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RESEARCH NOTE / NOTE DE RECHERCHE

After Industrial Citizenship: Adapting to Precarious Employment in the Lanarkshire Coalfield, Scotland, and Sudbury Hardrock Mining, Canada

Shelley Condratto and Ewan Gibbs

IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA, mining was a significant source of industrial employment over the 19th and 20th centuries. The nature of this work has shifted in recent decades. During the mid-20th century, mining provided large-scale, full-time, and relatively stable employment for men. Mining operations were typically based in secluded localities that were often overwhelmingly reliant on the sector. This article is concerned with the erosion of *industrial citizenship* and its replacement by *market citizenship* regimes predicated on “flexible” labour.¹ In Standing’s terms, industrial citizenship both reified wage labour as a commodity and placed limits on the logic of labour market forces via Keynesian economic management and collective bargaining over wages and employment conditions.² These were visible in mining sectors across developed economies through strong trade-union organization, employment security, and community embeddedness anchored by the promise of lifetime employment and worker dialogue with employers. This historically specific model of industrial citizenship has been eroded through sectoral restructuring entailing corporate divestment and a push for a short-term, individualized

1. Guy Standing, *Work after Globalization: Building Occupational Citizenship* (Cheltenham, England: Edward Elgar, 2009), 3, 46; Judy Fudge, “After Industrial Citizenship: Market Citizenship or Citizenship at Work?,” *Relations Industrielles/Industrial Relations* 60, 4 (2005): 645, doi:10.7202/012338ar.

2. Standing, *Work after Globalization*, 2.

employment relations. The shift toward market citizenship has centred on worker disempowerment through the erosion of joint regulation of the workplace as well as the diminution of direct employment.

A comparative examination of the changing status of work and employment within the coal mining industry of Lanarkshire, Scotland, and the nickel mining industry of Sudbury, Ontario, Canada. Although Lanarkshire and Sudbury differ legislatively and in the commodity produced through mining, both locations share similarities by which to establish a case study on adapting to the loss of industrial citizenship. Our analysis focuses on the experience of workers who have lost their status as industrial citizens. It emphasizes material losses in wages and employment stability but also challenges to personal and community identities.

This article focuses on the loss of industrial citizenship, emphasizing how former miners and their communities have adapted to increasingly liberalized labour markets. Such a comparative analysis contributes to an emergent literature concerning precarious work and market citizenship in both Canada and Britain. Our findings demonstrate that in both cases the traditional occupational identities that underpinned collective solidarities in the post-World War II era have been eroded. This has stimulated workers' adaptation to individualistic and instrumental attitudes toward employment. However, such outlooks are contested. Fragments of collectivist culture and attitudes remain within areas formerly dominated by mining employment. These conflicting attitudes are exemplified by recent conflicts over strikebreaking in Sudbury and by ongoing arguments over individual benefits and communal harm associated with opencast mining developments in South Lanarkshire.

T. H. Marshall defines industrial citizenship as a system "involving rights and duties, the 'essential duty' to work being one of them, along with the obligation 'to put one's heart' into one's job."³ In return, industrial citizenship "provided workers with rights to self government via legislation protecting and facilitating freedom of association and collective bargaining as well as limits on commodification through labour standards and social rights."⁴ These findings were recorded in a Canadian setting but accord with experiences across developed economies during the mid-20th century. Cowie refers to the experience of the period between the 1930s and 1970s in an American context as "the great exception," when "collective economic rights" held out "the illusion of permanence for many – the inevitable domestication of capitalism" before the forces that held together "labor liberalism" fragmented.⁵

3. T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 46.

4. Fudge, "After Industrial Citizenship," 633.

5. Jefferson Cowie, *The Great Exception: Rethinking the New Deal in American History* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016), 9–10.

The scholarly focus on declining industrial employment has shifted from the “body count” of lost jobs and resistance to closures toward a focus on “the cultural meaning of deindustrialization.”⁶ This article looks “beyond the ruins” of industry, instead considering the long-term consequences of changes in employment practices.⁷ It emphasizes that the erosion of collectivist cultures and occupational identities have contributed to increasingly individualistic attitudes toward employment. This has included a decline of shop-floor control and union consultation, which has encouraged trends toward prioritizing immediate earnings and devaluing elements of long-term security and collective wellbeing. The findings broadly accord with Aronowitz’s conclusions about the dissipation of the communal resources and solidarities that had sustained industrial working-class consciousness and mobilization during the late 20th century. To some extent, this includes an accommodation with the values of consumption and short-term monetary gain that Aronowitz referred to in terms of absorption by “mass culture.”⁸

Crouch has established a broader framework, arguing that across the developed world similar processes have taken place as a “democratic capitalism” defined by confrontations and compromises between organized labour and capital dissipated. In its place, post-democratic capitalism is defined by the absence of the political contestation of wealth distribution and economic resources.⁹ Our case studies can be placed within Crouch’s framework, sharing Cowie’s emphasis on a variety of citizenship that centres around collective economic rights, in sectors where these were especially pronounced and organized. They emphasize the impact of these structural changes upon workplace culture, revealing an absorption of characteristics that resemble worker individualism, as the resources and institutions that powered collectivism have waned. However, this transition has not been straightforward. The half-life of deindustrialization, a concept pioneered by Sherry Linkon and developed by Tim Strangleman, considers “a past which continues to shape the present and the future.”¹⁰ This theorizes a continuing understanding of just employment and the according of importance to working conditions rooted in the expectations of industrial citizenship, albeit without the power to enforce

6. Steven High, “‘The Wounds of Class’: A Historiographical Reflection on the Study of Deindustrialization, 1973–2013,” *History Compass* 11, 1 (2014): doi:10.1111/hic3.12099.

7. Jefferson Cowie & Joseph Heathcott, “Introduction: The Meaning of Deindustrialization,” in Jefferson Cowie & Joseph Heathcott, eds., *Beyond the Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 2.

8. Stanley Aronowitz, *False Promises: The Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004).

9. Colin Crouch, *Post-Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), 53–60.

10. Tim Strangleman, “Deindustrialisation and the Historical Sociological Imagination: Making Sense of Work and Industrial Change,” *Sociology* 51, 2 (2017): 10, doi:10.1177/0038038515622906.

its standards of workforce voice and economic security. Thus, the transition from industrial to post-industrial society continues to be mediated by cultural norms, values, and expectations with origins in the industrial era.¹¹ These considerations are developed through examining, first, how miners and former miners have responded to economic restructuring and changes in their labour market position and, second, the extent to which the legacy of occupational culture continues to provide a frame of reference and understanding.

This article has four sections: the first outlines methodologies used in interviews in Sudbury and Lanarkshire; the second analyzes the fragmentation of structures of industrial citizenship; the third is concerned with adaptation to market citizenship; and the fourth discusses the evidence, considering the dimensions of structural change and shifts in worker attitudes toward employment. Our discussion emphasizes that mineworkers in Canada and Britain have experienced aspects of both economic and social dislocation. The evidence demonstrates that workers have psychologically adopted the rationale of market citizenship and individualized employment relationships, but have done so through a fragmented “half-life of deindustrialization,” which continues to articulate earlier collective understandings of work and social life.¹²

Methodology

THIS ARTICLE IS BASED ON 60 semistructured interviews conducted in Lanarkshire, Scotland, and Sudbury, Ontario.¹³ Personal testimonies from both sets of interviews consisted of life-story narratives focusing on respondents’ connections with the mining industry. Participant recruitment and the focus of the interviews varied between the two locations. Lanarkshire participants were recruited primarily through “snowballing” from existing union activist and mining community contacts but some were also found through advertisements in the local press.¹⁴ Participants included men and women who had direct and indirect connections to the coal industry. Life-story interviews focused on individual experiences of colliery closures and labour market changes. The discord and difficulties of adapting to new circumstances were considered, but elements of cultural continuity and retention of coalfield identities were also emphasized by former deep coal miners now employed in the opencast industry or within the service and manufacturing sectors. These

11. Strangleman, “Deindustrialisation.”

12. Strangleman, “Deindustrialisation.”

13. Thirty interviews were conducted in each location. The names of the Lanarkshire participants are used in this article, while the names of the Sudbury participants are pseudonyms. The interviews have been transcribed in their spoken form rather than adapted to Standard English in order to maintain interviewees’ words and sentiments as far as possible.

