

ABSTRACTS / RÉSUMÉS

“Severing the Connections in a Complex Community”: The Grange, Patrons of Industry and the Construction/Contestation of a Late Nineteenth-Century Agrarian Identity in Ontario

Darren Ferry

THE LEADERSHIP of the Patrons of Husbandry and the Patrons of Industry in late 19th-century Ontario offered ideological visions of class harmony, the promise of united political action through antipartyism, and the assurance of material prosperity to Ontario's farmers, the history of agrarian protest can be viewed as one of broken promises and unfulfilled expectations. The tensions inherent in the differing material circumstances *and* various representational philosophies of agriculture made it impossible for the Dominion Grange and the Patrons of Industry to sustain harmony and unity for any length of time within a deeply divided agricultural population. As a result, entrenched ideological differences regarding the merits or shortcomings of the co-operative principle in the Dominion Grange and Patrons of Industry would highlight the tensions and conflicts intrinsic to the varied approaches of the farmers themselves. And yet the initial success of both agrarian protest movements in Ontario displayed at least a willingness on the part of farmers to bond together for united action. Their cataclysmic collapse into irrelevancy by the

turn of the century, however, also revealed the ideological, cultural, social, and economic fissures situated within Ontario's rural populace.

LE LEADERSHIP des Patrons of Husbandry et des patrons of Industry à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle en Ontario a offert des visions idéologiques de l'harmonie des classes. Ils promettaient une action politique unie au delà de l'appartenance aux partis traditionnels et la prospérité matérielle pour les agriculteurs de l'Ontario. Toute fois l'histoire du mouvement de protestation agraire peut être vue comme une série de promesses rompues ou d'attentes non remplies. Les tensions inhérentes générées par les conditions matérielles variées et les diverses philosophies en matière d'agriculture ont rendu impossible pour le Dominion Grange et les Patrons of Industry de soutenir l'harmonie et l'unité au sein d'une population agricole profondément divisée. En conséquence, des différences idéologiques bien établies au sein de ces mouvements à l'égard des mérites et des insuffisances du principe de coopération allaient mettre en lumière les tensions et les conflits intrinsèques aux différentes approches adoptées par les agriculteurs eux-mêmes. Et pourtant, le succès initial des deux mouvements de protestation agraires en Ontario avait démontré au moins la volonté des agriculteurs de s'unir pour une action concertée. Au but du compte, leur dramatique faillite, au tournant du siècle, révèle les fissures idéologiques, culturelles, sociales et économiques au sein de la population rurale de l'Ontario.

Setting the Minimum: Ontario's Employment Standards In The Postwar Years, 1944-1968

Mark Thomas

MINIMUM LABOUR STANDARDS are legally established standards that apply to most employers and employees, and include minimum wages, maximum hours of work, overtime, and paid time off. The regulation of minimum standards in Ontario was consolidated within the Ontario Employment Standards Act in 1968. While the provincial minimum standards of the late 19th and early 20th century have been well documented, the regulation of minimum standards during the postwar period has received little scholarly attention. This paper explores the development of minimum standards legislation in Ontario from the immediate postwar years up to the

enactment of the Employment Standards Act. The paper argues that social forces both internal and external to the state pressured for the enactment of comprehensive legislation to provide some statutory protection for the most vulnerable workers in the province. However, the ways in which the state negotiated the tensions associated with providing social protection for non-unionized workers, while at the same time minimizing interference in the market, severely compromised the capacity for the legislation to provide protection for the "pockets of exploitation" they were intended for. Further, this approach to minimum standards supported and reproduced patterns of gendered and racialized segmentation within a labour market that was built around the norm of the Standard Employment Relationship, and thereby ensured standards of a secondary status for workers with the least bargaining power.

