

August 2014

Employment-Related Geographical Mobility in the PEI Trucking Industry

Findings Report

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Acknowledgements

The On the Move Partnership is a project of the SafetyNet Centre for Occupational Health & Safety Research at Memorial University of Newfoundland. On the Move is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Innovate NL, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Canada Foundation for Innovation, and numerous university and community partners, www.onthemovepartnership.ca.

Introduction

Employment-Related Geographical Mobility (E-RGM) in the PEI Trucking Industry is part of the national project entitled, On the Move Partnership: Employment-Related Geographical Mobility in the Canadian Context.

The purpose of this study is to learn more about how truck drivers and companies operating out of PEI and are affected by employment-related mobility (and how this has changed over time). To this end semi-structured interviews were conducted with truck drivers and owners/company representatives about the impact of employment-related mobility on experiences in the industry, families and their immediate communities. The study also sought to investigate policies that affected recruitment and retention of truck drivers and the trucking sector generally in PEI.

We attempted to obtain multiple points of view through our interviews, as such our sample of participants includes both long-haul truckers-who work nationally and internationally-but also regional drivers (within the Maritimes), and local truckers who work mainly on PEI (please see attached Glossary of Terms for definitions). Trucking is a traditionally male occupation, however we made an effort to include female truckers in our sample. We also made efforts to include interviews with truck drivers who were recent immigrants to Canada. We endeavoured to take into consideration gender, ethnicity, and age in our recruitment efforts. However, detailed below

in our Methodology section we note the difficulties we faced in recruiting participants. We used a snowball sampling methodology to recruit participants.

Truck driver participants were asked a series of questions about the extent to which, and how, trucking as an occupation that involves mobility has impacted their working and non-working life as well as their families. They were also asked to detail how they became involved in the industry, their employment history, challenges and positives of working in the trucking industry (see attached Appendix: Interview Questions). Trucking company owners and company representatives were asked interview questions about recruitment and retention of drivers, challenges the industry faces, and their employment experiences within the industry (see attached Appendix: Interview Questions).

Literature Review

The following literature review concentrates on the historical changes to the North American and Canadian trucking industry since the 1980s, as per the focus of the On the Move Partnership. As well the current state of the trucking industry in Canada and Prince Edward Island are detailed and there are brief sections on relevant theories. This literature review is meant to be an overview of policy changes in particular, as well as other relevant findings. More detailed writings on specific topics are underway and will continue.

North American Trucking Industry Historical Context- Focus on 1980 to Present

Historical Connections of Trucking and Rural North America

The connection between rural areas and trucking in North America has been a long one, since the advent of trucks in order to move goods. Rural areas in Canada and North America generally have often been sites for resource extraction and agriculture, which has necessitated the

distribution of these products from rural areas. The distributions of these products have used various transportation systems, such as railways, ships and trucking. In Canada currently the majority of goods are distributed using trucking, this is also the means by which a large amount of goods are transported in trade with the United States (Gill and Macdonald, 2013). Trucking is an important part of moving agricultural products to markets within North America and this is particularly true for the agricultural products and processed foods produced on Prince Edward Island, as will be discussed in a later section.

The long standing connections between rural areas and trucking also relates to labour. There is an ongoing and historical flow of rural workers within the North American trucking industry, however, the current rural labour market appears to be shifting and with that the trucking industry labour is also being impacted. The restructuring of agriculture and the deregulation of trucking within North America are analyzed as part of the ongoing changes which continue to impact PEI communities.

In terms of historical labour connections, Hamilton (2006) argues that in the United States from the 1930s to 1970s “[w]hat made trucking ‘country’ ... was fundamentally a function of the forms of industrial capitalism that emerged in the American countryside in the mid-twentieth century. Trucking’s ‘flexibility,’ I came to find, was not just a product of inherent technological advantages over rail transport but shaped by the political, economic, and social structures of industrial agriculture and rural life” (p. 669). He argues the shift to increased usage of trucks versus rail during this period in American history was linked to the parallel economy of agricultural highway transportation, which grew out of exemptions from regulation of hauling agricultural commodities (Hamilton, 2006; 2008). Due to this exemption “agricultural trucking was, during the entire period of ICC regulation, characterized by atomized, very small

nonunionized firms, most often located in rural areas” (Ibid, p. 669). In his case studies of different food industries (dairy, beef, and frozen food), “trucks and highways made it possible for firms to decentralize operations by moving deeper into the countryside to be closer to their sources of supply and to lower-wage rural workforces. In each case, firms relied on exempt agricultural truckers to provide extremely flexible service, allowing for rapid shifts in business operations to respond in real time to the inherent unpredictability of farming (with its seasonality and climate and weather dependence).” (p. 671).

As industrial agriculture has spread across North America displaced farmers have found their skills transferable to truck driving. Hamilton argues in the American context, “[a]s the industrial marketing machinery of the new food economy spread through the countryside—with the number of farms decreasing even as farms grew larger in size—farmers were often forced to see off-farm work as more attractive than staying on the land. Trucks made the marketing machine function, so there were plenty of them to drive, and driving big rigs came readily to rural men accustomed to long hours and cantankerous machinery. Furthermore, the increasingly industrial nature of the postwar rural economy encouraged a new kind of identity that combined rural values with working-class sensibilities.” (2006, p.672-673). This “country” identity of trucking has persisted over time and also applies to the Canadian context.

In the US from the 1960s onwards deregulation of the trucking industry was actively sought out by the above rural truckers, many of which were non-union owner-operators who wished to see the demise of Teamster union influence (Hamilton, 2008). However, as discussed below the Canadian context was quite different, with lower unionization to begin with than the US, deregulation has been characterized as more of a top down policy, in particular done to harmonize with the US transportation policies (Madar, 2001).

Deregulation of the Trucking Industry in North America

Canadian national regulation of trucking, until 1987, oversaw licensing, acquisition permissions, and payments of Atlantic provincial freight subsidies (Monteiro, 2011, p. 5-6). Provincial regulation during this same timeframe differed across the country, however overall regulated exit-entry control (of provincial borders), rate regulation (for companies operating within the provinces), and rate filing (Monteiro, 2011, p. 5-6). The United States nationally deregulated their trucking industry in 1980 and after that time there was immense political pressure for Canada to follow suite (Ellison, 1985).

US deregulation of the trucking industry was primarily a domestic change in policies, however, Canadian deregulation had international aspects, “[t]he first was the arrival of American carriers competing for transborder traffic. Although Canadian carriers had received the same access to the American transborder market in 1980, the Canadian carrier industry’s smaller size magnified the impact when American carriers subsequently headed north. These carriers were used to competition, having survived nice years of turmoil and attrition in their home market, and the largest ones dwarfed their Canadian counterparts” (Madar, 2001, p. 166).

The second international aspect was that it coincided with the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA) implementation and continued with North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (Madar, 2001, p. 166). Deregulation of the trucking industry within Canada and the US can be analysed as part of the larger movement towards globalization of trade. Transportation and trade are integrally linked as part of economic systems at every level, from local to global. Hence deregulation of the trucking industry within Canada was part of the increasingly global scaling of trade and trade liberalization (Lakshmanan and Anderson, 2001). CUSFTA was

implemented in 1988 (Lakshmanan and Anderson, 2001, p. 16), the year after deregulation of the trucking industry (Monterio, 2011). Significantly CUSFTA was intended to phase out all Canada-US tariffs, however transportation services were not covered under this trade agreement (Lakshmanan and Anderson, 2001, p. 16). The US at this point was still implementing its own deregulation of several transportation industries and the Canadian deregulation of transportation industries was just beginning (Lakshmanan and Anderson, 2001, p. 16-17). NAFTA was then implemented in 1994 and included Mexico, as well as the US and Canada, creating a North American agreement in which tariffs on industrial goods were to be eliminated between the partner countries (Lakshmanan and Anderson, 2001). There are major exclusions in the free trade of services, which does include marine and air transportation, as well restrictions were maintained with regard to cross-border truck and rail operations (Lakshmanan and Anderson, 2001, p.20-21). Given that each country has “differing public policy and regulatory regimes [as well as]...technical and safety-related regulations (for example, vehicle size and weight standards)” (Lakshmanan and Anderson, 2001, p.22) it is not surprising restrictions were maintained and differences across the national (and in Canada, provincial) systems continue to this day.

Canada reformed the national economic regulations regarding trucking in 1987, which basically eased regulation on market entry, discontinued rate regulation, and set an expiry of 1993 for any license limitations (specifying routes or commodities) (Monterio, 2011, p. 8-9). In 1990 the “Canadian carriers struggled with deregulation” (Madar, 2001, p.167). In protest of deregulation and the competition with American companies, Canadian truckers blockaded several roadways to the US, in Ontario, Quebec, and BC (Ibid). In May 1991 trucks gathered on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. It is noteworthy that “[m]ost of the blockaders were owner-operators” (Ibid, p. 168),

which is the opposite of the US push for deregulation by owner-operators, as noted above. The majority of carrier firms and organizations did not claim support of the blockades although they were impacted by increased competition (Ibid). While blockaders realized deregulation was not going to be rolled back they “blamed Canadian government policies, from higher fuel prices to longer tax depreciation periods, for a relative disadvantage. Also singled out were higher Canadian interest rates, which made it more expensive to replace inefficient equipment, and the higher exchange rate of the Canadian dollar” (Madar, 2001, p. 169).

Madar (2001) characterizes the effects of deregulation and free trade as very positive, “[b]etween 1989 and 1997 transborder revenues increased by 145 percent and tonnage by 107 percent” (p. 166). US-Canada trucking also diversified considerably between 1989 and 1997 (Ibid, p. 167). The number of American carriers with provincial authorities in Canada grew “from 3,000 in 1989 to 5,323 in 1991” (Ibid, p. 168). US carriers at this time were also offering lower rates generally. However with both the US and Canada entering a recession in 1990 the trucking industry struggled. US carriers had high bankruptcy rates and Canadian carriers had more debt than their US counterparts and had high operating costs (Ibid, p. 169).

By 1993 the recession had led to significant shakeups among Canada’s carriers with many bankruptcies and mergers (Madar, 2001, p. 169). Deregulation and studies of the time period immediately after it in Canada show no clear overwhelming advantage to the US or Canadian carriers in any real discernible pattern according to Madar (2001, p. 170). Interestingly Saskatchewan and the Atlantic provinces compared the most favourably to the American carriers during this period (Ibid).

From a vantage point of over 15 years later, deregulation has led to “the dramatic growth in the category of large carriers i.e., carriers with revenues between \$12m and \$25m. Their share of the total industry revenue increased from 11.1% to 18.3% for the period 1991 to 1998 and to 30.9% by 2006” (Monterio, 2011, p. 10). This consolidation within trucking is similar to trends of consolidation within agriculture.

As noted above a major impact of deregulation of the trucking industry has been a rise in the revenue share of border traffic, which goes in hand with a shift in traffic orientation to north/south, as trade increased with the United States and has been maintained (Monterio, 2011, p.11). Deregulation also led to increased productivity in trucking, passed on to lower end-user prices (Monterio, 2001, p. 11), this was likely due, in part, to the greatly increased competition within the industry. This shows the considerable consolidation within trucking and the overall power within it of fewer large companies over time.

A recent industry report stated that “since economic deregulation occurred in the 1980’s, often been plagued with over-capacity, which has been reflected in depressed freight rates, inadequate ROI’s and squeezed margins” (Canadian Trucking Alliance, 2012, p.30).

Rurality, Agriculture and Trucking in the Canadian Context

Changes to both agriculture and the trucking industry¹ in Canada are also related to large policy changes which have occurred since the early 1980s. Rural economic restructuring that came to the fore in the 1980s, under the auspice of efficiency, has, for example, led to industrial consolidation and implementation of labour-reducing technologies (Ryser and Halseth, 2010, p. 513). Other structural changes have included “decline of the farm economy, increases in low-

¹ These are historically closely related industries as detailed in the Literature Review of this report.

wage jobs in manufacturing and services, and growth of consumption functions” (Tigges et al., 1998, p. 203). For the agricultural sector “[t]he trade agreements that have been negotiated in the past two decades are the most important pieces of economic policy we have seen for a long time. Beginning with the Canada—U.S. Agreement (CUSTA) implemented in 1989, followed by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 and the World Trade Organization (WTO) agreement created to replace the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1995, a new global trade environment has been created. Although agricultural trading rules have not been radically transformed in this process” (Coffin 2004, p. 400). As previously discussed trade liberalization and agreements have also had a profound impact on the transportation sector.

The Canadian trucking industry recognizes its current labour shortage issue and the connection to the lack of agricultural workers stating that, “[t]he industry has the oldest workforce in the nation with a large proportion of drivers approaching retirement. At the same time, the industry is not attracting the number of younger workers it needs to replace the retiring work force.

Traditional sources of labour for truck drivers (e.g., off the farm) are no longer available in sufficient supply” (Canadian Trucking Alliance, 2012, p. 3).