14. Peter T. Knight, *Small-Scale Research Pragmatic Inquiry in Social Science* (London: Sage, 2008), 65.

individual narratives were strongly influenced by the collective memories of working and community life, and stories of dislocation and political struggles, that often characterize accounts of the British coal mining industry.¹⁵

Sudbury participants were recruited through presentations at retiree meetings, from contacts made through local unions, and by “snowballing” from existing contacts. Participants included current and retired mineworkers, union activists, and industry key informants (industry “experts” who do not work for a mining company). Industry key informants were approached to voluntarily participate in an interview given their position or experience. These interviews provided contextual insights into the local industry’s structure and historical development. Mineworkers included blue-collar workers and tradespersons who are currently, or were formerly, employed at one of the local industry’s two long-standing mining operations: Inco (now Vale) and Falconbridge (now Xstrata). Although gender diversity was attempted in the process of interview collection, all Sudbury interview participants were male. The lack of gender diversity among interview participants was not unexpected, as the local industry and the union leadership has been historically, and continues to be, male dominated. The aim of these interviews was to explore the changing nature of work within the Sudbury mining industry and the growth of contracting out from a labour perspective. Here, contracting out defines a shift in employment practices to employ third-party companies that supply the workforce rather than directly employing unionized workers. The collection of work histories and individual experiences presented here illustrates the changing nature of work within the local industry while paralleling the loss of industrial citizenship with the decline of direct employment and union membership.

In both locations, workers expressed a sense of loss that surmounted the economic material benefits of well-paid, stable, unionized employment. The demise of cultural resources in the form of collective identities and organization and community feeling was also strongly articulated. These material and cultural elements were conjoined through the structures of industrial citizenship that had formally embedded mining employment within collective norms and values by cementing workforce voice and dialogue into the industry’s operation.

Industrial Citizenship

THE ORIGINS OF INDUSTRIAL CITIZENSHIP lie in “the redistribution of social esteem” in favour of industrial workers within developed

15. David Nettleingham, “Canonical Generations and the British Left: Narrative Construction of the British Miners’ Strike 1984–85,” *Sociology* 51, 4 (2017): 2, doi:10.1177/0038038515604308.

capitalist economies after World War II.¹⁶ In Ontario, industrial citizenship was facilitated by the federal Wartime Labour Relations Regulations (PC 1003) enacted in 1944 and the corresponding provincial legislation enacted in the previous year.¹⁷ Both legislative formulas have evolved into the modern provincial Labour Relations Act and the labour relations system governing unionized workplaces.¹⁸ Our case studies demonstrate that mining work transitioned to a comparatively developed form of industrial citizenship within Canadian and British economies.¹⁹ In the British context, coal's nationalization in 1947 provided a clear break from the system of antagonistic relations between trade unions and coal owners that had characterized the first half of the 20th century.²⁰

The coal and hardrock mining sectors in Lanarkshire and Sudbury contained elements of workplace control and industrial oversight that contravene Standing's description of a class compromise whereby collective bargaining is granted in return for acceptance of the "right to manage."²¹ In Lanarkshire, the joint administration of coal mines under the National Coal Board (NCB) extended beyond the usual remit of British collective bargaining over wages and conditions, including dialogue over health and safety and investment in the industry. Similarly, in Sudbury this included joint contribution to the building of a provincial health and safety system. Industrial citizenship had a historical basis in the character of mining as a dangerous industry and the sector's lack of a fixed working site and geological variations.

The Lanarkshire research focused on long-term consequences of the gradual erosion of employment within coal mining. Lanarkshire, located east of Glasgow, was considered Scotland's largest coalfield from the early 19th to the mid-20th century. Between 1860 and 1913, Scotland's coal mining workforce more than tripled, from 40,000 to 138,000.²² Lanarkshire was central to this

16. Ross McKibbin, *The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 291; Harry W. Arthurs, "Developing Industrial Citizenship: A Challenge for Canada's Second Century," *Canadian Bar Review* 45, 4 (1967): 786–830; Harry W. Arthurs, *The New Economy and the Demise of Industrial Citizenship* (Kingston, Ontario: Industrial Relations Centre, Queen's University, 1996); Standing, *Work after Globalization*.

17. Arthurs, "Developing Industrial Citizenship"; Judy Fudge & Eric Tucker, *Labour Before the Law: The Regulation of Workers' Collective Action in Canada, 1900–1948* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 263–301.

18. Labour Relations Act, 1995, SO 1995, c 1, Schedule A.

19. Alan Fox, *Industrial Sociology and Industrial Relations* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966), 6.

20. Jim Tomlinson, "A 'Failed Experiment'? Public Ownership and the Narratives of Post-War Britain," *Labour History Review* 73 (2008): 235–239.

21. Standing, *Work after Globalization*.

22. Peter Payne, *Growth and Contraction: Scottish Industry c.1860–1990* (Glasgow: Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1992), 17–19.

expansion, with male mining employment peaking in 1921 at 59,925 workers, or approximately one in three economically active men.²³ Following coal's nationalization in 1947, investment focused on the more geologically favourable eastern coalfields.²⁴ This trend is demonstrated in the steady decline of coal employment during the 1950s and 1960s (Figure 1). These processes were carefully managed within structures of industrial citizenship. Alternative employment was provided for workers through colliery transfer schemes that maintained important vestiges of economic security.²⁵ However, the NCB maintained a significant presence in Lanarkshire until the early 1970s, when the industry dwindled to two remaining collieries, Cardowan and Bedlay.²⁶ The closure of Cardowan in 1983 marked the end of deep mining in Lanarkshire. Unlike earlier closures, assurances of collective economic security were not provided as Lanarkshire shifted toward a largely service-based economy in the context of the UK's transition to an increasingly liberalized labour market.²⁷ These effects were also apparent within what remained of mining; it was a privately owned opencast sector far more readily affected by fluctuations in the international coal market than the former nationalized sector, largely reliant on more stable employment in deep mining.

Sudbury-based research focused on the changing nature of employment in the area's nickel mining industry. The city is known as "the largest hardrock mining centre in North America and among the largest in the world."²⁸ In 1971, when Sudbury's mining sector was at its peak, the industry directly employed over 25,000 unionized workers.²⁹ Since then, direct employment has fallen to fewer than 4,000 workers (Figure 2), as the majority of the local labour force has shifted toward the service industries. Despite the efforts of local unions, by way of grievances, arbitrations, and the inclusion of contracting-out language in collective agreements since the 1960s, management has increasingly shifted employment to a non-union subcontracted workforce. Now the two principal mining firms in the area are foreign owned. Falconbridge is incorporated within the Swiss commodity producer Glencore, operating two mines,

23. *Census of Scotland 1921*, vol. 1, part 22, *County of Lanark* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1922), Table E, 1139.

24. Robert Duncan, *The Mineworkers* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005), 144–145, 206–207.

25. Jim Phillips, "Deindustrialization and the Moral Economy of the Scottish Coalfields, 1947 to 1991," *International Labor and Working Class History* 84 (2013): 103.

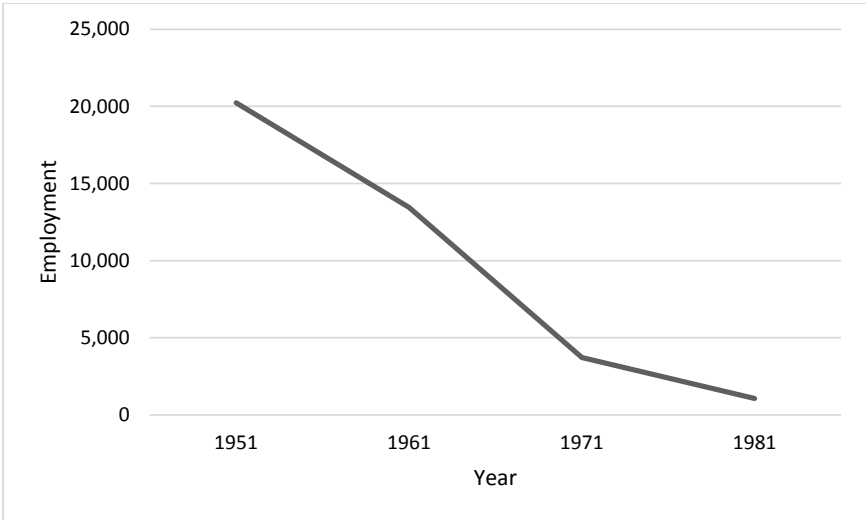
26. Miles Oglethorpe, "The Scottish Coal Mining Industry since 1945," *Scottish Business and Industrial History* 26 (2011): 82.

