was from Inco hourly workers.

Despite customers' "cautious" buying habits, he said appliances and furniture suites have sold well. He thinks the suites sold mostly to non-strikers.

The store spent less than normal on advertising, re-routing a quarter of its budget to radio and TV stations in Espanola and Elliot Lake. Business began to decline after Christmas as well for another store. The manager said that at one point business declined 50%, the worst he's suffered in his twelve years running the store.

(f) Clothing, shoes and sports stores (7)

"The only thing we sold was used skates during the strike," said the owner of a sports store in Walden. "People were getting \$25 voucher cheques and doing without so kids could have skates. I guess people have visions of their kids becoming another Bobby Orr." His October and November 1978 sales were down from the previous year. "People here are very, very funny. A couple of (hockey) teams travelled more than they did last year. I know the people are on strike and they're still sending them."

A year ago a clothing store did \$1,000 business a day. In March they were down to \$50 a day and sometimes sold only one pair of \$20 jeans a day. Although the manager said they weren't "in the hole", she figured that business was down 20 to 30 per cent during the strike. Buying habits changed. Many customers bought jeans instead of shirts and more expensive article, and many asked to put items on lay-away. The owner of a mens' clothing shop found people wouldn't buy unless he had a sale. On the day before he was interviewed in March he didn't have a single

customer. He had cut out all newspaper and radio advertising and had cancelled 70 per cent of his spring orders.

However, business had picked up by 50 per cent at a shoe store in Lively. "Ladies here are very fashion-conscious and price is no factor to them," said the part-owner.

She didn't allow people to lay-away anymore. Sales were cash only. But some people asked for striker reductions and got them. She estimates that sales would have been better if not for the strike.

Clothing was provided free during the strike by five strikers' wives who organized a clothing depot in the basement of the Lively mall. People donated clothes and took others away. The service was for anyone, not just strikers.

"In the beginning, around October, there were quite a few people in, what with people needing winter clothes," said one organizer. She estimated about 10 to 15 people came in a day but that tapered off in the spring.

(g) Barbers and beauty shops (4)

Business was "real good" in March at one Lively beauty salon, even though prices had recently gone up 10 per cent. Profits had also increased 10 per cent. "Women will get their hair done regardless of whether there's food on the table or not, and we get cash on the line. So there is money. I don't know where they're getting it but they're getting it," said the woman in charge.

Strikers' wives, 20 per cent of the salon's clientele, were still coming in for the same things.

The other beauty shop in Lively was suffering a bit one of their hair-dressers said. "More people are doing home perms. Some have cut back, but they still come in. The customers are pretty regular...Everybody's got a big bundle hidden somewhere I think."

The two Italian barbers in Lively reported business was down 30 to 40 per cent in March. One barber said he used to work 10 or 15 hours a day and now puts in only 4 or 5. Sometimes he gets only one customer a day.

The other barber, who brought out his former partner two years ago, said he had from 4 to 14 customers a day. He is going into debt, he said, but he refuses to give credit.

(h) 1st class restaurants (2)

Both first-class restaurants in the region, both dependent on Highway 17 travellers for business, saw 20 to 30 per cent decline during the strike.

The business at one "take-out" was chopped in half but the owner said their "sit-down" business wasn't hurting much. He said travellers are the ones who sit down to dinner, not local Inco workers. "We used to have a lot of Inco people drop in their way to and from work, even for coffee. Now we don't see them." He said that his business "isn't that dependent on Inco." When he was re-interviewed in November, after the strike, his restaurant business was down 10 per cent compared to the year before and his "take-out" service was still down 20 per cent.

At the other restaurant, also on Highway 17, the bar suffered the most because of the strike. The manager said the first people laid off by Inco were those with lowest seniority, young people who comprised the clientele for his bar.

This restaurant had supplied a hot-meal service to Inco which was worth

a few thousand dollars a month. The contract wasn't renewed after the strike.

During the strike the manager laid off two full-time and two part-time workers but he rehired them after the strike, when business picked up. Opening a new disco boosted business by 15 per cent, the manager said.

Yet his profit for the year "has been destroyed." "Profit-wise, pardon the expression, it fucks up the year real good."

(i) 2nd class restaurants (6)

The manager of one restaurant in Lively lost \$100,000 in March and was making half of what he was making at the same time the year before. "If the banks wanted to they could foreclose me...put me into bankruptcy," he admitted. He cut out all advertising and said he's closely watching what he's ordering. He had no crime during the strike and no fights in his restaurant.

Another restaurant, on Highway 17 near Lively, depends on summer tourists for business but the owner said in November he got less than two-thirds of the customers he had before the strike.

"Business dropped off after the tourist season for another restaurant owner in the area. She said January was a slow month for her."

People didn't change what they ordered; there were just fewer customers in the restaurant. But the winter is traditionally the slow time for business, so the effect wasn't calculable.

The strike forced one owner to close his restaurant, although it never did well anyway, he said. The bar, which accounts for most of his profit, was hit hardest by the strike. "fewer local people came in and when they did they spent less money, he said."

Business started to pick up in March because, "people are just saying 'to hell with the bills', and going drinking anyway."

Another owner-manager had to lay off two full-time and one part-time staffer in his dining lounge. Bar and food revenues were down. He said the year before he sold 35 to 40 cases of bottled beer a week and in March he was down to 20 a week. Food sales were down 50 per cent.

Aside from making the observation that "everybody's just too goddamn nosy", the owner of a gift shop, restaurant, tavern, motel and gas complex, said, "well, just look around, it's slow", when interviewed in March.

(j) Cafes and snack bars (4)

The strike had an "awful effect" on business at one fast-food restaurant. They laid off two full-time, the owner said. Even their suppliers laid off the drivers. One supplier went bankrupt after 70 years in business, the owner said.

She noticed that customers ordered smaller drinks and smaller hamburgers during the strike. The restaurant stopped advertising to save money.

A coffee shop in Lively, famous for its delicious blueberry muffins, changed ownership in January, 1979. The new owner said it was hard for her to compare business with the year before, but customers told her it was busier before the strike. Sales were down from \$50 to \$65 a day.

She said, "Now there are men coming in, in the morning where they never had the time before...About 30 of them, not every day, but two or three days a week. Their wives are working and they've got the kids with them. Of the 30, about 25 of them are on strike. They come in and sit for a

few hours with other men and their kids."