Current Trucking Industry in Canada

Trucking is an important industry in the Canadian socio-economic context, “the industry provides services that are crucial to our daily lives—almost all of the food that we eat, the leisure items that we enjoy, and the roofs under which we live have been delivered at least in part by trucks” (Gill and Macdonald, 2013, p. 1). In 2006 there were over 300,000 truck drivers (both for-hire and private) in Canada, which is approximately 1% of the Canadian population and over 1.5% of the labour force, using 2006 Census data (Gill and Macdonald, 2013, p. i). However, “[e]stimating the number of companies and the industry’s workforce is difficult. The obvious

NAICS code (NAICS 484 Truck Transportation) does not adequately reflect the full scope of the industry. The trucking sector is much more than just the “for-hire” carriers, as truck drivers and trucking-related occupations exist across all sectors of the economy, particularly in the Manufacturing (NAICS 31-33), Construction (NAICS 23), Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting (NAICS 11), and the Mining and Oil and Gas Extraction (NAICS 21) sectors” (Canadian Trucking Human Resources Council, 2012, p.2). Despite the difficulty in accessing the actual number of truck drivers in the country it is clear the industry is facing a labour shortage, particularly for drivers (Gill and Macdonald, 2013; Canadian Trucking Human Resources Council, 2012).

While the 2011 the real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of for-hire trucking was \$16.96 billion, the Conference Board of Canada in a 2013 paper calculated the total economic footprint of for-hire trucking for 2011 as \$36.7 billion (Gill and Macdonald, 2013, p. 1). This economic footprint only takes into account one category of trucking. Trucking in Canada is categorized into two broad groupings (within the industry itself and in the collection of data by governmental agencies). These categories are private and for-hire. Private trucking refers to companies which have fleets of trucks to move their own goods, they basically attempt to meet their own company transportation needs. For-hire trucking refers to those companies who move goods for other companies. Private trucking has grown considerably in the last couple of decades, which is not surprising as companies manage their own logistics across production to consumption, in order to further their profits.

The Prince Edward Island Context

The Canadian province of Prince Edward Island provides a compelling case study of the connection between trucking and rural communities. The Island itself, located on the East Coast of Canada and part of the Atlantic region of the country, is not very large at 5,685.73 square kilometres, with a population of 140,204 in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2012). The province has been described as “small and essentially rural” (Beaudin 1998, p. 35), which still holds true as 42.2% of the provincial population live outside of the two provincial Census Agglomerations (Statistics Canada 2012).

An interesting facet to the case of Prince Edward Island trucking and rurality is that the island was accessible only by ferry until 1997, when the Confederation Bridge was completed (Baldacchino 2007). The construction of the 14 kilometer bridge connecting the Island to New Brunswick was contentious and replaced one of the ferries (Baldacchino 2007). There is still one seasonal ferry which runs out of an eastern point of the Island connecting to Nova Scotia. However, the construction of the bridge changed the transportation options for the Island and certainly impacted trucking to and from the Island. Exports and imports of goods to the Island have increased since the construction of the bridge (Baldacchino 2007, p. 9). Exports have mainly consisted of processed foods, fish products and aerospace products (Baldacchino 2007, p. 9).

Agriculture has historically been a top sector economically for the Island (Beaudin 2006, p.31). One of the main foods produced on Prince Edward Island are potatoes, with the Island continuing to have the largest area of potatoes in the country (Statistics Canada 2012b). There has been considerable change to the agricultural sector on Prince Edward Island, in keeping with

many of the issues the sector faced across North America in the last century, “change has been provoked by technological development and market globalization as well as by rationalization in public expenditures. The Island’s economy has had to adjust to compression in the primary sectors, agriculture in particular” (Beaudin 1998, p. 31).

In terms of agricultural trends for the Island in particular Prince Edward Island experienced a 12% reduction in the number of farmers and the number of operators between the 2006 and 2011 Censuses (Statistics Canada 2012b). However, despite the reduction in the number of farms and operators the total farm area for the Island only decreased by 4% (Statistics Canada 2012b). This is part of an ongoing Island and Canadian trend towards larger farms and fewer operators (Beaudin 1998, p.94-95; Statistics Canada 2012c). This same trend, as noted above, has also occurred in the trucking industry nationally since deregulation.

Canadian Labour Market and Trucking

The PEI trucking industry is experiencing similar issues as other areas of Canada. The issues surround the labour shortage, particularly of truck drivers, which is being experienced nationally (Gill and Macdonald, 2013; Canadian Trucking Alliance, 2012; Canadian Trucking Human Resources Council, 2012). Factors discussed as likely to improve truck driver supply and demand match on the national level include: “a significant improvement in industry working conditions, marketing of the truck driving occupation, and driver training/licensing; a significant increase in driver wages; and a change in policy that recognizes the truck driving occupation as a skilled trade” (Gill and Macdonald, 2013, p. 17). These match many of the challenges found in the PEI research.

The working conditions and quality of life for truck drivers are a focus of several reports (Gill and Macdonald, 2013; Canadian Trucking Alliance, 2012). The issues raised match the challenges of PEI truck drivers. The Canadian Trucking Alliance notes the following as best practices carriers need to take on regarding driver quality of life: “Truck drivers should be able plan their lives like most other employees and predict or anticipate their time away from work; Their time at work should not be wasted--at shipper/consignee premises, waiting for their trucks in the shop, or waiting for a response to a question of their carrier; They should be able to rely on their carrier not to interfere with their personal time by (for example) calling them back to work early; Driver wellness should be a top priority for employers; Driver security while on the road should also be a priority with the rise in cargo crime” (p. ii). It is clear home time and flexible scheduling are priorities for truck drivers across Canada, while issues such as driver security was not a main concern for PEI drivers or employers.

Driver compensation is also mentioned as a top issue nationally (Gill and Macdonald, 2013; Canadian Trucking Alliance, 2012). Driver wages are thought to need a significant increase to improve recruitment and retention, however, given the highly competitive nature of the trucking industry the historical trend has been for productivity gains to be passed on to the consumer as lower prices (Gill and Macdonald, 2013, p. 19). This practice will become increasingly problematic, as focusing on the daily conditions of competition does not allow for strategic long term planning to deal with what will likely be an increasing labour shortage (Gill and Macdonald, 2013, p. 33). The Canadian Trucking Alliance notes that some of the driver pay issues which can be addressed in the short term are increasing the predictability of weekly pay; transparency of compensation packages; and pay for all work, as well as reasonable expenses

incurred while working (p. ii). This goes beyond the need for transparency discussed by some PEI drivers, however, they would likely be welcome best practices.

Driver training and recognition as a skilled trade was also considered a key issue nationally (Gill and Macdonald, 2013; Canadian Trucking Alliance, 2012). This was considered necessary in order to attract further youth to the industry, as well as allow for further access to student loans for training (Gill and Macdonald, 2013, p.18). The recognition of truck driving as a skilled trade would also allow for permanent immigration of drivers. While immigration of drivers is a contentious issue in PEI with the shortage of drivers forecast to get worse having a system in place to attract qualified drivers for permanent immigration would be beneficial.

Rural Labour Market and TFW

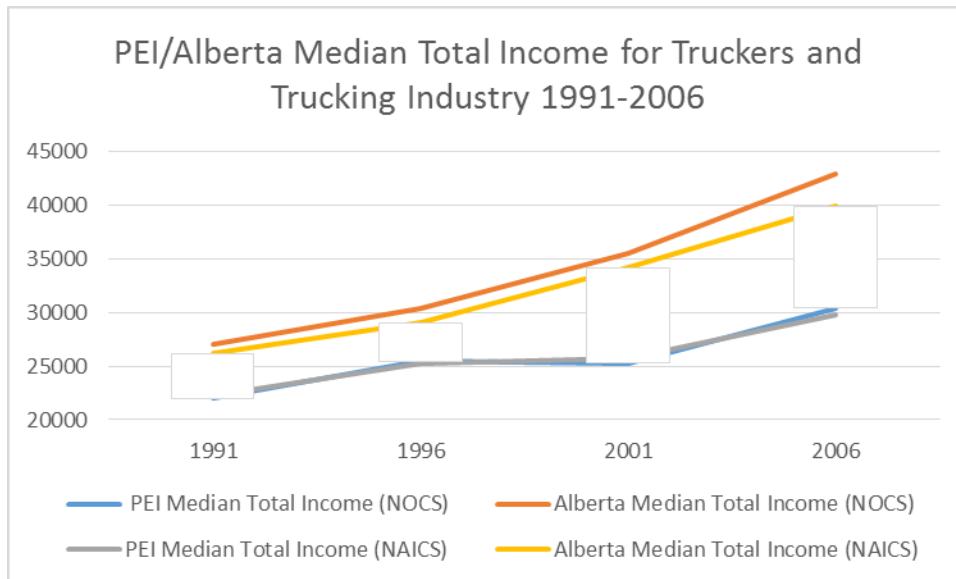
A few of the owners discussed the practice of hiring Temporary Foreign Workers (TFW) to fill truck driving positions and at least two had done so. In Prince Edward Island TFW are able to apply for Permanent Residency if they have full-time job contracts for two years and English language skills (Cooper Institute, 2012). There are truck drivers who have gone through this process who were discussed in several interviews.

In order to obtain permission to hire TFW labour shortages need to be documented for the provincial government (Ibid). This program also supplies seasonal agricultural workers for the Island (Ibid). Clearly the rural labour market is struggling to fill the positions available in these two industries. Several reasons for this were offered by PEI interviewees including poor pay and better interprovincial work opportunities.

Internal and Interprovincial Mobility

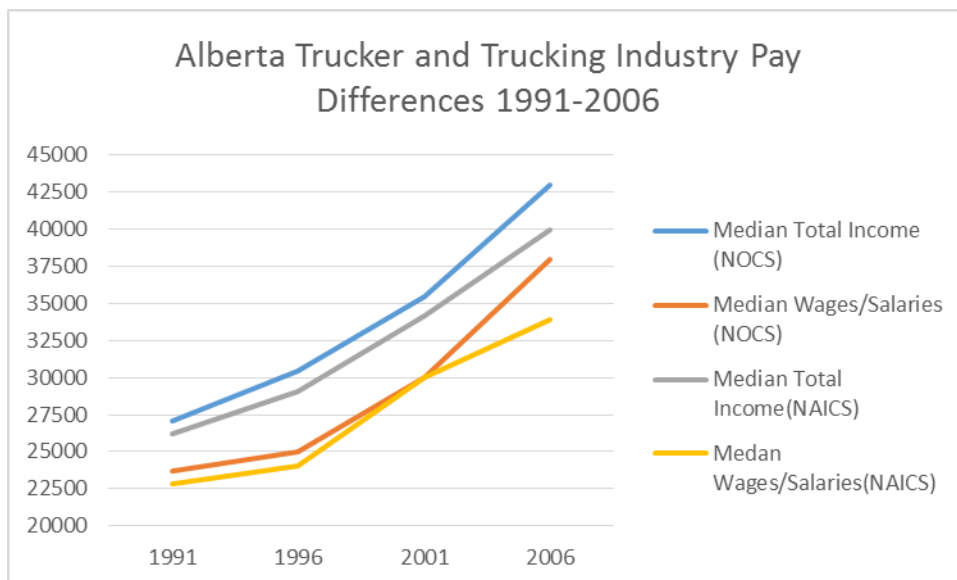
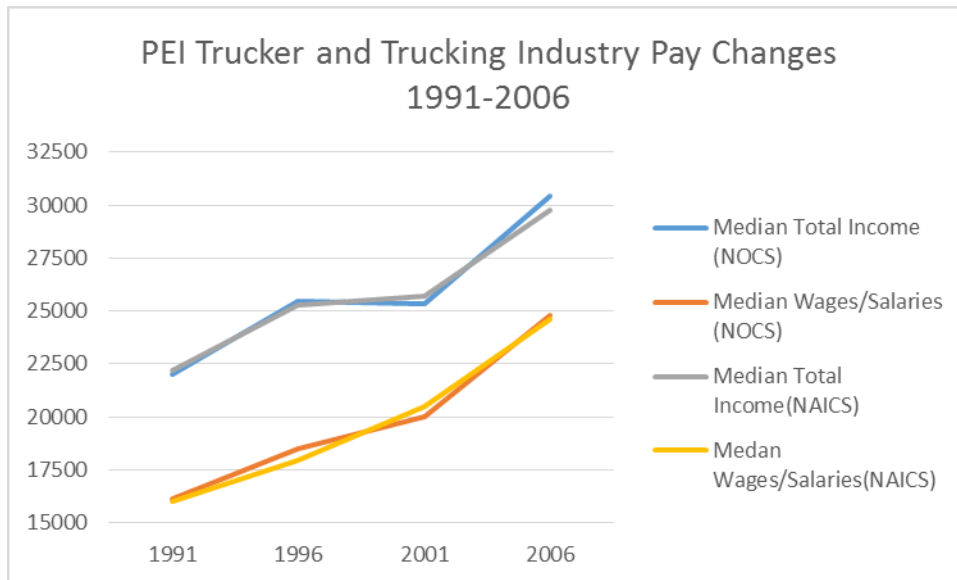
The majority of interviewees noted that there was out-migration of truck drivers (and workers generally) from Prince Edward Island, particularly to Alberta. They noted that the common understanding was that the pay rates were much higher and work was easily found.