27. Patricia Findlay, "Union Recognition and Non-Unionism: Shifting Fortunes in the Electronics Industry in Scotland," *Industrial Relations Journal* 24, 1 (1993): 37–38.

28. David Leadbetter, *Mining Town Crisis: Globalization, Labour and Resistance in Sudbury* (Halifax: Fernwood, 2008), 7.

29. Oiva W. Saarinen, *From Meteorite Impact to Constellation City: A Historical Geography of Greater Sudbury* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013), 165–166.

Figure 1: Lanarkshire Mining Employment



Sources: *Census 1951, Scotland*, vol. 4, *Occupation and Industries*, Table 13, 433–469; *Census 1961, Scotland, Occupation and Industry County Tables, Glasgow and Lanark*, Leaflet No. 15, Table 3, 16–21; *Census 1971, Scotland, Economic Activity County Tables Part 2*, Table 3; *Census 1981, Scotland, Economic Activity 10% Strathclyde Region*, Table 3.

a mill, and a smelter in the Sudbury area.³⁰ Inco became part of the global mining company Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (Vale) in 2006.³¹ Vale operates six mines, a mill, a smelter, and a refinery in Sudbury, making it one of the largest integrated mining operations on the globe.³² Global ownership also brought a shift in human resources practices, with increasing corporate pressure to downsize the fully employed, unionized workforce through the practice of contracting out.³³

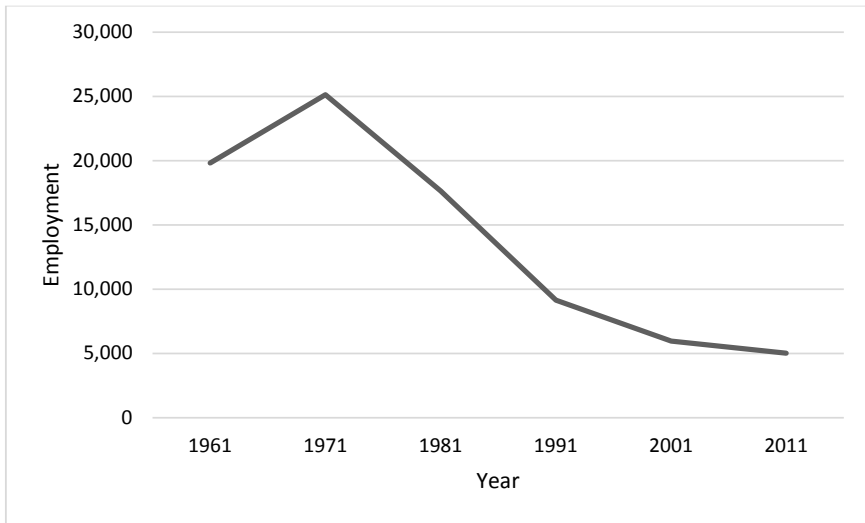
From the late 1940s to the late 1970s, full-time, direct employment that paralleled the human relations of the NCB was predominant in Sudbury, which

30. Sudbury Integrated Nickel Operations website, Glencore, accessed 22 January 2018, <http://www.sudburyino.ca/en/Pages/home.aspx>.

31. Suzanne Mills & Brendan Sweeney, “Employment Relations in the Neo Staple Economy: Impact and Benefit Agreements and Aboriginal Governance in Canada’s Nickel Mining Industry,” *Studies in Political Economy* 91 (2013): 7–33.

32. “Sudbury,” Vale website, accessed 22 January 2018, <http://www.vale.com/canada/EN/aboutvale/communities/sudbury/Pages/default.aspx>.

33. Roberta Aguzzoli & John Geary, “An ‘Emerging Challenge’: The Employment Practices of a Brazilian Multinational Company in Canada,” *Human Relations* 67, 5 (2014): 587–609, doi:10.1177/0018726713497523.

Figure 2: Sudbury Mining Employment

Source: Oiva W. Saarinen, *From Meteorite Impact to Constellation City: A Historical Geography of Greater Sudbury* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013), 166; original figures supplied by Vale Canada and Xstrata Nickel.

included embedded seniority rights and long-term contracts.³⁴ Mining within Lanarkshire and Sudbury contained structures of industrial citizenship that incorporated a career trajectory and lifetime employment. In Britain, the NCB made commitments to secure employment, promotion, and a system that promised lifetime economic security. These were important in structuring mental conceptions of employment among the generations at the forefront of the transition from industrial to market citizenship.

Brendan Moohan started with the NCB in 1982, following his father and grandfather into the industry. He considered coal mining employment in terms of a deal, or implicit social contract, that embedded the industry into a worker's life course: "To the generation before mine it was cradle to grave. It was you left school, you went to the pit, until you retired, and a couple of years later and you died. That was the path, that was the deal."³⁵ Willie Hamilton, who like Brendan came from a lineage of Lanarkshire coal miners, said the NCB was perceived as providing a "job for life"; he worked with the NCB for nearly 30 years between the early 1950s and the late 1970s. The structures of industrial citizenship provided a promotional ladder for men like Willie who entered at the lowest rung after leaving school at age 15 and beginning

34. Arthurs, *The New Economy*, 4.

35. Brendan Moohan, interview by Ewan Gibbs, 5 February 2015, Livingston, Scotland.

coalface training.³⁶ Willie went on to become an official at Kingshill in Eastern Lanarkshire and then at Polkemmet, just over the border in West Lothian. Over this period, he progressed from being a shotfirer to a deputy and later an overman.³⁷ Brendan's and Willie's perspectives were confirmed in a negative light by Scott McCallum, whose grandfather, father, and brother were all Lanarkshire coal miners. Scott remembered anticipating entering coal mining himself and having been encouraged to do so before closure denied him entry into the industry: "I probably would have worked in it [coal mining] maself if it hadn't have closed, it's like a family generation thing. ... Oor kind ae education was to leave school and go and work in the mines. You never really stuck in much. That was what the plan was. You'd leave school and go and work in the coal mines."³⁸

Previous generations of miners in Sudbury had career experiences similar to those in Lanarkshire. Miners could expect career-long employment with opportunities for advancement. Many workers had started as summer students and, after completing high school, gone on to work full time in the mines. Both Inco and Falconbridge workers had a union-negotiated "30 and out" clause within their collective agreements, where workers were eligible for retirement after 30 years of service. This meant that many workers were able to retire at a relatively young age and that mining employment was understood as a guarantee of lifetime economic security. This sense of career stability and security was expressed by Sam, a retired mineworker:

I got hired [in 1969] as a labourer and first thing you know I was drilling. ... I stayed drilling oh for 29 and a half years and the last year that I worked, I went on scoop trains which are front-end loaders underground, and then I stayed on that and in 1999 I took my pension, I was only 49.³⁹

It was not only the union that was invested in the community at this time. Many workers who settled in the communities surrounding the mine sites lived in company houses, went to company doctors, and shopped at the company store. Mark, a retired Falconbridge miner, lived in a company house for many years:

I was born in 1943, I've always lived in a company house. ... [T]here was very few people at Falconbridge that owned their own house. ... I think it was the early 1970s, Falconbridge started selling the homes, they were getting out of the real estate business, ... they would take it right off your paycheque. ... [T]hey also had the general store, ... you just signed your name ... right off your cheque. ... [T]he company had this summer camp ... July month the boys were out there; August month the girls were out there. ... [T]hat was a beautiful place

36. Marian & Willie Hamilton, interview by Ewan Gibbs, 19 March 2014, Shotts, Scotland.

37. A shotfirer was a worker responsible for overseeing the placement of explosives and ensuring the areas affected were cleared in accordance with regulations.

