All Night Long: An Ethnographic Account of Montreal Client-Oriented Overnight
Workers

Tammy Lynda Cree

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Abstract

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This paper considers the particular challenges faced by overnight workers in Montreal. These include limited access to public childcare and public transportation, problematic shopping hours as well as safety issues. Overnight employment can also complicate social relationships, whether by preventing parents from attending their children's recitals or by preventing high school students from attending a school dance. This paper will discuss mechanisms such as shift-sleeping and rotational shifts employed by overnight employees to cope with their nocturnal schedule. An initial expectation that the focus of my analysis would be on the social exclusions faced by overnight workers, shifted to a focus on issues of inclusion, specifically how the overnight workers were able to achieve integration into a society organized principally in terms of daytime routines. Building upon existing theories of the city by Setha Low, such as the *divided city* and the *contested city*, this thesis looks at the ways in which overnight workers negotiate their experiences within the city of Montreal.

Key Words:

- Non-Standard Employment/ Shift Work
- Security
- Overnight Work
- Wellness at the Workplace
- Anthropology of Work
- Integration/ isolation
- Urban Spaces
- Job Satisfaction

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Table of Contents

1.1 Anthropology of Work

There have been many publications dealing with the anthropology of work in the past few decades. Most acknowledge that work, in contemporary society, does not have the same meaning it did decades ago. Frederick C. Gamst argues that there are three dimensions of work; the personal, the social and the temporal dimensions. According to Gamst, work is personal in the sense that it defines one's psyche and creates a self image (Gamst 1995: 4). Work is social in the sense that it concerns "...social relations as much as material fabrications" (Gamst 1995: 4). Finally, work is temporal in the sense that "...every society has been structured around work in its dimensions of time as well as social relations" (Gamst 1995: 5). While work helps to structure and define one's identity, it also aids in structuring the society: "Works does more than provide our focus of self-identification. It provides our basis of social power and the circumstances of our economic other welfare" (Gamst 1995: 13). Because of this relationship, work and the individual's experiences of work are important for the welfare of society as a whole.

Belinda Leach explains that key to the anthropology of work is understanding the fluctuating social meanings of work. She argues:

> "While people try to put meaning into their lives as workers and as men and women, the contradictions of everyday life make this more of a challenge than we would reasonably expect. This is especially the case for certain forms of work which themselves comprise common-sense understandings...Forms of work like homework do not really fit into the common-sense meanings of work or family in contemporary capitalist societies, rendering them uncertain factors in peoples' sense of identity" (Leach 1998: 101).

I would argue this to also be the case with the reversed schedules normally associated with overnight employment. Working shifts outside the normative 9 to 5, Monday to Friday schedule goes against what most people see as the traditional working schedule. Overnight workers, because of their non-standard schedule, thus face problems associated with this deviation from more general understandings of work, such as limited access to public transport and safety issues.

More recently, these traditional understandings of work have been challenged by the greater number of employees working non-standard employment (see page 44 for a complete discussion of non-standard employment). Leach explains:

> "The meaning of work for workers in industrial societies has usually been taken for granted and it is only recently that attention has been paid to the ways in which the multiple meanings of work reflect cultural dynamicfs and operate to reinforce capitalist hegemony. The new phase of capitalism variously described as post-fordism, or flexible-production, is characterized by heterogeneous labour processes and non-standard work situations which defy the conventional ways of recording and analysing work" (Leach 1998: 103).

Although it may be true that society's understanding of work is changing, few changes are being made to the institutional organization of daily schedules to accommodate these changes. For instance, the Montreal metro still does not run 24 hours.

While many studies focusing on work and the workplace have done so from a sociological or policy reform perspective, I agree with Belinda Leach when she states that a more ethnographic approach can lead to additional discussions concerning the experiences of those who work non-standard forms of employment. In her study of the growth of homeworkers, she explains: "My position here is that an ethnographic approach can lead to a rethinking of some of the tools and conceptual categories of

industrial society and other disciplines concerned with the analysis of work" (Leach 1998: 104). Looking at work from an ethnographic perspective is also beneficial in the sense that it allows for the analysis of work as a social category. Sandra Wallman (1979) explains that work can be seen as a social category for three distinct reasons:

> "Firstly, because work is about social transactions as much as material production...Secondly, work controls the identity as much as the economy of the worker...Thirdly, the control of work entails not only control over the allocation and disposition of resources, but that the choices, decisions and resources, it implies also control over the values ascribed to each of them" (Wallman 1979: 2).

Hence, I chose to observe the lives of Montreal overnight workers through ethnographic fieldwork because I wanted to pay particular attention to their individual experiences.

Because this thesis focuses on Montreal workers, the city of Montreal, and more precisely the borough of LaSalle, serves as the contexts for my field site. Urban theories, as explained by Setha Low, have at times been ignored by the discipline of anthropology, leaving it instead for sociologists, cultural geographers, urban planners or historians (Low 1999: 1). However, she further argues that the city is "...a necessary part of understanding the changing postindustrial/advanced, capitalist/postmodern world in which we live" (Low 1999: 2). In Low's *Theorizing the City*, twelve images are used as basis for analysis and these are: *the ethnic city, the gendered city, the divided city, the contested city, the deindustrialized city, the global city, the informational city, the modernist city, the postmodern city, the fortress city, the sacred city and the traditional city* (Low 1999: 5). Two images will be of particular interest to this thesis: *the divided city* and the *contested city*.

The divided city within anthropology suggests hidden barriers within a city, such as race, class and religious affiliation (Low 1999: 7). Scholars have previously studied these dividing factors, such as Williams (1992) and Greenbaum (1993) who studied the racial division of America. This metaphor can be mediated with the experiences of overnight workers in the sense that the society is traditionally divided into two categories of workers, the daytime workers and the overnight workers. I would argue that employment can be seen as a dividing factor, not only in terms of socioeconomic stratification, but also in terms of social and physical well-being. Low further explains that other scholars, such as Jones, Turner and Montbach (1991),

> "...have theorized the unequal distribution of material resources and urban services as a reflection of the major cleavage between those able to augment their basic needs through labour market participation at a wage high enough to insulate them from the vagaries of state budget crisis and those who remain in state services just to survive" (Low 1999: 8).

In the case of Montreal overnight workers, their schedule is at the basis of what divides them from participating equally in society and what prevents them from benefiting equally from the city's resources and services. Teresa P. Caldeira (1996, 1999) also uses the image of the *divided city* to study fortified residential enclaves used to segregate, separate and to a certain extent protect the middle class in Latin American (Low 1999: 9). She explains that:

> "In the few decades, the proliferation of fortified enclaves has created a new model of spatial segregation and transformed the quality of public life in many cities around the world. Fortified enclaves are privatised, enclosed and monitored spaces for residence, consumption, leisure and work. The fear of violence is one of their main justifications" (Caldeira 1999: 83).

As will be further discussed in Chapter 6, overnight workers have at times felt the same type of segregation. In order to protect them from the increased security threats normally associated with the overnight hours, certain companies have opted to lock employees in their places of work in during the nocturnal hours.

The Contested City is another image suitable for the analysis of Montreal overnight workers. This image involves looking at the struggle for symbolic control of the streets (Low 1999: 10). It is about resistance. Low explains:

> "These poststructural analyses of race, class, gender and ethnic politics theorize the city as the site of ongoing urban conflicts about the provision of the material basis for social reproduction: quality of life, access to land, and neighbourhood control of affordable housing" (Low 1999: 10).

Rotenberg examines the *contested city* through identifying forms of metropolitan knowledge (Low 1999: 11). Using the *contested city* imagery in this thesis will be especially important when discussing the ways in which overnight workers have limited access to municipal resources.

Social anthropologists have been studying work over the past few decades because it can prove to be an effective area of study for depicting forces of social change and social relations. Anthony P. Cohen (1979) studied crofting in the island community of Whalsay. Through his study, he shows that a restructuring of the workplace very often echoes the restructuring of the society in general. He explains how a shift in the crofting practices led to changes in the everyday lives of the fishermen:

> "The transition to full-time, year round fishing activity meant that the practice of crofting agriculture had to undergo fundamental change. It was no longer possible for the fisher-man crofter to commit himself to daily activity on the croft. It thereby became virtually impossible for cows to be kept." (Cohen 1999: 255).

Changes in the workplace can also be symptomatic of changes in the family structure. Cohen explains that a period of decreased birthrates has affected the crofting practice: "There is no longer the labour available to maintain the traditionally plural economic activities of the household. The men are at fishing, the unmarried women are in paid jobs, and the married women do not engage so actively in the daily labour of the croft as they once did" (Cohen 1999: 256). Similarly, sudden changes in the practice of overnight employment can signify changes in both the community and the family structure. Increased numbers of moonlighters, like Jacques, can indicate a hike in the costs of living, or an economic recession as more and more people are arming themselves with two or more jobs in order to meet their economic needs. More overnight workers in general can also symbolize the society's gradual shift away from a diurnal schedule to a 24h one. It could also signify a problem with the childcare services of the area. Perhaps childcare has become too expensive for parents and they need to find other ways of caring for their children. Or perhaps there are not enough government funded daycare places available to satisfy the city's demand.

In contemporary society, work is no longer confined to an 8 hours block of an individual's day. Work is often used to define a person's place in society and is even linked to one's identity. According to Frederick C. Gamst:

> "Work supports all the other aspects of humans' lifeways. Work, consequently, is the pivotal concern and subject of conversation in all societies. Work relations, accordingly, touch almost all of our social interactions. The place of work, be it a craft person's shop or a plowman's acreage, therefore, is a central locus of the activities people deem important. Because work dominates our psyches and social lives, we must attempt to understand the forces it generates,

shaping our society and channelling individual behaviour"
(Gamst 1995: 1).

Since work is taking a larger role in the lives of individuals, it is an important aspect to study, as it concerns the society as a whole. In the introduction to *Social Anthropology of Work*, Sandra Wallman lists a number of different dimensions of work: energy, incentive, resources, values, time, place, person, technology, identity, alienation, domains, spheres and systems (Wallman 1979: 4-20). Through these various lenses, it is possible to achieve a deeper understanding of how individuals work.

The purpose of this thesis is to understand the ways in which overnight employment affects and shapes the lives of Montreal workers. Of particular interest are the problems uniquely faced by overnight employees, such as limited access to public childcare and public transportation, problematic shopping hours, a feeling of isolation from the rest of society, as well as security and personal safety issues. The field research also concentrated on the ways in which overnight employment can complicate social relationships, whether by preventing parents from attending their children's recitals or by preventing high school students from attending a school dance. Other issues encountered throughout the research include various health consequences such as sleep deprivation, decreased concentration and constant fatigue. These health concerns also take a particular toll on the social lives of the workers, an issue rarely addressed in previous studies.

The group that was the focus for this thesis, Montreal overnight workers, has been chosen for a variety of reasons. Firstly, while much literature has been devoted to non-standard forms of employment, overnight workers are rarely the primary focus for such studies. Secondly, more and more companies and organizations are choosing to remain open around the clock. For example, a fast food restaurant on Champlain Boulevard in

LaSalle opened its doors for overnight service for the first time in April 2009. Thus, more employees are being recruited to work overnight hours. For these reasons, achieving a more detailed understanding of the unique experiences of Montreal overnight workers will contribute to the broader literature on the experiences of workers.

Having done some preliminary research on overnight employment, it was clear that the focus of previous research was the medical or health issues associated with overnight employment. Thus, there has been a marked imbalance in the amount of effort that has been devoted to the effects of overnight employment on the social lives of the workers. I therefore wanted this research to address this gap by focusing more fully on the ways in which overnight employment shaped the lives of the workers and affected their social lives.

The methodology will first be discussed, touching upon various anthropological theories of work. Of particular interest will be the ways in which anthropologists have developed theories around the concept of the city, such as Setha Low's (1999) concepts of *the divided city* and the *contested city*. Using Belinda Leach's work (1998), this thesis questions society's dominant definitions of work, and looks at how alternate definitions can help frame the study of overnight workers in Montreal. Building on earlier work by Sandra Wallman (1979) specific ethnographic accounts of the experiences of overnight work in Montreal will be examined in order to achieve a better understanding of how they fit into the experiences of Montreal society as a whole. Theories of space and movement will also be considered, such as Ruth Finnegan's (1989) discussion of the ways in which the Milton Keynes social clubs are transformed into musical spaces and

Nigel Rapport's (2009) analysis of the ways in which hospital porters navigate about the Constance hospital differently than do other patrons.

The following chapter will be devoted to the experience of conducting anthropology 'at home'. More precisely, it will focus on the ways in which ethnography has changed over the course of the latter part of the twentieth century. There is no longer an expectation that the other can only be encountered in exotic locales. And, as concepts of home are increasingly becoming less rigid, anthropologists have begun conducting field work in the cities in which they normally reside. While at times I struggled with some of the challenges associated with conducting fieldwork at home, the chapter will also address some notable benefits of working in one's hometown, as well as how this fits into the broader discourse of anthropology at home.

The history of the overnight shift will subsequently be analysed. Thanks to technological advances, working hours have been extended into the nocturnal hours. While profit and competitive edge were first behind the expansion of the industrial sector, the essential services sectors also gradually became organized around the clock. As the economy shifts and fluctuates, non-standard patterns of employment, such as shift work, have been dramatically on the rise. With more people working shifts comes an increase in overnight workers as every shift needs to be covered during the 24 hour period.

The Circadian Rhythm Theory will also be explored, along with the ways in which it can account for the difficulties certain individuals have in accustoming themselves to overnight work. While this theory has its limitations, it does explain that certain side effects of overnight work, such as fatigue, can be associated with going against one's inherent biological rhythm.

The following chapters will focus heavily on analyzing the ethnographic data compiled through fieldwork. Through the description of the individual experiences of my participants, this thesis seeks to demystify the overnight world and shed light on those who keep Montreal alive while others are sleeping. Because overnight workers compose a minority of the Canadian workforce (4% of Canadians worked overnight on a regular basis as of 2005, according to statistics Canada), they are largely living on opposite schedules to the rest of society. This causes a number of problems including a feeling of being out of sync with the rest of the population, feeling misunderstood and having limited access to municipal resources.

These chapters also highlight the ways in which overnight workers feel stigmatized by the rest of society. More specifically, they frequently face assumptions that overnight workers exhibit anti-social behaviours. Others also assume that overnight workers are lazy and unmotivated workers who only work overnight because they are unable to find employment during daytime hours. Through the depiction of the lives of my participants, I seek to debunk these false views of Montreal overnight workers, who often deal with problems not necessarily encountered by daytime workers.

It is undeniable that overnight workers encountered greater security risks than daytime workers. In fact, the commute to and from an overnight shift can be dangerous for certain workers who do not have a car and travel outside of public transportation hours. There are also concerns as to whether or not overnight workers are properly trained to handle emergency situations, and as to whether or not there are enough preventative measures in place to assure their personal protection. Issues of employment satisfaction will also arise near the end of the thesis. While many sociologists have

written on workplace satisfaction, few take into consideration the unique features of overnight work, such as limited interactions with coworkers and superiors.

While there is heavy focus on the ways in which overnight work can be the source of social and physical stresses, this thesis will also look at the reasons individuals choose to the work overnight in the first place. These reasons can range from economic needs to the lack of childcare. More importantly, this thesis will look at how a change in the composition of overnight work can be symptomatic of larger social changes within the society.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 The Field Site Choices: Limitations and Restrictions

Field research for this thesis began early in April 2009. The topic, the effects of overnight employment on the social lives of Montreal overnight workers, grew out of a desire to make visible those whose work all too often goes unnoticed. Though Montreal is a city internationally known for its busy nightlife, people rarely take the time to think about those behind this nightlife, namely the overnight workers.

The choice of field sites for this research thesis was heavily influenced by restrictions that emerged from the very conditions of the night work that I was studying. As I would soon come to discover, the nocturnal world differs greatly from the daytime world even if they are but two different parts of the same day. These restrictions not only limited my choice of field sites, but also affected the ways in which the actual field research was carried out. The first of these restrictions concerned entrance. There are considerably fewer businesses open at night than there are during the daytime and this limited my selection of field sites to a collection of fast food restaurants, coffee shops, hospitals, police stations and gas stations.