Trucking Transportation and Transport Truck Driver Pay

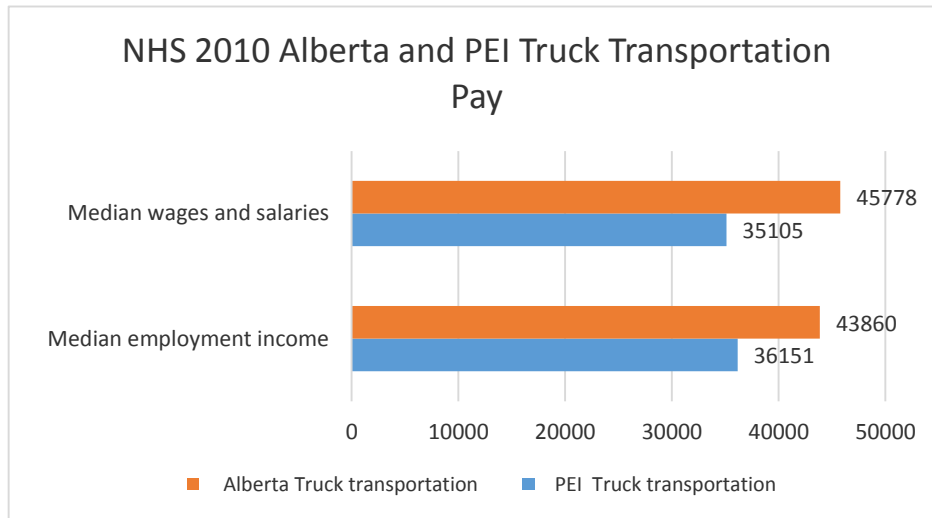


The figure above shows that for the Trucking Transportation industry there has been a longstanding wage/salary gap between Alberta and PEI.² The 2006 difference was \$13,182, showing a substantial rise in the difference between the two provinces from 2001, when the difference was \$10,000. Interestingly, in 1996 the gap decreased from that of 1991, however Alberta wage/salaries then steeply rose in 2001. Given that in 2001 and 2006 the oil and gas industry were booming in Alberta, one could surmise that this accounted, in part, for these changes.

² The source of this data, and the two following graphs, is the Statistics Canada Census 1991 to 1996 for the Trucking Transportation North American Industry Classification System and the Transport Truck Driver National Occupational Classification (NOC). This data was provided by the On the Move Partnership Statistical Component.

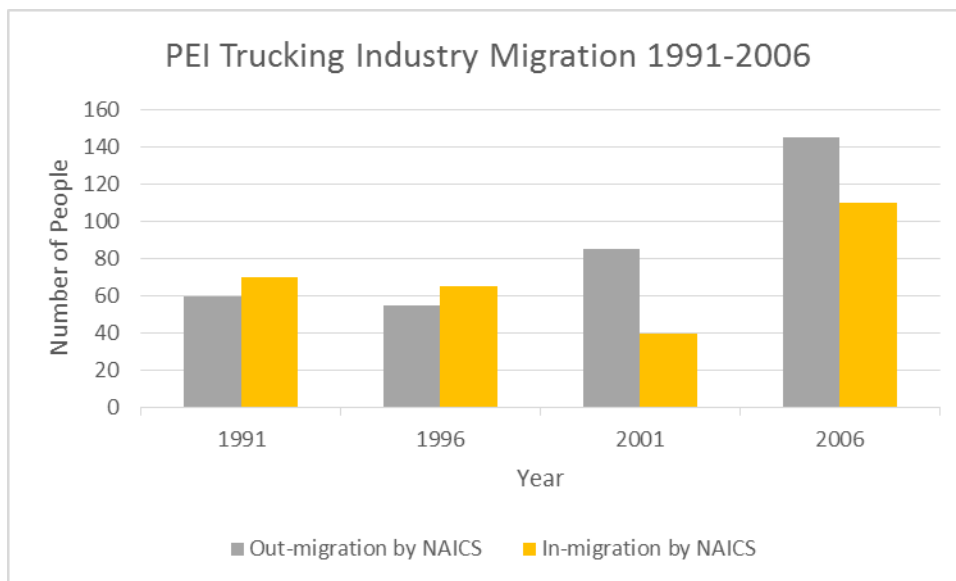


For Transport Truck Drivers the income difference between Alberta and PEI are very similar to the industry itself. Like the industry trends, Alberta has seen a sharp and sustained rise in truck driver income from 1996 onwards. However, while PEI income stagnated between 1996 and 2001 it rose significantly by 2006.



The latest Statistics Canada data for pay is for the Truck Transportation industry from the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS).³ Since data collection is different for the NHS from the Census data (used up to 2006), we cannot directly compare 2011 to 2006 data. However, the 2011 data shows that AB and PEI pay remains substantially different. AB continues to have significantly higher pay within the industry, however the difference in pay between the provinces does not appear to have changed from the 2006 data.

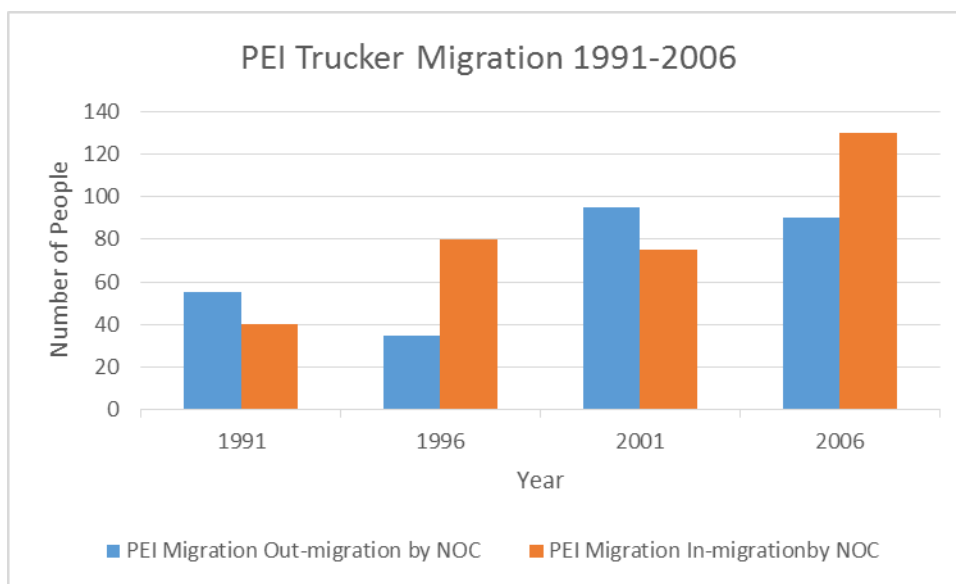
Migration of those in Trucking Transportation and Transport Truck Drivers



³ Source: Statistics Canada - 2011 National Household Survey. Catalogue Number 99-014-X2011044.

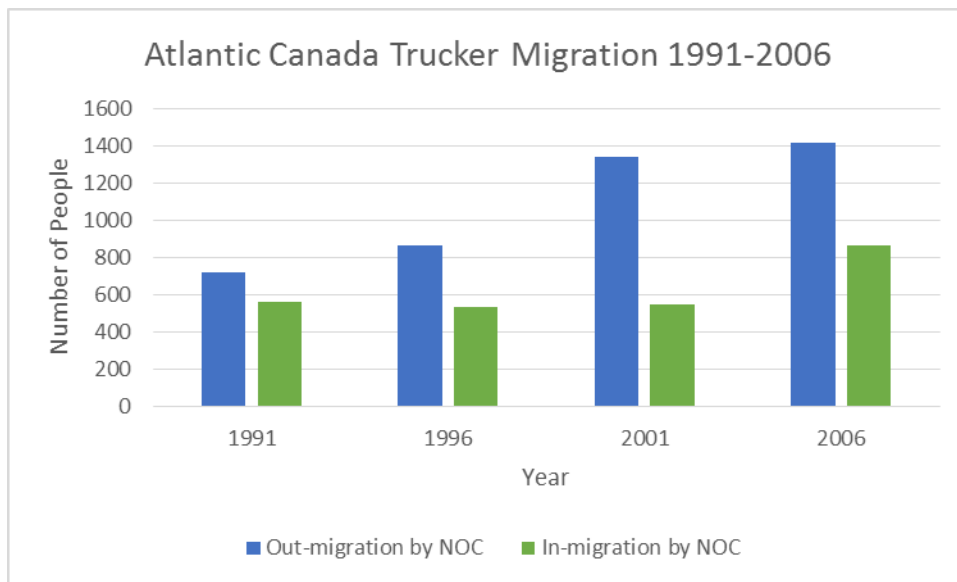
As a predominantly rural province Prince Edward Island has experienced population fluctuations, as have many rural areas of Canada and Western countries generally. However, PEI has in fact increased its population over the last five years (Statistics Canada, 2013).

The PEI out and in- migration for those in the trucking industry has gone through substantial changes, which the data shows for 1991 to 2006.⁴ This graph clearly shows there has not been an ongoing movement out of the province. Outmigration in relation to in-migration peaked in 2001 and then decreased slightly in 2006.

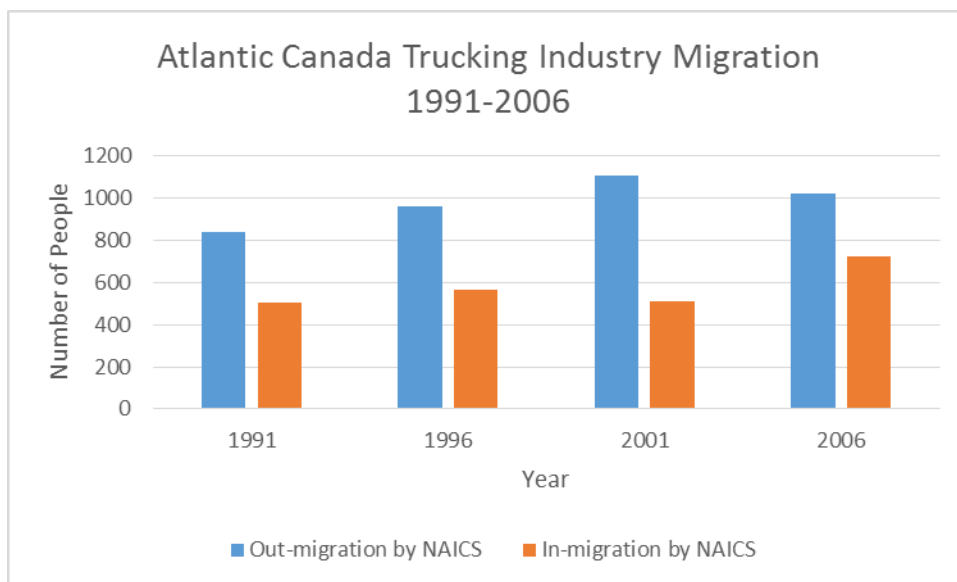


For truck drivers in particular out and in-migration have been mixed, with what appears to be waves of increased in and out migration. This could suggest that those working as truck drivers are likely to move between provinces. In 2006 in-migration of truck drivers was higher than out-migration. While we do not have current migration data the past fluctuations show at least the possibility of increased in-migration of truck drivers.

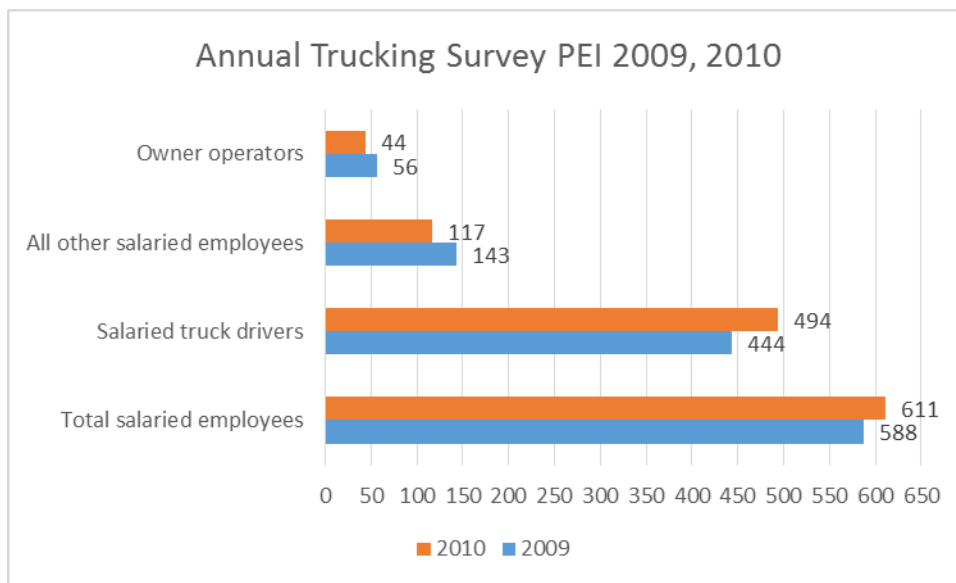
⁴ The source of this data, and the two following graphs, is the Statistics Canada Census 1991 to 1996 for the Trucking Transportation North American Industry Classification System and the Transport Truck Driver National Occupational Classification (NOC). This data was provided by the On the Move Partnership Statistical Component.