(k) Hotels and motels (8)

In the motel business, the strike had an adverse effect; none of the businessmen prospered, most suffered a drop in business of about 30 per cent.

The owner of one motel told an interesting anecdote. An Inco supervisor had been permanently staying at the motel after giving his son his home as a wedding present, but he was forced to move back into the home to support the couple. The son was an Inco striker.

The same owner said a year ago in March all his house-keeping units were full but this year he had vacancies. He considered his business "not that dependent on Inco". He did recall a group of construction workers who clean pipes for Inco and usually stay at the motel, not showing up. And he remembered that a truck driver, who hauls steel from Toronto to Sudbury and Elliot Lake, used to stay in the hotel every week. In March the owner only saw the man every other week.

Another owner complained that his year's sales were down 20 per cent in the hotel and adjoining restaurant, yet he still had to pay the same hydro, taxes and fuel bills. "The effect of this damned strike is not only on employees laid-off at Inco. The whole community is feeling it."

One manager vigorously denied losing any money. "My business didn't suffer during the strike and that's all I'm going to say on that!" she stressed.

Another owner said his motel was open all winter but no one was there. In March he hadn't taken any more than \$100 in rent all winter and that

was mostly from transients. But he said this was not much different from any other slow winter. He too complained about his bills. Hydro costs went up \$700, taxes increased \$300 and he paid \$500 to be listed in the phone book" and that's not even in the yellow pages."

He said he had a mortgage but he can't expand his business. "This is how we learn but it's hell of a hard way to learn."

One man had just sold his hotel in Whitefish in March. He said the strike had nothing to do with it. He just wanted to retire and go to Florida. Fewer people rented rooms during the strike, he said, although he never rented any rooms anyway. He said he lost 20 per cent of his business during the strike -- about \$50,000 out of the \$250,000 he made last year. He didn't have to lay off any workers but he cut back all his employees' hours, switching some from full-time to part-time.

An apartment in Lively had a 12 per cent vacancy rate in March. The superintendent said that usually the 132-apartment building had no vacancies in March. He knew of 18 miners and their families in the building and at least two cases of people skipping them. "They put their furniture in storage, he went out west, and she went home to mama".

(1) Marinas and boat sales (5)

The strike was a boom for business at one marina in a resort area. The summer of 1978 was also good hot boating weather for the strikers, the owner of the marina said. He thought that if winter had been good ice-fishing weather, not slushy, his sales would have been even better. The strikers need to be occupied and fishing is fairly cheap, he said.

At another marina June and July 1978, were one big credit charge. The business had some collection problems and still in November had a mere

\$1,000 debt, made up of \$40 and \$50 unpaid accounts.

The American tourist business was down because of high gas prices in the U.S., but the strikers made up the loss. The marina served more of them for longer periods. They often bought candy and pop for their kids, trying to compensate them for not taking a "real" vacation.

The marina on Highway 17 had a 17 to 35 per cent decrease in sales in mid-summer. Business was just returning to normal when the owner was interviewed in November. He said that during the strike, life jackets, speedometers, and other boating accessories didn't sell. Repairs were slow as well. When interviewed in March the owner said boat sales had increased 25 per cent in the last year but most of his customers were from Elliot Lake and Espanola. But when he was questioned in November, he said he had sold only one or two small boats that summer. Usually, he sells about five or six to the local people. The large boats, usually purchased by travellers, sold the same as before the strike. The owner hired extra staff during the summer because of the tourist trade, but didn't put anyone off the payroll when business declined in the fall. He had break-ins right after the strike. The thieves took only money. Boat accessories were stolen from the boats outside during and right after the strike.

Business dropped 10 per cent at a boat and mobile home dealer during the strike. About 15 per cent of his business was with the strikers. The owner said, "a lot of places try discount prices. You can't get blood from a stone. You wouldn't put a big campaign on something the miner would be buying. You concentrate on something else." Despite the strike, he had just sold a \$35,000 mobile home to a striker when interviewed in March. He said the month before was "the biggest February we've ever had," although December and January were the slowest ever. March was "on par" so far. In January the owner had placed 30

per cent of his advertisements out of town. Normally he would have only 10 per cent outside of town.

(m) Gift shops and florists (4)

"Terrible!" is how the owner of one flower shop described the strike's effects. "It's a luxury business and during a strike flowers are not a necessity. People feel they can offer wishes verbally." He lost 40 per cent of his business because of the strike and he took out a bank loan which will take him "years" to pay back. Many customers have accounts with the store. He extended credit during the strike and "at all times."

He moved his shop from a house to the upstairs of the store because he couldn't afford the house rent. At one point, he said, he was tempted to declare personal bankruptcy but three weeks after the end of the strike his accounts "started rolling in". "Now that the strike's over, everything's fine," he said in November. "This Christmas will be a success. They're not shy to spend \$25 to \$30. Last year they were shy to spend \$10.

One thing he noticed was that there were only two weddings in June, rather than the usual thirty or so. In August, after the strike, "they came pouring in."

The owner of a yarn and craft shop in Lively described business during the strike in one word; "slow." She laid off an unpaid worker and closed one day a week during the strike. She found Christmas, normally busy time for her, very slow. She mortgaged her house to add a line of fabrics to her business and she thought that would get her over the hump because she had no competitors. In November, 1979, she said that her business was up compared to the November before.

A young couple who opened a macrame and wicker store in October, 1978 were discussing moving to southern Ontario in March, 1979. "We could be making a killing on Yonge Street. Our prices are competitive with those in Toronto... here we can't sell anything because nobody's got any money."

"We have a steady turnover but it's painfully slow. We average \$50 a day. We have days of \$200 or \$500 -- there was one last month -- and others we don't sell more than \$20, not even that."

One of the owners ran macrame classes and, in November, there were a dozen enrolled. Nine of her students were taking advantage of their husbands being at home. The others would be there regardless of the strike. "A lot of the men have taken up macrame. It's not that expensive a hobby and they need something to do."

The couple said the women who are buying are those whose husbands aren't on strike. But if pensioners or strikers come in, the owners throw in an extra bead or the few extra yards of yard to finish a project. "We're really good to the people, our customers. It's not their fault."

(n) Dressmakers (1)

In a tiny little space sits a short, thin woman hunched over her sewing machine. Clothes are piled all over the place. On a side table is a single red rose in a vase, with a card. A pick-me-up from the folks next door."