Secondly, many businesses that are open 24-hours are part of the essential services sector (hospital, police, fire stations, etc...) and are very difficult to enter, even with special permission. While I could have still chosen such businesses, the overnight workers in the essential services sector might not have had enough time to devote to participating in this project, making it more difficult to recruit informants. Thus, I needed to choose a site where the entry was not only 24-hours, but also easily accessible to the

public. It is also important to mention that while certain sites are indeed open to the public 24-hours, there are certain activities that are simply not present during the overnight hours. For instance, certain restaurants will close their doors to walk-in clients at midnight and only drive-thru patrons with cars will be served. Consequently, I wanted my choice of field sites to reflect this distinction between full-service overnight restaurants and limited-service overnight restaurants. Having more than one fixed field site ensured that such a distinction would not be overlooked.

Thirdly, because not all buses and metros run 24-hours, the field site had to be accessible during the overnight hours. Thus, I needed to find field sites located along a bus route that either ran late into the night or started back up early in the morning. My apartment was located next to three viable bus routes, the 109 Shevchenko, the 112 Airlie and the 58 Wellington buses. All these buses, while very different in route, offered either a later or early morning service.

Finally, issues of personal security also restricted the field site selection. My apartment is located in the LaSalle Bronx, which is a quiet, mostly suburban area that is quite far from the more commercial streets of Dollard and Newman. Hence the field site had to be located in an area offering adequate security during the commute. While walking would have only taken half an hour, and is usually quite a pleasant walk during the day, it can be dangerous to go down Shevchenko Blvd. alone at night. Taking all these limitations into consideration, the community of LaSalle, located on the island of Montreal, offered two satisfactory field sites. In order to ensure the anonymity of my informants, it will suffice to describe one field site as a coffee shop and the other field site as a fast food restaurant, both located on the busy Newman Blvd. Thus, it was

through a combination of limitations, restrictions and serendipity that the two fixed fields sites were chosen.

It was also important that the field site allowed for an interaction with clients because many of my informants spoke about their relationships with overnight clients as being one of the most stressful aspects of overnight work. Businesses closed to the public offered a very different dynamic of overnight employment. For instance, the overnight maintenance crew of an IT corporation have keys to enter the building and remain in the locked building until the job is terminated. Thus, they are never in direct contact with clients. While such types of overnight employment have their own unique experiences, I wanted the field location to allow for observations of the relationships between overnight workers and their clients. Most coffee shops that are open around the clock have an open-door policy and the interaction with customers is one of the key components of overnight employment. As will later be explored, this can also prove to be one of the most dangerous as many clients during the overnight hours are intoxicated and altercations can at times turn violent.

I did encounter some initial frustrations gaining access to the world of overnight employment. I had contacted the person responsible for the volunteers of Montreal's major hospitals, however she informed me that there simply were no volunteer positions available during the overnight hours. This struck me as being quite an odd rule as there are still patients in the hospitals waiting rooms overnight and volunteer candy-strippers could still roam around the hospitals lending out books and magazines and offering coffee. In fact, it seems as though patients waiting to be looked over by a doctor in the morning's early hours would greatly appreciate the coffee. Nevertheless, volunteers were

not recruited for overnight services and consequently, the local LaSalle hospital could not become the site of my field research.

2.2 Description of the Field Sites

Part of the greater Montreal region, the LaSalle peninsula [see map in Figure 1], is bounded by the Lachine Canal and Rapids, the Saint-Lawrence River and the Montreal Aqueduct (Gravel and Bouchard 1999: 16). This city has a rich and diverse employment history. From the early days of settlement, LaSalle was a major player in the fur trade (Couture et al. 1988: 11) and controlled trade via the rapids. In more modern periods, LaSalle was home to many factories including the LaBatt brewery and Kraft Canada, now closed. LaSalle is now a highly commercial city, with a vast array of stores and restaurants centralized along its main boulevards. Newman Boulevard, the street housing both of my field sites, is one of the main streets of the city. "As early as 1914, the council planned to link all the boroughs of the city [LaSalle]. To accomplish this, Dollard, Lafleur and Newman streets were opened and became the main arteries of the municipality" (Gravel and Bouchard: 1999: 42). As a suburb of Montreal, LaSalle was an ideal choice of city because while it still housed certain 24 hour businesses, it was further away from the busy downtown nightlife. A quieter location allowed for better observations and a better rapport with my informants.

These two particular field sites were chosen because of their differences, allowing for valuable comparison between the two. The first major difference concerns the type of clientele. As is the case for many fast food restaurants open 24-hours, the field site was very often frequented by after-hour partiers or people wanting to grab a quick bite after

clubbing for the night. The location of the fast food restaurant is also adjacent to a popular pool hall/bar. Thus, when the bar closes for the night, at around 3am, it is not uncommon to have a rush of clients coming through the drive-thru. These clients also differed from the daytime clients as many were intoxicated, rowdy and sometimes violent. I even witnessed a fight between two intoxicated clients during one particular evening's observations [See page 92 for full discussions]. The coffee shop, in contrast, serves students as well as older clientele. During the overnight hours, the coffee shop transforms into a library, study hall and social hall where people come together and talk over fresh coffee and donuts. It is for this reason that the coffee shop was more appropriate for schoolwork and thus became my office. I was able to blend in with the other students doing their own schoolwork. These aforementioned differences between the sites are important because they depict an important aspect of overnight employment: not all overnight employment offer the same experiences.

2.3 Areas of Interest and their Methods

The field research was conducted just a few summers after the death of a young woman, while she was working overnight at a Montreal Shell gas station. Brigitte Serre was on her first overnight shift at the Shell station on Lacordaire Blvd. in Saint-Leonard when she was caught in the middle of a hold up, and stabbed to death 72 times (Montgomery 2007). The murder, while not the only death of an overnight worker in Canada, shed light on the issue of overnight security. Newspaper articles published in the days following the murder showed the true impact this murder had on Montreal society. People were outraged that a young woman was even allowed to work the overnight shift

alone and denounced the lack of security during those hours. While she was on her first overnight shift at this particular employment, she had previously worked two other night jobs and was considered to be very mature for her age (Wilton 2006a). Despite both her maturity and her previous experiences, some still argued that minors should never be left alone during the overnight shift.

The tragedy also prompted people to question the security measures available for overnight workers. Roy Green of *Canadian Security Magazine* explains that this tragic event led to the re-opening of "...the debate over the security and safety of teenagers working alone at night" (Green 2006). Looking at the other Canadian provinces, "New Brunswick and Manitoba have laws requiring that at least two people work together at stores during overnight hours" (Wilton 2006). Yet, Quebec laws state that the personal security of overnight workers is the responsibility of the employer (Wilton 2006). Serre's murder, however, provoked the spokesperson for the Canadian Federation of Independent Business to strongly recommend that employers have "...more than one employee on duty during evenings and nights, if possible" (Wilton 2006). Choosing a field site in the greater Montreal region thus allowed a basis for comparison to see how, or if, policies and practices have changed in Montreal since the summer of 2006.

In her volume *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town* (1989), Ruth Finnegan explains that while music and musical activities are part of the modern English culture, the organization behind such activities is seldom thought about (Finnegan 1989: 3). She further states that the rest of society routinely fails to see "...the unclaimed work put in by hundreds and thousands of amateur musicians up and down the country. Yet it is this work, in a sense invisible, that upholds this in other ways well-

known element of [English] heritage" (Finnegan 1989: 3). Overnight employment in Montreal can be interpreted in very much the same light. Few people take the time to actually acknowledge the overnight workers that keep the city alive at night. For this reason, it was important that the chosen field sites reflected the largely unnoticed and invisible work. The fact that many workers, such as janitors and cleaning crews, work overnight in buildings closed to the public further adds to their invisibility. Choosing a coffee shop and fast food restaurant brimming with clients during the day, could help shed light on all the overlooked tasks and duties performed by overnight workers each night, such as cleaning and general maintenance, preparation of the food, counting the till, and so on. In *The Hidden Musicians*, Finnegan further writes:

> "I hope, though, that despite all this my genuine appreciation for the real (not merely reflective or secondary) musical achievements of local musicians will shine through the attempt at objectivity and reveal something of a reality that has too often remained unnoticed" (Finnegan 1989: 11).

In much the same respect, I hope that my choice of field sites helps to bring visibility and an element of recognition to the work conducted by local overnight employees in Montreal. Throughout my research, I discovered just how difficult their daily lives can be as these issues are often overlooked by the rest of society. Cato Wadel (1979) writes about the hidden work of everyday lives. Wadel explains that work is traditionally "...restricted to activities one is paid for (paid work); such work takes place at specific places (work place) and at specific times (work time/ working hours). The question 'What's your work?' usually means paid work" (Wadel 1979: 369). Perhaps another factor leading to the feeling of invisibility of Montreal overnight workers is the fact that their schedule does not typically enter into what is more usually defined as 'work'.

2.4 Fieldwork

The fieldwork methodology for this thesis was organized in terms of what Carol Bailey has termed the *Interpretive Paradigm*. As such, the underlying foci of the research are the "...social relationships, as well as the mechanisms and processes through which members in a setting navigate and create their worlds" (Bailey 2007: 53). In order to discover the individual, lived experiences of the informants, both semi structured interviews as well as participant observation were employed. In addition to interviews and observation, most of the writing and analyzing (transcribing interviews, research, organizing schedules, coding data, etc...) was conducted during the overnight hours (11pm to 7am). The goal was to be completely immersed in the overnight world, even if it was only for a few months, in order to have a first-hand experience of what overnight workers live everyday (or every night). At the end of the three months, I had successfully completed interviews with 15 informants, including one follow-up interview, as well as a three-individual joint interview. Not too long after each interview, they were transcribed and coded according to a rough coding scheme divided into topics and sub-topics. As the interviews progressed, more topics were added.

The research was composed of naturalistic inquiry as informants were not asked to change their daily routines during periods of observation (Bailey 2007: 2). This ensured that the collected data depicted a portrait of the group studied (Bailey 2007: 2-3). I observed workers serving clients, preparing food, interactions with both clients and other workers involved in regular maintenance tasks as well as in their commute to work, as I sometimes accompanied my informants to their workplace either by bus or taxi. I was also able to participate in tasks such as cleaning the lobby and clearing the trays from the

tables. However, the overnight workers were skilled, experienced, efficient and moved about the field site in a fluid manner I was never fully able to duplicate. I very often found myself more of a nuisance than a productive employee.

The ways in which research was conducted also differed between the sites. I was much more of a participant in work routines at the fast food restaurant, while the coffee shop became more of an office. I would thus leave for the coffee shop on most nights at 9:50pm to catch the last 109 Shevchenko bus at 10:01 pm and I would arrive at the field site at 10:12 pm. Once on site, I would claim a table where I would sit with my field journal and observe, take notes and chat with some of the clients. I also sipped coffee while reviewing data, conducting literary reviews, transcribing interview tapes, and so on. During more quiet periods, I would approach the staff and strike up a conversation. Most of my observations ended at 3:00 am or so, when I would leave to catch a taxi home.

Midway through the field research, I was contacted by a previous employer, the owner of a quirky and trendy gift boutique located on Saint-Paul street in the heart of Old Montreal. She was looking for extra staff to work during her Midnight Madness Sale. During this sale, store hours were extended and clients earned an extra 20% off the store merchandise between 9pm and midnight with 20% of all sales going towards the *Weekend to End Breast Cancer Event*. Seeing this as an excellent opportunity to further participate in nocturnal life, I gladly agreed to a 6pm to closing shift. It also allowed me to experience first-hand some of the obstacles faced by overnight workers each day. Old Montreal differs greatly from Downtown Montreal, including in their respective night lives. Bus routes servicing Old Montreal do not run as frequently as those in Downtown

Montreal and the closest metro stations to the Old Port, Square-Victoria and Place-D'Armes, are actually located a good 10 minutes walk away. Thus, I knew I would encounter additional problems accessing the gift boutique than I did at my regular field sites. However, it was important to experience these difficulties because they are nightly occurrences for certain overnight workers.

These experiences allowed me to better understand the unique obstacles faced by overnight workers in Montreal. However, I would be lying if I said that I was able to adjust to this nocturnal lifestyle. Though, long before I embraked on this research, I had worked overnight at the Longueuil Jean Coutu warehouse one summer during CEGEP, my body was thoroughly unprepared for living the life of an overnight worker. At first I thought that my body would adjust to the night shift, but things did not really get any easier. Throughout the months, I grew increasingly cranky and I had a lot of difficulty maintaining a balanced life. In fact, many of my journal entries detail my foul moods and my frustrations over a strained social life. Like many of my informants, I quickly discovered that it was quite difficult to work overnight and maintain the same social life as the one you had while working days. Though I was not always conducting interviews or observations at the times when my friends and family were having social engagements, I would nonetheless frequently cancel plans citing fatigue. I could not find the strength or the energy to go out for supper with my friends, and then have to leave in order to make my way to the field site. My friends even started calling me *batgirl* because of my nocturnal schedule. I thus sympathized with those overnight workers who complained about the lack of a social life. But even more than sympathizing, I felt as though I had experienced a small slice of what overnight workers live each day. You are essentially on

the polar opposite schedule to most of the people around you. Hence, it is only natural that some individuals working the overnight shift feel isolated at one point or another.

2.5 Interviews

The interviews conducted for this research were varied in nature, though most followed a semi-structured format. Interviews were conducted mainly with the informants encountered throughout the participant observations, however some interviewees were also referred by friends and others were met through chance encounters. While most interviews followed the same basic guidelines [See sample Interview Questions in Figure 2 of the Appendix], each interview contained questions specifically tailored to the experiences of the particular informant, whether it be a single mother, a moonlighter, a shift worker, and so on. Thus, information obtained through interviews was not only diverse, but in-depth and detailed as well. As the interviews advanced in number, I also found myself to be a more skilled interviewer which undoubtedly affected the quality of the interviews. Whether the interview was taped or not, detailed notes were taken to ensure that any points needing further clarification were dealt with at the end of the interview. This also helped me avoid information loss, since even if a tape was damaged, I would still have the interview notes. The taped interviews were also transcribed shortly after completion and the transcripts were coded to ensure easier data analysis.

Throughout the field research, 15 individuals were interviewed. The interview lengths ranged from half an hour to two hours depending on the availability of the informant. My informants were all over the age of 18, though some were still minors

when they started working overnight. The occupation of my informants also varied considerably, although most worked in the service industry. Eight informants worked for the fast food restaurant where I conducted participant observations, one worked at the coffee shop where I also conducted fieldwork, two were security officers, one worked for a telephone company call center, one was a retired taxi-driver, one worked in a retirement home and one was a clerk for a gas-station. In terms of marital status, most were single and living alone, while others included a single mother, a father living with his family and two young men living with their girlfriends. The age groups were also mixed, with a few students in their late teens, some in their early 20s, a few over 40 and one 72 year-old retired man. Of the 15 interview informants, 12 live and work on the island of Montreal, most in the community of LaSalle. One individual lives and works on Montreal's South shore, while the remaining two worked in Montreal although one lives on the South Shore and another in the Eastern Townships. The interviews were all qualitative, mostly semi-formal and all but one were taped. It is also important to mention that of the 15 individuals interviewed, 3 were from the same immediate family. The father and his son and daughter were all interviewed together in a joint interview primarily discussing the issues faced by the families of overnight workers.

2.6 Research Questions

The research began with a very simple question: How does overnight work differ from 9 to 5 patterns of employment? From this research question a pilot project was developed and the main research question was refined to: How does overnight work affect/shape the social lives of Montreal workers.

Having myself encountered problems accessing the field site, I began to question whether or not this was also an issue for other overnight workers. However this quickly led to another issue encountered during overnight work, that of the physical isolation of the workers. How does overnight employment physically isolate the workers from the rest of society? For example, during my first week of field research, I wanted to conduct some observations in a LaSalle coffee shop. I wanted to get to the site at the same time as one of my informants was due to finish his shift at midnight. However, the bus that runs from my apartment to the coffee shop begins its final run at 10:01pm. Thus, I arrived at the field site for 10:12pm and was forced to wait until midnight before I could speak with my informant. This bus schedule also posed another problem in the sense that there was no way for me to leave the site once I was there because I had no way of getting back home, especially since walking down Shevchenko boulevard overnight is not all that safe. Thus, I was in a very literal sense confined to my field site for the duration of overnight observations.

The way in which the field site is used also changes from daytime to overnight. For instance, the coffee shop and fast food restaurant in which I was conducting fieldwork are two of the only places open around the clock in LaSalle, aside from the token gas station. Hence, there are not many options open to overnight clients. During the overnight hours, it was not uncommon for me to be sitting next to clients who used the coffee shop lobby as a place to hold business meetings, a point which will further be addressed later.