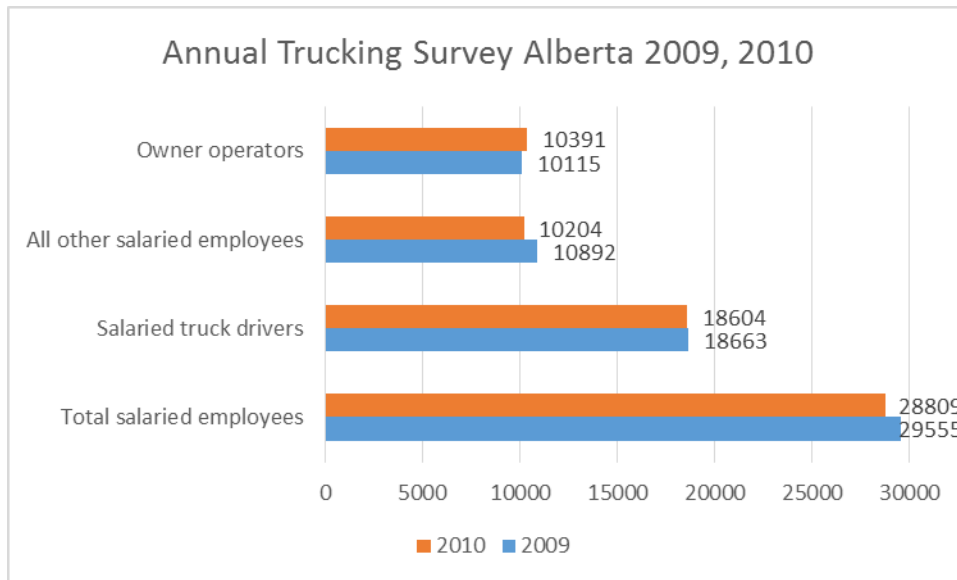
When looking at the Atlantic context the out-migration trend is much more drastic and longstanding, although between 2001 and 2006 the trend for outmigration levelled off. In relation to this finding for truck drivers it would appear they are a very mobile workforce, in moving between provinces. Also, the PEI data in comparison to the Atlantic suggests that PEI has been more stable in its truck driver workforce and has not had the sustained out-migration found in the Atlantic region as a whole.



Interestingly for the trucking industry the Atlantic trends have not been as sustained as those for truck drivers. From 2001 to 2006 there was a marked decrease in outmigration and rise of in-migration. This suggests that the industry itself is quite mobile and likely responding to larger national economic trends or possibly personal choices.



The above, more recent data, from the Statistics Canada Annual Trucking Surveys of 2009 and 2010 for PEI show a rise in the total salaried employees and truck drivers, within the trucking industry. There has been a decrease in owner operators and non-truck driving salaried employees. While the increases in employees does not necessarily mean people moved to PEI for these positions, it is nevertheless a positive sign of growth in the industry.

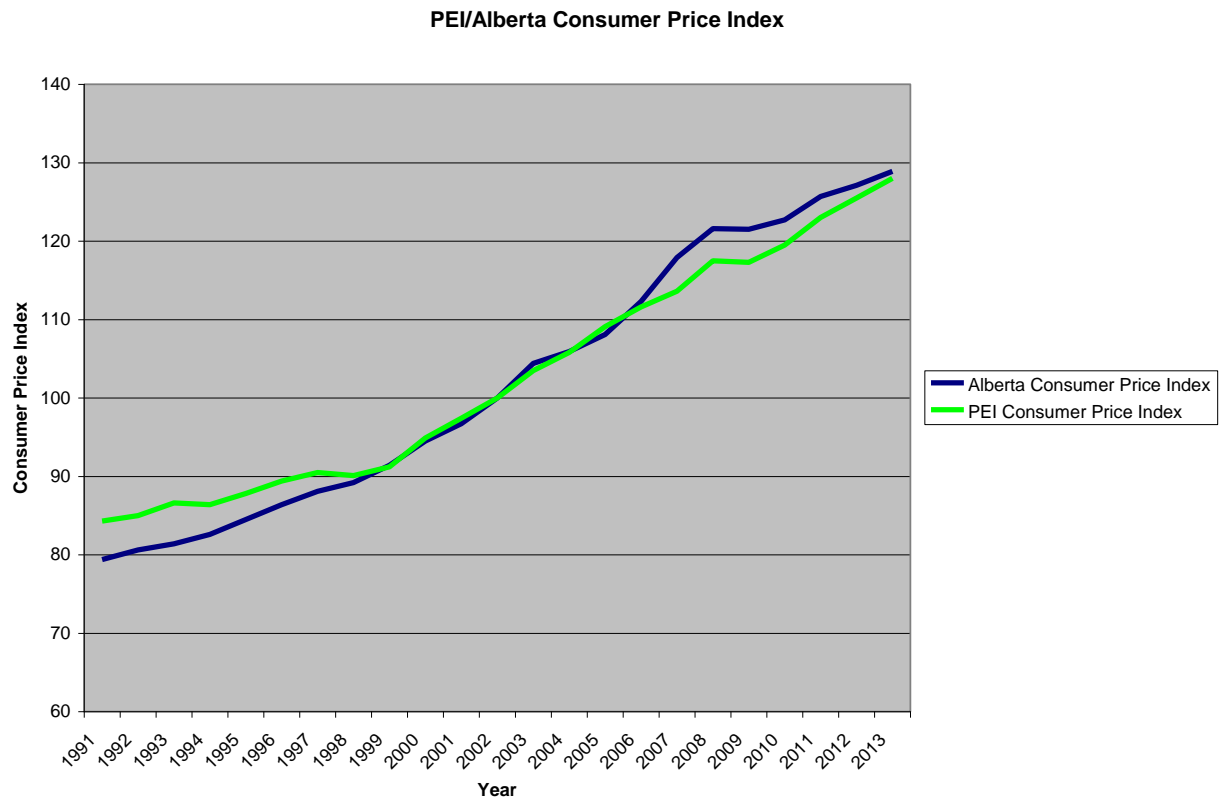


The Alberta data from 2009 and 2010 Annual Trucking Survey shows, in contrast to PEI, an overall slight decrease in total salaried employees and very slight loss in salaried truck drivers.

AB saw a rise though in owner operators.⁵ However, given the far greater size of the AB industry it is likely small fluctuations in employee numbers is less impactful than in PEI, where the industry is considerably smaller.

⁵ Source: Statistics Canada. *Table 403-0011 - Trucking industry, employment statistics, by province and territory, annual (number)*, CANSIM (database).

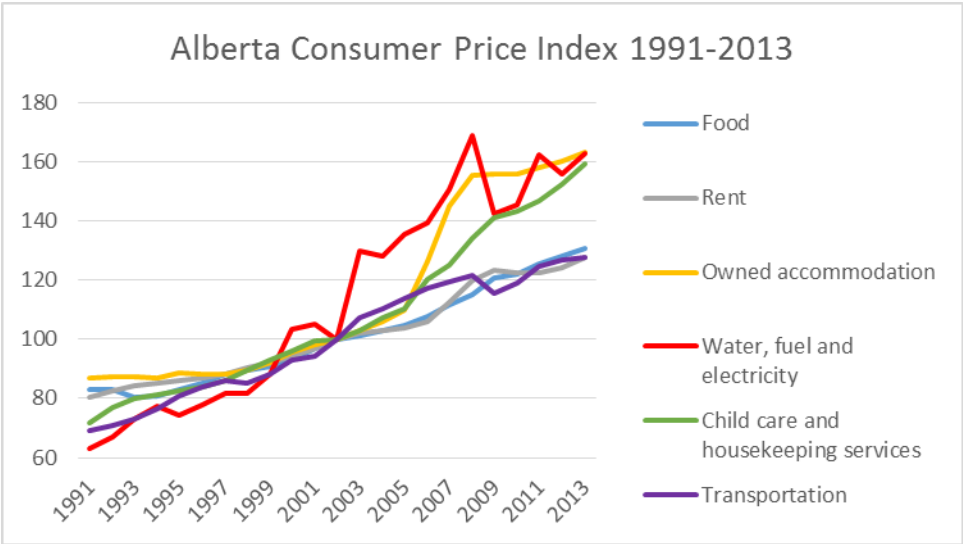
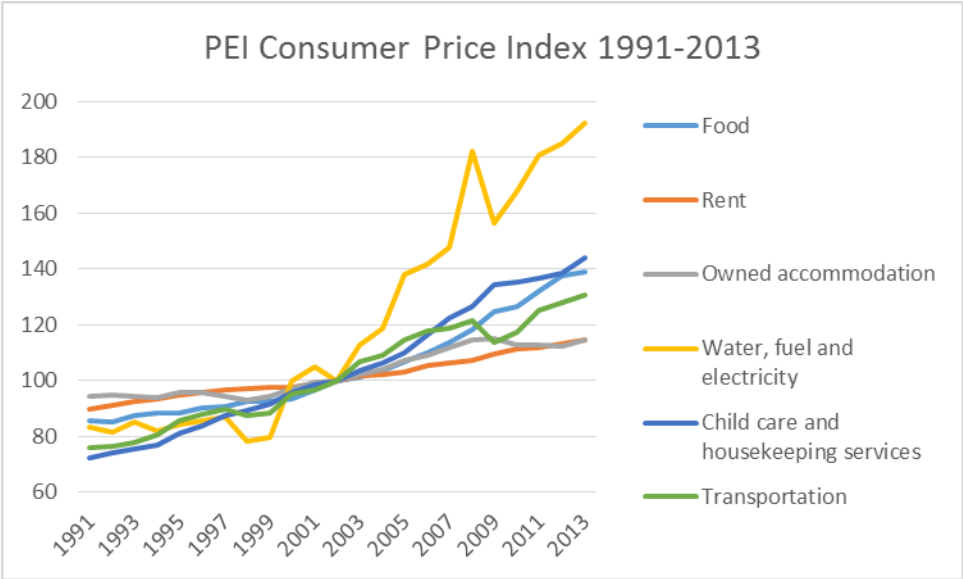
Consumer Price Index

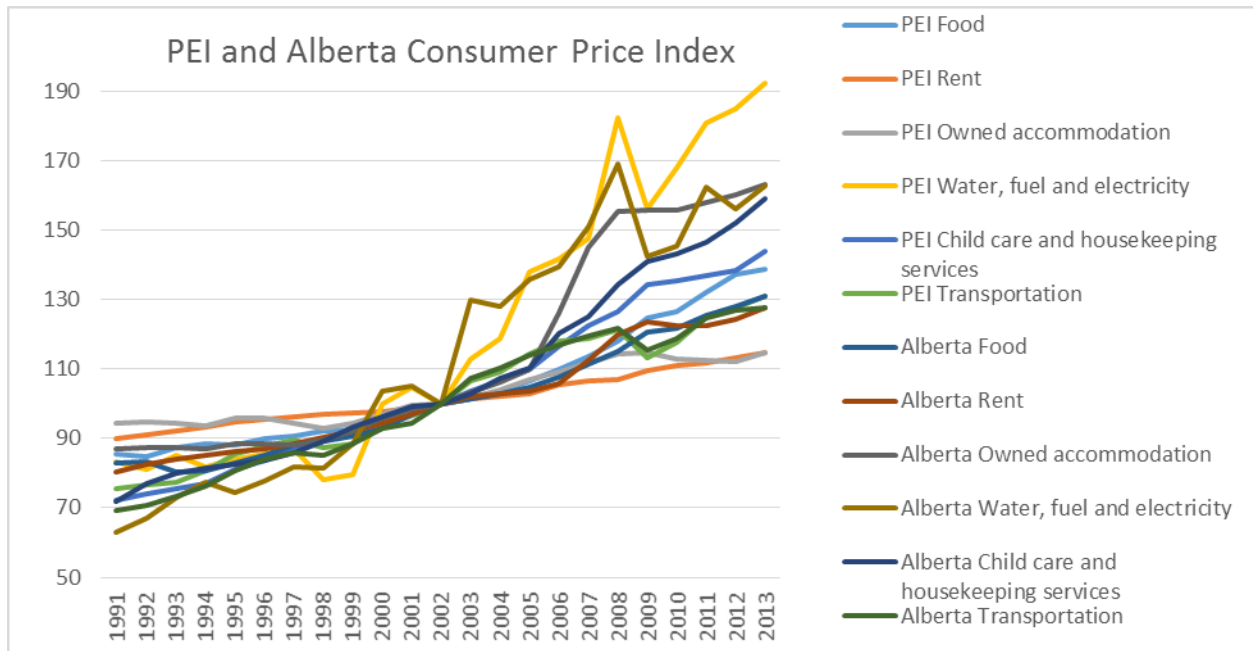


The consumer price index (CPI⁶), which measures such items as rent, mortgages, transportation, food etc., is, overall, not very different between Alberta and PEI currently.⁷ This suggests the cost of living is not that different, however, a detailed analysis sheds further light on particular costs which differ (as shown below). However, it is of note that from an historical point of view the CPI has been lower in PEI since 2007.