The owner said, "Oh, it's very slow. I don't get a quarter of what I had last year. This year it's almost all alterations. If I've made four or five dresses since the strike began, it's a lot."

She has run the store for six years and used to sell material until about three years ago. She dropped prices to entice strikers in. A

zipper cost \$2 instead of \$2.50. These bargains went to "people that I know well, mostly strikers."

(o) Banks and credit unions (3)

An administrative officer at a bank in Lively said in November people weren't having any problems meeting payments. The bank didn't lose any money because of the strike, she said. Loans were overdue during the strike but afterwards the bank re-financed the loans. People would get a second, long-term loan to pay off the first, usually a short-term loan. The bank financed more loans during the strike than before. Most of these were short term loans which were to be paid off in less than a year. During the strike they financed 199 long-term loans, to be paid off before three years, and 325 short-term loans. She said, "We had a meeting with branch managers and administrators. It didn't hurt any of the six or eight branches in the area." She said Lively didn't suffer too much. "Anybody who works for Inco knows that there will be a chance of a strike every three years and so they save their money. The ones who got really hurt are the young -- those who have been working for a couple of years. Older folks used their savings. They don't have the debts that young people have. This town has a lot of money because the population is elderly."

Strikers had problems paying off loans at the credit union in Lively. The manager said he had written off a large number of loans before November, 1979 and was still doing so. He showed the interviewer \$35,000 in write-offs on his desk in mid-November. He said lay offs hurt the credit union more than the strike did because the first people to be laid off were young men with low seniority. They also had the largest loans. When they moved from town the credit union was forced to write off their loans.

The manager said half of his clients were strikers. About 30 per cent of

the area population comes to the credit union. During the strike their accounts increased because they "treated the strikers so well" and that drew business from non-strikers as well.

About 80 per cent of the loans were rewritten, he said. The amount in Registered Retirement Savings Plans dropped but the manager expected that to drop more than it did.

He said the union suffered because there were more loans going out than payments coming in and the union was unable to invest any cash. He figures it lost about \$48,000. It took the union from June to the end of September to bring the accumulated interest back down to normal.

Although the banks were foreclosing, the manager said the Credit Union didn't foreclose on anybody or take any legal action at all. By November strikers were doing quite well in meeting payments regularly.

The manager of another bank in Lively said RRSP's were down some from the year before, and Chargex applications had decreased too. But he said that most of the loans, outstanding debts number of accounts and withdrawals were the same as usual.

But he hasn't had the normal flow of 'spring fever' loans for consumer goods and he didn't get the usual number of requests for Christmas loans either.

The tellers were going home early in November because there were fewer customers but the manager said the bank had no real change in business.

(p) Taverns (4)

Bars suffered even more than restaurants, especially those catering to

young people. These were the first to be laid off by Inco because they had the least seniority. So they had the least cash, or moved away to find other work.

One bar owner said his bar used to be full on Friday and Saturday nights. In March it was only half full. He didn't hire the five or six full-time workers that he wanted for his bar. He said he "felt the crunch" before the strike started during the six-week August shutdown and previous lay offs.

The manager of a pizzeria in Lively said his liquor sales were down 15 per cent in March and food sales had declined 60 per cent. He had to drastically lay off staff. He went from 13 full and part-time workers to four and he is working an 80 hour week, he said.

## 2. COMMUNITY SUPPLIES AND SERVICES

### (a) Transportation (5)

Worst hit was a Walden taxi company. It was down to one driver, from a staff of two full-time and five or six part-time. "We used to have two cars on the road all day and all night," the driver said. "Now if we get three calls a day we're doing good." The most dramatic loss was in the number travelling to and from hotels. What sustained the business was taking customers at the nearby Indian reserve to and from the hospital. The company moved from the Walden Plaza to a private home to save money. Other transportation companies reported no change, Sudbury's public transit system lost passengers during the strike -- eight per cent less travelled on Sudbury buses than at the same time a year earlier. Special worker buses were cancelled but no drivers were laid off.

### (b) Schools (8)

As the strike wore on, most teachers and counsellors noticed a change in

their students' behaviour. "There were more tears that came a lot more quickly to the surface," said one counsellor. The principal of an elementary school said discipline problems became more marked after Christmas -- "more than we've ever had...a real result of frustrations in the home." An another teacher said, "The first thing you notice is that the kids are emotionally upset. They're not ready to learn. They are worried if there's a problem in the home."

Students' grades did not seem to change dramatically though. One principal even thought their work had improved because "maybe kids work harder to forget their situation at home."

Schools were split about evenly on their stand on whether to discuss the strike in their classrooms. "The staff decided to play it down," one counsellor said, "because of the pro and anti aspect of it. We don't want confrontation in the classroom." Another school tried to discuss it "as objectively as possible." Said one principal, "We handled the strike like any other current event."

Many schools cancelled the usual events or introduced new ones which were easier on the pocketbook, especially at Christmas. A teachers' organization in Sudbury donated money to needy families. One school had a flea market at which clothes, toys and books sold like hotcakes. Potential customers had been urged to "come and do your Christmas shopping." A few schools cancelled the Christmas exchange for gifts. An elementary school postponed raising lunch prices because of the strike. It noted also that cafeteria milk sales were down as students brought their own.

At each school, only a handful of students left as their families moved elsewhere. The Sudbury Board of Education calculated that their elementary and secondary schools lost 173 students because of the strike.

One change at home which some teachers believed contributed most to changes in student behaviour was the absence of fathers searching for

work out of town, or the increased presence of fathers in the home. As wives went to work, many of the husbands found themselves in charge of their children's school affairs. "They had to take an interest in school," a principal said. "When we phoned about the kids they were the ones at home."

At one school, 25 per cent of the parents, at the meet-the-teachers meetings were men; according to one principal, "They never used to come before."

(c) Churches (14)

Churches struggled with their financial situation during the strike. Although the number of church goers did not decrease -- some churches saw more at weekday services and during Lent -- the collection stayed about the same or it droppped.

"This is the first year we have had to operate in the red," said one pastor. And another: "They pray more and pay less."

One church was paying only essential utility bills, unable to make mortgage payments. Another was borrowing from the bank and had to ask for additional subsidies. Yet it stoppped the collection at the church school so that strikers' children who could not donate would not stay away.