PAR DES NORMES D'EMPLOI MINIMALES on entend les normes légalement établies qui s'appliquent à la plupart des employeurs et des employés et qui comprennent les salaires minimums, les heures de travail maximales, les heures supplémentaires et les congés payés. La réglementation sur les normes minimales en Ontario a été consolidée en 1968 par l'adoption de la Loi sur les normes d'emploi de l'Ontario. Bien que les normes minimales provinciales de la fin du 19^e siècle et du début du 20^e siècle aient été bien documentées, la réglementation des normes minimales pendant la période d'après-guerre n'a reçu que peu d'attention de la part des spécialistes. Cet article explore l'élaboration de la loi sur les normes de travail en Ontario de l'après-guerre jusqu'à la promulgation de la loi en 1968. Il prétend que les forces sociales, internes et externes, ont exercé des pressions sur l'État en vu du passage d'une loi exhaustive donnant une protection statutaire à la plupart des travailleuses et travailleurs les plus vulnérables de la province. Toutefois, les façons dont l'État avait négocié les tensions générés par les débats politiques sur la protection sociale des ouvriers non-syndiqués, même si elles minimisent l'interférence sur le marché, ont sapé sévèrement la capacité de la loi à protéger les «poches d'exploitation» auxquelles elle s'adressait. De plus, cette approche fondée sur des normes minimales a soutenu et reproduit des tendances à la segmentation par le genre et la race sur un marché du travail qui a été construit autour des relations normales de travail. Elle a finalement assuré une position secondaire aux travailleuses et aux travailleurs possédant le pouvoir de négociation le plus faible.

Environmental Justice for Whom? Class, New Social Movements, and the Environment: A Case Study of Greenpeace Canada, 1971-2000

John-Henry Harter

THE 1970S SAW AN EXPLOSION of new social movement activism. From the break up of the New Left into single issue groups at the end of the 1960s came a multitude of groups representing the peace movement, environmental movement, student movement, women's movement, and gay liberation movement. This explosion of new social movement activism has been heralded as the age of new radical politics. Many theorists and activists saw, and still see, new social movements, and the issues, or identities they represent, as replacing the working class as an agent for progressive social change. This paper examines these claims through a case study of the quintessential new social movement, Greenpeace. This paper explores the history of Greenpeace Canada from 1971 to 2000 and its relationship to the working class. In order to understand the ideology behind Greenpeace, I investigate its structure, personnel, and actions. The case study illustrates important contradictions between new social movement theory and practice and how those contradictions affect the working class. In particular, Greenpeace's actions against the seal hunt, against forestry in British Columbia, and against its own workers in Toronto, demonstrate some of the historic obstacles to working out a common labour and environmental agenda.

LES ANNÉES 1970 ONT VU UNE EXPLOSION d'un nouvel activisme des mouvements sociaux. La Nouvelle Gauche, en débâcle, a cédé la place à une multitude de groupes aux revendications plus ciblées : soit le mouvement pour la paix, le mouvement écologiste, le mouvement étudiant, le mouvement féministe et le mouvement de libération des gais et lesbiennes. La fébrilité du nouvel activisme des mouvements sociaux a été présentée comme l'annonce d'une nouvelle ère de radicalisme politique. De nombreux théoriciens et activistes ont vu, et voient encore, ces nouveaux mouvements sociaux, leur identité et les questions auxquelles ils s'adressent, comme une alternative à la classe ouvrière en tant qu'agent de changement social progressiste. Cet article examine ces interprétations par l'intermédiaire d'une étude de cas du nouveau mouvement social quintessenciel : Greenpeace. Il explore l'histoire de Greenpeace de 1971 jusqu'en 2000 et ses rapports avec la classe ouvrière. Afin de comprendre l'idéologie qui sous-tend

Greenpeace, l'auteur a mené une enquête sur sa structure, son personnel et ses actions. Cette étude de cas met en évidence d'importantes contradictions entre la théorie et la pratique de ce mouvement social et comment ces contradictions affectent la classe ouvrière. Ainsi, les actions de Greenpeace contre la chasse aux phoques, la coupe forestière en Colombie-Britannique et contre ses propres employés à Toronto, démontrent certains obstacles historiques à l'établissement d'un programme répondant à la fois aux besoins des travailleurs et de l'environnement.

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**Eugene A. Forsey Prize
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Thanks to an anonymous donor, the Canadian Committee on Labour History (CCLH) is pleased to announce the seventh Eugene A. Forsey Prize competition. The CCLH, with the consent of the late Dr. Forsey's family, chose to name it in his honour because of his pioneering work in the field of Canadian labour history. Dr. Forsey, Research Director of the Canadian Congress of Labour and later the Canadian Labour Congress, also served on the committee which founded *Labour/Le Travail*.

The CCLH invites submissions for the eighth Forsey prize competition for graduate and undergraduate work on Canadian labour and working class history.

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