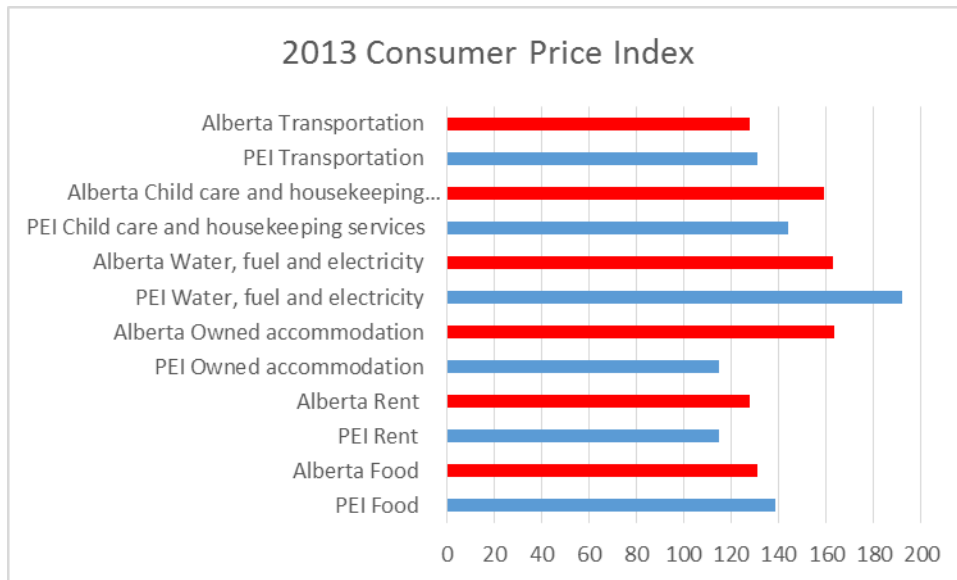
⁶ “The Consumer Price Index (CPI) is an indicator of changes in consumer prices experienced by Canadians. It is obtained by comparing, over time, the cost of a fixed basket of goods and services purchased by consumers.” (<http://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&SDDS=2301>)

⁷ Source: Statistics Canada. Table 326-0021 - Consumer Price Index (CPI), 2011 basket, annual (2002=100 unless otherwise noted).





When the details of the differences between PEI and Alberta price indexes are examined over time we can see that PEI water, fuel and electricity have become significantly more expensive than in Alberta since 2008. However, PEI owned accommodation is significantly less expensive than the rising consumer price index of Alberta owned accommodation, which rose steeply 2005 to 2008 and has maintained a slight upward trend since then. The rent differences between the provinces also favour PEI as more affordable, with the Alberta rent CPI rising from 2006 onwards at a much faster rate than PEI. Transportation CPI has remained relatively the same for both provinces over time. The PEI childcare and housekeeping services CPI has remained relatively the same since 2009, whereas it has increased significantly since that time in Alberta.



If we look specifically at the most current Consumer Price Indexes, comparing PEI and Alberta we find that, as the trends described above show, PEI CPI is lower with regards to childcare and housekeeping services, to a large degree in terms of owned accommodation, and a lesser degree, rent. Alberta has lower CPIs in water, fuel and electricity, food, and to a small degree, transportation. However, it is important to note that within AB there are regional variations in CPI.

Theoretical Literature

Logistics and Trucking

Power within the Canadian trucking industry can be framed as related to understanding “logistics as power” as described by Neilson in his 2012 article entitled “Five theses on understanding logistics as power.”⁸

⁸ This theoretical viewpoint is explored in the attached draft paper, “The Long and Short of Hauling: Power Relations within the PEI Trucking Industry.”

Logistics can be defined as “the art and science of managing the mobility of people and things to achieve economic, communication and transport efficiencies.” (Neilson, 2012, p. 322). While logistics has military origins its civilian applications have grown with the rise of global capitalism from the 1960s onwards. While at first glance logistics is about organization of industrial production and consumption, however, it not only tracks but influences “articulations of state and capital, territory and law, and labor and life” (Neilson, 2012, p. 337). It is the application of a scientific lens to considerations of efficiencies within the supply chain of capitalism, and in this case we are specifically considering the pieces of transportation within these systems.

From the perspective of the transportation industries logistics has radically changed how they operate. The global scope of current logistics and tracking of data in real-time means that transport is linked to production in a way that is meant to be responsive to market shifts, with just-in-time deliveries and adjustments (Neilson, 2012, p. 323-324). The development and implementation of the technology that has made this collection of data and responsiveness possible in the transportation industry has come into wide use over the last 15 to 20 years. This has also been argued to be a major driver of the globalization of trade (Lakshmanan, 2001).

With companies employing logistics differentially, we can also frame companies as using logistical power to their advantage to varying degrees. Given that current logistics is also linked to the ability to collect real-time data and be flexible to larger global markets, I argue that larger trucking firms (both for-hire and, in particular, private) have access to technology and global capital networks that allow for greater logistical power. In turn this impacts the mobility of the drivers that these companies hire.

Mobility theories, particularly automobility is being explored. As well the intersections of mobility and gender are being researched as part of the PEITSC sponsored work (as funded by the provincial government), which will also be used to write an academic paper (as well as the industry consulting paper and materials for PEITSC, see attached project abstracts).

Original Qualitative Research

Methodology

The qualitative data, informing this report, was collected in 2013-2014, and consists of 30 semi-structured interviews. These interviews were conducted with 20 individual truck drivers and 8 employers of drivers or company representatives. 3 women drivers were interviewed, all other 17 drivers and 8 employers were men. A wide age range of people were interviewed (as per table below), providing information about the industry from a variety of viewpoints. All drivers had a variety of work experiences, encompassing short and longer hauling. Three interviewees had been owner operators at some period in their careers. Interviewees were based across the three counties of PEI (Prince, Queens, and Kings) and in both rural and urban settings (although they were predominantly rural).

Age	Drivers	Company Reps/Owners	Total
21 to 25		1	1
26 to 30	3	3	6
31 to 35	2	1	3
36 to 40	1		1
41 to 45	2	1	3
46 to 50	4	1	5
51 to 55	1		1
56 to 60	1		1
61 to 65	2	1	3
66 to 70	3		3
71 to 75	1		1
Overall Total			28

Three drivers who were interviewed had come to PEI through the Temporary Foreign Worker Program, one was still in the program at the time of the interview and the other two had become permanent residents. One retired driver had immigrated to Canada prior to moving to PEI.

Although the majority of those interviewed had grown up in PEI, many had moved away from the Island at some point during their adult years and had returned.

Two driver interviews were conducted during ride alongs, where the drivers took me out for a day with them during their regular driving routes. In depth information was gathered through these trips which each lasted over nine hours. The first ride was with a woman in her fifties for a trip from the company yard across the ferry, to Nova Scotia, to pick up freight and back across the ferry to a drop off location in Queens County and back to the company headquarters. The

second ride was with an older man (in his seventies), who I met at the ferry terminal, across the ferry for a trip to two stops in Nova Scotia and then back to PEI on the ferry.

Two semi-structured interviews with key informants, who are involved in regulatory capacities, were also conducted, both were men. I also conducted participant observation at several industry functions, as well as visiting and speaking with companies and people working within the trucking industry. I attended PEITSC board meetings, as well as industry events PEITSC put on and went to high schools throughout PEI with PEITSC, participating in career fairs. I also became a member of an online Facebook group called “Prince Edward Island Truckers” which allowed me to view the online interactions of those in the group. However, this page is a private, membership based page and as such while it was informative I cannot discuss specific posts. It did allow me to get to know what sort of issues are discussed online and the kind of community that is in place both online and in real life, which contributed to my understanding of the PEI trucking community. I note below in the section *Methodological Insights* the difficulty of conducting participant observation with people who are a mobile workforce.

The analysis of the qualitative data was an iterative thematic coding focused on the research questions of the PEI and national projects. Owner and driver data was coded separately.

Findings

Methodological Insights

In researching a population, such as drivers, that is ‘on the move’ consistently there are multiple levels of exclusivity that we as researchers have had to manage. Drivers tend to belong to tight occupational groups, which are quite closed socially, as well, they are mobile and thus hard to pin down, literally. These features have important implications for research methodology and

design, such as the difficulty planning interviews. The truckers on PEI are also not generally amenable to snowball methodology of recruitment. Only one driver referred me to their close group of fellow drivers. Company representatives were more amenable to the snowball methodology of recruitment for both drivers they knew and other company representatives. Also, conducting participant observation with truck drivers can really only be done, with any level of success, through ride-a-longs. This is particularly true in Prince Edward Island because there are no truck stops, such as those found elsewhere at which truck drivers socialize. The Woods Island-Caribou ferry could potentially be a site of participant observation, however, one would have to be well integrated into the trucking industry in order to do so and I would suggest this would take at least over a year of consistently working towards this goal.

Interview Analysis

The below analysis is organized by thematic codes for drivers and company representatives, separately, and ordered by those found to be most prevalent for each interview group (driver or company representative).

Driver Findings

Challenges of Truck Driving

Truck drivers were asked during interviews what they found challenging about their work, below details the most discussed answers.

The most discussed challenge of truck driving was **balancing family responsibilities with work**. This grouping of challenges refers to work-life balance, as well as how family obligations and relationships are maintained while away at work driving a truck.

The balancing of work commitments with that of family was variable depending on the age of the driver and their family dynamics. Those drivers without children were less likely to find this an issue. Drivers with grown children also found this less of an issue, however, they were also likely to have been in the industry for quite some time. In discussion of family and work-life balance time away from home was considered challenging, particularly to those in regional or long-haul trucking, although those in short haul also noted that the long hours worked, regardless of being home at night, were problematic.

A relatively new truck driver working short haul described the challenge: “I’m always on call and I know that. So, like, sometimes I know the evening before, but like, yesterday, they texted me and they wanted me to come in immediately...And I couldn’t because I had my children, so that’s just how it was.” One former long haul driver, who now did short haul, discussed the impact of long haul trucking on his family: “...the challenges for the one left behind...It’s often been said, we both said it, I guess my wife and I. It’s a single parent living without the single parent loss of income.”

This is connected to other concerns and industry challenges (such as pay and flexibility of scheduling- discussed further below). Also, as discussed in the owner interview analysis, employers are fully aware balancing family responsibilities and time away from home are problematic, particularly in trying to recruit and maintain drivers in the trucking industry.

The second most discussed challenge of truck driving was **hours of service**. This discussion centered around those drivers that worked regional or long-haul and were thus subject to hours of service regulations. Older drivers discussed the historical changes to these regulations. Drivers who worked cross-border routes into the US noted in particular how recent changes to that

country's hours of service regulations had become quite strict. Given that routes which make up "the triangle"⁹ are major ones for PEI trucking companies and take drivers through the US, this impacts PEI companies considerably. The issues with recent changes to hours of service regulations are the difficulties surrounding a lack of flexibility for drivers in terms of driving windows of time. These stringent regulations were felt to take away from driver agency and not recognize the time management skills of drivers. There was also mention that some companies drivers had worked with did not dispatch their trucks in a manner that was in accordance with hours of service regulations. Drivers for these companies were expected to do runs in the time provided even if illegally, falsifying log books. This created tension for drivers who did not want to risk fines for breaking hours of service regulations and yet felt that the runs they were assigned were not achievable without doing so. As one interviewee noted with the move in the US to mandate electronic log books there will be increasingly less room to run illegally regarding hours of service, "And I think it'd work wonderful as long as the rest of the industry adjusts to it too right? Not just...the truck drivers, truck companies you know." That interviewee felt that the biggest adjustments will need to be made by shippers and receivers, who currently demand service that is not achievable within regulations.