One pastor's wife blamed the strike for threatening marriage and family stability. She and her husband provided counselling and advice to parishioners. Another clergyman noted that about 25 per cent more parishioners sought assistance during the strike.

Aside from emotional support, people affected by the strike could get help in the form of groceries from food drives, or sometimes even money.

The union used one church hall free once a week to distribute vouchers.

A positive effect on one church was that parishioners had time to help with church renovations.

(d) Professional services (3)

Business for dentists was down anywhere from 25 to 40 per cent. One dentist was seeing only 15 patients each day instead of the usual 23. Another noticed that while appointments used to be made weeks in advance, they were only booking three days ahead, "only after a lot of pushing and phone calls and entreaties. They're coming in only if it's a real emergency."

Fewer supplies were ordered. Financial arrangements changed. One dentist collected payment only after the strike, or not at all.

Business came from Elliot Lake miners and Eddy Forest Company workers who had dental plans, or from Inco staffers who had time during the strike for extensive dental work.

Doctors noticed that more families asked to have their medical records forwarded to a new out-of-town address. The number of outgoing families was estimated by one doctor at 80 out of 1,000. He also said the loss of Blue Cross coverage made strikers "a lot more wary of medication."

He thought he made out fewer prescriptions for nerve pills, antibiotics and tranquilizers during the strike. And he believed, although he had no statistics, that more patients suffered from psychological or social problems.

An optometrist said business had decreased by 25 per cent.

(e) Post offices (4)

Although one post office did not seem to be affected by the strike, others

found that the volume of mail had decreased by as much as 25 per cent. That, they said, was due partly to the strike and partly to the popularity of courier services.

One postmaster said there were fewer parcels and letters than at the same time a year earlier; the number of money orders dropped also, from 700/fortnight to 500. "After Christmas, the decline started," he said, "and it's just getting worse and worse."

(f) Social clubs (6)

Social clubs generally were less active because members participated less, or the services were not so much in demand. "People just don't have the money to do anything," said one member. Strikers often made up most of the club membership, and costs were lowered to help them.

One club no longer charged for its Saturday dances, yet hardly anyone went. Another donated food baskets or paid a few fuel bills -- a total of about \$400 in aid of striker families. Ten dollar cheques were a Christmas gift to local striker families from another club.

And one even changed its supper meetings to regular meetings to accommodate members who could not afford the meals.

A community centre noted that, with the exception of one adult hockey league, the usual number of people played sports. They also attended winter carnival -- "for their kids they find the money." The YMCA lowered swim costs because of the strike.

A bowling alley and adjacent dining lounge were hit especially hard. The alley lost 50 of 140 teams, and about \$1,000 a week. "That's what happens when you live in a one-company town," said the owner. He had to lay off 10 employees. "People used to stay and have a beer in the dining lounge

after bowling, but now they're going right home right after bowling." Dining revenues dropped 60 per cent and only half the usual amount of beer was sold.

Day care centres with no children of strikers noticed no change.

A home for the aged was having no trouble collecting fees.

(g) Media, libraries (2)

The Walden newspaper, less than two years old during the strike, got less advertising, especially after December. The staff remained the same size. "The interest and enthusiasm in the paper has increased," said the editor, "because people have less money so they order fewer papers."

The town library was much busier, according to the assistant librarian, who said more men were borrowing the do-it-yourself genre of books.

(h) Government (1)

Walden's town hall got about 200 job applications when the strike began; it usually gets 50 to 60. No strikers were hired. People who could not pay taxes (a small number) were told to let them sit, at a minute interest rate of one per cent. There did not seem to be any more bankruptcies than usual.

The municipal garage collectors noticed no changes.

3. INDUSTRY

(a) Small contractors (6)

An electrical contractor in Walden lost potential customers who were employees of Inco-related industries. He cited two reasons: people started

doing the work themselves, or they hired someone who would do it "for dirt cheap". He explained, "If I was picking up my vouchers and my kids were yelling for more, I'd work for peanuts too."

Business was down about 35 per cent. He was forced to lay off two employees. But the number of commercial contracts remained about the same; they kept him in business.

A businessman who made indoor and outdoor furniture suffered a sales loss of about 25 per cent. He had problems with outlets who would not pay. The Inco lay offs just before the strike hit him hard; during August there was not a single sale.

Contractors whose work was mainly trucking reported no change. Two said they normally got little work during the winter anyway.

(b) Small Manufacturing Companies (2)

One manufacturer of kitchen cabinets suffered a 20 per cent loss, yet the manager claimed he was better off than others because the company served all of northern Ontario. Three employees, who were laid off during the strike, had not been rehired five months after the strike ended. Business by then had still not reached its pre-strike status. "It will be poor for at least another year," said the manager. "People must move in to need our products." Plans to expand had to be delayed indefinitely. But the company had no more debts after the strike than before, because it had reduced inventory once the strike had started. During the strike, the company also lost business it would normally have had in selling chemical products to Inco,

A manufacturer of wooden pallets, whose main customer was Inco, closed down during the strike. Eight employees were laid off, lived on unemployment insurance, then were rehired by the company as soon as the strike

ended. Said a company spokesman, "Everything is back to normal now."

(c) Small Service Companies (2)

One mechanic business lost about \$10,000 during the strike. An employee was laid off. Only about 10 per cent of the customers were strikers. They paid for repairs with skilled labor rather than cash. Two months after the strike ended, the mechanic said business was back to normal, if it wasn't even doing "a bit better."

A shop which sold snowmobiles and motorcycles got thirty per cent more business during the strike. The owner called it "the best year we've had". He hired two employees. December, 1978, three months after the strike, was the peak month. "We found that because the men were on strike they had more time to play, so they did," said a shop employee. "They bought more parts to repair things that they already had."

(d) Construction Companies (4)

One construction company which depended on Inco for at least half of its business suffered during the strike. It did not lay off employees, nor did it hire any.

Two companies who did not rely on Inco for contracts were ~~not~~ affected by the strike. One reported a better year because it was accepting various contracts at higher rates than it would have got from Inco.

(e) Heavy Mining-Related Industries (11)

Those industries dependent on Inco for most of their business suffered most. One company lost half of its repair work of drill tools, and laid off four persons. Another lost the \$2,000/week business it had with Inco. A new shop planned for 1978 had to be postponed, even though business to Elliot Lake doubled.

Another company noticed a 30 per cent drop in sales, starting when Inco

and Falconbridge laid off workers. It became dependent on Elliot Lake customers for survival. Two employees were laid off. But the general manager credited the strike for the company's move to a new line of product.