38. Scott McCallum, interview by Ewan Gibbs, 22 February 2014, Dundee, Scotland.

39. Sam, interview by Shelley Condratto, 2 July 2014, Sudbury, Ontario.

for the children in the summer, ... it was one big family out there. ... [Eventually] they sold it to the YMCA for a dollar.⁴⁰

Mark's family also benefitted from community connections and the union's presence in the community. His child became friends with other mineworkers' children; his spouse became friends with his colleagues' wives. This pattern of community building shifted in the 1970s, when the company began to divest from non-business holdings.

However, it is important to recognize that the benefits of industrial citizenship were maintained, and expanded, due to the power of organized labour. For instance, following the 1967 fire at Michael colliery in Fife, on Scotland's east coast, which killed nine miners, the National Union of Mineworkers Scottish Area successfully pressed for a public inquiry and provisions for self-rescuer equipment for miners.⁴¹ In Ontario, mining unions in Sudbury and Elliot Lake were instrumental to improvements made to the Occupational Health and Safety Act and set standards for safety within the mining industry.⁴² In Sudbury, the United Steelworkers Local 6500 joined with community activists to push Inco to limit sulphur dioxide emissions into the air. High levels of emissions had been linked to increased community cancer rates and negative environmental effects. Through the efforts of this group, the Ontario government "ordered Inco to reduce its emissions and in 1972 [Inco] erected its Superstack, which improved the region's air quality."⁴³

Adapting to Market Citizenship

BY THE END OF THE 1970s, restructuring, corporate divestment, the imposition of liberalized market forces, and shifting ownership priorities were evident in Canada's and Scotland's mining sectors. These changes included the steps toward final colliery closure in Lanarkshire and eventual multinational ownership in Sudbury. In both regions, the prevailing systems of industrial citizenship fractured and gave way to a regime of precarious employment bearing the hallmarks of "market citizenship." Fudge defines market citizenship in

40. Mark, interview by Shelley Condratto, 10 February 2016, Sudbury.

41. Jim Phillips, "The Closure of Michael Colliery in 1967 and the Politics of Deindustrialization in Scotland," *Twentieth Century British History* 26, 4 (2015): 552.

42. Occupational Health and Safety Act, RSO 1990, c O.1 (Ontario); Laurel Sefton MacDowell, "The Elliot Lake Uranium Miners' Battle to Gain Occupational Health and Safety Improvements, 1950–1980," *Labour/Le Travail* 69 (2012): 91–118; Homer Seguin, *Fighting for Justice and Dignity: The Homer Seguin Story* (Sudbury: Journal Printing, 2008); Robert Story and Eric Tucker, "All That Is Solid Melts into Air: Worker Participation in Health and Safety Regulation in Ontario, 1970–2000," in Vernon Mogensen, ed., *Worker Safety Under Siege: Labor, Capital, and the Politics of Workplace Safety in a Deregulated World* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2005).

43. MacDowell, "Elliot Lake Uranium Miners' Battle," 91–118.

terms of government's retreat from responsibilities of economic management and a conception of industrial relations centring around the individualized buying and selling of labour power: "governments are only responsible for helping citizens to help themselves ... [while] employment is increasingly analogized to a commercial contract and collective bargaining is not considered a fundamental right."⁴⁴ Fudge's definition concurs with Crouch's assertion that post-democratic capitalism has the capacity to "undo the deals made by its industrial predecessor."⁴⁵ Thus, the rights and obligations that made up industrial citizenship were rewritten by the power of liberalized market forces, multinational capital, and the state. This is particularly evident in the privatization of the coal industry in the UK. The tension surrounding economic security, associated elements of workforce involvement and control over production, and the heightened prioritization of financial concerns within investment and divestment decisions all became more apparent with major restructuring processes. Workers and communities have been obliged to adapt individually and collectively to a major rupture in social life and a new, less secure, system of industrial relations. This places employment on an increasingly individualized rather than collective footing, as the strength of worker voice and collective bargaining declines and management seeks accommodation with employees or contractors on a more arbitrary basis.

In Lanarkshire and Sudbury, precariousness in the labour market was instituted through major shifts in political economy associated with deindustrialization and changing ownership patterns. In Lanarkshire, the NCB completely divested from deep mining as the British coal industry moved from a nationalized body to private industry, which ultimately took place in 1994, and contracted swiftly. In Sudbury, there was a gradual divestment from everything except for the main business of mining. First came a gradual divestment of non-business interests such as community housing and development work; then a divestment of many daily aspects of operations; and finally, outsourcing of skilled trades. The companies also engaged in a process of combining and expanding job classifications and multiskilling many of the remaining positions. This transition was an attempt to further reduce labour costs in the belief that multiskilling allowed the company to expand certain job classifications enough to "give the group the flexibility it needs to make it a competitive operating unit."⁴⁶ Today within Sudbury's industry, the contracting out of once-unionized jobs is occurring within many aspects of business operations, with the notable exception of production jobs at the mine face, which are highly guarded by the unions.

44. Fudge, "After Industrial Citizenship," 635.

45. Crouch, *Post-Democracy*, 83.

46. Suzanne Dansereau, "Globalization and Mining Labour: Wages, Skills and Mobility," *Minerals & Energy – Raw Materials Report* 21, 2 (2006): 8.

The experiences of the closure of the final colliery in Lanarkshire – Cardowan, in 1983 – and the 1984–85 miners’ strike fatally undermined industrial citizenship in Scotland. These events contributed to the steady erosion of the remaining employment in coal mining in the UK and the liberalization of labour markets within the industry. The associated results, redundancy and unemployment, added to disorientation through not only material losses in high wages and formerly secure employment, but also a loss of the social esteem ascribed to individual and collective occupational identities. Cardowan’s closure was imposed by the NCB and formed a key episode in the buildup to the 1984–85 strike. The closure saw the NCB’s “pronounced emphasis on cost control” combine with the management objective of “reconstructing workplace relations” through undermining the established system of joint industrial regulation, which characterized industrial relations within British coal mining during the 1980s.⁴⁷

The closure of Cardowan involved a clear and deliberate breach of principles of joint regulation by the NCB while financial compensation for the acceptance of individualized employment relations (or a new form of market citizenship) was offered to workers in return for accepting either transfer or redundancy. Albert Wheeler, the NCB’s Scottish Area director, made this clear at a Colliery Consultative Committee meeting at Cardowan in 1983, stating that “he wanted the opinion of the 1090 men employed at the colliery and not just the few who attended branch meetings.” In place of negotiation with trade-union representatives, Wheeler promised protected earnings and transfer allowances for younger workers; in addition, he made an offer of redundancy payments, including a lump-sum payment of up to £20,000 and pensions of up to £100 a week for men over the age of 50.⁴⁸

Pat Egan had followed in his father’s footsteps by working at the neighbouring colliery of Bedlay, North Lanarkshire, before it was closed amicably through agreement with the workforce and trade-union representatives in 1982. Pat was subsequently transferred to the Fife coalfield on Scotland’s east coast, in line with the closure agreement. He described events at Cardowan and the closures that followed across the Scottish coalfield as a clear breach of the principles of joint regulation that secured industrial citizenship: “just vandalism, it was terror raising and ideology” that served to cut short miners’ working lives and the industry’s future.⁴⁹ Deep mining has since ceased across

47. Jim Phillips, *Collieries, Communities and the Miners’ Strike in Scotland, 1984–85* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 21–24; Jim Phillips, “Workplace Conflict and the Origins of the 1984–85 Miners’ Strike in Scotland,” *Twentieth Century British History* 20 (2009): 155.

48. Cardowan Colliery, National Appeal Meeting, 16 August 1983, Appendix 1: Special Extended Colliery Consultative Committee Meeting held in the Parochial Hall, Stepps, Folder FC/3/2/3/2, National Mining Museum of Scotland, Newtongrange, Scotland.