The below table shows a comparison between US and Canadian current hours of service regulations (information taken from <http://www.todaystrucking.com/hours-of-service-canadaus-comparison>). When comparing US and Canadian regulations regarding hours of service we can see that there are many differences, which interviewees noted. The on duty time is longer in Canada at 13 hours per workshift,

⁹ "The triangle" is a terms used to describe the major transportation and trade corridors connecting Atlantic Canada, the American northeast and Ontario/Quebec.

with only 8 hours off duty before driving. In contrast, the on duty time in the US is 10 hours, with no driving after 14 hours and 10 hours consecutive off duty time before driving. **Hours of Service Comparison US and Canada**

(<http://www.todaystrucking.com/hours-of-service-canadaus-comparison>)

	United States	Canada
Drive Time	11 hours after 10 hours off	13 hours per workshift after 8 hours off
On Duty	No driving after 14 hours	No driving after 14 hours, on-duty after 8 hours off
Off Duty	10 consecutive hours, with 30 minute break after 8 consecutive work hours	8 hours before driving, 10 hours per day off, 24 consecutive hours off within past 14 days
Length of Day	No driving after 14 hours	No driving after 16 consecutive hours
Duty Cycles	60 hours/7 days 70 hours/8 days	70 hours/ 7 days (Cycle 1) 120 Hours/ 14 days (Cycle 2)
Reset	34 hours restart of cycle, must include 2 consecutive periods 1am to 5am. Restart restricted to once every 168 hours.	36 hours restart for Cycle 1 72 hours restart for Cycle 2 (upon reaching 70 th hour in Cycle 2 driver must take 24 consecutive hours off duty)

The third most discussed challenge of truck driving was **rates of pay**. The discussion surrounding rates of pay was quite different regarding local (hourly paid work) versus that of regional or long haul work (paid by the kilometer). For local work, or that paid hourly, the pay was considered low and there was suggestion by some drivers who had worked local routes that employers were not paying overtime. For an example of the pay of local PEI drivers, one driver interviewee stated, “Well, my friend [name] and [name], they’re out in Alberta today and they’re getting 36 dollars an hour, and I’m home here, I’m getting \$12 or \$14 dollars” (Interview 10).

This also reflects data found through Statistics Canada, see below as well as .

Location	Wage (\$/hr)		
	Low	Median	High
Prince Edward Island	13	18	28.85
Alberta	23	33.65	45
Athabasca--Grande Prairie--Peace River Region	23	32	49.33
Banff--Jasper--Rocky Mountain House Region	21.56	33.5	45.25
Calgary Region	24.75	31	38.5
Camrose--Drumheller Region	21.56	30	42
Edmonton Region	23	34.5	43
Lethbridge--Medicine Hat Region	21.37	33	38.83
Red Deer Region	23	33.65	45
Wood Buffalo--Cold Lake Region	24	45	56
[Source: Labour Market Information - ESDC Wage Methodology] Note Reference Period: 2012-2013 Source: Labour Force Survey - Statistics Canada Date Updated: 2014-10-03			

Some drivers seemed surprised that they may have qualified for overtime pay. The regulations surrounding the payment of overtime in the trucking industry on PEI changed in 2012 and it is unclear if these regulations are abided by. Older drivers noted that pay has not changed significantly in quite some time for drivers and examples were given of pay not increasing at all in the last 5 years. This was linked by some to undercutting and stagnant rates for movement of freight and general suppression of pay, for both freight and drivers, in the Maritimes. For example a driver with decades worth of experience stated “I know for a fact, or pretty near know for a fact, that we’re hauling, there’s outfits on the highway today hauling for the same rate we got, say, 5 years ago.”

There were long haul drivers who felt that there needed to be further transparency in how companies they worked for were calculating their pay and what was being deducted. Others felt

they were not being paid what their labour was worth, particularly when contrasted with those in other provinces. One driver felt they had to go to unnecessary lengths to get paid what they felt were regional norms, stating “we had an argument over the wage and I actually had to quit to get a raise.” This driver felt this was disrespectful and created an antagonistic relationship with his employer. For those workers coming into the country specifically as TFW¹⁰ there were concerns about inflated wages being told to them, which then were not achievable unless they were willing to have no home lives.

There were those drivers and owners interviewed who thought drivers, particularly long haul and regional, could make a “good” or “decent” living. This seems contingent on what is considered a “good” yearly income and the amount of work needed to achieve this income, that is, the time spent away from home. The positive considerations of income in truck driving will be specifically discussed in the section Positives of Truck Driving.

The next topics discussed most frequently were **flexibility of scheduling** and **driver training**.

Flexibility of scheduling was discussed as a challenge in terms of scheduling home time, as well as routes, and, less so, scheduling of pick-ups and drop-offs. Many drivers emphasized the importance of companies being flexible in scheduling the home time they would prefer (for some this was more often, but others preferred longer times away), as well as routes they preferred (some enjoyed dedicated routes, other preferred to have a mixed schedule). One driver was warned away by others about working for a certain local company “Simply for the fact that if they know you got a Class 1 driver’s license, the minute you walk in the door they throw a set of keys at you and you’re gone. And you’re never home. They say, “Well ya,” “Do here, do here,

¹⁰ Temporary Foreign Workers, a national immigration program.

do here and then you can come home for a couple of days.” Or whatever, and the couple of days might be a couple of hours. So, no. I just, I love my job. But I’m not, I’m not living to work.”

This driver would not work for a company that was not flexible with their scheduling. This was also related to issues with dispatch. Owners also discussed aspects of scheduling and recognized the need for flexibility.

Driver training was discussed as a challenge by experienced drivers in terms of younger people coming into the industry without previous experience such as those with agricultural heavy equipment experience. Also, young drivers discussed the challenges of entering the industry and trying to obtain the two years experience many companies were demanding, particularly to do long haul trucking. The other aspect of driver training discussed was that, despite having specialized training, this was not officially recognized by government in terms of being skilled work or the general public. This topic was one that owners discussed as well as a challenge for the industry.

Driver Perceptions of Challenges facing the Trucking Industry

When asked about broader challenges to the entire industry (not just the work of truck driving), the majority of drivers brought up the topic of **pay for drivers and freight costs**. Several drivers linked issues of pay of drivers to the difficulties the industry faces in recruiting and retaining drivers. There was also recognition by some (particularly older drivers) that there had been stagnation not just of driver pay but also of freight rates as noted in the section “rates of pay”. This stagnation of freight rates was viewed to be directly related to that of driver pay. Drivers felt there was a considerable difference between short and long hauling, with short haul hourly rates of pay unable to compete with those of Alberta. As noted above in the Challenges of Truck

Driving, the issue of overtime pay was also mentioned. Regarding long haul driving one interviewee noted that being paid by kilometres trucked amounted to piece work, of which he was critical.

The second most talked about challenge for the industry was **recruitment of young people**. Drivers agreed recruiting young people was important and not occurring enough to replace older drivers. One noted that with the shift to electronic log books it was likely some older drivers would retire rather than make the switch from paper further adding to the issue. There are also issues surrounding training in trying to recruit young people as discussed in the section “driver training”.

The third most discussed challenges for industry were **shipping, receiving and dispatching** and **immigrants and TFW**.

Regarding **shipping, receiving and dispatching**, drivers had concerns about the tight timeline pressures within the industry. There was mention of issues within the relationship with dispatchers, which could be difficult. Shipping, receiving and dispatching all fall within the context of logistics and some drivers discussed logistics as of key importance and a key challenge to the industry. There was also mention that technology was changing logistics, particularly electronic log books as mentioned in the Challenges of Truck Driving “hours of service” section.

Some drivers expressed concerns about **immigrants and TFW** entering the trucking industry. There were some racist remarks made by a small minority of drivers. Others expressed concerns about the training, experience and language skills of drivers coming into the industry from outside of Canada. Drivers also noted that the government was willing to subsidize TFW truck

drivers but would not support local workers in the same way. The government was felt to then be essentially supporting out-migration of local workers to other areas of Canada and the importation of cheaper labour for the region. In interviewing drivers who were immigrants, some of whom had come to PEI as TFW, they had concerns about the over inflation of yearly incomes and work quoted by employers before they arrived. They felt the pay and working conditions had not been explained fully.

Other challenges discussed include **lack of respect by employers for truckers, recognition of driving as skilled labour, media representation of the industry, and transportation infrastructure.**

Lack of respect by employers for truckers, was discussed particularly in relation to local short haul work but also as an overall challenge. As one driver who works in Alberta, but had worked extensively in short haul on PEI, stated, “A lot of employers would be a little bit disappointed to hear what I’m going to say but I don’t care. In the west, in the west the employers appreciate the employees. In the east, the employees are dirt on the employers’ feet.” This interviewee was referring to the perception, held by him and a few other interviewees, that employers in PEI do not treat their employees well and treat them with contempt. This was linked to issues of recruitment.

Recognition of driving as skilled labour, was discussed as a challenge to the industry that was also related to the public perception of the industry, which was thought to need improvement. Many drivers expressed frustration at the lack of respect accorded not only to their work but the industry as a whole, despite our society being dependent on it for the movement of goods.

Media representation of the industry, was thought to be a challenge linked to recruitment and the lack of respect for the industry, employers also mentioned this. There was thought to be negative portrayals of the industry by media, which were considered skewed in not showing positive aspects of the industry.

Transportation Infrastructure, was discussed as a challenge to the local PEI industry, with road conditions mentioned in particular as well as the issues faced by those working long haul having to contend with roadway traffic around major cities.

Positives of Truck Driving

The most mentioned positives of being employed in truck driving were **flexible scheduling**, **being your own boss** and **decent pay**. **Flexible scheduling** was also mentioned as a challenge, as discussed above, however, it seems that if drivers are given flexible scheduling this is then viewed as a positive of the work. Drivers mentioned examples such as being able to scale back runs by truck sharing and being able to schedule for family engagements. Drivers also felt a positive of the work was being able to have either variability in their schedule so as to constantly feel challenged or dedicated runs, depending on their preference. All drivers interviewed had a variety of work experiences since being employed as a truck driver, which allowed for them to assess what sort of scheduling they would prefer and often this preference changed over time.

Being your own boss while on the road was also discussed as a positive. Many drivers really enjoyed the ability to **be your own boss while on the road**, by which they meant not having someone supervising their work all the time. They also spoke about this in terms of feeling a certain amount of freedom while driving, this was particularly true for long haul drivers.

The other most mentioned positive was discussion of **decent pay** by drivers. Initially this seems problematic given that drivers also state this to be a challenge to drivers and the industry itself. However, those who mentioned this worked regional, long haul and short haul in Alberta. They were satisfied with their pay for the most part and did feel that it was a job in which people could make a decent living (by their individual definitions). However, drivers felt they put considerable effort and time towards earning their pay. One driver also noted that in comparison to other work in PEI (such as working within the trades) truckers made a better income.

The three positives talked about by several drivers were **likes the act of driving, likes the people, and good/new equipment**. **Likes the act of driving** was discussed by a few drivers in relation to the other positive of **being your own boss while on the road**. In feeling the driving part of the job was enjoyable these drivers for the most part were older and had done the job for quite some time.

When discussing the positives of truck driving several drivers noted that they **liked the people** they interacted with in the industry. This group of drivers worked both short haul, regionally and long haul, thus somewhat contradicting the stereotype of the lonesome trucker. Many enjoyed their co-workers and other truckers that they met on the road. For one driver who had been in the industry for a long period on PEI some other drivers became “part of your family”. For these drivers there was a social aspect to the work that they enjoyed, whether that be co-workers, fellow drivers, or customers.

Those drivers who mentioned **good/new equipment** felt positives of the job were driving good trucks and having equipment such as satellite systems and work cell phones (or phones paid for by work).

Employers- Challenges for Industry

When employers were asked about challenges for the industry, by far the most discussed challenge to the trucking industry discussed by all employers was **recruitment and retention of drivers**. Employers discussed this topic from a range of perspectives, all noted that regardless of whether they were currently in need of drivers, they could foresee in the near future a problem with the number of available drivers on PEI. Almost all pointed out the aging driver population and the need to recruit young people to the industry. The need for further recruitment also led many employers to discuss the training of new drivers and the need for extended training by some carriers. This need for training and the lack of available drivers was linked by some employers to the shrinking pool of people with agricultural experience generally. They noted trucking was an industry traditionally associated with those from agricultural families. The complexity of the recruitment and training of drivers, as well as competition for them was discussed by the majority of employers. Smaller, local companies are the training grounds of most drivers as the larger companies have more extensive experience requirements. One employer characterized the movement of drivers between companies hiring in PEI as robbery which impacted smaller companies the most. Given that most employers noted training drivers was a costly investment this is problematic. While all employers agreed that they felt there was a shortage of drivers overall those short haul only companies seemed to have a considerably harder time attracting qualified, long term drivers. This dearth of short haul drivers was linked by employers to hourly wages deemed to be low by potential drivers and for certain freight hauling, particularly linked to agriculture, the variability of hours and seasonality of work were factors. Conversely employers hiring long haul drivers had issues finding those that wished to cross the US border and many of those hiring long haul drivers had issues finding drivers which they

linked to the time away from home expected of drivers. Some companies increasingly find that they are looking at or are using TFW to truck driving work, particularly long haul routes.

The majority of employers also discussed the challenges of **operating costs and profit margins**, **intensity of work hours**, **movement of workers “out West”**, and **TFW and immigrants**.

Operating costs and profit margins was discussed as a major challenge for the industry. In short haul trucking some employers were constrained by contracts, others, particularly in relation to agriculture were in tight local competition where accessibility was key to getting work. One employer discussed how they felt rates were suppressed in the province and regionally due to the lack of volume of freight. This was also noted by some drivers, as discussed, and linked to low pay for drivers (see Challenges of Truck Driving, “rates of pay”). In long haul trucking one employer discussed the negative impact brokers were having on freight rates, this was also in conjunction with the demand of cheap transportation rates from shippers and receivers. Also, most employers noted that fluctuating fuel costs had changed historically how rate agreements were made, with fuel surcharges being introduced.