2.7 Brief Overview of Informants

The chosen field sites also offered a rich diversity of potential informants. In such coffee shops and fast food restaurants as the chosen field sites, the staff is usually divided into full-time and part-time employees and have both fixed and flexible schedules. Thus, I would be able to encounter both full-time overnight workers and part-time overnight workers, those overnight workers with a fixed 10pm to 6am Monday to Friday schedules as well as those who rotate the week-end shift. Finding informants to participate in the research proved to be problematic at times, and despite my best efforts I sometimes saw two weeks go by without an informant to interview. I also used electronic resources, such as 'Facebook', to get the word out but very few informants were found through these means. I also wanted to take advantage of my membership with Concordia's Center for Native Education (CNE) and circulated an e-mail to all members asking for their participation in exchange for lunch, but my efforts were fruitless. I was not able to secure informants through the CNE. I quickly realized that once the interviews began a snow-ball effect would ensue. I found most of my informants through participant observation as well as through word-of-mouth with acquaintances and friends. In addition, those informants encountered throughout the participant observation learned a bit about my research project and as they became more interested, they also became more willing to participate. Thus, providing potential informants detailed information about my research became one of my key tools to secure interviewees.

It could, however, be especially difficult to set up interviews with some of my informants who worked the overnight shift on a regular basis. Frequently, informants would cancel citing extreme fatigue or a simple lack of time. On one particular occasion,

I was to meet up with an informant at a crew beach party hosted by the fast food restaurant. However, once I got off the bus at the Bromont water park, I got word that she would not be attending the party since she had worked overnight the night before and was expected to do so the following night, and was simply too tired to spend the day out in the sun. This sort of incident happened more-or-less frequently throughout the field research. However, living through the same overnight schedule as my informants made me much more tolerant of the factors that might be prompting these 'no-shows' and cancelled appointments.

It should also be mentioned that in the interests of maintaining confidentiality, pseudonyms will be used rather than my informants' actual names. While all informants greatly contributed to the fieldwork, a few were recurring and are particularly prominent throughout the thesis.

I first met Mary, by chance, when I was waiting in a restaurant lobby for another one of my informants. She was sitting on a fake leather chair having a coffee before the start of her overnight shift. After being introduced to her by another of my informants, I instantly recognized her insight and openness and I knew that she would become an important part of the research. After a few minutes discussing her experiences working overnight, she gave me permission to record our conversation and I whipped out a consent sheet for her to sign. Mary was a single mother in her mid-twenties who had experienced overnight work on three separate occasions working for three different companies. She first worked overnight carrying out inventory in a warehouse, then worked overnight at a popular coffee and donut shop and at the time of my research she

was working overnight at the fast food restaurant where I conducted most of my participant observations.

Johnny was a self-made young man, a born-salesman. He was the youngest of my informants and was underage during most of his overnight employment. His infectious smile caused women to rubberneck every time we met in public places. He commanded attention and was very often the center of everyone's attention. While by the time of my fieldwork he worked in sales, he had previously worked overnight for a grocery store, stocking shelves during closing hours. He also worked overnight for a little over 2 years as a clerk for a busy gas station-dépanneur. Johnny was very candid about certain of his overnight experiences. Having worked overnight as a minor himself, he now has strong views about the need for an age minimum for 3rd shift workers. He also opposes women working overnight out of concerns for their safety and well-being.

Jacques, the oldest of my informants, is happily enjoying his golden years. He is the type of friendly man everyone would love to have as a grandfather. Fiercely devoted to his wife of over 50 years, he credits her with the success of his overnight employment. While he admitted that they spent some tough time, living in a one bedroom apartment with two children and eating nothing but tomato sandwiches sometimes for weeks at a time, he declared to me that there is not a single minute of his life he would want to start over. As a former employee for a telephone company during the day, he also moonlighted as a taxi driver in Montreal-North. Interestingly, Jacques had to keep his moonlighting practice a secret as his daytime employer did not approve of their employees having second jobs. He knew it was risky, but Jacques felt that working overnight was a way to not only achieve extra income, but to also improve his family's standard of living, which

was and still is his number one priority. Those years of working overnight and having very little time with his family were all worth it in the end, according to him, because he was able to give them everything they needed to thrive. Jacques also helps to illustrates continuity between the past and present experiences of overnight workers in Montreal. Many of the issues he brings up, such as isolation and familial stress, are also issues faced by current overnight workers, such as Mary and Roger. Please note that I translated from French to English all the direct quotes from Jacques.

Trevor has been working overnight, on and off, for close to eight years now. He has worked for the same company his whole life and is very well respected by his peers and superiors. While overnight shifts are no longer part of his usual routine, he still covers some 3rd shifts now and then to help out. Because of his position as a manager, Trevor has helped me understand the difficulties in trying to staff the overnight shift. He knows what it takes to be a successful overnight employee and thus has a great deal of empathy for those who work the shift. Trevor also grew up in a family where overnight work was part of the daily routine. His father, Roger, a middle-aged security guard, has worked overnight for many years. Trevor's sister, Suzanne, a PAB (préposée aux bénéficières or nurse's auxiliary) also works overnight. His family, who graciously had me over for supper to conduct a joint interview, made me understand that having a family who truly understands the difficulties of overnight employment can greatly ease the burden usually associated with a nocturnal schedule.

Chapter 3: The Challenges of Conducting Fieldwork at Home

3.1 Early to Mid-Twentieth Century Fieldwork

It is quite easy to understand how the traditional model of ethnographic fieldwork came to be viewed as the norm in anthropology. After all, it has been argued that fieldwork is not only the cornerstone on which social anthropology is based, but also differentiates it from the other social sciences. Philip C. Salzman wrote that:

> "More than anything else, it is ethnographic fieldwork that distinguishes social and cultural anthropology from other social sciences and that demarcates the transition from being a student of anthropology to being an anthropologist. Most of us have done it: girded our loins, packed our bags, and- harbouring dubiously based images of fieldwork and nursing vague but overly ambitious research intentions- headed off to distant lands on solitary quests for the anthropological holy grail, an account of another, usually unknown, culture" (Salzman 1986: 528).

In the introduction to his *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*, Paul Rabinow writes: "I left America with a sense of giddy release. I was sick of being a student, tired of the city, and felt politically important. I was going to Morocco to become an anthropologist" (Rabinow 1977: 1). Hence, there was an understanding that fieldwork marked the *coming of age* of the anthropologist, it was their *rite of passage* (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 16). Furthermore, Rabinow discusses how the graduate department at the University of Chicago was divided into two very distinct camps "those who had done fieldwork, and those who had not; the latter were not *really* anthropologists , regardless of what they knew about anthropological topics" (Rabinow 1977: 3). There was thus a sense that anthropology, as a discipline, was not only defined by fieldwork but by a particular type

of fieldwork, that which was conducted abroad. Fieldwork legitimized one's identity as an anthropologist and validated one's acquired knowledge.

In a similar argument, Virginia Caputo explains that: "as disciplinary boundaries dissolve and more and more overlap occurs between disciplines, anthropology has responded in part by re-establishing its own borders and reasserting what makes it unique from other disciplines. Fieldwork, one of the central enduring symbols of that which defines anthropological work, seems to be the target of this effort" (Caputo 2000: 21). Fieldwork was heavily emphasized within the discipline because it was seen as the keystone of anthropology. In fact, Gupta and Ferguson also explained that "[e]xploring the possibilities and limitations of the idea of the field thus carries with it the opportunity- or depending on one's point of view, the risk- of opening it to question the meaning of our own professional and intellectual identities as anthropologists" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 3). Furthermore, Gupta and Ferguson explain that there has always been widespread acceptance that anthropological knowledge should be based on fieldwork (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 1). Even in graduate school, Paul Rabinow explains, students were told that anthropology equals experience, and that one could not truly be viewed as an anthropologist without fieldwork experience (Rabinow 1977: 4). As such, without fieldwork and by extension the field site, there would be no anthropological knowledge. However, Deborah D'Amico-Samuels cautions against solely equating fieldwork to anthropology because it "...obscures important analytic, political and personal ties between ourselves and the folk about whom we write and teach" (D'Amico-Samuels 1991: 69). Thus, while fieldwork has always been one of the main tenants of anthropology, it should not be regarded as the only one.

3.2 Contemporary Fieldwork

While there has historically been debate after debate concerning the definition of culture- indeed it seems as though every ethnography begins with the mandatory definition of the individual author's understanding of culture- Gupta and Ferguson argued that there was very little debate, or discourse, about the term *field* (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 2). Of crucial importance to this understanding of traditional anthropological fieldwork is the concept of the "field" as a fixed and isolate entity, what Virginia Caputo refers to as *bounded* fields (Caputo 2000: 20). She further explains that while she thought the antiquated idea of exotic fieldwork was "...overturned by critics who had argued for a more critical conceptualization of the concepts in terms of encounters and relationships rather than natural, taken-for-granted geographic locations" (Caputo 2000: 20), it became apparent to her that anthropology still clung to a colonial view of the world (Caputo 2000: 21). For Caputo, anthropology essentially still viewed cultures as being very much isolated within a determinate area, referred to as the *field*. In agreement, Gupta and Ferguson argue that there is an anthropological paradox: "Anthropology seems more open to let go of the view of cultures as localized and territorially fixed but at the same time relies more heavily on methodological commitment to extended studies in one localized setting (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 4). While anthropologists acknowledged the outmoded view of cultures as being locally bounded, there was still the tendency to conduct field research in fixed locations.

This strict understanding of *bounded* field sites also came under scrutiny. When anthropologist Joanne Passaro expressed her desire to conduct fieldwork in New York city, she encountered questions such as: "What kind of fieldwork can you do in such an

uncontrolled environment?" (Passaro 1997: 151). Although Passaro was not the first to enter such uncontrolled environments, it shows that many anthropologists were still hesitant to accept larger western cities as appropriate places to conduct anthropological fieldwork. Metropolitan locations, such as New York, were seen as uncontrolled, disorganized, undefined and inappropriate locations for field sites, the complete opposite of the exotic villages or hamlets which were thought to offer controlled environments, ideal for conducting anthropological field research.

It is not necessarily the case that field sites abroad are more appropriate than those to be found nearer the anthropologist's usual place of work, rather it is the distance, both figurative and literal, that is of importance. The working assumption seems to be that the further away the field site is located from *home* the purer the site, the less contaminated it will be. Essentially, as pointed out by Caputo, there is an "...evaluative hierarchy regarding the kinds of fieldwork and subjects of research that are deemed 'appropriate'. In turn, this has implications for the kinds of anthropological knowledge that are produced" (Caputo 2000: 19). However, this notion of field site purity has come under critique in modern anthropological discourse. In fact, this hierarchy is also based on the degree of otherness (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 16) which unavoidably evokes a slew of questions: what defines otherness? Otherness from what? From the anthropologist? From the society in which the anthropologist was trained?

Despite these questions, there has still been an assumption that "...an epistemology of otherness was the best route to objectivity" (Passaro 1997: 152). However, what is not always discussed is the impossibility of achieving complete objectivity. Gunnar Sörbö (1982) argues that "[o]bjectivity in the strict sense of the word

is a goal that is not fully attainable because of our background, biases, likes and dislikes cannot be entirely suppressed" (Sörbö 1982: 154). Perhaps it is no longer a necessity to travel to exotic locations in order to conduct acceptable fieldwork, because such locations can no more guarantee total objectivity than closer sites.

Travel is not perceived in the same manner in contemporary contexts and is no longer limited to a select class of people. While it is generally true that migrants are rarely from the lower social classes of their societies, Vered Amit (2007) explains that "...over the course of the second half of the twentieth century and now into the twenty-first century, as tourist opportunities and venues have diversified, the numbers and strata of people who are involved as both consumers and purveyors of these services have dramatically expanded, forming the largest industry in the world" (Amit 2007: 3-4). We live, according to Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson (1998) in a world of constant movement:

> "Exile, emigration, banishment, labour migration, tourism, urbanization and counter-urbanization are the central motifs of modern culture, while being rootless, displaced between worlds, living between a lost past and a fluid present, are perhaps the most fitting metaphors for the journeying, modern consciousness: typical symptoms of a modern condition at once local and universal" (Dawson and Rapport 1998: 23).

Although travel and movement is not experienced in the same way by everyone it remains the case, however, that there has been a global increase of travel. Travel is now more readily accessible and even plays a large role in the creation of one's identity and is no longer an experience limited to the *genuine* anthropologists travelling to exotic field sites.

3.3 The Changing Understandings of "Home"

It would be impossible to discuss anthropology at home without touching upon the changing understandings of *home* within anthropological discourse. Traditionally, home and the field were seen as opposites. Caroline Knowles explains how "[h]ome and the field invoke the duality of belonging and alienation, familiarity and investigation, which implicitly function as fieldwork strategies" (Knowles 2000: 54). The field and home also have very different types of ethnographic work respectively associated with each. The field is the site where data is collected and home is the place where analysis is conducted and the ethnography is written up (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 12) Thus, there will be two very distinct forms of writing, the observational recordings conducted in the field and the more reflective writing done at home (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 12). Home and the field have traditionally been viewed as separate and isolate entities within the anthropological discourse. However, anthropologists have come to question the separateness of these locations. For example, Knowles (2000) brings up a very important question: what happens when the field is also the home, or when here and there contain both home and field? (Knowles 2000: 54).

It is also assumed that the field and home need to be separated in order to have an organized fieldwork project. If these sites were too close to one another, confusion and disorganization might ensue. "The separation between here and there/ home and field is a spatialized symbolism in which place becomes a way of distinguishing work from non-work, us from them and social investigation from life itself" (Knowles 2000: 55). Thus, it would follow that conducting anthropology at home, having one's home and field in the same location, would blur these boundaries between work and non-work, *us* from *them*

and social investigation from life itself. However, this is but a myth. Vered Amit explains that anthropologists traveling to exotic locations are not always alone and cut-off from the rest of their lives. In fact, "[m]any ethnographers are accompanied by or continue to live with their families, visit or are visited by long-standing friends and associates, and maintain professional and personal communications, all while initiating relationships with and observing the activities of still other sets of people. These practices are hardly new" (Amit 2000: 5). In essence, it is false to assume that an anthropologist conducting fieldwork abroad is capable of devoting 100% of their time to fieldwork and even though this was a common stereotype of fieldwork conducted abroad. The moment I understood this, I ceased to feel lost within the duality of home and field and began to work with this distinction. I became more comfortably aware of the benefits of conducting anthropology at home.

What has traditionally been understood as *home* is also changing within anthropological discourse. Many anthropologists are now focusing more on the *feeling* of being at home or the intangible and fluid elements of home and not just the physical space. Allison James explains that very often one's identity is reflected through their understanding of home: "The idea of the family provides an important reference point for who we think we are. Ties of blood and marriage locate us in the present social world, whilst those of generation link us to a collective past and future. Yet these ties are not fixed and immutable" (James 1998: 142). Thus, the physical locality of home might not be as important as being surrounded by family. Essentially, home can become anywhere one's family is. Sandra Wallman uses the definition of home as a "...proxy for belonging

somewhere" (Wallman 1998: 181). Home is a feeling of belonging and not a defined location, a feeling most often felt when individuals are surrounded by family members.

A quite well-known saying in popular culture is: *Home is where the heart* is. Karen Fog Olwig frames this argument through the use of the following anecdotal tale: "During one of his recent visits to Denmark the Danish American entertainer Victor Borge was asked by a Danish journalist whether he had considered moving back home from the United States. 'Home?' the octogenarian asked, and added, 'But I am in my home all the time, its walls are just very far apart!'" (Olwig 1998: 225). This statement led Olwig to consider the different ways in which people conceptualize home. She further explains that "[w]ith this play on the dual meaning of *home* as both a concrete physical place and a personal space of identification, Victor Borge projected himself as a man of the world who has not allowed himself to be constrained by ties to his original homeland or the particular locality of his everyday life" (Olwig 1998: 225). Home cannot be reduced to purely a physical location. "Home is thus both a conceptual and physical space. It is an idea that guides our actions and, at the same time, a spatial context where identities are worked on" (James 1998: 144). While conducting excavations in Lussac-Les-Châteaux, France (Summer 2006), I left the physical location of my home but as I travelled with my 3 best friends, those classmates which have became my support group throughout my undergrad years, I felt as though my academic life was simply migrating to another continent. Accordingly, home is also about the relationships one fosters, and not necessarily with one's family as friendship ties can very often be just as strong as blood ties.