Another company, which eventually moved to a new location in the Sudbury area laid off at least half of its large staff. Of the eight drills it usually operated for Inco, only two were in use during the strike.

One company which manufactured steel drill equipment called itself "one of the fortunate few not into Inco." Said a spokesman, "We have to beat business away with a stick." A lumber company claimed to be enjoying a record year due to the lumber industry's prosperity. A truck and tractor industry recorded a sales increase of about 50 per cent, which was due to American purchases of secondhand trucks and the value of the dollar. Some Inco workers also bought trucks and went into business. But aside from this sales boost, sales were down as companies reduced or cancelled order. The industry's Parts and Service suffered a 50 per cent drop during the first month, and 20-25 per cent thereafter. Payment of bills was extended from the usual 30 to 90 days. "We'll be about 1½ to 2 years recovering from the strike," said the sale manager.

(f) Fabrication Mining-Related Industries (3)

One industry dependent on Inco for 90 per cent of its business when the strike started got the same amount of work from mines in Elliot Lake during the strike. Another industry with a number of products increased its business to compensate for the loss of Inco. The manager was afraid to be caught with stock levels either too high or too low when the strike ended; he didn't know where to maintain his inventory.

Another industry which dealt with Inco only on an occasional basis saw no effect.

(g) Transportation Companies (3)

One transportation company's business was down 30 per cent, losing about \$60,000 a month. Yet at the same time, five people were hired and the company continued to buy equipment. "We're just sort of holding our own," said the manager, "and that's not good." He lost four trucking contracts. He noted that some items, such as heating oil and sulphuric acid, were being shipped to Elliot Lake along a different route, what he called an improvement. Six months into the strike, he received seven or eight job applications a week, compared to one a week at that time the previous year. Most of the applicants were strikers.

But another company that was hauling less chemical to Inco in March said business was always slow at the time of year. A third company which did little business with Inco claimed not be affected by the strike.

(h) Contracting (Mining-Related) Services (7)

Most contactors went to Elliot Lake, and sometimes to Timmins, for the business they were losing in Sudbury during the strike. The result was that they became less dependent on Inco; they "broadened our horizons," as one owner put it.

Still, they suffered financially. One company laid off 13 workers, and took out a bank loan. Another claimed the strike had "chopped business in half"; it laid off three-quarters of its staff.

One business called the strike the worst period since its inception three years previous.

It's bad enough," said one owner, six months into the strike, "that you think you might as well close down and move out." He was one of the businesses that stayed afloat by finding contracts in Elliot Lake. He

But another petroleum company distributor noticed they got twice as many job applications. They were used to getting four or five in a month and in March they were receiving about 10 each month. They supply gas and oil to service stations from Parry Sound to Timmins. 60 to 70 per cent of its business was supplying Inco with one million gallons of lube oil products.

The company likes to keep their "dead" stock, surplus which hasn't been ordered by any customers for three months, under 10 per cent. Because of their dormant Inco account, they had 30 to 40 per cent surplus in March.

The manager said the company had just begun to notice a decline in gas consumption in February. Twenty-nine of the thirty gas stations they service reported business was down 10 per cent.

He said that, after much controversy at the start of the strike about payment, the company decided to extend credit on an individual basis. Prices of their products didn't increase because of the strike. There were no lay offs. One position that would have been filled in a fall reshuffling was left vacant until March.

Company expansion plans went ahead. These included a central dispatching plant, a \$300,000 asphalt plant, a four bay garage and a renovated office.

The service manager of another petroleum company operation said sales weren't affected by the strike. The largest seller, regular or no lead gas, sold the same as before the strike. "It might even have increased." The manager's explanation was, "Maybe people had more time to drive around."

They extended credit but no problems collecting, "not any more than usual." This centre services independent and company owner gas stations in a 50 mile radius around Sudbury.

The manager noticed a trend to self-serve gas stations and lube oil sales

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The manager noticed a trend to self-serve gas stations and lube oil sales

The manager said that one major bottling company's account with the stores dropped from \$2,800 at Christmas during the strike to \$30 in March. Another went down from \$10,973 before Christmas to \$5,900 in March. The bottling company confirmed they had suffered during the strike. The company termed the month of November "disastrous". Although they had five days or production lay off since the strike began in September, 1978, they didn't cut off any staff.

The change in customer buying habits they noticed was a switch to 1.5 litre bottles and generally larger packages.

The regional sales manager for one major beverage company said "We expected to be down 20 to 30 per cent at the beginning of the year, but in fact we're up. It's up about 6.6 per cent when, in fact, we should be down. He credits this sales increase to "our sales team cracking new accounts."

He did say that sales of canned pop were down during the strike. "I can attribute that directly to INCO. We had can vending machines inside Inco tied up and they would normally buy one thousand cases a week. Now that's down to virtually nothing."

A confections wholesaler said miners weren't stopping on their way to work to pick up chocolate bars and coke and the like. "Besides, about 5,000 people have left town." The wholesalers' main line is cigarettes and sales weren't affected by the strike. "If sales in general are down 30 per cent, cigarettes are down 10 per cent, but this can be attributed to inflation...cigarettes sales would be up if people stayed in Sudbury."

Overall sales were down 30 per cent and the decline started when the lay offs were announced in the summer of 1978. In March he said "people are holding back. If we break even this year, we'll be lucky, and last year was a record year."

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One major national food organization supplies to about 50 stores in the Sudbury region, including the two largest stores in Sudbury. The merchandising manager said those two stores sales were down ten per cent in March.

In the Sudbury region most stores profits were down by 10 to 15 per cent. But the manager said because of inflation, that drop actually was 25 per cent. Convenience stores, like Pinto, had dropped about 15 per cent of their business. Customers bought products which were cheaper and of poorer quality than premium products, garbage bags for instance. People bought more specials, items on sale during the strike. "Obviously, they're becoming more wary shoppers," noted the manager.

He had only one comment on shoplifting. "One retailer caught a really good customer who had shopped there for years and years; he was on strike with a large family.

An official from another major grocery organization said business was down but refused to give a percentage. None of their 48 employees were laid off during the strike but they made the staff take five weeks of annual holidays.

A regional baker was hit "quite substantially" by the strike the manager said. Local sales were down fifteen to twenty per cent, depending on the location. Walden was the hardest hit area. They supply about 400 businesses in the region but serve a lot of non-strikers as well as strikers.