The majority of employers noted the **intensity of work hours** which were challenging for them. They discussed how the hours they worked were challenging, as they felt being successful in the industry as an employer demanded they be accessible. This was particularly true for those working for or owning small or medium sized companies which generally entailed working multiple roles (such as sales, human resources and dispatch). In fact most employers of small companies, particularly those doing short haul runs, will fill in for drivers if the need arises. Technology has allowed freedom of movement through the use of cell phones, however this also means that most employers are constantly on call in case of any issues. One employer noted the

importance of being accessible to his clients and drivers, “I take my phone everywhere...it’s only a couple times that I don’t have my phone with me. One’s in the shower...”

Movement of workers “out West” was a challenge discussed by many employers. This discussion included relating many stories they had heard and people they knew who had either moved out of province or were working in Alberta (in particular). These were people who were qualified to drive trucks or people who may have been interested in working in the trucking industry in some capacity. Employers discussed how this was problematic for recruitment to the industry. Particularly there was discussion of how work “out West”, which generally referred to Alberta, was perceived to be easy money by those in PEI and the rates of pay in Alberta were such that employers here could not compete with them. It was also noted by one employer that people were in fact taking driver training locally to then go work in Alberta and that the trucking school on PEI was advertising their training as a pathway to employment in Alberta.

TFW and immigrants were discussed as a challenge for those employers hiring them in terms of cost and effort navigating the paperwork needed by government. Employers noted the increase by trucking companies using particularly TFW and questioned whether this was sustainable for the industry. Other employers noted that if they were unable to find drivers they may have to resort to using TFW.

Many employers also specifically discussed the challenge of the **retirement of aging drivers**, in conjunction with the issue of having an aging workforce. Some of the issues surrounding the aging driver workforce were health and adaptation to new technology, which were mentioned by some employers.

Several employers discussed **truck driving as demanding work** noting that drivers were under considerable scrutiny, as well as time pressures for deliveries, particularly for just-in-time long haul deliveries and for short haul driving there were seasonal peak times which demanded considerable time and effort on the part of drivers.

The challenge of the **heavy regulation of industry** was mentioned by several employers. They specifically mentioned the impact of hours of service regulations as being challenging particularly for drivers working in the US. Such regulations impacted employers' abilities to keep customers and drivers happy.

Public perception was considered a challenge by some employers, particularly in relation to negative media stories and negative stereotypes of the industry. There was a sense that the industry is not respected and that the negative perceptions of the industry impact recruitment of youth.

Relationships with customers were considered challenging by employers in maintaining good business relationships, which for local hauling meant at times being social with customers or doing work for them you would not normally accept, in order to keep ongoing relationships. However, in long haul trucking relationships with customers could also be demanding and at times there was little or no loyalty.

Challenges discussed by a couple of employers each were **relationships with drivers**, and **flexible scheduling**.

Relationships with drivers were discussed as challenging at time, particularly in relation to employers having to deal with driver interpersonal issues.

The challenge of **flexible scheduling** was mentioned by employers. One mentioned that with a shortage of drivers it becomes difficult to have flexibility.

Employers- Recruitment

When asked how they recruit workers, particularly drivers, the majority of employers said they used **word of mouth** as the means to spread the word. Most employers encouraged drivers they currently employed to refer friends for open positions. Employers found that finding drivers or employees by word of mouth the most effective and usually the best candidates. Some employers give their employees bonuses for referrals. It is not surprising this is the most used method of recruitment given the small size of PEI and the tight knit trucking community. However, it does suggest that it would be difficult to find work if a person was not networked into employers or those currently driving trucks.

The second most discussed issue surrounding recruitment was **TFW and immigrants**. Several employers discussed how they recruited immigrants (including TFW), which included going on overseas promotional trips. Other employers said they would avoid recruiting immigrants, due to the cost and paperwork (see above Owners- Challenges for Industry for further discussion). One employer said he may in the future be forced to consider hiring immigrants given the difficulty he has had finding drivers. Owners hiring temporary foreign workers mentioned working in conjunction with the provincial government to find workers.

The third most discussed issues surrounding recruitment were **recruitment of non-driving workers, advertisement of positions, driver coaching, and recruitment of women**.

Recruitment of non-driving workers was a concern for medium and larger companies in particular. In growing their businesses it is necessary to have adequate office staff, such as

dispatchers. Also, it was noted by many that heavy equipment mechanics (who service vehicles for the trucking industry) are also difficult to find and that the labour shortage of these workers is becoming increasingly problematic. One employer noted that the career trajectories of truck drivers often include a shift to other work areas of the industry and as such this needs to be promoted within and outside of the industry.

Some employers discussed **advertisement of positions** available in their companies. Many posted available positions online at such sites as the Government of Canada Job Bank. However, most noted that they generally received poorly qualified applicants from these postings. Given this most employers preferred to find new employees through word of mouth (see above discussion).

Driver coaching was discussed by several employers in relation to recruitment. Several felt that coaching was an important way of training new drivers and having them be confident to do the work. This was compared to what were termed the “old school” methods which did not involve any on the job training or coaching but instead a sink or swim approach, even in driving long haul. Also, coaching drivers was viewed as a way for larger companies to be able to hire new drivers and give them the experience they needed within the company itself. The coaches went through a certification process. As one employer noted this approach avoided companies trying to “steal” away each other’s experienced, older drivers. However, intensive coaching, which entails a new driver shadowing an experienced one by going on runs with them, is an expensive means of training and thus smaller companies are less likely to have this coaching for long durations.

Recruitment of women was discussed by many employers. There was a recognition by many that recruitment of women into the trucking industry and as drivers would be beneficial, particularly as it is a relatively untapped part of the labour market. However, for some companies there are structural barriers to hiring women, in that training is difficult to coordinate, whereas there were others known for not hiring women or being open to the possibility. There were also comments by some employers about their doubts as to the fit of women as truck drivers because they perceived women to be primarily responsible for childcare which would be challenging. However, these perceived potential issues were based on a very traditionalist notion of family structure and women's roles, which are problematic and do not reflect current family structures.

The fourth most discussed issues about retention were **networking with driving school, issue of large companies hiring drivers from smaller companies, and driver wages**.

Networking with driving schools was discussed by several employers as a good way to recruit new drivers. This was used in conjunction with coaching by many employers (as discussed above).

The **issue of large companies hiring drivers from smaller companies** was considered a problem particularly by smaller companies, although employers from larger ones acknowledged this was not ideal. In part smaller companies are good training grounds for drivers, who may then choose to do different types of driving available through larger companies (such as long haul dedicated routes). There are power dynamics at work in this process, which favour larger companies, as well as the career trajectories of drivers.

In relation to recruitment employers also discussed **driver wages**. Many employers felt that drivers were paid a good wage and that this was necessary in order to recruit drivers. However,

as noted in the above section on potential employees working “out West” they recognized that inter-provincial comparisons, particularly with Alberta or ON did not hold up well.

Two employers discussed each of the following recruitment issues, **Perception of industry** and **recruitment from high school**.

Perception of industry was considered problematic for recruitment by a few employers. These employers felt there needed to be further communication about the positives of the industry to the general public and youth in particular in order to positively impact recruitment. As one owner interviewed stated, “...when it comes right down to it, if we could get a more positive media presence. Like, the only thing you see [in the media] is, “Oh, big truck hurling down the road crashed and there was a huge accident.” Nobody goes into the fact that the car that was in front of him cut him off, put him sideways and made that accident happen...But the headline doesn’t reflect that...Unfortunately, that’s the press that we get right now. So people don’t encourage their children to be truck drivers.” (Interviewee 9).

A few employers discussed the issue of **recruitment from high school**. One employer mentioned that an apprenticeship system, such as that used by many European countries, would be ideal. Another employer noted that currently it was extremely expensive to insure young workers, particularly for small companies, which put them at a disadvantage.

Employers- Retention

The most discussed topic in relation to retention by employers was **flexible scheduling**.

Employers felt the best way to keep workers was to try to cater to their scheduling preferences.

Some noted that there needed to be more creative means of scheduling in order to meet the needs

of drivers for such things as quality home time. One employer noted that seniority systems within some companies could be problematic at times for flexible scheduling.

The second most discussed topics were **pleasant work environments, decent wages, provision of equipment, and personal perks.**

Pleasant work environments were considered important by several employers. This included having respectful relationships with employees and cultivating a team environment.

Employers also noted that paying **decent wages** was necessary in order to have employee retention. However, what was deemed decent wages, likely varied.

Provision of equipment was thought to be an issue in retention. Some employers felt that this was respectful of their employees and they would provide anything that was deemed reasonable.

Personal perks were provided by several employers. These were given to employees in order to team build and show support. Examples of some of the perks offered to employees were satellite radio and coffee cards.

Also, a couple of employers discussed **safety and fuel bonuses**. These were given to employees for maintaining certain standards of safety and for reducing fuel consumption.

Agriculture

The majority of both owners and drivers interviewed discussed agricultural related topics. For most drivers they had experience transporting agricultural goods both locally, from farms to processing plants, and longer distances, as exports. Owners noted the importance of the agricultural industry to their businesses, and the Island economy as a whole, even if these products were not the focus of their particular freight transportation.

One retired truck driver interviewed had formerly been a farmer and went into truck driving in order to support his family after the farm failed financially. He explained why he considered truck driving:

Well the, that's part of your farm exposure...you see what's going on. And you know that that's something you can do and having seen the trucks picking up the potatoes and having friends in the community already having done the same thing

He also noted that while he went on to work for a local trucking company, driving their trucks, the transition from farmer to a trucking owner operator would be a good fit. In both cases independent businesses are being run and there is investment in equipment. These observations mirror the arguments by Hamilton (2006; 2008), discussed in the above Literature Review, as to trucking being “country” and show how it is also the case for the Canadian context and has persisted.

Regarding changes in the labour market, in terms of fewer drivers coming into the trucking industry with a farming background was also noted by several interviewees. One owner characterized this as a prominent change over his tenure in the trucking industry on Prince Edward Island. He explained in detail the changes to the labour force:

Labour, labour's changed. When, when I started driving, well, all of our drivers, we worked on our trucks, we changed our own tires and we greased them and everything and we did the whole, start to finish...Uh, now, today, a driver's a driver...Not saying that to be critical, but it just changed, it changed, changed the operation to the fact that, that the, like, years ago, if you broke down on the side of the road, well, you get out and you put a band-aid on something and you got home, but that, that doesn't do that anymore...

Interviewer – And why do you think that is?

A lot of the skill set for trucks years ago came from the farms. So, you grew up on a farm but your dad didn't have enough work for you, so when you, when you came time to have to go get a job, you took, and you jumped in a truck and went in a truck... Every year we have less farms, less young people coming into the trucking industry from agriculture.

The above owner felt that the majority of drivers from Prince Edward Island over 50 years of age (which is a large number of those currently in the industry) had come from some type of agricultural background. As the owner mentions in his conversation above, the skillset of the new drivers to industry has changed with the fewer having experience with heavy equipment, which was common with those of an agricultural background.

Familial and Social Relationships

While previously mentioned in the context of challenges and positives of working in the trucking industry, **familial relationships** were also the third most discussed topic overall by driver interviewees. These relationships were of obvious importance to the discussion about the work of truck driving. Many drivers expressed how relationships were impacted by the mobile nature of their work.

Several drivers noted that this type of work has been problematic to the point of being blamed for ending relationships; “Well, I’ve heard of more than, you know, one or two relationships gone south because one or the other was never home. You’re always in the truck... It’s part of the job, like I was telling, uh, couple different people, you know, if you’re married or dating or

whatever, whoever you're involved with has to understand, you gotta have some concept of the job." (Interview 5).

As one driver noted his driving long haul caused problems in his own relationship: "The road, the road kind of ... drove a stake in between us. I was always tired coming off the road and cranky" (Interview 16).

Several drivers had family in the trucking industry. These familial connections led to exposure to the industry. However, as this driver discussed his father tried to discourage him from going into the industry, know the potential issues he would face:

"Well my father has been a truck driver all my life. And it's something I was always interested in, but he kind of lead me away from it.

I: Really?

Yeah.

I: So what did he, so what did he say about it?

Well he said that its, and I kinda agree with him, it not a family man kind of job.

I: Right.

Like I'm, I'm away from home for a week at a time... you know maybe home for a day and a half, 2 days." (Interview 18)

The difficulty of being away from family while on the road affects drivers as well as the family they leave behind, as discussed by several drivers: "...I think it takes a strong person when you're away from your home too because you have a lot of thoughts running through your head by

yourself...It's an emotional strain on both sides." Here the driver was referring to the strain both he and his wife faced while he was away working.

Impact is both on family relationships and social ones "My family hates it, there is a big impact on my social life in general. Too often I'm away from home with holidays, anniversaries and that kind of events. There are no possibilities for joining a sports team for schedules are changing every now and then" (Interview 29).

The **social life** of truck drivers was discussed by all of them as challenging, in terms of socializing with those outside of the industry. Several long haul drivers mentioned they felt constrained in what sort of community activities they could become involved in because their schedule did not allow for enough time and, for many, was not fixed. The majority of long haul drivers, with partners, stated they dedicated the majority of their off time to spending it with family.