3.4 Experiencing Anthropology at Home

Choosing to conduct anthropological fieldwork at home was not problematic in and of itself. In fact, I experienced much support from my fellow classmates- many of whom also chose to conduct fieldwork at home in Montreal- and faculty members were also quite welcoming to the idea. In essence, I received much more support than I originally thought I would receive. I initially thought that, like the traditional view of fieldwork, students would be encouraged to conduct research abroad and that no teacher would agree to supervise my thesis. In fact, the logistics of choosing my topic went very smoothly. However, throughout the field research process, I often found myself battling with my identity as an anthropologist. It was quite difficult to mediate between the *home* and the *field* when both these places are one and the same. Even more difficult was trying to explain to people that during these three months, I was in the *field*, I was an anthropologist. Yes I was at home, yes I would still return to my apartment each night, but I was still in the *field*. I could not simply disassociate myself from the rest of my life, the fish still needed to be fed, the boyfriend at times felt neglected, *the Montreal Gazette* representative still called incessantly. However, as was briefly touched upon, this is not necessarily different than the experiences of anthropologists conducting fieldwork abroad. For instance, a fellow colleague whom I grew quite fond of travelled to a distant location for her field research. However, she still maintained contact with us through e-mail and 'Facebook'. She even uploaded pictures of her travel and fieldwork on 'Facebook' and we, those who remained at home, were able to comment on them just as though we were there. Yes, it must surely feel different to conduct fieldwork abroad, but fieldworkers do not altogether detach themselves from their life when abroad.

It also became quite evident that conducting anthropology at home offered certain benefits which were not always found in fieldwork abroad. First and foremost, there was no language barrier for me to surmount. I was able to go straight into *the field* without having to learn a new language. Goldschmidt also explains how not having to worry about language differences made his fieldwork experience more fluid, as he did not have to learn a new vernacular in order to conduct fieldwork in the United States. "To be fully conversant with one's informants' utterances, the nuances of their meanings, and the assumptions underlying these meanings is a very great help in understanding what is going on and what is in their minds. One also has the advantage of knowing the basic institutions" (Goldschmidt 1995: 18). However, it should not be assumed that anthropologists who share a nationality with the people who are the subjects of their research will automatically be familiar with every nuance of that particular culture. For instance, Gertrud Hüwelmeier explains how she, as a native anthropologist, wrote about a long-spanning feud between two halves of the Hessen village in Germany that was common knowledge for insiders, but was not to be shared with outsiders (Hüwelmeier 2000: 45). Though she was conducting field research in her native country, it was just as difficult to understand the feud between these two cities.

Anthropology at home also had the benefit of familiarity. Because I reside in the same hometown in which my field sites were located, I was able to navigate around much more fluidly than someone who is from abroad. Unlike my fellow classmates conducting field research abroad, it did not take me weeks to get used to the new modes of transportation, the bus routes, schedules and where to purchase travel fare. My informants also seemed to be at ease with a local anthropologist. When terms such as

McGill Ghetto, la Petite-Patrie, LaSalle Bronx and the Heights were referred to, there was no need to stop the interview and ask for further explanations because they were already familiar to me. I was also familiar with the resources available and this most likely aided in my search for informants. I already knew which businesses remained open 24-hours and I also knew which were open-access sites. This prior knowledge, in my opinion, provided some of the key benefits of conducting anthropology at home.

However, familiarity could also be seen as one of the negative aspects of conducting anthropology at home. Goldschmidt explains the "...disadvantage is in having to deal with the familiar- and the familiar is so familiar that you don't know what to say" (Goldschmidt 1995: 18). Thus, it can be difficult when conducting participation observation to decide what should be written down and what should be overlooked. In essence, how do you know what should be studied. "The problem is to select those things which are deemed relevant and when one is dealing with their own culture, there is a process of selecting out- a process which is not always easy" (Goldschmidt 1995: 18). The process of conducting anthropology at home thus requires the anthropologist to be much more reflexive in the ways in which they present their data. As Cerroni-Long (1995) explains "...doing native research necessitates fine tuning our approach, both to correctly identify what to focus attention on and to decide how to present one's findings" (Cerroni-Long 1995: 13).

Anthropologists conducting research at home must also, at times, battle with accusations of hiding ulterior motives, such as to interfere with minority groups or ethnic status groups (Sörbö 1982: 157). Native anthropologists may be viewed as government spies reporting on the informants activities. It is also easier to commit faux-pas when

conducting anthropology at home because you cannot use the cultural differences as an excuse for offensive behaviour:

> "[T]he local anthropologist may not be taken seriously by informants if he probes types of behaviour that informants view as commonly shared knowledge, such as marriage customs, or he may be considered intolerably crude in broaching other topics, such as sexual practices. Recognized as a member of the society within which he conducts research, he is subject to the cultural expectations of his informants. To challenge certain norms may mean risking estrangement or ostracism" (Fahim and Helmer 1982: xix).

Though I was always very open about my research questions and why I was conducting observations, some people were still very much suspicious of me. Even though I was the one conducting the observations, I felt observed by the people around me, despite cultural affinities between us.

Goldschmidt proposes the following solution to overcome the familiarity in conducting fieldwork at home: "The answer is to find the unfamiliar in the familiar, to make it clear that things are not what they seem, to reach behind the façade of ordinary behaviour and belief to the deeper implications of social action" (Goldschmidt 1995: 18). Thus, an anthropologist at home needs to be careful to not feel too comfortable with the shared language and familiarity in order to truly understand what is being studied. However, familiarity can quickly be overcome, especially if the anthropologist is engaged in experiencing the same location in new ways. For example, I was very much familiar with the cities of LaSalle and Montreal and was used to navigating around them during the day. However, I was now experiencing Montreal from a different perspective, from that of an overnight worker. In essence, my whole way of life changed. I substituted

a nocturnal schedule for my diurnal one. I did all my research and observation at night. I coded my data and transcribed my interviews at night. Was I not encountering a new way of life, an alien culture? It is with this mindset that I conducted my fieldwork for this thesis.

Chapter 4: The History of the Night Shift

4.1 The Development and Spread of Overnight Employment

This section of the thesis seeks to contextualize the growth of overnight employment by posing certain key questions that will help to frame the experiences of Montreal overnight workers within a greater historical context. When and how did overnight employment begin? What factors led to the global spread of overnight employment? And, more importantly, how is this history related to the current experiences of overnight employment in Montreal?

Before attempting to explain the development and subsequent spread of overnight employment, it is essential to define what is meant by this. According to the International Labour Office (ILO) 1990's Night Work Convention, night work is defined as: "...all work which is performed of no less than seven consecutive hours, including the interval from midnight to 5 a.m." (ILO Night Work Convention 1990: Article 1a). However, this definition is far from being inclusive, leaving out, among others, overnight workers who work in split shifts, since their hours are not consecutive. According to the same convention, a night worker is described as: "an employed person whose work requires performance of a substantial number of hours of night work which exceeds a specified limit. This limit shall be fixed by the competent authority after consulting the representative organisations of employers and workers or by collective agreements" (ILO Night Work Convention 1990: Article 1b). With this definition, it becomes quite difficult to study overnight workers on a more global scale as each society will have different criteria for evaluating what constitutes an overnight worker.

Overnight employment is not a new occurrence. In fact, people have been working night shifts and double days for well over a century (Roberts 1999: 58). This particular form of employment has been practiced since the 19th century, when manufacturers began to experiment with shift work in order to maximize their efficiency by keeping their expensive machines running for a maximum number of hours each day (Roberts 1999: 58). What made overnight employment possible, according to Murray Melbin, was the invention of electricity (Coyne 1992: xii). Other technological innovations have also contributed to the growth of overnight employment. For instance, certain types of industrial equipment need to be left on 24 hours a day. Such technological innovations include the blast furnace, or distillation columns, machinery which cannot be shut down without serious technical difficulties (De Iaco 1997: 7). In other instances, it simply would not be economically profitable to turn off the machinery when productivity can occur around the clock (Carpentier and Cazamian 1978: 5).

Carpentier and Cazamian (1978) further argue that social factors contributing to the need for overnight employment include various community demands, such as the demand for information, transport, food and leisure. However, a very important point brought to light by the authors is that these demands are not always sufficient justifications for subjecting workers to abnormal working conditions (Carpentier and Cazamian 1978: 3). For these reasons, the historical development of overnight employment has been accompanied by criticism. While it was seen as a way to maximize profits, it was also a hotly debated topic, as certain people were of the opinion that night work was unnatural. In a 1919 letter presented before the committee of labour at the Ohio House of Representation, Charles Iffland (the International secretary of the bakery and

confectioner workers) proclaimed that he was against night work and wished to see it abolished because it is the most deplorable and miserable system which was the greatest evil in the industry and is not needed for public welfare" (Hayhurst 1919: 367). However, certain services are needed 24 hours a day in order to ensure public welfare, such as police and hospital services. The introduction of trade unions also added to the criticisms of certain overnight working conditions: "An increasingly reserved attitude towards night work is in fact being adopted in some labour quarters. This reserve can be noted first of all on the part of trade union organisations which take the view that health is not for sale and that family and social life must be preserved..." (Carpentier and Cazamian 1978: 4).

It also quickly became apparent that overnight employment differed significantly from daytime employment. Night workers were unprepared to face problems such as sleep loss, loss of concentration, short-term memory and decision-making ability, health concerns such as depression, reproductive disorders, ulcers, higher cholesterol, obesity and gastrointestinal ailments (Coyne 1992: xiii). In short, while the employment duties might have been the same at night as during the day, it was undeniable that overnight employees had to deal with more problems than daytime workers.

The increase of night work among Montreal companies not only illustrates that the city is moving towards a 24h society, it also shows the desire for companies to actively compete in the city's economy. Belinda Leach studied the growth of telework and housework in North America and how this growth has changed the meaning of work. She argues that "[a]s companies seek to improve their ability to compete on the world market, they utilize a variety of strategies, including flexible and cheap forms of labour"

(Leach 1998: 98). One such form of flexible labor employed by companies to ensure they have a competitive edge is overnight employment.

4.2 Non –Standard Employment and Overnight Work

It is important to address non-standard forms of employment when discussing overnight work. Non-standard employment is broadly defined as anything deviating away from the regular 9 to 5 work pattern. Harvey Krahn explains that the four most popularly studied forms of non-standard employment (see Figure 3) are part-time employment, temporary employment, multiple employment, and self employment (Krahn 1995: 35). I would also argue that overnight work can be a form of non-standard employment because it deviates away from the normative daytime working hours. Though these are by no means an exhaustive list of all forms of non-standard employment, Krahn explains that, in general, all forms of non-standard employment have been on the rise (Krahn 1995). There are a varying number of reasons behind this rise, although flexibility is pointed out as being one of the most important one (Krahn 1995: 35). Companies enjoy the flexibility of hiring part-time and temporary employees (Krahn 1995: 35), while working outside the traditional 9 to 5 pattern allows for more flexibility in terms of scheduling. However, non-standard employment is very often a difficult choice for employees. There is considerably less job security, lower pay and fewer fringe benefits (Krahn 1995: 35). While overnight employees are indeed faced with extra obstacles not encountered by day workers, it is important to understand that every form of non-standard employment comes with its own set of unique complications.

One of the difficulties of creating a proper assessment of overnight workers, not only in Montreal, but in most larger cities, is the sheer number of different ways in which this type of non-standard employment is practiced. For example, *moonlighting*, when a person holds both a day and night position, has become increasingly popular for Canadian workers (Sussman 1998: 24). In fact, Statistics Canada explains that moonlighting has more than tripled in the last 20 years (Sussman 1998: 24). However, overnight workers who moonlight or hold multiple jobs are more susceptible to unstable working hours. Heisz and LaRochelle-Côté (2006) argue that "...being a multiple job holder, a job changer, or a non-manager and having low wages are all associated with highly variable work hours" (Heisz and LaRochelle- Côté 2006: 6). Thus, additional strain can be placed upon overnight workers who practice moonlighting. Only one of my informants practiced moonlighting. Jacques, now retired, worked for a telephone company during the day and worked as a taxi driver during the overnight hours. He confirmed these additional strains which included increased familial stress and professional worries, as his daytime employer strongly frowned upon moonlighting during the 1960's.

Shift work is also one pattern in which employees are often asked to work overnight. In 1974, an Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) group of experts agreed that: "...the methods of competition practised at the world level caused society to accept and promote shift work, regarding it as a necessity..." (Carpentier and Cazamian 1978: 3). This system often includes pre-determined periods of time working various shifts (day, evening and night) and are often involuntary in the sense that certain companies function solely according to this system.

Hence, potential employees can either choose to live with it or attempt to find other employment. Roberts explains that "...a common feeling [among shift workers] was that rotating shifts were preferable to enduring permanently the inconveniences of any one unsocial schedule (Roberts 1999: 58-59). In this sense, shift work can not only be seen as a type of non-standard employment, but also as a strategy to help cope with the difficulties of overnight employment, as will later be further explained. In her analysis of work life balances among shift workers, Cara Williams explains that shift work today is composed of regular night and evening work, rotating and split shifts, casual/on-call jobs and irregular shifts (Williams 2008: 5). Williams further elucidates that in 2005, both rotating shifts and irregular schedules were the most common types of shift work, accounting for 2.3 million full-time workers (Williams 2008: 5).

Gender is also a factor to consider when dealing with overnight and non-standard patterns of employment. Overnight employment and its implications for women's working conditions have also been heavily debated for as long as there has been overnight work. Carpentier and Cazamian (1978) explain that "night work for women is generally banned; it is tolerated only in a small number of occupations, it is regarded as exceptional and has received little attention from investigators" (Carpentier and Cazamian 1978: 37). After the 1908 ruling of Muller vs. Oregon, the United States Supreme Court determined what was appropriate and desirable for women. This outlined the state's interest in women's present and future roles as "...mothers and mothers of the race" (Kesler-Harris 2007: 223). According to this ruling, it was socially unacceptable for women to work longer hours and night shifts. However, this trend seems to be changing as attitudes towards women and overnight employment become more liberal. More and

more women are engaged in overnight employment and this is quite apparent through my field research, as nearly half of my informants were female. Figure 4 shows that while women might hold more evening shifts, the number of men and women working overnight in Canada on a full-time basis was equal in 2005. However, after the murder of Brigitte Serre in 2006, there have been public concerns over whether or not women should be allowed to work alone during the overnight hours.

4.3 The Circadian Model: Theory, Analysis and Critique

The Circadian Rhythms model is often used to analyze individuals' adaptation to overnight employment. According to Stevens, "[t]he circadian rhythm is an endogenous oscillation of approximately 24 h in physiology and metabolism with characteristic cycles of, among many other attributes, body temperature, hormone secretion, sleep/wake cycle, alertness, and gene expression" (Stevens 2009: 106). Essentially, the Circadian Rhythm Theory acknowledges the biological clock of living organisms and argues, for the most part, that staying awake during the overnight hours goes against this innate rhythm. Stevens further argues that our ancestors' circadian rhythms were governed by the sun and were "...kept precisely at 24 h by the cycle of exposure to sunlight" (Stevens 2009: 106). However, as more and more work was conducted during the night hours, electricity and artificial lighting became necessities. These forms of artificial lighting, combined with the decreased exposure of sunlight, can affect the circadian rhythms of overnight workers (Stevens 2009: 106). Additionally, a 2005 study has further illustrated the relationship between overnight employment and circadian rhythm disruption. More specifically, this research "...found that night workers had altered melatonin excretion,

disrupted sleep, and greater symptom (e.g., 'feeling tired', 'not alert', etc.) prevalence compared to day workers" (Stevens 2009: 107). In more recent literature on the health risks associated with overnight work, there is great focus placed on overnight employment and the development of breast cancer in women. It has been noted that incidences of breast cancer among the female population has been on the rise since the industrial revolution (Stevens 2009: 106).

The Circadian Rhythm Theory does, however, leave a number of questions unanswered. It is certainly reductionist in the sense that it assumes all humans fall into two distinct categories: night owls or early birds. Additionally, it fails to address the fact that there are more factors to consider when analyzing one's adaptation to overnight work than solely biological ones. Carpentier and Cazamien explain: "It is necessary, therefore, to consider a model with three variables: the biological rhythm of the body, the rhythm of work, and the rhythm of the social and ecological environment" (Carpentier and Cazamian 1978: 15). This theory also fails to explain why certain individuals do not experience difficulty in adjusting to working rotating shifts. This theory also fails to consider how lifecycles can affect one's tolerance of overnight work. Many individuals in their late teens and early twenties go to bed late and rise later than other age groups. In this sense, an overnight schedule may not be entirely foreign to them. Without appropriate expertise to assess arguments surrounding the biology of the Circadian Theory, it is difficult for me to infer any thorough conclusions on the subject. I can, however, use the individual experiences of my informants to determine that the majority do feel as though their overnight shift interfered with their daily lives.