The bakery found that sales of pastries went down twenty-five per cent, especially individually-packaged pastries for lunches. Bread sales declined about 10 per cent, although, in previous strikes the bakery had up to 20 per cent bread sales decline. The manager found the strike's effects were much less severe than he had anticipated. He knew of only one bankruptcy of all the stores he delivered bread and pastry to.

During the strike, at the "day-old" store, which carried leftover stock, sales doubled. Normal sales of 400 loaves a day were up to 800 loaves.

During the strike the manager said, "We were probably in a much better position than some other stores because people still have to eat...not as much bread, but they still have to eat certain amount. Some go to cheaper products. Some go to chain store breads but we have a pretty faithful market."

A regional dairy didn't find as many loyal customers. Their sales went down about 18 per cent during the strike. Home delivery services was cut back, with the trucks "pretty close to empty". Cream, sour cream, cottage cheese and milk were all down in sales. Many strikers switched to powdered milk during the strike.

In March the company had no lay offs of delivery men or salesmen.

A national meat distribution company found the demand for fresh and processed meats declined about 20 per cent in the Sudbury area.

About a quarter of their business is to restaurants and the manager said that those customers "held up" during the strike.

A salesman for potato chips said the strike didn't affect his company's sales at all. They may even have gone up.

Extending credit to customers caused problems for some businesses but not for others. One bottling company said it had numerous problems. When one grocery store went bankrupt, the soft drink distributors collected only 70 per cent of what was owed to them. The confectionary wholesalers said they had "a few cases where we've had to cut credit off." The dairy said most of their customers paid in cash and so they had no collection problems. They usually dealt with head offices of large chain grocery store. The meat company took the attitude of "being flexible" with customers.

(c) Drug Supplies (3)

The Inco strike encouraged sales of tranquilizers in Sudbury. One brand sold 12 per cent more in Sudbury during the strike than before it. A buyer for one drug wholesaler said two generic (no-name) brands of tranquilizers came onto the market and that may have had something to do with the sales increase. He estimates that for the area he covers, including Timmins, North Bay, Elliot Lake, and Sault Ste. Marie, tranquilizers rose 15 per cent during the strike. Overall, business with the wholesaler declined at the time of the strike. The distributors recovered their normal sales a month after the end of the strike.

During the strike, Blue Cross didn't cover the strikers' prescriptions so they had to pay the full price. The union paid for life-giving drugs. Cough and cold medicines were down 20 to 25 per cent on most Sudbury stores. Skin creams and ointments for rashes sold poorly also.

The union's drug plan didn't cover them. During the strike, this wholesaler allowed businesses to order small amounts of stock, two or three times a week which meant that they didn't get stuck with left-over stock.

(d) Cars and Boat Supplies (2)

A boat distributor for northern Ontario told the same story as local marinas and boat stores. Big boats sold well during the strike. Small boats didn't.

Used cars and trucks sales were up from the year before the strike. One distributor sold 76 units in 1979 and only 47 units in 1978.

But the manager said he had noticed in November that business was down 15 to 20 per cent compared to November, 1978. He couldn't say whether this was because of increased rates of interest or just a lack of cash. The manager, said sales of new cars dropped. "Quite a few are fixing their

cars and hanging on to them rather than buying new cars."

Truck sales were up quite a bit and the manager thought people were using them to haul wood. During the strike he changed his advertising to appeal to potential customers in Blind River and Elliot Lake. He reaped a 25 per cent increase in out-of-town business.

(e) Industrial and Business Supplies (7)

"It has had its effect all right," said the manager of one major plumbing supplier. Sales at his 3-4 million dollar business went down about 15 or 20 per cent during the strike. The company supplies valves and pipe products to plumbing and heating companies. Eighty per cent of its business is in the Sudbury region. It serves Inco, Falconbridge, local light industries and businesses.

Inco usually took up about 15 per cent of its stock but that was down to one per cent during the strike. Inco related companies went down from 10 per cent to about one per cent. "It's a chain reaction, "No doubt about it," the manager said.

Competition for accounts was tougher during the strike because customers were shopping around more and comparing prices. Early in 1978, the company bought a new location and moved from a smaller facility. The manager regretted that move in March, when he was interviewed. The company would just break even in 1979, he said. The profit for the year would be wiped out.

The Sudbury Chamber of Commerce monitored businesses' total retail sales during the strike and after it. In mid-November, 1978 the manager said the agency noticed the amount of sales going down.

In late February, 1979, the loss peaked at 1.6 million a week. Sales were described as "fairly stable" by the manager in November, 1979, but they

were still below average by \$900,000 to \$1,000,000 a week.

He attributes the losses directly to the Inco strike.

Sales in November compared to two years ago were down about 15 per cent, or \$1.4 million dollars. But the manager added that 1977 was a record year for retail sales. That decreases but doesn't eradicate the significance of the figures.

He hadn't seen, "more than a handful of businesses who went under because of the strike."

During the strike he noticed people switched to no-name products and materials to fix their homes.

At Christmas, customers bought the same amount of goods because they hadn't reached the limit on their credit cards. He observed that the Canadian Tire stores were full of people but they bought smaller, less expensive items than usual.

The manager pointed out that a decade ago, about 30 per cent of Sudbury's population worked in the mines. Now it's closer to twenty per cent. "If this strike happened 15 years ago, it would have wiped Sudbury out."

## 6. REGIONAL SERVICES HEADQUARTERED IN SUDBURY

### (a) Real Estate and Housing (13)

One real estate agent said business was slower during the strike and still was five months later. "People just aren't buying houses now," he said. He noted there were more houses for sale because companies mortgaging them had repossessed them after the strike whenever payments could not be made. "The three months after the strike were the toughest." Another agent said house values dropped \$2,000 and the vacancy rate quadrupled.

Between January and June, 1979 the Sudbury Real Estate Board recorded more listings (for residential and other units) but slightly fewer sales than for the same period in 1978. It was immediately after the strike that sales started to go up, by as much as 50 per cent, compared to the same period (July-October) the year before. But, the number of sales month by month in 1979 itself remained quite constant.

A spokesman for the board said the strike had not done as much damage as the first Inco lay off announcements had. He said people not on strike bought because they thought they would get bargains. Sales in 1979, he said, amounted to \$10 million more than in 1978. Compared to 1978, property sales in the whole Sudbury region in 1979 were about the same, except there were fewer in June and September, and more in October.