49. Pat Egan, interview by Ewan Gibbs, 5 February 2014, Fife College, Glenrothes, Scotland.

Scotland, but opencast mining has intermittently continued and its contrasting industrial relations, which bear the hallmarks of Wheeler's perspective, are considered below. The experience of transition has sewn a division between previously unified identities that connected locale-based small-scale geographical communities and a workforce largely drawn from them. Although Sudbury has not experienced the cessation of deep mining, it has also witnessed the development of a dissection of perceived interests, as well as a fragmentation of the workforce.

While deep mining continues in Sudbury, both Inco and Falconbridge have essentially divested of many of the aspects of the business not directly tied to ore extraction, milling, and smelting. This movement away from all aspects of the business has led the way to a so-called hidden industry within the larger context of the Sudbury mining industry.⁵⁰ The mining supply and services (MSS) sector has grown into an approximately \$6.2 billion industry, contributing about 1 per cent of Ontario's GDP and employing some 25,000 people in northern Ontario. The MSS sector comprises four subsections: mining equipment, supplies and services companies, consulting services and other related companies, and mining contract services companies.

The loss of attachment to the union associated with contracting out – a loss felt not only by individual workers but also, due to increasing industry disengagement, by the community as a whole – has been visible in recent strikes. The 2000–2001 Falconbridge/Mine Mill Local 598 strike is one such example. Global ownership, government legislation, and steadily decreasing membership numbers fundamentally shaped this dispute. On 1 August 2000, approximately 1,800 workers went out on strike in an effort to protect jobs and union security.⁵¹ While the company argued that rewriting the collective agreement would provide clarity of use and corporate profitability, the union viewed these proposed changes as an attack on its hard-fought gains. The union saw these changes as an attack on the “fundamental principles of seniority, of health and safety, of procedures for job postings and transfer.”⁵² By this time, Falconbridge had merged with a Québec-based company, Noranda.⁵³ New company ownership changed the dynamics between the company and the union. The aggressive stance taken by the company during the strike had not previously been seen at Falconbridge. The strike ended in February 2001 following a distinctly bitter confrontation, in contrast to previous disputes, as was affirmed in the comments of union activists who noted its unique

50. Canadian Association for Mining Equipment and Services for Export, *Pan-Ontario Mining Supply and Services Sector Economic Impact Study* (Toronto, 22 October 2014).

51. Saarinen, *Meteorite Impact*; Kaili Beck, Chris Bowes, Gary Kinsman, Mercedes Steedman & Peter Suschnigg, eds., *Mine Mill Fights Back: Mine Mill/CAW Local 598 Strike 2000–2001, Sudbury* (Sudbury: Mine Mill/CAW Local 598, 2005).

52. Beck et al., *Mine Mill Fights Back*, 25.

53. Beck et al., *Mine Mill Fights Back*.

features. Past union president Rolly Gauthier stated, “[This] was the first time that our Local, our members and their families had to deal with scabs, private security forces, and a media campaign directly aimed at the leadership of the union.”⁵⁴ Ontario legislation allows the use of replacement workers, or scabs, during the course of a strike, and the company took full advantage of this, bringing significant numbers of replacement workers and a militant security firm called Accu-Fax to ensure those replacement workers could enter the sites.⁵⁵ Following the strike, the company continued to increase its use of contract workers, especially embedded contractors. Steve, a union representative, describes embedded contractors as follows:

They’re coverage for absentees, or if somebody got hurt at work, or sick. They have to offer overtime first, there’s a series of steps ... and we still kind of butt heads ... unplanned, unforeseen work. Temporary additional manpower needs, and that allows them a certain amount of time to have a better contract for up to 60 days on the crew than if somebody retires or quits. ... [I]f there’s any embedded contractor on the crew, their company has to pay us dues on those contracts.⁵⁶

The broader community was less invested in the strike than it had been in past strikes. Unionized Inco workers at this time numbered approximately 4,000.⁵⁷ The total number of directly employed mineworkers stood around 6,500 – a far cry from the height of employment in the 1970s (Figure 2). Thus, as in Lanarkshire, the restructuring of the sector was dependent on the offering of economic rewards to individual workers in return for breaching previously accepted norms of joint regulation and collectivism.

These developments have intensified in the years following the strike, as demonstrated during the 2009–10 Vale/usw Local 6500 strike. By that time, total union membership in the mining industry had declined further, to fewer than 6,000 workers (approximately 4,000 at Inco and 1,839 at Xstrata [previously Falconbridge]).⁵⁸ A strike was provoked by the incremental erosion of the security that industrial citizenship had historically provided, specifically, “Vale’s bid to change the pension plan for new hires, to significantly reduce profit sharing, and to impose retirements and layoffs that in the union’s view would open up the industry to contracting out and temporary workers.”⁵⁹ Unlike previous disputes, which had been characterized by a degree of community solidarity, this strike “drew some people further apart,” reflecting the

54. Rolly Gauthier, “New Millennium, Same Old Copper Baron,” in Beck et al., *Mine Mill Fights Back*.

55. Beck et al., *Mine Mill Fights Back*.

56. Steve, interview by Shelley Condratto, 25 November 2014, Sudbury.

57. Saarinen, *Meteorite Impact*.

58. Saarinen, *Meteorite Impact*.

59. John Peters, “Down in the Vale: Corporate Globalization, Unions on the Defensive, and the usw Local 6500 Strike in Sudbury, 2009–2010,” *Labour/Le Travail* 66, 1 (2010): 73–105.

increasingly marginal status of the striking full-time workforce and the rising importance of contract workers.⁶⁰ A key aspect of the workforce was the company's unprecedented ability to keep operations running during the strike by utilizing a record number of replacement workers.⁶¹ Over 1,200 replacement workers kept operations "functioning at near 30 per cent of capacity over the course of the year long strike."⁶²

The breakdown of traditional collectivist bonds and solidarities that had underpinned industrial citizenship was apparent through the use of contractors, which caused tension not only between the company and the union, but also within the wider community. There was no shortage of contract workers willing to cross the picket line, even within families. As one worker recalled, "That was a tough thing because we had members come in whose stepson would cross the picket line ... so it really did separate ... it was pretty negative."⁶³ Despite efforts by the union, the aggressive tactics of the global mining giant Vale succeeded in attaining major concessions from the union related to pensions, benefits, and payoffs. The outcomes of the strike demonstrate how "globalization has led to firms expanding rapidly and just as rapidly undertaking restructuring that worsens jobs, leads to layoffs, and induces major concessions in collective agreements."⁶⁴ In other words, Vale's actions demonstrated the further assertion of market citizenship and erosion of the industrial citizenship of the postwar period.

In Scotland, responding to colliery closures was particularly disorienting for miners who were fired for activities during the strike. The NCB's actions in such cases epitomized its turn from a system of industrial citizenship that recognized the legitimacy of trade-union activities to one that was increasingly hostile. Brendan Moohan narrated the psychological trauma of his arrest during the 1984–85 miners' strike and his subsequent sacking. At nineteen years of age, he struggled to cope with losing his employment, despite winning an industrial tribunal case that ruled against his dismissal:

I won ma tribunal, I was supposed to be reengaged. Although it was the government's industrial court it wisnae law abiding so I was never brought back in. I was given some compensation which I drank. Though to be fair I didn't realize it at the time but the impact of the miners' strike had been huge on me personally and then somebody gives you, you know, 8 grand in compensation, you've never seen 8 thousand pounds, whittled it within a year.⁶⁵

Brendan experienced a profound episode of disorientation and loss, which was also felt at a collective level across the Scottish coalfield following the

60. Paul, interview by Shelley Condratto, 28 May 2014, Sudbury.

61. Aguzzoli & Geary, "An 'Emerging Challenge,'" 587; Peters, "Down in the Vale."

62. Peters, "Down in the Vale," 74.

63. Paul, interview.

64. Peters, "Down in the Vale," 65.

65. Brendan Moodhan, interview.

imposition of market citizenship through the destruction of government and NCB commitments to industrial citizenship.