One driver who worked nights regionally was quite frank that "it's hell on social life" (Interviewee 6) particularly since it was difficult for those not in the industry to understand the hours and schedule involved.

The majority of drivers socialized with other truck drivers, particularly while on the road. As one driver stated "When you're out there, that's the most you have in common is with each other" (Interview 4), the commonality of the work and being mobile draws drivers together. Although this particular driver recognized this was a romanticized view of the industry he felt there was truth to this sentiment. All non-team long haul drivers discussed friendships they had with other drivers, staying in contact with them and meeting up on the road. Many of these drivers stated the importance of this social connection.

Many drivers still use CB radios for the main purpose of socializing with other drivers in proximity to them:

“Yeah, that’s why people still have CB...Some guys...don’t have it and I don’t know why cause they’re a great way to pass the time. You know. They’re for getting information on accidents and whatnot too. Like when there [slowdowns] and that kind of thing but they’re a great socializing tool I find. You know, you get to know people and you get to meet new people going down the road, you know a big old chat you know it’s great.” (Interview 27)

As discussed in the Changes Over Time and Technology section, cell phones and social media are often used to keep in contact with both family and other drivers.

Those drivers who consistently use the Woods Island-Caribou ferry were close socially. It was often the same group who worked seasonally and as one senior driver noted, for him particularly, “They were really part of your family, really.” (Interviewee 10). These drivers also knew the ferry workers quite well and gossiped with them on their ferry rides. The majority of drivers doing runs across the ferry with consistency were also based on the eastern part of the Island. As such they also lived near and sometimes in the same small communities as each other and the ferry workers.

Owners, all of which did not regularly drive long distances, had **family relationship** challenges related to work despite this. In particular, those owners of small and medium sized companies discussed working long hours and being constantly on call. These owners noted that they needed to be available via telephone because the industry is such that they receive calls about work short notice and as it is competitive if they are not immediately available their customer will likely find another trucking company quickly. In this way the changes to telephone technology and the

advent and proliferation of cell phones has positively impacted the familial and social life of both owners and drivers (although the negative impact is also discussed in the Historical Changes and Technology section).

Several owners, like drivers, also had family connections to the trucking industry. These connections were cited as influences in them joining the industry. There are several small to medium-sized family run trucking businesses on PEI. The majority of company representatives and owners interviewed were based in PEI and discussed their extended family connections to the Island, particularly when asked why they maintained their businesses on the Island.

In terms of **social life**, work hours and being on call negatively impacted the social life of those owners and company representatives of small and medium sized companies. They also noted that there was a social element to their work, given the small size of the island customers were often procured through social connections. The tight knit aspects of the trucking community were mentioned by all those involved in the industry. News often travelled quickly about those in the industry on the Island through social networks.

Historical Changes and Technology

Changes over time was one of the top ten themes discussed by owners. The majority of changes they discussed were technological. However, those non-technological included: safety and compliance (although this is also linked to the technologies discussed below, regulations have changed dramatically as well); the rise in fuel costs and the necessity of fuel surcharges for customers; discussing the change in drivers and labour market (particularly in relation to youth not interested in the industry and the decrease of those with agricultural backgrounds- see attached draft article for further discussion of this last issue); more rigorous training than in the

past (this was discussed by several owners and related to insurance requirements, for further discussion of training see above sections on Challenges); the opening of the Confederation Bridge; and the rise in larger off-Island companies and private trucking was also mentioned by several owners.

In relation to the changes in training one owner explained how the older system was antagonistic:

“I, I think that, as an industry as a whole, we, we don’t do guys coming out of school any justice by ... the, the way we’ve traditionally done things, which is ... you know, taking a guy and giving a couple of weeks guidance and then throwing him a set of keys and saying, “You’re on your own.” And, and it’s probably scared more guys out of the industry than it’s kept, unfortunately. And, and on top of that, it’s, or, it’s either that or they’re gone and they’ve gotten so many violations against them that they’re not employable” (Interview 9).

Technological changes were discussed as considerable, particularly in the last twenty years. One owner gave an example of the benefits of the new truck technologies today:

“you’re not worried about guys beating clutches up and stuff anymore. Now we have onboard diagnostics as well, so, basically, with all the 2014 trucks, now, we have on board diagnostics in that, if the truck has an issue, it actually sends a message to Volvo, now, who will automatically go and search for the parts and search for the most available shop in the area and book appointments for the trucks” (Interview 9).

Another company representative noted the major changes during his extensive time in the industry:

“Times have really turned from the, you know, from having endless miles on the week to, you know, all of sudden we have the log book and now we have the e-logs and, you know, it’s a lot better, mind you, cause I’m from the old school and I went to the new school. I’ve certainly transitioned to it very well and I’m proud of what I do. And I also appreciate the new, the new technology, right? The new engines, the better fuel mileage, you know, and all the new technology at play and stuff like that.” (Interview 11)

Cellphones and satellite systems in the trucks have changed the amount of time and effort needed for drivers to connect with their dispatch about loads:

“satellite equipment, we, satellite equipment’s been a huge addition, too. I mean, we’re ... when I first started this, you know you got to a customer and you had to call in, and then you had to call in, and then you had to call in (laughs)...You know, and back then cell phone weren’t, you know ... 20 years ago cell phones were, you know, expensive as hell and they were just coming around, right? ...I mean, it’s basically all done by, via satellites [now], so you’re just, there’s a keyboard in the truck. I mean in our trucks we have a scanner and a keyboard.” (Interview 9)

The surveillance aspect of the onboard tracking systems can be a positive for companies, as explained by one owner:

“But, we just, we put the system in, I think, 2 and a half years ago and, like the amount of ... production we get out of our drivers now is just insane. Like, they will call us and say, “Oh, you might have noticed, I was stopped for, like, 15 minutes,” you know, “At the Irving, but I had to go to the washroom.” (laughing)

It's like, "Whoa, whoa whoa! I don't need to know that! That's not what the system's for!"

I– Right, like every minute.

But they're, but they're, like, paranoid or something, right? And they keep working. You would never hear of that before. They'd be stopped at their house for an hour and a half having lunch, right, and you'd never know. They'd just come back telling you how

I– It was a slow day, whatever

Yeah, there was so much slush on the road, they had to drive slow all day, right?

All that stuff just goes away." (Interview 15)

He did note it was a delicate balance to use this type of surveillance technology while also trying to respect drivers and have them work with the system:

"You try not to use it too much against the drivers because then they kinda get mad at the system, you know? So, whenever we got it put in, the company asked if we wanted it hidden, and not the drivers to know, right? And we were like "No," we're like, we're being full, like, all the drivers know that this is going in because we don't want them to hate it. We want them to work with it, right?

I– Yes, yeah.

And that was a big thing, cause the drivers, some of them, I mean, some of them got attitudes, no matter what you do, but just try and be friendly with them, and ... keep them all happy" (Interview 15).

The need to retain drivers was, as stated previously, is a main concern of all owners and company representatives. As another company representative discussed drivers are not necessarily proponents of the surveillance aspect of the onboard satellite systems, “They kind of feel like especially with the satellite tracking. They kind of feel like big brother is watching.” (Interview 19).

The downside of the onboard satellite systems in trucks and the interconnectedness of computer systems and cellphones was explained by one company representative:

“it’s been a great benefit, and kind of a hindrance as far as that work life balance...You know, constantly connected. I can connect to my, office computer right from my iPhone and do everything that’s on my office computer right from my iPhone. Uh, or I can use this computer and connect to my office computer and do everything and set up a satellite office...You’re always connected. And uh, you know. We have systems where a driver can type a message into his satellite system, the message goes up into the sky, comes down and comes to my iPhone 24 hours a day. And so, uh, you know it’s been, it’s been great as far as you know there’s tremendous benefits to it but it’s also created a huge hindrance on the work life balance there.” (Interview 19)

These issues of work-life balance are also discussed in the section Familial and Social Relationships.

Drivers also mainly discussed technological changes when asked about industry changes over time. The majority of drivers discussed cell phone technology as essential to their work, as well as keeping in contact with family and socially. GPS and onboard satellite systems were also

discussed by the majority of drivers, even those whose trucks were not necessarily equipped with them.

As discussed in the Driver-Challenges section electronic log books were discussed by the majority of drivers. While drivers were divided as to whether the move to electronic log books was a good thing, they all stated it would likely be mandated nationally that all non-local drivers have them over the next several years. Many linked this statement to the fact that the US is moving in this direction with national regulations and Canada would follow them.

Speed regulators were discussed by several regional and long haul drivers. These are systems within the vehicle (connected to onboard computer satellite systems) which will not allow trucks to drive above a set speed. Several interviewees had these in their vehicles and they were set at approximately 105 km/h. In Quebec these are mandatory. Most drivers felt ambiguous about having them and two stated they would prefer not to have them.

Also, several drivers mentioned that when on the road they use the internet to watch videos and email people. Some companies have free email for drivers through their onboard computer systems. There were also several drivers who had portable DVD players in their trucks, which they watched during their down time and the majority of them listen to satellite radio (in fact some companies include this as a retention perk for drivers). Also, several drivers doing long haul or regional work discussed having small refrigerators or plug-in coolers in their trucks to take food with them on the road, particularly as a cost saving and healthy way to eat.

Mobility

While mobility was not a main theme that emerged from the interviews several topics discussed can be drawn upon to shed light on this main topic of research interest.

One of the main topics of interest was the discussions by both owners and drivers of movement of people “Out west” which was analysed as its own theme. As discussed in the above sections on Challenges for both owners and drivers, the other top mobility theme discussed was that of immigration, in particular TFWs and foreign driver entry into the industry. This was a particularly contentious topic, as discussed in the above sections.

Several drivers and a few owners discussed moving interprovincially through the duration of their career. The most cited factor in coming to work in PEI was family and social networks.

In terms of commuting, most owners/company representatives lived within 20 minutes of their base of operations. Several drivers, driving long haul or regionally, were able to take their trucks home with them and would receive word on where to pick up their load electronically, thus they did not truly have a work commute. Those drivers that regularly went to a work location to pick up their vehicle were all within 20 minutes of that location.

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Appendix: Interview Guides

On the Move: Employment-Related Geographical Mobility in the Trucking Industry in PEI Interview Guide for Truck Drivers (Updated April 16, 2013)

- 1) Could you describe what you do?
- 2) How long have you been involved in the trucking occupation?
- 3) How did you become involved?
- 4) What is it like operating as a trucker in PEI?
- 5) Why is PEI the base of your operation?
- 6) How often are you on the road?
- 7) What route do you ply?
 - a) Are there some routes you prefer? Why? (Probe: Are there any particular stops you like to make? Please describe them.)
 - b) Please describe your average work day. (Probe: Does anyone ride with you? Probe: What do you do on your downtime on the road?)
- 8) What does your family feel about your job? (Probe: would you encourage your children to be in the trade?)
- 9) How do you connect with family members when you are away from home?
- 10) What impacts does your occupation have on your family life?
- 11) Do you socialize (or are friends with) other people in the trucking industry?
- 12) How has the industry changed over the time you've working in it? (Probe: Have there been any regulation changes and how have they affected you? Ex. Changes to safety regulations and truck inspections. Ex. Hours of service regulations. Probe: Has the pay changed over time? Probe: How has technology affected your work and changed over time? What kind of technology do you use and who do you talk to? Ex. CB radio, computers, cell phones.)
 - a) What are the challenges in the industry?
- 13) How did you get hired on by the company you work with now?
 - a) What are you looking for in a company? (Probe: What sort of incentives, besides pay, are important for a company to provide?)

14) What do you like about the job?

**On the Move:
Employment-Related Geographical Mobility in the Trucking Industry in PEI
Interview Guide for Owners of Trucking Companies (Updated April 16, 2013)**

1. Could you describe what your company does?

2. Please describe your average work day.

3. How long have you been involved in the trucking business?

4. How did you get involved? (Probe: did you inherit the company? Do you manage it for your family? etc.)

5. What is it like running a trucking business on PEI?

6. How many truck drivers do you currently have?

7. What is the male-female ratio?

8. What route do your trucks ply?

a) Are there some routes you prefer? Why? (Probe: Are there any particular stops that you like to make? Please describe them.)

9. How has the industry changed over the time you've working in it? (Probe: Have there been any regulation changes and how have they affected you? Ex. Changes to safety regulations and truck inspections. Ex. Hours of service regulations. Probe: Has the pay changed over time? Probe: How has technology affected your work and changed over time? What kind of technology do you use and who do you talk to? Ex. CB radio, computers, cell phones.)

a) What are the challenges in the industry?

10. What do you like about the business?

11. Do you socialize with or have friends in the trucking industry? (Probe: How would you describe your work/life balance?)

11. Why did you choose to operate from PEI?

12. Do you recruit outside of the province? Why and Why not?

a) How do you go about recruiting workers?

13. Do you recruit outside of Canada? Why and Why not?

a) How do you go about recruiting outside of Canada?