While I was originally sceptical about the Circadian Rhythm Model, and while it does have its limitations, I was confronted with many participants who expressed their agreement with the theory. Looking at the ethnographic accounts in the following chapters, it is clear that most individuals who deviate from a diurnal schedule encounter physical and social complications. Perhaps these individuals are expressing symptoms of circadian rhythm misalignment. According to a study conducted by Monk & Folkard (1992), there are a numbers of ways in which these individuals can exhibit symptoms of circadian rhythm misalignment. First, these individuals encounter strain because of the problem of inappropriate phasing (Monk and Folkard 1992: 27). This will result in a disruption of both sleep and proper daytime functioning, for example sleep will be disrupted by cortisol surges, temperature drops and melatonin surges (Monk and Folkard 1992: 27). The study further suggested that certain individuals may have difficulty performing certain tasks such as driving, a point which came up during many of my interviews. Secondly, there is strain due to the fact that the natural flow of the circadian rhythm is disrupted (Monk and Folkard 1992: 11). Ultimately, there is a sense that not all individuals are suited for overnight employment, an argument which is supported by my ethnographic data.

Informants who were raised in a household where one or more relatives worked overnight also seemed to be more comfortable with the idea of overnight employment. For one, there is more understanding on the part of the family and this may make the schedule of an overnight employee easier to manage. During a joint interview consisting of three overnight workers from the same immediate family (Trevor, Suzanne and Roger), discussion focused on the importance of the family in the successful adoption of

an overnight schedule. For instance, Suzanne worked in a nursing home and often worked double shifts and nights. She explained to me that her father was sympathetic with her tiredness because he knew what it is like to work night shifts. Jacques also explained that his success as an overnight worker was entirely due to his wife. Not only was she understanding towards his busy schedule, but she also managed to run the household on her own. Yes, this was extremely difficult at times, but they knew that this busy schedule was only temporary and that they would benefit from it in the long run. These forms of familial support, which aided both Suzanne and Trevor to cope with their overnight schedules, are overlooked by the Circadian Rhythm Theory.

While it may very well be the case that certain people are better able to handle the disruptions in their circadian rhythms due to overnight work, there are many other factors in determining whether or not one is compatible with overnight work. During one of his many interviews with me, Trevor described to me what made a person a valuable overnight employee. First, he argued they could not be *too new*. They also needed to be able to cope with the demanding and hectic schedule. In general, most of my informants seemed to agree that were certain individuals who were more apt to thrive on a nocturnal schedule. One informant said that his employer tried to find people who did not mind working overnight and who were able to handle it. When asked what he meant by someone who is able to handle overnight work, he simply replied that not everyone can stay up and function properly.

In the end, while the Circadian Rhythm Theory might indeed shed light on why some people have an easier time adapting to overnight employment, there are many more factors to consider including personal preference, disposition, social skills, health,

experience and so on. True, it would be so much simpler if all workers were divided according to neat lines. However, factors that make people excellent overnight workers change as the worker progresses in their chosen life path. The births of children seem to be a great determinant as to whether or not an employee chooses to work overnight. Similarly, financial considerations may be an important factor as the added overnight hours' compensation can help to supplement household budgets. These factors are overlooked by the Circadian Rhythms Theory.

4.4 Overnight Employees

Finding documentation on the prevalence of overnight work can be quite problematic as each country will have their own way of classifying overnight employment, as was seen previously in the case of the ILO's definition of a night worker. According to the ILO, 19% of European Union workers work overnight at least occasionally (See Figure 5) (ILO 2004). Overnight employment has been on the rise and more and more workers are finding employment during non-standard working hours. It is impossible to deny the growth of overnight employment opportunities within the province of Quebec, especially within metropolitan areas like the island of Montreal. According to an article published by l'institut de la statistique du Quebec, in 2002, 11.8% of full-time and 4.5% of part-time Quebec employees worked the overnight shift (Asselin 2005: 1).

A quick search on the Canadian employment posting site 'indeed.ca' using the rubric 'overnight' in the Montreal area yielded over 3 pages of search results. A Walmart store is looking for an overnight manager, the Trudeau airport Crowne Plaza is looking

for an overnight auditor, the GAP is looking for an overnight merchandising specialist, Verizon is looking for a telecom technician and the list goes on. As more and more businesses choose to remain open 24-hours, there is a greater demand for overnight workers. Because the number of overnight workers is on the rise, more attention is being paid to the difficulties they encounter on a daily basis. For example, there have been various 'Facebook' groups created for overnight workers and other chat forums and groups (such as the Google group '3rdshiftnation') claim to provide support for overnight workers. *Night Writers Magazine* (www.nightworkers.com) advertises itself as "...the first magazine to be published by night people, for night people" (Night Writer 2000). While I am not in a position to evaluate the effectiveness of these groups, the fact that more and more of them are being created indicates that there is indeed a need for them.

While it is true that the number of overnight workers in Canada has been on the rise, they still represent a minority of the population. Accordingly, because there are fewer employees on the night shift, staffing can become problematic. In a recent *Journal de Montreal* article (Nov. 11th, 2008), Jean Michel Nahas explains that there has been a recent resurgence of available daytime positions in Montreal, culminating in a lack of qualified employees to fill the overnight positions (Nahas 2008: 7). In fact, it is not uncommon to have only a few workers covering the overnight shift, leading to increased workloads and workdays. For instance, Suzanne, explained to me that phone calls from her employer asking her to cover extra shifts have become a daily reoccurrence, often disrupting her sleeping during the day. It has been routine for something to come up, such as an employee illness, forcing the nursing home to call for replacements. However, because the replacement list for overnight workers is small or non-existent at times, it is

often the regular overnight workers who are forced to cover for one another, or even double-up on their existing overnight workload. Suzanne additionally explained how on any given overnight shift, there were only 3 employees for roughly 42 patients. In her opinion, this constituted potentially dangerous levels of understaffing because in case of an emergency where evacuation was needed, say for a fire, how were 3 employees expected to evacuate 42 elderly patients, some with extreme mobility restrictions?

Because there are generally fewer employees during the overnight shift versus the day and evening shifts, breaks and lunchtimes are also often an issue for overnight employees. Roger who has been working overnight for a number of years as a security guard explained that because he worked alone, he had no *real* breaks. He and his coworkers ate their meals on the job because they did not have the liberty of extra employees to cover them while they took 30 minutes to have a meal, or even go buy one at a near-by grocery store or restaurant. While conducting the joint interview with Suzanne, Trevor and Roger, it became clearer that policies concerning breaks are much harder to enforce during the overnight shift. Trevor detailed how difficult it could be to send crew members on breaks. He further explained that break times and durations depended on a variety of factors, such as the capabilities of the crew members, the numbers of clients, as well as how much work was done or not done during the previous shifts. Accordingly, though he makes it a point to give each of his crew members a break, it is not uncommon for him to work a complete overnight shift, from 10pm to 6am, without himself taking a break. Another participant who recently begun working overnight at the same fast food restaurant as Trevor and who only recently began working overnight commented on how busy the overnight shift was and even concluded that it

was busier than the day shift because there were fewer employees working. Having fewer employees to cover the overnight shift also implies greater difficulty getting one's shift covered in order to attend social events such as a child's graduation or ballet recital. In addition, because full-time overnight employees are so difficult to find, it is not uncommon for people to begin their overnight work experience by covering someone else's shift. For instance, one participant explained how he was asked to stay later one night because one of the overnight crew members had called in sick. This marked the start of his career as an overnight worker.

Professional obligations such as being told to stay later to replace a sick co-worker can often lead to longer term overnight work experience. In fact, most of my informants explained to me that they began working overnight, not out of choice, but out of some form of professional obligation. For example, Dave explained that shift coverage at the airline company for which he works is a process based on seniority, meaning that the person with the least seniority has the last choice of shifts. The first years he worked there, he had no choice but to take the overnight shift. Similarly Connie, who works part-time as an administrating agent for a local hospital explained that part-time employees are not always given a choice as to what shift they work. Therefore, they take whatever shift is given to them, as was the case for her. It is important to understand that though some certainly do enjoy working overnight and prefer the graveyard shift, most people work it out of professional obligations, such as mandatory rotations or as part of a seniority process.

The point of providing the statistics on global and local overnight employees is to illustrate just how noticeable the growth of overnight employment has been. A large

portion of the Canadian working population works overnight which makes it necessary to account for the difficulties some of these overnight workers share. The following chapters will focus on such difficulties, which can no longer be viewed as specific to overnight workers. As Carpentier and Cazamian have argued, the problems faced by overnight workers are no longer confined solely to the relations between employer and worker, they are now problems faced by the society as a whole (Carpentier and Cazamian 1978: 2). In the late 1970's, Carpentier and Cazamian argued that countries in the process of undergoing industrialization are doing so at an accelerated pace and are increasingly faced with the same problems as industrialized countries, but with an important aggravating factor: a shortened process of social transformation (Carpentier and Cazamian 1978: 2). That being said, it is noteworthy that even close to thirty years later, overnight and shift work still do not figure prominently among the current policy debates around working time in restructuring economies in the Global South (Lee et al. 2007: 129).

Chapter 5: The Effects of Overnight Employment

5.1 Health Repercussions

It has been argued that people rarely identify themselves completely with one particular work shift (Wallman 1979: 17). However, it is not to be assumed that all individuals find all shifts easy to tolerate, as most individuals find it difficult to align themselves with an overnight work schedule. Much of the research dealing with the long-term health risks of overnight employment concentrates almost exclusively on the medical risks associated with a nocturnal schedule. For instance, a correlation has been made between overnight work and breast cancer among female workers. Sarah Medgal et al. explain that, according to preliminary studies, "...occupational exposure to light at night and the risk of breast cancer have been accruing rapidly" (Medgal et al. 2005: 2023-2024). According to the BBC online, Denmark has even begun paying compensation to women who have developed cancers while working overnight (MacDonald 2009). While these are indeed some important risks to discuss, the social constraints caused by overnight employment must also be addressed, especially considering many of the medical risks associated with overnight work will also complicate one's social routines.

While sleep disturbances fall under the broader category of medical conditions, it is important to understand that the disruptions in one's sleeping patterns caused by overnight work can also affect one's social life. For the most part, my informants have complained about the ways in which their sleeping patterns have been affected by overnight work. There seemed to be an overall agreement that the quality of sleep differed from day to night. Many of these night workers felt as though the sleep they experienced during the daytime was not as restful as the sleep they experienced during

the night. According to Carpentier and Cazamian, daytime sleep is disruptive for a number of reasons: "Sleep by day is not only of shorter duration but also more fragmented, since the rhythm of appetite for food interferes with the rhythm of sleep: it was found in one investigation that, in about one-third of the cases observed, sleep was interrupted at noon for a meal, which was then sometimes followed by a nap (Carpentier and Cazamian 1978: 23). Sleep and sleep quality were also hotly debated in the joint interview that I led with Trevor's family. Roger explained that even though one sleeps the same amount of hours during the day as they would during the night, the quality of sleep differs considerably. He further explained that day sleep is not as restful as sleeping during the night and no matter how many hours of sleep he gets, he still wakes up tired. Thus, it did not matter to him if he got 8 hours of sleep during the day because it would still be 8 hours of restless sleep.

One of the ways in which some of my informants would cope with the problems associated with daytime sleeping was by limiting the amount of sunlight streaming into their bedrooms through the use of thick, heavy curtains, or as in the case with Johnny, blankets. In contrast, Jacques explained to me that he needed very little aid in falling asleep. He jokingly said that: "After working all day on Fridays from 8 am to 5 pm and then jumping into the taxi until 3am and bringing the taxi back to the other driver who takes over for the 6am shift and then going home to bed, I did not need a lullaby to fall asleep". According to Jacques, if you are tired enough, you do not need any fancy tricks to help you sleep.

Additionally, some overnight employees may develop sleeping disorders from their fragmented sleeping patterns. For instance, Colleen, a female first assistant in a fast

food restaurant explained how she was forced to stop her overnight work because she developed a sleeping disorder. A study by Reinberg et al. concluded that many overnight workers experienced such disorders: "After several months or years certain subjects no longer tolerate night or shift-work. Symptoms are mainly sleep disorders, persistent fatigue, mood alteration, digestive disorders, permanent use of sleeping pills, etc..." (Reinberg et al. 1986: 17). While none of the people participating in my study admitted to being dependent on the use of sleeping aids, Johnny did explain to me that he drank Red Bull energy drinks throughout the length of his overnight shifts to help him stay awake during the night and keep his energy levels high. However, he grew concerned by the increasing number of energy drinks he would consume during overnight shifts and eventually ceased drinking them. Thus, it is important to understand that while studies show that a higher number of overnight workers are dependent on sleeping aids, there is also the risk of becoming dependent on various forms of energy-boosters such as energy drinks or caffeine pills.

In an article entitled *Keeping the Grave out of Graveyard Shift* published in the San Francisco Chronicles (2008), Dr. Clete Kushida (director of the Stanford Center for Human Sleep Research) explains that overnight workers are also more prone to problems with irritability and mood fluctuations because of increased fatigue (Allday 2008: A-1). Because of this lack of sleep, workers may experience a disruption in their daily routines and may not be able to maintain regular behaviours such as eating and exercising (Allday 2008: A-1). Trevor, who enjoys working out regularly, explained to me that he chose his gym because of the longer opening hours and its proximity to his work to ensure that he can fit in his workouts even when he works overnight. While Trevor has found a way to

maintain elements of a routine despite his overnight work schedule, not all individuals have access to 24 hours gyms or are able to have a gym membership that accommodates their schedule. These situations further illustrate how overnight workers are affected by having opposite schedules to the rest of society.

Some researchers of overnight work and sleep disorders and fatigue have suggested that napping during the day might help combat the fatigue and energy-loss associated with overnight work. Dinges et al. propose napping as a countermeasure against fatigue and mood irritability (1986: 23). Certain factories in Japan even provide their employees with cots for late-night sleep breaks (Coyne 1992: xiii). Suzanne, explained to me that she is permitted to sleep between her rounds at the nursing home and these naps often help her get through overnight shifts. During the summer when I worked overnight for the Jean Coutu warehouse in Longueuil (summer 2004), I would often sleep in one of my friend's car during my lunch break. While I found this practice to be useful in combating fatigue, I often felt isolated from the other workers. When I used to work the day shift, lunch breaks were a time to socialize with the other workers, to laugh and goof off a little. I found that I missed out on such experiences overnight because most workers would sleep during their breaks. While researchers may point to the benefits of napping, there are also downsides associated with this countermeasure, such as isolation from other coworkers.

While not all individuals are permitted to sleep during their overnight shifts, others have developed their own little routines to combat the fatigue experienced during overnight employment. These coping mechanisms usually allow for the individual to enjoy a more restful sleep during the daytime. For example, Trevor likes to workout

because it subsequently helps him fall asleep more quickly. He also wears a sleep-mask when he sleeps to make sure the sun does not bother him. When I asked Mary if she had any tricks to help her sleep during the day, she responded:

> "No, because at that point you are just so tired that you just want to be in your bed and fall asleep in your work clothes. But a shower does help you. It makes you feel clean and more relaxed. Like, I give my daughter a bath before she goes to bed, so it just makes sense, you feel relaxed. You are at that level where it is just...that's it!"

In my own personal experience of overnight work, I experienced difficulties in sleeping during the day because of outside distractions. While I worked overnight, I lived right by an elementary school which converted into a summer camp during the summer. Even with the window closed, the sound of children playing would stream into my bedroom. I quickly became annoyed. This was a sentiment shared by Gloria, who has been working overnight for almost 20 years. She also lives by a school and was quite bothered when the school started to implemented a new fitness program during recess. Twice a day, during morning and afternoon recess, the school would blast dance music to encourage the children to dance around and be active.

Many informants also reported that they were less energetic when they worked overnight versus daytime shifts. Suzanne, who participated in the family joint interview, spoke of the increased fatigue she experienced while working overnight. She explained to me that though she might sleep for six to eight hours during the day, she still wakes up feeling tired and groggy. She particularly feels at her most fatigued when she finishes her shift and is driving home from work, a sentiment which is shared by her father, Roger. He said that between three and five o'clock in the morning, when the sun comes up, he feels extremely tired. Quality time spent with family also suffered because of this fatigue.