Rhona Wilkinson-Hewat's grandfather and uncles were miners from Breich, on Lanarkshire's eastern border with West Lothian. She recalled that young men who had lost their jobs in local collieries maintained an association through occupying street corners and used their redundancy packages to fund alcohol consumption. This social transformation within the working class epitomized the challenge of the removal of stable, well-paid employment in a material sense in addition to the cultural sustenance that coal mining provided. Wilkinson-Hewat added, "You know so it's like what do you do when you're so isolated. You've had your identity pulled away from you as well. Not just a livelihood. You know I remember seeing things like that, that changed."⁶⁶ Billy Ferns recollected that in Lanarkshire middle-aged and older men like himself who had often been made redundant and retired early following pit closures also struggled to adapt to the changed social landscape: "Well some ae them just couldnae handle it went to drink and that, nae job and whatever, nae lifestyle then."⁶⁷

These recollections point to elements of the half-life of deindustrialization in framing expectations and alienation from anticipated roles. Furthermore, there was also evidence of the continued salience of coalfield identities. Following his victimization and termination during the miners' strike, Mick McGahey, the son of the trade union leader with the same name, recollected that he was "a refugee fae the pits y'know, there was nowhere else fir me to go so I got a job here wi the NHS [National Health Service] [as a porter]."⁶⁸ Mick recalled that he was not alone in making this transition; several former miners worked as porters and care assistants at both the Astley Ainslie Hospital in Edinburgh, where he was first employed, and the Royal Edinburgh Hospital, where he now works. Indicating the strength of the half-life, Mick affirmed the continuation of coalfield culture visible in trade-union activities through a "survival" narrative that parallels the narratives of deindustrialization and the loss of secure mining employment that Portelli uncovered in Harlan County, Kentucky⁶⁹: "It wisnae closure, it wis annihilation. They tried to annihilate the National Union ae Mineworkers, those that were members of the National Union ae Mineworkers, and the communities round about that supported them. And they failed because we're still here."⁷⁰

66. Rhona Wilkinson-Hewat, interview by Ewan Gibbs, 7 November 2014, Fauldhouse, Scotland.

67. Billy Ferns, interview by Ewan Gibbs, 17 March 2014, Bishopbriggs, Scotland.

68. Mick McGahey, interview by Ewan Gibbs, 31 March 2014, Edinburgh, Scotland.

69. Alessandro Portelli, *They Say in Harlan County: An Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 331.

70. Mick McGahey, interview.

Some elements of industrial citizenship culture survived within the Scottish coalfields and were transmitted within sectors that retained high union densities. However, others underwent a more disturbing adjustment to market citizenship, losing almost all aspects of the security and social recognition associated with industrial citizenship. Experiences of confronting multinational capital following the final closure of deep mining in Lanarkshire were more dramatic than those in Sudbury, which took place in the context of a sector that still had an organized, if declining, workforce.

Alan Blades had worked alongside his father and brother at Bedlay colliery before he transferred his employment to the Longannet complex on Scotland's east coast. Alan was made redundant during layoffs in 1997, five years before Scotland's last deep coal mine closed. He went on to work at the short-lived Chunghwa cathode ray tube factory in the Chapelhall industrial estate, North Lanarkshire. When asked how the new management was different, Alan described a non-union work culture with a very restrictive and controlling atmosphere instituted by a Taiwanese company:

[Management was] Stricter, stricter aye yer dealin wi boys from Taiwan. ... They were brung over fae Malaysia and Taiwan, it was a Taiwanese company, and like y'know it's hand up tae go for a pee y'know what I mean? Can I go to the toilet? You're a one bit aw the time, at the pit yer movin about talkin tae boys y'know communicating and that. [*pause*] No camara-derie, nae banter, nae banter. Doon the pit there was banter y'know nae banter you werenae allowed tae talk. Put your hand up tae go for a pee.⁷¹

Alan remembered working weekend shifts for up to twelve hours and not receiving an overtime rate. However, his anger was reserved for the "white elephant" status of the factory, which received extensive public funds but failed to deliver the long-term employment the company had promised.⁷² These changes breached the premise of previous forms of industrial citizenship, based on secure jobs supported by public investment, and confirmed the market citizenship model of disposable labour. Moreover, indicating the salience of the half-life, previous conditions continued to frame Alan's understanding more directly. Comparing Chungwha to colliery employment, he underlined the lack of social connections at the plant and the limits on worker autonomy imposed by the managerial style, reinforcing his earlier observations: "Aye totally different, didnae like it ma man, couldnae adjust."

In both Sudbury and Lanarkshire, the transition toward market citizenship has been internalized by the workforce to some extent, exemplified in the former case by the experience of recent strikes. Although the Sudbury industry has sustained economic growth in the area, the expansion of MSS has contributed to a decrease in unionized jobs. Workers have also experienced limited social benefits and are more likely than in the past to use temporary staffing agencies in the Sudbury area to find employment. While these temporary

71. Alan Blades, interview by Ewan Gibbs, 26 February 2014, Airdrie, Scotland.

72. Alan Blades, interview.

staffing agencies fill a wide-ranging span of positions, the bulk of these jobs are blue-collar positions in the mining industry. Unions within the core mining companies struggle with an ever-growing contracting out of union jobs and battle to protect the level of employment conditions and protections won over decades-long struggles.

Lack of union representation means not only fewer protections for workers but also a loss of community, as union halls were once hubs for social activities and recreational programming for workers, families, and children.⁷³ Graham, a retired Falconbridge miner, commented on the differences in the attitudes and personal dynamics between workers today compared to when he started working for the company in 1975:

We went to a town hall thing last night. ... I listened to the guys at the back, young guys, complaining that some of them were scared to get laid off and all that. ... I found that when I worked, if you worked with these ten guys, you actually partied with these ten guys too, back then it was much different than now. The guys go home, maybe a few guys hang around, but generally they don't see each other, so we used to always party. Much more drinking back then.⁷⁴

Graham expressed a loss of solidarity and community connectedness that had been present during his working years. Thus, Graham's perceptions of present employment show the hallmarks of the half-life of deindustrialization in that present, precarious conditions are gauged from the perspective of industrial citizenship. A sense of brotherhood, loyalty, and solidarity is not the experience of the younger generation of workers and their families.

Historically, it was not only workers who came together. While men formed brotherhoods among their fellow unionized mineworkers, women found a place within the union through women's auxiliaries, since the industry and membership were heavily dominated by men. Women would play significant roles during strikes, and their involvement in the broader community was invaluable. Children would attend union summer camps and recreational classes at the union halls, making the halls important hubs of the communities that grew around the mine sites.

As Graham's case demonstrates, however, such experiences are increasingly rare. Steadily decreasing union membership has made it impossible for unions to maintain such an overarching reach into all aspects of life outside of work. Community structures of solidarity have slowly dwindled alongside the decline in directly employed unionized workers. Although today's mining union halls still do provide meeting spaces for retirees, places for Christmas parties, and post-secondary scholarships for members' children, these spaces are no longer part of daily family life. It was this growing social distance

73. Dieter Buse, Peter Suschnigg & Mercedes Steedman, eds., *Hard Lessons: The Mine Mill Union in the Canadian Labour Movement* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1995).

74. Graham, interview by Shelley Condratto, 9 February 2016, Sudbury.

between local community and workforce perceptions of interest that was communicated so dramatically in the two recent strikes discussed above.

The fight against contracting out is not a new battle for mining unions. In fact, contracting-out language has been included in the USW Local 6500 and Mine Mill Local 598 collective agreements since the 1960s. However, in recent decades, mining unions have been seemingly unable to limit the use of contractors, as expressed by one former union rep who stated that the contracting out by the company represents a total loss of control in the workplace: "We end up taking five out and ten come in the back door."⁷⁵

Union strategies to avoid the contracting out of work during the grievance and arbitration process is also seemingly ineffective, as it is commonplace for the union to have hundreds of contracting-out grievances ongoing at any given time. The union prioritizes grievances dealing with terminations and discipline over grievances dealing with contracting out, implying a toleration of elements of contracting out and the incremental transition to market citizenship.⁷⁶ Therefore, the workforce itself has internalized market citizenship's emphasis on external, immediate rewards rather than trying to build stronger social connections with precariously employed workers.