People and companies renting apartments out appeared to be sympathetic to strikers, allowing them to pay later. The Sudbury District Housing Authority, for example, created a new policy under which Inco workers paid as much rent per month as they could, provided they finished paying for rent arrears within 24 months after the strike.

The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation reported a 5.6 per cent apartment vacancy rate in November, 1979, compared to 1.4 per cent in April, 1979. Although the number of foreclosures in the region still was low, it had increased from 12 in 1978 to about 40 in 1979.

(b) Banks: Finance, Trust and Insurance Companies Etc. (19)

When the strike started, bankers met and decided to hold off on foreclosures as much as possible. For the duration of the strike, they carried their

striker clients. Many strikers adjusted the maturity dates on their loans and savings accounts dwindled or closed. The debt in some cases equalled half a year's salary.

Said one finance manager, "I don't think there's a branch in Sudbury that made any money this year." A trust company advised its clients to make partial payments on their mortgage if they possibly could. The assistant mortgage officer told of one man who paid \$5 every week.

While local companies were lenient, their head offices in Toronto often put the pressure on. One trust company was warned that, after letting arrears ride for more than eight months, the risks for the company were mounting dangerously. But the strike ended shortly thereafter. It appears that mortgages were priority for strikers trying to meet payments. But those payments, averaging \$300 a month, kept adding up. "You can believe that there's going to be hardships," said a trust company spokesman.

Banks and finance companies probably suffered most because of the loss of bankruptcies. While they were minimal during the strike, the number soared afterward. The Legal Aid Office got 10 per cent more clients. The Credit Bureau said bankruptcies "started pouring in" after July, some 25 a week, mainly from strikers, and some businesses. The debts ranged from \$5,000 to \$90,000 with the average being \$30,000. One finance company lost at least \$40,000 due to bankruptcies.

The manager of another finance company called the high rate of bankruptcy applications an "abuse of the system". All banks and finance companies seem to believe the bankruptcy trend would continue at least until after the Christmas season.

(c) Telephone Service (1)

Bell Canada did have more delinquent accounts than usual, although exact

figures were not available. It extended credit during the strike. In July, the company started to arrange for strikers to pay their bills. The business manager remembered only one striker whose service was cut off.

(d) Power and Water Services (1)

"Payments were certainly slower," said a Sudbury Hydro spokesman. "We were far less severe. We stretched the policies because of the strike." There were more delinquent accounts. Both Hydro and Bell Canada got help from the Local 6500 in collecting payments. No one was cut off. The company's subdivision programs all but died until May or June 1979, when cable was laid and poles were erected and businesses went back to normal. By late fall, accounts were back to normal too.

(e) Social Services (13)

Both Family Court and the Children's Aid Society were prepared for the worst during the strike, but their concern was unfounded. The Court recorded a decrease in the number of domestic spats. A C.A.S. spokesman said there were more reports of child abuse, but the publicity campaign launched during the strike was probably responsible for that. The society did play a new role by distributing food upon request.

Telecare got fewer calls than usual during the December-January period. A counsellor said the total calls for 1979 would probably be about the same as that of 1978. The Poison Information Centre noticed no changes.

At the General Hospital, the psychiatric unit did not treat more patients than usual. Said a spokesman, "The strike put more stress on stressful families, but not on families with solid foundations." The Memorial Hospital treated 20 per cent more people during the strike for ulcers and

heart attacks, than during the same period a year earlier. The Sudbury and District Health Unit got more calls related to mental health, which they attributed to new tensions. Again, at the General, 20 per cent fewer women occupied the maternity ward. "I guess people can't afford to have kids," said one employee. Welfare was indirectly affected when Unemployment Insurance Benefits were awarded to lay off employees of companies dependent on Inco. Unless they became ill, strikers were not eligible for the benefits. The Legal Aid office served 10 per cent more clients -- immediately after the strike. "That's when the problems arose," the manager said. "People weren't pressed by the banks until after the strike." He said many people applied for bankruptcy then.

People spent less on spirits, wines and liqueurs during the strike. Even taking into account the Christmas season, sales dropped about 10 per cent.

People also spent less on their pets. The director of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals estimated that the strikers together owned 3,000 animals. More pets were given to the S.P.C.A. for adoption and fewer were being adopted. Payment of fines and dog tags was extended to 90 days after the strike ended. Although there were no more reports of cruelty to animals than usual, the society found 50 per cent more animal corpses in 1979 than in 1978. Slightly more animals were abandoned. Strikers who kept their pets were allowed free emergency care for them at the S.P.C.A. and that was distributed to strikers as they came in. Some strikers as they came in. Some strikers were hired as animal control officers.

(f) Travel Services (4)

During the strike, travel agencies lost the higher-priced business. Even when strikers had already put a deposit on an expensive holiday, they usually cancelled the trip, unless their wives were breadwinners.

One travel centre got ten cancellations from strikers. Midway through the strike, another agency was down 25 per cent from the year before.

But some strikers took advantage of their free time to take extended vacations -- as cheaply as possible. "Lots of people," one travel agent said, "came in and said 'My husband is on strike and we want to go away while he has the time off.'" They asked for special fares, night-hawk fares and charter class.

(g) Media Services (1)

In March, 1979, Cambrian Broadcasting was losing so much in advertising because of the strike that it laid off 20 employees.

(h) School Services and Supplies (10)

Some photography companies that usually handled school pictures noted that their business has decreased as much as 35 per cent. At one elementary school, for example, 20 per cent fewer students bought pictures. Other types of photos were also less in demand: wedding, sports clubs, community groups. One company which specialized in mining photography suffered during the strike; it lost at least one third of its volume, and had to lay off a technician.

(i) Moving Companies and Motor Licensing (6)

The biggest change for moving companies was the increased number of "Manpower" moves for strikers taking jobs elsewhere. One company's business went up 33 per cent. The number of local moves was down, or it stayed the same. One mover explained that "during the strike, anyone who moved within the city found lots of able-bodied friends to help."

A spokesman for the Motor Licensing Branch said many people did not bother

to pay the license cost of their second car until March or later. The fee is \$10. The Driver Examination Centre got fewer license applications during the strike.