Claire, a middle-aged woman who worked at a fast-food restaurant explained that it was more problematic for her to work overnight when her children were younger because it was even more difficult for her to sleep and that her energy levels were often very low: "It was a bit difficult to come home the next morning [after an overnight shift]. As I was going to bed, my first child (who was two at the time) was getting up. At that age, the child does not always understand the situation...staying calm all day long was a bit too much to expect!" This situation was also a difficult one for the young children of overnight workers, who did not always get to spend time with their parents. Trevor and his sister Suzanne explained that when their father used to work the 3rd shift, they were expected to play quietly and not make too much noise because he needed to sleep during the day. Though, as overnight workers, they now understand the situation, it was not always easy for them as children to play quietly on their own. Johnny also told me about one of his friends whose father used to work overnight:

> "I had a friend when I was younger and his dad used to drive taxis during the night shift. And when I used to come over he would say don't make noise, my dad is sleeping. And you could tell that the dad was never really around because he was always sleeping. I would not suggest it to anyone, but I would do anything to help my kids if I had any."

Johnny believes that parents who work overnight spend less time with their children than parents who work other shifts. While this was the case for his friend's experiences, it will later be discussed that, statistically, overnight workers spend more time with their children than daytime workers.

Eating patterns are also greatly affected by overnight employment. One overnight employee interviewed for an article in the *HamptonRoads* (2007) explained that she

gained a considerable amount of weight when she first began working overnight: "She gained 25 pounds her first year on the shift [overnight shift]. Her three meals became dinner, munchies at work and a junk-food breakfast when she got home" (Walzer 2007). Similarly, Trevor said that he ate more when he worked overnight and his father, Roger, also mentioned that he ate much larger meals when he worked overnight. According to these two participants, overnight employment negatively affected their eating habits and this was an observation echoed by many of the other overnight workers I spoke to. A website entitled *Calorie Count* devotes an entire section to the eating patterns of 3rd shift workers. Overnight workers use this forum to post comments, tips and advice on how to maintain healthy eating patterns while working overnight. Many of the comments illustrated a healthy eating routine can be compatible with an overnight schedule:

> When I had a steady schedule, go in at 11pm and get off at 7am, 5 days a week, this is how my schedule looked: 2-4pm wake up, breakfast 6-8pm work out (not the whole 2 hrs [though]) drink a protein shake after the workout 11pm go into work midnight- snack 2am – lunch 4am - snack/light dinner 730-8am - go to bed (Sabortejana 2008).

However, this was not the opinion shared by the majority of my informants.

Johnny explained to me that while he did not have any actual medical conditions because of his overnight work, he did find it difficult to maintain a daily routine:

> "Well, it is kind of hard to eat because you would not wake up to eat. Basically, when you are working you have your lunch hour so that is not bad. It is when you go home and go to bed, you know you have to put your alarm-clock to wake up to eat so you would have your normal little routine. Let's just say that you did not eat at normal hours. Like your breakfast would be at 6 pm at night, you know. You would wake up and have breakfast when everyone else is having supper. Have dinner at 2 o'clock in the

morning...I was tired, but I did not have any health issues. I would have quit before that".

Like Johnny, Suzanne also found it difficult to maintain a healthy appetite when on overnight shifts. Unlike Trevor and Roger, she explained to me that she found it harder to eat during overnight hours. She would often only eat one meal a day: "I will not eat my breakfast because I cannot eat and then go to sleep and then usually, depending on what time I get up, I will just wait until my supper break. So I lose weight when I work overnight." Regardless of whether or not individuals eat more or less when they are working overnight, there seems to be a general consensus that a nocturnal schedule provokes an imbalance in one's regular eating patterns

5.2 Strained Social Lives

When considering the impact of overnight employment on the daily lives of workers, studies of overnight workers have predominantly focused on two distinct areas, health consequences and the effects on their social lives. However, it is equally important to note that historically, there has been a marked imbalance in the amount of effort that has been devoted to each of these categories of impact. Recently, more and more research has been devoted to the effects of overnight employment on the social lives of workers as well as those of their families. Further exemplifying these trends, it is now possible to find more and more work on the social experiences of individual overnight employees (for eg. see Gies' 2004, Coyne's 1992). Additionally, there has been more research published through Statistics Canada dealing with the social affects of overnight employment (see Green 1999, Krahn 1995). However, what seems to be missing are

more nuanced and fine tuned ethnographic studies that take account of the specific and varying circumstances of Montreal overnight employees. As discussed previously, anthropologists are increasingly turning their attention towards the ways in which individuals experience work. These studies help to highlight the unique issues faced by overnight workers.

For Johnny, the biggest downfall of working overnight was the strain the schedule placed upon his social calendar: "All my friends would work during the day so I never got to see them. When you are young, you usually party at night, you know. You won't really go see your friends at 1 o'clock in the afternoon and say hey, how about we go get a beer". However, he understood that his friends could not just postpone every social gathering to a later date that would accommodate his personal schedule: "I can't really get mad that my friends got pissed because it's a job, you know. If I was not happy, I could find new friends." In the end, he knew that his choice to work overnight meant that he would be excluded from many outings and pub crawls. It was not until he stopped working overnight that his relationship with his friends returned to its former closeness: "To be honest, yes I did miss out on a lot of stuff and it was kind of boring. But when I did stop working overnight, I got a lot closer with some of my friends. You do lose touch, I won't lie." His experiences suggest that, at least in most circumstances, overnight workers and daytime workers have incompatible social schedules.

Rotational and shift overnight work also affected the social lives of many of my participants. Colleen explained to me that overnight work, especially when worked on a rotating shift schedule, took a toll on her social life. She explained: "Because of doing a rotation all the time it was hard to have a relationship or a social life. You are very tired

after doing an overnight shift and to get back into a day routine, it takes at least two weeks and then you are back on overnights again." Thus, the constant rotations and shifts from day to night schedules also makes it difficult to maintain a healthy social life, or even to make plans in advance.

However, not every informant agreed with Johnny nor had the same experiences. Suzanne explained that nothing came between her and her social life, not even a nocturnal schedule. When asked if working overnight has affected her social and personal relationships, she answered: "It has not affected my social life because I always made sure it was one of my priorities to talk and chill with my friends." Bruce, an overnight manager at a restaurant, explained to me that while his schedule had changed, he had not. He still made plans to see his friends as he would have had he been working dayshifts, it just took a little more organization to be able to do so. Hence, while it is possible to maintain an active social life while working overnight shifts, it requires a tremendous amount of planning and sacrifice, which can sometimes take a toll on one's health. I discovered this over the summer of my fieldwork, when I would often neglect my sleep in order to spend time with my friends and family. This led to decreased energy levels, increased fatigue, as well as mood fluctuations. These issues greatly complicated my relationship with family members and friends.

Taking into consideration the difficulties overnight workers have encountered trying to maintain a healthy social life, would it not be simpler for them make friends with other overnight workers, with people who have the same schedule as them? When I asked Johnny this question, he answered: "Not really because I did not really want to have that kind of life, so I tried to stay as far away as possible." I asked him if he felt this

way because he knew that his overnight employment was to be a temporary occupation and he replied: "Yeah. When I saw them working there full-time, you know, it did not really interest me". For him, overnight employment was made more tolerable knowing that it was only a temporary situation. Thus, while he was excluded from certain social outings with friends, he knew that eventually he would no longer be working overnight. Additionally, because he was not planning on working overnight permanently, he did not see the need to forge strong ties with other overnight workers.

While most of my younger informants were concerned about missing out on social engagements with their friends, older workers expressed concern to me about the impact of their night schedules on the amount of time they could spend with their families. According to Jacques:

> "During the four years I moonlight as a taxi-driver, there was no family time for me. Well, there was less family time. Thankfully, we had a large yard and my wife would play with the children outside while I slept. As for the social life, there was none. Even if I had free time, I spent it with my wife and children. Once, I stopped moonlighting, this situation changed and everything became easier, better."

Dave, an airport employee described the toll overnight work took on his family. When asked if working overnight had affected his social and personal relationships, he answered: "Yes it has. Socially, I would miss a lot of functions with the family and also lost time with the wife and my son. As for it affecting my personal relations, the fact that we had less time together...yes." Mary also felt as though overnight work greatly affected her relationships with her friends and her family, "Because when they wanted to

go out, I was sleeping. It does affect your whole social life...your family is nowhere to be seen in a sense."

Jacques also explained that familial support was an important component of his overnight employment success:

> "It takes a very understanding woman. A lot of women would not be able to tolerate living with an overnight worker. This is something can be especially difficult for couples nowadays. We [Jacques and his wife] accepted to make sacrifices to better our future. Now, it is always right now, live for the moment."

He also argued that there were inherent dangers for couples working opposite shifts. He said that after a certain time, they become more like roommates and not lovers. He also explained to me that, in his particular case, the family successfully coped with an overnight schedule for those four years because of the hard work and comprehension of his spouse: "I need to give credit to my wife. I really appreciate her. That's why every time she says: "We made it!" I tell her no, you made it. We would not be where we are today if it had not been for her." Jacques' experiences outline how support and understanding from family members can make overnight shifts more tolerable for the workers. However, Jacques' family knew this situation was temporary and perhaps a full time, long term overnight schedule would have been more difficult to tolerate.

Parents who work overnight also face additional problems, especially if they have young children that need to be cared for. As opposed to parents working during the daytime, parents working overnight have limited childcare options. There are not many daycares open 24H and those that are open overnight are not government subsidized, so parents have to pay the full amount up front for private daycares. As a single mother to a beautiful young girl, Mary is all too familiar with the stress of trying to find childcare for

the overnight hours: "Like I said, I have a daughter, so I want to make sure that someone is going to watch her." She would often have to pool all the resources available to her in order to make sure her daughter was cared for while she was at work: "Family, neighbor, my husband at one point. It was very stressful. I would start at 10pm and he [her husband at the time] would finish at 11pm, so sometimes I would have to ask the neighbor to watch her." In this sense, working overnight can be especially difficult for overnight workers that do not have the same access to a network of potential caregivers for their children, such as a spouse or grandparents. Very often, for overnight workers, social networking comes to replace daycares. However, neighbors, friends and family members can at times be less reliable than daycare, which notably caused Mary stress and anxiety.

5.3 Feeling Out of Sync

One of the main themes expressed in almost every one of my interviews was the feeling of being out of sync with the rest of society when one works overnight. A factor contributing to this sense of living out of sync with the rest of society may be the perception day workers have of the nocturnal schedule. More precisely, Kevin Coyne (1992) explains that most diurnal people have a vision of the nighttime world compiled from isolated past experiences. These include "...a string of sleepless hours comforting a sick child, a bachelor party that careened until dawn, a project due at work or school the next day, eggs in a diner at 3 am after a round of nightclubbing, an insomniac blur of tv commercials for cubic-zirconium earrings..." (Coyne 1992: x). Given these limited and very scattered experiences which shape the daytime worker's (or at the very least the

majority of daytime workers') conception of the overnight hours, it is understandable that some overnight workers feel misunderstood, as if their daily obstacles are not seen by the rest of society. In addition, Coyne explains that "[n]ight is a time, not a place...It occupies the same geographic space as the day, but its defining feature- the absence of light- so dramatically alters the familiar daylight world that the night is often thought of as a separate territory, a sovereign nation even, deserving of its own atlas" (Coyne 1992: xi). Though nighttime and daytime are essentially two parts of the same day, the fact that they differ so drastically makes them almost unrelated, yet overnight workers often wish to establish their place within the very same society which has disassociated the two.

One of the ways this feeling of being out-of-sync is most apparent is in the leisure time of overnight employees. In fact, both overnight employees and their families have said that their leisure time has been the most affected by overnight employment (Roberts 1999: 59). Leisure time, as explained by Roberts, is "...a product of the modern organization of work, our market economies, the civil liberties that we enjoy, and the weakening of the family, community and religious controls that prescribed and enforced common ways of life in earlier times" (Roberts 1999: 1). Traditionally, leisure and work were presented as opposites. Building off of previous works on leisure time (see Aristotle, Marx, Saint-Simon) Applebaum explains that "[i]n the modern world we tend to understand leisure as a set of contrasting values differing from work (Applebaum 1995: 67). What makes leisure studies so relevant to this thesis is the fact that leisure has a social dimension and holds social importance, especially in the sense that it binds people together through social interaction (Roberts 1999: 9). Thus, if a person's leisure is negatively affected by their employment it can cause problems in their social lives and

even led to social isolation, anxiety or depression. People who have worked overnight for a long period of time can feel alienated from the rest of the diurnal society, causing them to feel as if they do not belong.

Living with an overnight worker can be just as difficult as working overnight. Since the most common complaint voiced by overnight employees (particularly those rotating on a shift schedule) is the lack of regularity, it is understandable that their families become frustrated over the fact that nothing can be planned in advanced like a *normal* family (Roberts 1999: 59). Part of the reason why I was drawn to the subject of overnight work in the first place is because I have been in a relationship with an overnight worker for over 8 years. I am all too familiar with the issues arising from living with an overnight worker: difficulties in planning time to go out, having to remain silent during the day while he sleeps and all the stress that accompanies these issues.

Deciding which schedule to maintain during days off can become a fairly complicated calculation for certain overnight workers. Do they remain in the nocturnal schedule or do they adapt their schedules to those of their family and friends? The dilemma over what schedule to maintain during off days was also a topic of interest for many of the people participating in my study. When I asked Johnny what schedule he opted for during his days off, he replied: "When you had days off, you would flip your schedule around so you could do normal things. You could actually chill with your friends, you know, have a normal weekend. Your weekend basically just ends up being one day because the other day, you got to sleep all day. Basically, as soon as you would have the idea of going out, your weekend cuts off." Mary also revealed to me that during her days off of work, she would revert back to a diurnal schedule in order to

accommodate her family: "I believed I stayed up during the day because I have a family, but if I did not have a family, I would probably sleep during the day." Often, informants with families told me that on their days off, they would adapt their schedule to the rest of the household. This would ensure they could spend as much time as possible with their families. However, as Johnny alluded to, there was a price to pay as weekends would often be shortened by a day.

While most new jobs require a certain period of adjustment, it is particularly difficult to acclimate oneself to overnight employment due to the complete reversal of schedules. Many of my collaborators vividly described to me the period of adjustment they went through when they first began working overnight. Johnny said that his adjustment period was quite long and tedious: "Well, you would be tired. Trying to sleep with the sun at the beginning is pretty hard and basically trying to wake-up. You don't really have time for yourself. Especially when you did long hours, like twelve hour shifts, you just come home and sleep and go back to work the next day". One particular overnight worker explained to me that his body never really got accustomed to the overnight schedule. He said: "Working overnight is not normal. Our bodies function like a machine with repetition. Most of our lives, growing up, we programmed our bodies to sleep at night and work and play during the day. Working overnight is like putting a wrench through a wheel." These difficult periods of adjustment add to the feeling of being out of sync shared by many overnight workers.

Many of the people I spoke to described overnight work as being incompatible with their bodies. When I asked Mary to describe a typical day when she is on the overnight schedule, she replied: "Oh my Gosh! I'm like a zombie!". During another

conversation, she explained that when you worked overnight: "You were like an owl. You just miss out on a period, on that time-frame." Jacques shared Mary's opinion, adding: "You never see the sun. In my opinion, it takes special people to be able to cope with and adapt to overnight work. It is very hard to adapt to an overnight schedule. But, I guess some people do." According to Wallman, the levels of work alienation are higher in instances where employees feel as though they have limited control in their work arrangements and environment (1979: 17). Because overnight workers have little flexibility in their schedules due to a reduced staff (see page 55 for a discussion on this topic), and normally have little to no contact with coworkers and supervisors in addition to the health and social complication associated with overnight work they are a greater risk of experiencing alienations at work.

Chapter 6: Social and Physical Isolation of Montreal Overnight Workers

6.1 Overnight Employment and Social Stigma

> *I got me some good grades*
> *Now I work me the night shift*
> -Matthew Good Band "Hello Time Bomb" (1999)

At the start of my field research, some of my collaborators told me that they felt as though they were negatively viewed by the rest of society. While I had never thought of this issue before, the topic was incorporated into my research because it seemed to be a point of great contention for many of the overnight workers I encountered. As I flipped through the pages of the March 23rd 2010 *Montreal Gazette*, I noticed a cartoon depicting security guards on the night shift, taking a break, sucking their thumbs and holding their blankets (See Figure 6). With this cartoon in mind, I began to ask some of my contacts how they felt they were perceived by the rest of society. During one of our many conversations, Johnny confirmed that he did feel as though many people judged overnight workers negatively. He said overnight workers were typically stereotyped as being shy and anti-social. He also explained that some even took overnight positions thinking that the workload might be a little lighter:

> "Yes, probably some people do the night shift because yes
> the work is a bit less hard, I won't lie. Actually I want to
> rephrase that....it is not that it is less hard, it depends on the
> job. It will always, always, always depend on the job. But
> most of the time, overnight everywhere that I have worked,
> the bosses were a bit cooler, more down to earth. You
> know, it was a little quieter."