Community Divisions

IN SUDBURY, THE TRANSITION toward a marginalized workforce in the mines has had a major impact on social life. Communities previously defined by hardrock mining have been disoriented and have lost their formerly strong identities, in turn affecting the understanding of mining employment as a social and industrial identity. Elements of workplace control have been sacrificed for monetary gains in wages and compensation. This represents a distinct variant from the historical experience in Lanarkshire, where a minority of miners accepting management inducement to take large cash redundancy packages was used to undermine collective rights and disrupt union organization. However, as discussed below, it accords with the present dynamics of conflict between the collective good and the individual gains from environmentally damaging opencast mining activities. Unlike in Lanarkshire, the remaining elements of collectivism in Sudbury have been more readily focused in an infrastructure still directly connected to the mining industry, an industry in which workers have sustained identities to some extent. In Scotland, those elements of solidarity and coalfield identity that remain are not directly connected to contemporary mining activities that divide workforce and community interests.

In Lanarkshire, mining employment is now concentrated within opencast developments, which has intensified the replacement of industrial citizenship

75. Will, interview by Shelley Condratto, 9 February 2016, Sudbury.

76. Paul, interview.

by market citizenship given their inherently temporary nature. This has also exacerbated environmental conflicts between mining companies and communities. Following the closure of deep mining, the Dalquahandy opencast site was developed in Coalburn, South Lanarkshire, and became Europe's largest opencast mine. Despite the scale of the operation and the damage it caused to the landscape, employment was minimal and precarious in comparison to deep mining.⁷⁷ Further developments are possible but are highly sensitive to fluctuating coal prices and energy markets.

There are parallels between the developments in Coalburn, South Lanarkshire, and the divisions over "mountaintop removal site" strip-mining practices in Harlan County, Kentucky, that Portelli's oral history uncovered.⁷⁸ In both cases, former deep coal mining communities face divisions between those eager to gain temporary, well-paid manual employment and those concerned about long-term environmental damage and health problems and also point to the short-term nature of the work being provided. George Greenshields comes from a Coalburn mining background, with his father and four brothers having worked in local collieries; they transferred to collieries in North Lanarkshire following pit closures in the Coalburn area during the late 1960s and early 1970s. George worked in local opencast developments before he became a local councillor. Keen to profile the economic benefits of opencast mining, he identified the sector as the "main employer" in the area and outlined the problems of the community's dependency on commuting to work in larger settlements. Yet, his descriptions also illuminated the precarious nature of the work on short-lived mines and the ongoing problems associated with Scottish Coal's 2013 bankruptcy, which led to restoration costs going unpaid⁷⁹:

Yes, well Scottish Coal went into liquidation last year there. It's since been taken over by Hargreaves. So Hargreaves just started back there, a lotta kindae, y'know, stuff goin through courts. One thing and another, who was responsible for the restoration of the sites. There's a south side as well which they're still workin on parts on that. But Hargreaves have been pumpin water oot for months noo. They've put in close to a million pounds of water out so I think next month they'll be starting coal again so they'll be starting back 100 jobs at the opencast. And then they'll be like as other jobs come on wi restoration and that it might be Hargreaves, it might be something else and then that'll create mare jobs as that goes on. If they went to Glentagart they could have maybe about four or five years in the area hopefully that happens and it keeps people in work because as I say it is the major employer. Anybody else they have to travel to work. The biggest majority o people either travel by car or bus tae get tae work whether it's y'know Hamilton or Motherwell.⁸⁰

77. Julia Horton, "Communities 'Being Killed Off' by Coal Industry," *Scotsman*, 13 May 2013, <http://www.scotsman.com/news/environment/communities-being-killed-off-by-coal-industry-1-2926906>.

78. Portelli, *Harlan County*, 348.

79. Horton, "Communities 'Being Killed Off.'"

80. George Greenshields, interview by Ewan Gibbs, 11 February 2014, Coalburn, Scotland.

Gilbert Dobby also comes from a Coalburn mining background. Unlike George Greenshields, he had worked alongside his father as an engineer in local collieries. Gilbert transferred to the English Midlands following closures in Coalburn, but returned to the area and took up employment first at Bedlay and then in Polkemmet, West Lothian. Gilbert maintained a more critical perspective on opencast activities than George did. Remembering his contribution to a public meeting on the opencast development, Gilbert pointed to the clear limitations of opencast employment, which was far smaller in terms of the number of jobs created, and shorter lived, than deep mining was. However, his feelings on the quick-fix nature of the activity went beyond its employment ramifications.

Reflecting on the contrast between industrial citizenship's community embeddedness and market citizenship's prioritization of profitability and short-term transactions, Gilbert emphasized the much larger scale of permanent environmental damage that opencast had caused in return for minimal economic gain when compared to deep mining. Thus, rather than a communal resource mediated by workforce dialogue with employers, mining employment had become a literal scar on the community:

Well as I stood up at the meeting up the stairs I said, "It's not as profitable as workin' doon the pits." And one of the guys told me that I was being stupid. I said "you think so?" I says "how many men do you employ?" I says "in the pits for every men worked in the pit how many oot ae the pit had jobs?" We'd lots ae rights o way ehmm pathways round aboot Coalburn. We'd some one, two actually two that went tae here from Douglas over the moors. They've aw been done away wi the opencast which is a thing ah don't like aboot it. They've never been back the way they said they would and ah told them at the meeting they couldnae do it and ah says "correct me if I'm wrong a ton ae coal underground is one cubic metre," "yes that's right" ah says "you dig it oot the ground what size is it noo it's all broken up takes up a bigger space doesn't it?" ah says "you're wantin to take thousands o tons o soil, rocks, different things up, you're going to tell me in a matter ae a couple o years, you can take what it took nature billions, no million, billion ae years tae dae," "oh yes we can do it." You go up there some ae it's like the moon you get ponds up there you could take Hampden Park and I'm no talkin just aboot the playing surface, you could take Hampden Park and drop it in the water there that wisnae there before.⁸¹

Thus, the erosion of industrial citizenship has had profound impacts within mining communities in both Lanarkshire and Sudbury. Workers have had to psychologically and socially adapt to a redefining of the meaning of work and the exercise of voice within the workplace. This has produced dissonance and disagreement, including trends toward both adaptation to and difficulties in coming to terms with the transformation, but without recourse to effective collective resistance.

This article's analysis focuses on worker and community responses to radical sectoral restructuring. It has centred on two cases of mining workforces that were heavily embedded in the practices of industrial citizenship but lost them over the late 20th and early 21st centuries. There are clear parallels

81. Gilbert Dobby, interview by Ewan Gibbs, 11 February 2014, Coalburn, Scotland.

in this experience of the erosion of stable, unionized employment, along with aspects of codetermination relating to joint regulation and workplace control. In both cases, management instituted market citizenship by breaking the collective solidarities of industrial citizenship via aggressive anti-trade unionism and utilizing tactics to divide the workforce through incentivizing the acceptance of individualized workplace relations.

In the Lanarkshire coalfield, the destruction of industrial citizenship was intertwined with intensifying deindustrialization and the imposition of increasingly stringent financial priorities within the NCB that entailed the closure of the county's last colliery, Cardowan, in 1983 in the buildup to the 1984–85 miners' strike. Coalfield identities were retained by some participants, including through social links and in trade-union activities, but the small remains of the coal mining industry are a source of division rather than solidarity.

Although Sudbury retains an active deep mining sector, the industry has experienced extensive restructuring since the 1970s, characterized by an industrial relations system that allowed the hollowing out of firm-level employment and the growing use of subcontractors by new multinational owners. These workers lack access to the employment security of the "core" unionized workforce. While in some cases contract workers may make a higher hourly wage than regularly employed colleagues, they are rarely granted other benefits such as pensions and extended health plans that had anchored the lifetime economic security that industrial citizenship sustained.⁸² Through this greater use of contract workers, companies are "[shifting] the costs of adjusting to changes in the economy onto workers."⁸³ Within Lanarkshire, a residual opencast sector has intermittently provided employment over the three decades since the closure of Cardowan. This change represents a more extreme picture of precarity than is seen in Sudbury. While in the latter case, industrial conflict has become increasingly divisive within the community, in Lanarkshire the continuation of mining itself, given the environmental impact of opencast activities, is contested.