(j) Large Store Complexes in Sudbury

By January during the strike, the major store at the downtown mall in Sudbury had enjoyed its best year this far, but its staff had noticed that sales were becoming sluggish as the strike dragged on. Fewer Inco workers were coming in. More merchandise than normal was being returned. Special credit terms were introduced to alleviate customers' financial problems. None of the staff was laid off, but fewer people were hired for the fall-Christmas season, in anticipation of a drop which did not happen until after Christmas.

At the Barrydowne Mall, there was a little more vandalism than usual, between September and November.

(k) Police Services

Crime overall declined during the strike according to the Sudbury Regional Police.

Break-ins went up 34.6 per cent in 1976, although the increase was in line with the national average. The 1978 annual report lists the number of break and enter complaints (not necessarily charges) at 2,050. In 1979, up to September, the police recorded 1,319 break and enters.

There was an increase in vandalism or willful damage, in 1979. In 1978 there were 1,395 incidents of private or public damage. In 1979, again up to September only, the police had responded to 1,138 willful damage complaints.

In the first few months of the strike, an increase in shoplifting was reported. Storekeepers didn't bother to report incidents during the strike period.

A file of all possible strike-related activities was started on September 15 but it didn't produce much, mostly phone calls threatening management.

Three items of violence on the picket line occurred in September and there were several reports of glass broken on company property. There were several bomb threats against personnel, most of them phone calls.

Some damage was done to employers' vehicles in the parking lot.

The only major incident was when two or three trucks were blown up on Inco property when a bomb exploded, also in September. No one was injured.

Out of the 45 incidents the police recorded, 27 happened in September, five in October and 10 in December.

The Ontario Provincial Police cover little area around Sudbury because the city police patrol most of it (more than a thousand square miles) but the OPP do patrol some highways and the area south of Sudbury, including Whitefish Indian Reserve.

The OPP had no extra problems during the strike. Only about 3 or 4 families on the reserve are Inco workers. The OPP arrested the same number of impaired drivers during the strike as before.

(1) Other Governmental Services (7)

The Unemployment Insurance Commission office in Sudbury did more business than it expected during the strike. As of April 20, there were 1,298 claims

filed, of which 371 were allowed. The disentanglement of the rest, due to the strike, was followed by appeals from half of them. More typists had to be hired to handle the extra load and even the overtime hours kept adding up. By May 4, 200 of the appeals had been heard by representatives who had to travel to Sudbury for the boards.

APPENDIX I. METHODOLOGY. HOUSEHOLD SURVEY OF SUDBURY REGION

The sample was drawn as follows:

Study I:

Assessment roles were obtained for the City of Sudbury and for the six regional municipalities: Capreol; Nickel Centre, Onaping Falls; Rayside Balfour; Valley East; and Walden.

Population figures were also obtained for each of the seven communities.

A stratified sample of residential units was then drawn from the assessment roles.

This meant that the chances of a residence being included in the sample was equal within each community. It meant that the total number of residences drawn for each community was in proportion to the population of that community expressed as a percentage of the population of the region.

Those residential units were then used as a starting point.

At each residence two further steps were taken.

First, it was ascertained who had occupied that residence on September 15, 1978, the day the strike started.

Second, using a pre-designed sampling device one person was chosen to be interviewed from the list of occupants as it had existed on September 15.

If the original occupants had moved they were tracked down and, where possible, interviewed.

In addition, if there were new occupants in the residential unit, it was established if those persons had moved to that unit from outside the Sudbury Region since the strike began. If so, these persons were also sampled and interviewed as newcomers. (There were, in fact, only a handful of persons in this category.)

As it turned out, it proved to be much more difficult to conduct interviews in the city itself than in the six regional communities. Persons proved much harder to find. Individuals had moved without leaving any indication of their new residence. There were language problems. Refusals were high on initial contact. Apartments proved to be difficult to gain access to.

Part way through the initial stage of interviewing it was decided to separate the regional and Sudbury samples. The Sudbury portion of the sample was then reduced in size. (This was done by random methods.) The final sample represented therefore two distinct components: the original sample of the six regional communities; a randomly reduced sample of the City of Sudbury.

Eventually more than 90 per cent of those in both samples were located and interviewed; but the completion rate was substantially higher for the region than for the city.

Tracking those who had relocated involved a number of approaches, some of them routine, some fairly imaginative.

. A man who had been laid off from a firm in Sudbury was traced first to another community and then (using his religion) traced to the home of relatives in another part of Canada;

. Several individuals were traced by calling persons with similar names in the phone book until a relative was located who could supply a link;

. Persons were tracked to a new community then traced through new telephone listings in that community;

. An individual was traced by records kept by the owner of the apartment where he had once lived. (This took some time because the manager has refused such information and the owner was away for several months.);

. A man was traced to a drilling site in northern Ontario by the time-consuming though simple approach of going to the area, finding a geologist, visiting mine sites and finally locating the man. (He was ice fishing in the middle of a lake when interviewed.)

All these approaches proved relatively important because, as it turned out, a substantial number of those who had relocated were connected in one way or another with the strike. They were either strikers or members of strikers' families.

All of this involved just the first part of the sample for the first stage of the study.

In addition to interviewing one person selected at random at each residential unit, the interviewers inquired whether anyone at that location (as of September 1st) was a striker. If one or more strikers were at that location they, too, were interviewed using a special section of the questionnaire.

The effect of the above procedure was to generate a second sample: a sample of strikers.

Sometimes, of course, the sample point would be the one and only striker at the unit. In that case that person would be asked the questions on the general questionnaire and, in addition, asked the special questions for strikers.

The result of all this was:

### Timing

The three studies were carried out as follows:

Study I -- mid-March, when the strike had lasted for six months;

Study II -- early July, when the strike had been over for one month;

Study III -- mid-November, when the strike had been over for approximately six months.

### Approach

All of the sample points were originally located by having an interviewer call at the address of the residential unit selected. Inquiries were then made in person to ascertain who was to be interviewed.

Once it had been ascertained who should be interviewed, an approach was made to that person. This was usually done at the original location but, on occasion, this involved following persons to points as far away as the Atlantic provinces, the north, southern Ontario, or western Canada. (Specific locations can't be given because, quite often, just one person was involved at one location.) In some cases, the interviews were conducted by telephone. This was normally done when only one person was located in a specific community, a situation that made travel costs somewhat prohibitive.

APPENDIX II: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF STRIKE LITERATURE \*

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