Wanting to work for a boss who is more lenient or more tolerant might thus be a reason some workers seek out overnight shifts.

However, whether or not overnight tasks and duties were *easier* than day shift work was a point of debate for many of my collaborators. Jacques explained to me that overnight taxi drivers were faced with certain issues not normally encountered by taxi drivers working the first or second shifts, such as having fewer co-workers and no technical aid if something broke down:

> "During the night shift, things become more difficult because we were either alone or with another worker who took the calls. Also, when calls were few and far between, you become more tired because there was no one around. There was nothing left to do but jump in your taxi and go cruise down Saint-Laurent and hope to pick up clients *on the fly.*"

Jacques also maintained that there was a greater sense of independence working overnight, that you were left to your own incentives and that this was a very freeing experience for him:

> "It takes someone with a great deal of self-confidence and self-motivation. The worker who needs someone to guide him all the time would not work well overnight. Good overnight workers can make decisions on their own, the right decisions. He needs to get the work done. When the boss comes in the next morning, he is proud of his hard work. To succeed overnight, you need to be good, you need to be dedicated, you need to participate fully in the success of the company. You can't constantly need someone to push you, to motivate you. If there is a problem, you can't always be calling the boss during overnight hours".

This was a sentiment notably shared by Roger, the father from the joint interview, who explained to me that one of the benefits of working overnight is that "...there are no bosses in the way. There is no one really telling you to do this or do that. You know what you have to do and you just do it." While certain workers may be attracted to the overnight shift because of the increased freedom it brings, in recent years many companies have had trouble filling overnight positions. One day, I casually mentioned to

Jacques the article I had read in the *Journal de Montreal* about the difficulties certain companies were experiencing in trying to find suitable overnight workers. I asked him if these difficulties surprised him, to which he replied: "Overnight workers need to be competent and answer all the questions themselves, especially if you work with the public. You need to answer the clients' questions, you can't simply say *oh, I'll get back to you on that.*"

Jacques also made me understand that during the 1960's-1970's, certain larger Canadian companies did not approve of their employees moonlighting:

> "[My employer] did not want anything to do with that. They said that they paid their employees enough and that they did not need another job. So, when I started working overnight for my father's taxi company, I was considered illegal in [their] eyes. The company could not technically force me to stop, but they could have certainly made my life more difficult. They said that you could not have the physical capacity to work overnight and then to be fully devoted to your day job, especially us who had to climb phone poles. [They] did not want any extra accidents caused because of moonlighting."

During the years in which he was moonlighting, Jacques felt like an outlaw because the company he worked for during the day had deemed his behaviour as illegitimate. This also added the extra worry of being caught moonlighting and being fired for going against the company's wishes.

Mary also spoke about the ways interactions with customers greatly differed between daytime and night time work and that this difference could be one of the reasons accounting for the view of overnight workers as anti-social. According to her experiences, clients were not as likely to come in and talk to employees during the overnight hours. However, this contradicted what I experienced at the coffee shop, where the overnight hours transformed the lobby into a library or a place of business. While I

was at first perplexed by this contradiction, I realized that the type of clientele at the coffee shop differed greatly from the clientele Mary interacted with overnight. She also told me that she preferred interacting with daytime clients because they were usually more pleasant: "I prefer day shifts because of the interactions with the customers. During the night, people are working so when they come in at 2 or 3 o'clock [in the morning] they just want to be served. Unless they have nowhere else to go." According to Mary, these clients demand much more patience and can drain your energy quicker: "There are a lot of people who come in, especially from parties, and they are drunk, and they are just taking so much out of your time." Mary explained that having to deal with such clients every night can make the job frustrating and can even cause overnight workers to limit the interactions they have with the overnight clientele.

Sometimes, the social stigma associated with overnight workers can stem from the types of employment most frequently available during the overnight hours. For instance, while moonlighters may have highly skilled primary positions, their overnight employments tend to be in more deskilled positions (Ehrenberg and Schumann 1982: 33). Thus, while working overnight, these employees may be falsely labelled as low skilled employees. Jacques also felt as though overnight workers were sometimes seen as deskilled because they are very often in lower-paying positions: "80% of overnight workers, in principle, are employed in a field that is less remunerated than those who work during the day. I am thinking of the janitors, those who clean buildings, those who wash windows and floors. Usually, people automatically think that these people are uneducated."

6.2 Overnight Workers, Movement & Spatial Transformations

In Ruth Finnegan's *The Hidden Musicians*, the amateur musicians in the English town of Milton Keynes are presented as the backbone of the town's music industry, but they are also those that are the most often overlooked (Finnegan 1989: 222). Finnegan also explains that these musicians' quests to find areas in which to practice have led to the use of unconventional spaces. She explains that "...there are many different locales for music. Some that people are not even familiar with" (Finnegan 1989: 222). These unfamiliar musical locales, including youth clubs, men's clubs, firms' social clubs and the general social and recreational clubs in the neighborhood (Finnegan 1989: 222), are transformed into rehearsal spots. These spontaneous music locales were often hidden from the rest of society: "Their significance as settings for music was often invisible to those who did not frequent the pubs or moved mainly in the classical or operatic music words. But it was quite startling to find how much local music went on in there" (Finnegan 1989: 226). In other words, both the Milton Keynes amateur musicians and their unusual music locales were to a certain degree invisible to people not involved in these activities.

Like the Milton Keynes social clubs, certain restaurant lobbies undergo such a transformation during the overnight hours. For instance, the coffee shop and fast food restaurant in which I carried out observations are two of the only places open 24h in LaSalle, aside from the token gas station. In this sense, the overnight clientele is limited to a few places to host their activities. It was not uncommon for me to be sitting next to clients using the coffee shop as a place of business. For instance, during my observations I encountered clients signing rent leases, students working late on a project and often

overheard clients discussing business plans during the overnight hours. This significantly contrasts with the ways in which daytime clients use the coffee shop. During the instances in which I visited this business during the day, I noticed that the clients used the space in a much more functional manner. They were there to get their caffeine fix in the morning, to grab lunch during their breaks or to get an iced treat during the hot summer afternoons. Because the restaurants were so busy, very few people sat down and took their time eating, lingering and enjoying conversations with friends. In fact, loitering and lingering were tolerated much less during the day than during the night and the fast food restaurant where I conducted my fieldwork even had signs warning against loitering and threatening the possibility of a $100.00 fine. At first glance, these observations seem to contradict what Mary said about the overnight clientele being less inclined to interact with the restaurant personnel. Even if certain overnight clients were not in a rush to leave the restaurant, they still remained uninterested in interacting with the workers, preferring to remain with their group of friends. Thus, my observations confirmed what Mary had explained to me, that it was much harder to have conversations and pleasant interactions with the overnight clientele.

It was not only the restaurant lobby that would transform itself during the night hours. The parking lot of the fast food restaurant where I conducted my observations underwent its own transformation. After midnight, when the store doors would close, only drive thru patrons were served. After receiving their orders, many cars would park in the lot and eat their meals there. During summer and mild spring nights, there would be four or five cars with open doors littering the parking lot. Clients would sometimes hop

from car to car to eat their meals. It was almost as if the restaurant lobby was moved from inside, to outside.

In *Of Orderlies and Men* (2009), Nigel Rapport explains that his study of the porters at Constance hospital was part of a larger study examining "...national identity as it pertains to a large-scale modern institution" (Rapport 2009: 35). In order to achieve this goal, Rapport submersed himself into the daily experiences of these porters, working as they would. As part of his regular duties, he was asked to be a "specimen-man" and carry various specimens about the hospital (Rapport 2009: 65). While conducting these tasks on a regular basis, he was able to map out his route about the hospital efficiently: "As specimens-man, on the species run, it is my job, four times a day, to traverse the 30-some miles of hospital corridor and collect from some 50 wards the blood, urine and cellular samples to go to the biochemistry or microbiology laboratories for analysis. Once I have mapped out the optimal route across the plant linking the different pick-up sites, each run takes me about 80 minutes" (Rapport 2009: 65). Unlike other hospital staff or patients, porters can maneuver around the hospital efficiently and quickly, so much so that following this *optimal route* can ensure the porters will have time to smoke and joke around in the locker room between their rounds (Rapport 2009: 65).

The ways in which overnight workers move around the city of Montreal also greatly differs from the ways in which day and evening shift workers do. One of the main contributing factors for this phenomenon are the various restrictions imposed on overnight workers, be they security restrictions, limited public transportation or road closures. Gloria explained to me her frustrations trying to get to work for her midnight

to 8am shift at a telephone company in Nun's island. Coming from her house on the South Shore, she had no choice but to drive due to the fact that the RTL (Réseau de Transport de Longueuil) buses do not run that late on weekends. However, the Champlain bridge was often closed overnight during the summer for repairs and preventative maintenance. In fact, as of the 8th of September 2009, the bridge was closed overnight from 11pm to 5am for a period of two months (CTV 2009). This caused Gloria a great amount of stress and she would often worry about how she would get to work at night. While it may be that workers on a 9 to 5 schedule encounter much more traffic than those workers on an overnight schedule, they are rarely faced with two months of Champlain bridge closure. Restrictions on the availability of public transit can also force overnight workers to plan alternate routes to get to work depending on their hours. When I was planning on meeting informants during their overnight hours on weekends, I needed to either take a taxi or leave extremely early because the last bus passed by my house before 8pm.

Safety concerns also greatly limited and constricted my mobility while travelling during overnight hours. For instance, while I would often cut through the alley in front of my apartment to get to the bus stop, I did not do so after dark. I would instead make my way to the other bus stop a little further away. I did this because while the park beside the alley was usually filled with daycares and daycamps during the day, at night it was invaded by people who used it as a place to drink and deal. In fact, bottles of Jack Daniel's and cheap Vodka are usually still scattered on the ground the morning after. While this is but one particular Montreal park, which undergoes a transformation during the overnight hours, there are many other places around the city of Montreal

that become unsafe during overnight hours. Most Montrealers are aware of these areas like Vendome metro or Parc Lafontaine. The safety concerns these areas pose during overnight hours often force overnight workers to find alternative routes to get to and from work.

6.3 Overnight Employment and the Right to Security

According to American psychologist Abraham Maslow, security is one of the main physiological needs, along with food and sleep. Security, according to Maslow, is defined as the "...need for a safe environment free from immediate threat" (Adler 1977: 444). In terms of this definition, the security needs of overnight workers are not always being met in Montreal because, in certain instances, they are not employed in an environment free from immediate threat. During the period in which I began to write this thesis, Montreal was in full election mode. The streets were littered with campaign posters and mailboxes were overflowing with various pamphlets detailing electoral promises. While I may have been too quick to discard these pamphlets, I could not ignore a full page ad for Louise Harel's *Vision Montreal* party in the weekly *LaSalle Messenger*. Included were the usual calls for lower taxes, a more successful way of countering street gang violence and the promise to deal with the nauseating stench of the sewers. However, as my eyes lingered over the bullet points highlighting the issues of public security, I came across the following campaign promise: "Implementation of an evening security agency (2 patrol cars circulating)" (Vision Montreal 2009: 13). This particular electoral promise interested me for two reasons. First, because my field sites were mostly located in the Montreal borough of LaSalle, I knew from the experiences and stories shared by my collaborators that evening and night time security was an issue for the city. Second, it

illustrated that increased overnight security was not solely an overnight worker demand, but a demand from the community as a whole.

It is also important to mention that many overnight workers are alone throughout the duration of their shifts. Working the night shift alone can also add to the stress, especially when an employee is expected to perform certain tasks without the aid of co-workers. When I asked Johnny how he mediated between working alone and completing tasks he responded: "Oh, you couldn't. You passed the mop but that was about it. Like when the newspaper came in, you did not really have time because you have drunk people coming in". Besides fuelling the demand for an age minimum for overnight employment, Brigitte Serre's murder (see page 7 for a discussion of the case) also shed light on the need for more than one employee during the overnight hours. Having an extra worker may help ease the security threats of working overnight, especially if one of the employees has no previous overnight experience. It may also cut down the stress of having only one person to complete all the overnight tasks. In Johnny's case, having a co-worker to help him out during those overnight hours might have made the experience more enjoyable and less frustrating.

Issues of location also surfaced during many conversations with my collaborators. Often, they felt ill at ease working overnight in certain neighbourhoods. For instance, Johnny who worked at a Couche-Tard in an area he described as the South Shore *Ghetto*, felt as though some of the overnight clients in this particular area were a little shadier and though he did not feel threatened by them, he could easily understand how others might be:

> "For me, things are different, I am a six foot one beast, so like me
> I am not scarred working overnight. But I would imagine if my

girlfriend were to work overnight, I would not like that. She was recently looking for a job and I told her no way, she is not working night. I would never, ever, ever let her work the night shift. To me it should not even be legal to have minors working overnight....Threats to your safety can happen anywhere. To be honest, it is not just an overnight issue. You know you get a guy who is drunk, when he comes you got to know how to handle him. That is what I mean, it depends how you work. Using the example of my girlfriend again, I am not sure, if a drunk guy comes in she might act scared. And if she acts a little too scarred, the guy might get pissed and do something stupid. And she could end up like that girl at Shell. To me, like I said, if you look at me the last thing you would do is try to hit me."

In contradiction with his opinion that he would not want his girlfriend working overnight, Johnny concluded that threats to one's personal security could happen anywhere and that it was not really an issue unique to overnight employment. Instead, the issue is more about the environment one works in. However, his reluctance to have his girlfriend working overnight does indicate that while he may not be concerned for his safety, he is nonetheless aware of the increased security risks associated with overnight work.

I also asked my informants if they had any preventative measure in place to ensure their personal welfare during the overnight hours. Johnny replied: "I would call 911 I guess, I never had any training. We had no panic button, the only panic button we had was in case the gas leaked. But they did not even show you that, I read it myself. They said here is your shift, they showed you where to put the milk and that was it!". Mary explained to me that when she worked at the coffee and donut shop, she did not feel safe: "There was no security. If anything were to happen, I did not have any authority coming to rescue me. If we were robbed, we did not have a buzzer. The police actually came and said "because you guys don't give us a free coffee when we do come by, we don't come here more often." I was a little taken aback by what she had told me. I was

shocked by the fact that the police demanded freebies for extra vigilance during the overnight hours. After my interview with Mary, I asked Trevor whether or not police officers asked for free food. He replied: "At one point, we sort of did something similar. We would give officers free meals if they agreed to patrol overnight more here, especially during the weekends. But we stopped that because they did not keep their end of the bargain or there was a miscommunication and only some would patrol, I don't know. This did not last very long."

Overnight workers who live further away from the location of their work also face additional safety risks, especially if they do not have access to a car. As explained before, because the STM does not provide 24H service in all areas of Montreal, taking public transit may simply not be an option for certain workers. One of the best solutions to this problem is the policy implemented by Trevor's fast food restaurant. Many of the people I encountered who worked at the same fast food restaurant as Trevor explained that workers who started or ended their shifts outside of public transit hours had their taxi paid for. This removed the stress of having to worry about how they would get to and from work. It also ensured that workers did not have to walk alone during overnight hours. However, this restaurant was the only one I encountered with this form of policy.

Police interventions are also nightly occurrences for certain overnight workers. For instance, while conducting my first night of participant observations in a busy LaSalle fast food restaurant I witnessed a violent encounter between clients. A visibly drunk older man drove his motorized bike (similar to a moped) into the car of a teenager accompanied by friends. When the teenagers got out of the vehicle (about four or so), the drunk man proceeded to attack them, without much success. Trevor, the weekend

overnight manager at the time, called the police, who in turn phoned the ambulance to care for the bleeding and drunken man. The teenagers were questioned and eventually let go as witnesses attested to the fact that the altercation was completely instigated by the drunken man. The ease and poise with which the manger and overnight crew handled the situation made me ask them whether this was a regular occurrence. Trevor told me that though the police were by no means called to the restaurant every night, altercations between clients were quite frequent considering many of them were often drunk at that time of the night.

These drunken clients are often a source of annoyance to the overnight workers. Drunkenness was something every overnight employee dealt with on a nightly basis at this particular restaurant. In fact, Trevor once told me that he would sometimes opt not to wear his name tag during the overnight hours because according to him "You don't want the drunks to know your name because they will just bother you more." While not all overnight clients at Trevor's restaurant are drunk, a large percentage of them are. One night, I was granted permission to remain in the lobby of a fast food restaurant in LaSalle where many of my close collaborators worked. Though the doors remained closed to clients between midnight and 5am, the restaurant was still quite busy with drive-thru clients. On many previous occasions, I had listened to descriptions of the drunken state of many overnight clients, but I was still not at all prepared for what I experienced that night. The restaurant is located a few blocks away from a popular bar, so I knew that at closing time, there would be a rush of clients. Sure enough, when 3am rolled around, the kitchen crew became busier and the line-up of cars at the drive-thru grew longer. Many of

the clients bore signs of a well lived evening. They were rowdier, many were honking for no apparent reasons and some were yelling.