Unlike in Lanarkshire, Sudbury's mining industry still plays a major role in the local economy. Despite occasional and temporary disruptions in employment due to labour strife and economic lows, the industry is still considered to offer stable and long-term employment. However, significant diversification has taken place. The shift from a mostly directly employed core workforce to a flexible one has changed the workplace culture. In accordance with Aronowitz's view of declining class consciousness associated with the shrinking of industrial employment, there is a growing psychological disconnect between workers and their employment, which has contributed to the decline

82. Judy Fudge & Leah F. Vosko, "By Whose Standards? Regulating the Canadian Labour Market," *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 22, 3 (2001): 331.

83. Fudge & Vosko, "By Whose Standards?"

of a work-based community strongly linked to the social life of the town.⁸⁴ For past generations of workers, their work crewmates were also their friends outside of the mine, and they would spend weekends and vacations together. In today's workplaces, these relationships have been hollowed out. These findings accord with those of Standing, Sender, and Weeks, who state that "the trend toward more contract labour, and towards using contractors for mining labour, has been linked to the mines' drive for higher productivity, flexibility and cost cutting."⁸⁵

Restructuring since the 1980s has been experienced through the destruction of the form of industrial relations that had underpinned secure work in mining as well as the fall in direct employment – or, in Lanarkshire, the end of coal mining activities. This has served to dislocate the senses of self and place formed around collective connections with industry. In Lanarkshire, the undermining of industrial citizenship and the institution of market citizenship took place in the context of intensifying deindustrialization that forced men to look for work in lower-paid sectors that lacked the security, workplace autonomy, and joint regulation of mining. In Sudbury, there was, in some ways, a less dramatic dislocation, in the sense that a greater share of mining employment remains, but nevertheless it has been subject to a transition toward market citizenship through industrial restructuring. This has incorporated the growth of subcontracting and less-secure forms of employment.

Both groups of workers have experienced a shift in the nature of work within the local mining industry and a loss of the community structures that this embedded employment had provided. In each case, those who remain employed in industrial sectors lack the collectivist workplace culture and economic security formerly provided by industrial citizenship. Managerial prerogative has been asserted, and the individualized priorities of market citizenship predominate over the collective consultation legitimated by industrial citizenship. In Sudbury, this is apparent through the varieties of subcontracting and employment practices that put the cost of market fluctuations on labour rather than capital. An internalization of these ends is visible in the priorities that trade-union members accord in negotiations. In Lanarkshire, the experience of industrial development since the closure of Cardowan has included similar trends, as exemplified by the short-lived Chungghwa factory, where former miners came face to face with multinational capital in circumstances very different to those in Sudbury. Chungghwa practised a severe form of unitary management, before closing in the face of the late-1990s electronics downturn.

In Sudbury's nickel mining industry, elements of workplace control were premised on collective agreement language put into place during the 1960s as

84. Aronowitz, *False Promises*.

85. Guy Standing, John Sender & John Weeks, *Restructuring the Labour Market: The South African Challenge, an ILO Country Review* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1996): 302.

a means of ensuring protection from outsourcing. For many years the Sudbury mining industry was able to fight attempts by the companies to contract out jobs, due in part to the strength and size of the local mining unions. However, as direct employment declined, along with union membership numbers, mining unions were no longer able to resist the changes imposed by the companies in terms of contracting out. The unions were forced to gradually trade aspects of collective agreement language and workplace control for incremental monetary gains and nonmonetary benefits. This incremental hollowing out has had profound long-term effects in the social and cultural embeddedness of the industry, which can no longer rely on or mobilize community support during industrial disputes. Instead, during such conflicts, Sudbury is divided between contractors from the town and the core unionized workforce. In Lanarkshire, the demise of industrial citizenship employment in deep mining contributed to conflicts over the short-term economic benefits and long-term environmental cost of opencast activities.

The strategy of gradual retrenchment, and the place of Canadian-mined nickel as a viable product in international markets, has helped to maintain the sector. In Lanarkshire the final removal of structures of industrial citizenship coincided with the rapid contraction, and final demise, of the Scottish deep coal sector in the face of liberalized market forces and UK energy policy changes. However, in both cases a major strike confirmed the assertion of market citizenship and contributed to the fracturing of cohesive identities and economic security grounded in stable mining employment. As demonstrated in the case of demands to proceed with opencast developments in Lanarkshire, despite costs to the community, as well as in the bargaining away of collective rights for increased pay in Sudbury, the workforces have been obliged to absorb elements of market citizenship and adopt an increasingly instrumental attitude toward mining employment.

Conclusion

THIS PAPER HAS COMPARATIVELY analyzed two examples of mining communities that experienced major job loss and industrial restructuring during the late 20th and early 21st centuries. In both Sudbury and Lanarkshire, strong elements of the varieties of industrial citizenship that had predominated across core industrial sectors of developed economies between the 1940s and 1970s were visible. Testimonies of mineworkers and their families provide a greater understanding of how workers adapted to a system of market citizenship that began in the late 1970s.

The analysis underlines adaptation to a more insecure structure of employment in circumstances where collective capacities for resistance by workers have been eroded. Material losses in terms of secure employment and higher wages were accompanied by less tangible elements of material loss, including challenges to identities and the erosion of communal associations by the

individualized employment practices of market citizenship. However, in both cases, elements of the half-life of deindustrialization are visible in individual worker attitudes and the persistence of mining and trade-union identities – but not in an ability to organize effective responses to market citizenship.

Mining employment was structured around communities with a codependency on the industry. The structures of industrial citizenship developed in Sudbury and Lanarkshire were far reaching within the Canadian and British context. Industrial citizenship extended beyond the archetypal exchange of collective bargaining in return for acceptance of managerial prerogative. However, industrial citizenship proved brittle in response to major shifts in political economy and changes in the balance of class forces to the detriment of labour. In Lanarkshire, the insulation from market forces provided by public ownership and the operation of a planned energy policy was abolished, and an aggressive anti-trade-union style of management oversaw final closures before and after the 1984–85 miners' strike.

In Sudbury, the sector has also been downsized and restructured. Workers in both cases have been obliged to adapt to structures of market citizenship. The examples of arguments in favour of opencast mining in Lanarkshire, and for the bargaining of collective rights in return for wage rises in Sudbury, are illustrative of a psychological adaptation to this environment. Workers and their organizations in these cases have absorbed the ethos of market citizenship, or at minimum reluctantly compromised with it. In other cases, shown in negative responses to changes in workplace culture in both Lanarkshire and Sudbury, it is evident the half-life of deindustrialization applies in the retained assertion of conceptions of social justice with origins in the era of industrial citizenship. These are visible in narratives constructed from the closure of Cardowan, the 1984–85 miners' strike and its aftermath in Lanarkshire, and more recent industrial action in Sudbury. In both Lanarkshire and Sudbury, divisions in the workforce and employer power underlined the loss of collective resources. However, a positive assertion of resistance and collective identity, outside of the existing mining industry itself in Lanarkshire, also persists in a weakened form. Thus, Aronowitz's conclusions are partially visible in terms of the loss of the resources that had sustained past class struggles, but less so in a total absorption into the values of market citizenship that were only partially internalized.⁸⁶

The narratives of workers from Sudbury and Lanarkshire indicate the centrality of workplace control and elements of codetermination in management to the structures of industrial citizenship in mining regions. It was fragile through its dependency on a social compact and maintenance of relatively full employment, which did not survive the 1970s. Workers navigation of market citizenship was shaped partly by the earlier understandings of industrial citizenship. However, adaptations to individualized employment relations and

86. Aronowitz, *False Promises*.

an instrumental rather than collective or united orientation to work were evident. Workers' narratives also stressed that employment remains a premier source of identity and key to self-understanding and life stories. Those workers who mourned the losses of industrial citizenship confirmed this in a negative sense, and the disassociation of work from predominant understandings of place was also experienced as alienating. Alternative conceptualizations that make security less immediately tied to the sale of labour power, such as "social citizenship," merit consideration as ways to provide security that are less ultimately tied to market outcomes and domination.⁸⁷ However, workplace identities and collectivism, and the experiences of their loss and absence, remain profound wounds in both case studies. A vision of economic fairness and social justice that cannot incorporate empowerment at the point of production is ultimately limited.

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87. Fudge, "After Industrial Citizenship."