However, more than an annoyance, these clients can be a threat to the safety of the overnight workers. Lise, a 2nd assistant to a fast food restaurant, outlined how overnight work on weekends was the worst because most clients were younger party-goers who need to either drink, smoke, or misbehave in order to have a good time. Another collaborator explained that drunks would sometimes come up to the drive-through window and hit it in order to call attention to themselves. Trevor recounted his experiences during one of his first shifts as the overnight manager. Before the actual shift had started, co-workers had outlined certain key security measures, such as panic buttons, but quickly added that he would rarely encounter a situation which would necessitate such interventions. However, during that particular night, a severe fight broke out in the restaurant lobby which resulted in a bloody mess and he had no choice but to call the police. He further explained that the police came relatively quickly because he stressed the fact that there was blood. However, he explains that in most cases, the troublemakers are gone by the time the police actually arrived on location.

Thus, while overnight workers, labour unions, and even certain political parties acknowledge the increased risks associated with overnight employment, very little is actually being done about it. As seen with Johnny, underage minors are still being asked to cover overnight shifts alone and this can put them in very threatening situations, ones which some of them do not have the maturity, the training, nor the experience to handle properly. Why are minors still working overnight? Why are some store clerks still covering the overnight shift alone? Why do some businesses not have any panic buttons

or other security measures in place to ensure the security of their overnight workers? Why are some companies still not providing taxi fare to overnight workers who end their shift outside of public transportation hours? Everyone seems to be aware of these questions, yet very little seems to be done about them.

Though some cities and provinces have in fact attempted to pass laws aimed at making overnight employment safer for workers, some companies have actually been targeted for the risks that can be entailed in policies they have implemented to improve security. Rupert Cornwell wrote an article for the *Independent* (2004) in which he explains that Wal-Mart, "...believed to be the world's largest retailer, is under fire for reportedly locking in overnight workers at many of its stores, sometimes to the detriment of their own safety" (Cornwell 2004). Though Wal-Mart may have implemented these changes to ensure the safety of its overnight employees, the workers directly affected by these laws are speaking out: "Michael Rodriguez, who works at a Wal-Mart store in Texas and waited an hour for colleagues to free him from beneath fallen machinery as they searched for a key, said: "It isn't right. You could have been bleeding to death and they'll have you locked in" (Cornwell 2004).

Gloria also described a similar situation to me. To ensure the safety of their employees and to make sure they do not have any encounters with the wildlife in and around their newly constructed building, her employer has banned its overnight employees from leaving the premises. Aside from the fact that the employees are now trapped within the building, Gloria explained to me that if she forgets to bring her lunch one night, she will have nothing to eat since there are no open cafeterias during the overnight hours. Looking back at images of *the divided city* in Chapter 2, Caldeira notes

that the erected walls in Latin America have changed the "...character of public life and public interactions" (Caldeira 1999: 87). Like these fortifications, Gloria has explained to me that she no longer feels at ease at work, she feels like a prisoner, unable to leave the premises without permission. Policies such as these fail because they do not actually address what overnight workers, or at least the overnight workers I encountered are asking for. They do not want to be locked inside their places of work, they simply want their employers and the government to recognize their unique needs and to provide them with the same security and conveniences offered to day workers. Perhaps the best way to look at what makes overnight employment unique is the discussion by Sandra Wallman. She argues that "...the worker may identity themselves with one dimension of the work which becomes for him its defining feature" (Wallman 1979: 19). In the case of Gloria's experiences, she felt as though keeping the employees locked in the building did not really address the real security threat posed by overnight work.

Chapter 7: Wellness, Happiness and Job Satisfaction

7.1 Why Work Overnight?

Generally, employees begin working the overnight shift either out of professional obligations or personal choice. But, very few people set out in the first instance to seek out overnight work. Most of the people who participated in this research began working overnight because of some sort of professional obligation. For these individuals, the overnight shift was not something that they sought out, but a schedule that was imposed on them. When Johnny was first hired at the gas station-dépanneur, he told his employer that he did not want to work nights, and his employer originally agreed with this condition. However, after a period of time, he was forced to accept working overnight. When I asked him how he ended up working overnight, he replied: "Well, they just gave me those hours and they said take it or leave it. And with my age, I don't joke around....me and money." I told him that I thought it was odd that an employer would force a minor to work overnight, to which he replied: "Yeah, and they knew I had school the next day".

For Mary, overnight shifts began as a way of completing the day's unfinished work. She needed to stay on during the overnight hours if she had not finished the inventory during the day. Like Mary, Dave began working overnight out of a professional obligation. All new employees and those with the lowest seniority at the airline company in which he worked had to endure overnight shifts if they wanted to remain employed there. For certain city workers, overnight work comes in the form of rotational 'pager duty'. During that particular length of time, usually two weeks, the employee is required

to answer calls on his pager at all times of the day. In this situation, overnight calls are quite frequent. Connie, a young CEGEP graduate who now works as an administrative agent for a Montreal hospital explained to me that working overnight shifts was part of her training. It is through these types of professional obligations that most employees agree to work overnight.

It would be false, however, to assume that all individuals working the 3rd shift were pressured into accepting this schedule. Many individuals who participated in this research viewed overnight employment as a way to supplement their income. For Jacques, overnight employment offered the possibility of increased financial stability:

> "My father owned *Deluxe Taxi* at the time. I was married and then the children were born. Back then, I was making at good salary at Bell, but it still was not enough to make ends meet. So, I asked dad to get my *pocket number* in order to be able to work as a taxi driver. For me, working overnight was a necessity. It was not the type of job I would do all year round."

Thus for Jacques, overnight employment was seen as a temporary solution to financial needs. After the birth of his children, Jacques said that he and his wife needed to make a decision concerning their situation. As he explained to me, tomato sandwiches may in fact be delicious but not for every meal, everyday. These economic constraints pushed him towards overnight work.

But more than wanting to achieve greater financial stability, Jacques had certain financial goals he and his wife wanted to accomplish and with the extra money that come in from moonlighting, these goals became a little easier to achieve:

> " My motivation was mostly financial. In order to attain certain goals we had set. Especially goals such as buying a house, improving the quality of our lives. We wanted our children to be able to do and have everything the other

children did and had. They needed to be like the rest, to have the same toys as the others. These are the responsibilities that come along with being a parent."

This was a familiar situation for many of the individuals I encountered throughout my research. After having spoken on a few occasions, I asked Jacques if those four years of moonlighting were worth it. He replied:

"In our case, it took patience and consideration for other members of the family. We needed to understand that we were making a choice to better our lives and that one day, we would return to normal so to speak. Not upper class, but middle class. I think that it was thanks to my wife's understanding that we were able to survive the moonlighting period. Our children turned out fine, those who wanted to go to school went to school. We lived a good life and we are still living a good life now. I think that, in our case, our sacrifices paid off. We do not regret a single thing."

For Jacques, working overnight was a conscious choice on his part. He knew that it would be a difficult period for him and his family, but he also knew that it would be a temporary one.

While conducting observations at the fast food restaurant in LaSalle, I noticed that many of the weekend overnight staff were students. They explained to me that the overnight schedule was one that fit well with their lives as students. They went home after school on Fridays, took a little nap and then worked overnight. They finished their last weekend shift early Sunday morning, giving them plenty of time to rest before they began school again on Monday. In addition to fitting well with student schedules, there are often more openings for overnight hours because they are harder to staff. Students may thus have a better chance of being hired if they are available for the 3rd shift. Many students were also offered overnight shifts when the summer vacation began and the higher volume of clients demanded more overnight staff. As one CEGEP student

explained to me: "I just added *overnights* to my summer schedule and started working overnight that way."

Having one parent working the overnight shift can also help out with certain problems normally associated with childcare. With one parent working days and one parent working nights, there is always someone at home to look after the children. This, in turn, can help save money that would normally be used to pay for daycare. Certain studies have even demonstrated that parents working overnight spend more time with their children: "For example, working at night is associated with spending more time with children—suggesting that night schedules are a way for parents to juggle child care. In 2005, night shift workers spent 4.4 hours per day with their children—about 30 minutes per day more than day workers—and they spent 3.3 hours with their spouse—just over 1 hour less than day workers" (Williams 2008: 12). However, this may not be the case for all overnight workers. For Dave, even though his wife worked days when he worked overnight, he felt as though he was seeing his son less and that he was missing out on important family moments. Jacques experienced similar problems: "It is certain that those weekends I worked overnight I would have preferred to have spent them with my family, but we did not have a choice. It is not normal to never see your wife. I worked during the days and hopped in the taxi at night. But, these were necessary sacrifices for the future." A trend noticeable in my research is that while parents may find the overnight shift better in terms of childcare, very often the quality of their family lives suffer as a result of the fatigue and mood fluctuations associated with overnight work.

Choosing non-standard forms of employment in order to accommodate one or more aspects of one's life is also a main theme in Leach's 1998 study of the growth of

homework in North America. She recounts the experiences of one of her informants, Joan, as follows:

> "She told me that her mother had worked outside of the home for as long as she could remember, but she had become ill, could no longer keep a job, and so she had turned to homework, which she could do at her own pace in her own home. But the company insisted on maintaining quotas for the work done, and when her mother found it difficult to do enough, Joan suggested to her that she do some of the work as well" (Leach 1998: 99).

Like Dave and Mary, Joan's mother discovered that though non-standard forms of employment may promise greater flexibility and accommodation, they are not devoid of problems. Like housework, overnight work is often required to uphold the same quotas as standard, 9 to 5 types of employment. This can cause the employee a great amount of stress because both overnight workers and homeworkers are often alone. Hence, they are not surrounded by the same social resources, such as co-workers and supervisors.

After realizing that many participants worked overnight in order to gain financial security, or to help with the childcare or even because it fit well with their student schedule, I asked certain informants if this made the nocturnal shift easier to endure. Johnny firmly replied that though he liked the money associated with overnight work, he still preferred the day shifts. When I asked him why, he responded: "Because of the normal hours I guess. Basically, your social life is a lot better and your family life gets a lot better too. It is different when the sun is out, you know. When it is dark outside it is not fun. When the sun is out, it just gives you a little smile, you know". Even for Jacques, who acknowledged that working overnight allowed him to achieve greater financial stability and to realize certain of his goals, the 3rd shift is still quite problematic:

"In principle, working overnight is not normal. Our entire society
is based on a diurnal schedule. Be it in agriculture, the industries,
everything is done during the daytime. Some people will tell you
that they love working overnight, but the vast majority of the
population prefers working during the day. So, there is a marked
imbalance in the workforce. The split is not 50/50. As far as I am
concerned, it is not normal to work overnight. There will always
be exceptions to the rule. Certain individuals will say that they
prefer working overnight, but they are the exceptions to the rule."

Even with the extra compensations offered by some employers, the overnight shift
remains difficult for most people to endure regardless of whether or not they chose that
shift to help out with the childcare or because it fit in well with the rest of their schedule.

7.2 Job Satisfaction Evaluation and Overnight Employment

The average worker in today's society is arguably much better off than a worker
from the mid nineteenth century. True, layoffs have been particularly harsh during the
late 2000's recession and many employers are cutting back on employees' benefits in the
hopes of boosting profits. But, linking back to previous theories of leisure time, Herbert
Applebaum argues that today's worker is much better off thanks to shorter working
hours, paid holidays, paid vacations, health and insurance benefits, mortgages for homes,
instalment buying and greater access to education and culture (Applebaum 1995: 61).
Despite these benefits, Applebaum points to works by Veblen, de Man and Arendt, to
explain that modern worker is the most dissatisfied with his current employment:
"However, there seems to be little optimism that satisfying work is attainable for the
majority of people in industrial cultures. Only those who have acquired education and
skills of the mind have the hope for satisfying work" (Applebaum 1995: 61).

Over the past decade, there have been many publications dealing with employment satisfaction [Skalli et al (2008), Shields (2006), Ducharme and Martin (2000),]. Broadly speaking, job satisfaction is defined as: "a person's overall evaluation of his or her present work role" (Wharton et al. 2000: 68). According to Ali Skalli et al., job satisfaction "...is an important, readily available measure of the worker's utility derived from the job. It allows the identification of those characteristics which have a differential impact on the worker's utility. This is important since higher job satisfaction is likely to result in higher performance at work, decreased absenteeism and tardiness" (Skalli et al. 2008: 1906). Looking at the statistics on Canada alone, it is clear that a fair share of Canadian workers are dissatisfied with their present employment. "According to data from the 2002 Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS): Mental Health and Wellbeing, just over 6% of workers were 'not too satisfied' and 2% were 'not at all satisfied'" (Shields 2006: 33). However, when attention is turned to the overnight workers in Canada, those numbers increase rather dramatically. Figure 7 illustrates that over 18% of overnight workers are said to be dissatisfied with their employment, a much larger percentage than those working the daytime, evening rotating or irregular shifts. In fact, the daytime shift workers had the lowest instances of employment dissatisfaction.

In the SUNY series on the anthropology of work, Herbert Applebaum argues that one's job is seen as a pivotal factor playing into one's overall satisfaction. He explains:

> "Whether the work ethic is strong or not, accepted or not, needs to be revised or not, our survival as a species depends on the need to work....Work is still the precondition for releasing people to enjoy self-fulfillment leisure. Work is still associated with maturity, self-discipline, and moral values. For all these reasons, work is the precondition for the human condition" (Applebaum 1995: 46).

Work is thus perceived as a sign of integrity, independence and hard work. In larger cities such as Montreal, people on social assistance are seen as a financial drain on the city, whereas employed individuals are seen as valued, contributing members of society. Accordingly, individuals have a sense of pride attached to their employment as for this reason, it has become part of their identity.

It is however important to mention that theories and analysis of work place conditions and security is by no means a recent phenomena. In his 1776 work entitled *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith recognized the unsatisfactory working conditions resulting from the industrialized British economy (Krahn and Lowe 2002: 19). He realized that increasing employees' wages would in turn boost morale and productivity, ultimately leading to a better economy (Krahn and Lowe 2002: 19). However, simply raising employee wages may not be enough to ensure employment satisfaction, as was notably expressed by Johnny and Jacques in the previous section. Some authors have pointed to the work-life balance as a way to examine employment satisfaction. Cara Williams explains: "Work-life balance is a self-defined, self determined state reached by a person able to effectively manage multiple responsibilities at work, at home, and in the community. It supports physical, emotional and family health and does so without grief, stress or negative impact" (Williams 2008: 7). While economic compensations may be an incentive to attract employees to work the 3rd shift, a sense of work-life balance among the workers is not guaranteed. In fact, for some of my informants, bonus pay for overnight hours no longer makes up for the other problems associated with overnight

employment. This was a sentiment notably expressed by Mary: "There is no advantage, I find, working the night shift. You might make the money, but you don't gain anything."

Studies of employment satisfaction can be beneficial for both workers and their employers. For the employer, increased employment satisfaction among employees can help bolster the rate of productivity, which means better profits for the company. According to Lee et al., employment satisfaction can lead to decreased employee turnover: "The relationship between job factors and overall life satisfaction is clearly important in that it can affect both job performance and job retention" (Lee et al. 2004: 633). This means that the company can spend less money training new employees. For the employees, improving job satisfaction can lead to a better quality of life. Wharton et al. argue that:

> "Beyond their significance for employers, however, an understanding of these issues is important in light of recent claims that the workplace has become an increasingly central arena in people's lives. Hochschild (1997) suggests that, for some, work has replaced family as the place where people seek meaningful social connections. Along these lines, Marks (1994) argues that the conditions for intimacy and friendship are as likely to be found in the "public" world of work as the "private" world of family life. The social relations of work thus may play a more significant role in workers' lives now than in the past" (Wharton et al. 2000: 67).

However, the nature of overnight employment can be an additional barrier to employment satisfaction.

Overnight employment is not only a factor in lowering one's employment satisfaction, but studies have also shown that it can lower one's overall life satisfaction as well. Haejung Lee et al. conducted a study of life satisfaction among Korean nurses

between May of 1999 and March of 2000. They concluded that: "Those [nurses] who experienced higher personal accomplishment and lower emotional exhaustion and who were satisfied with their professional status and did not work at night reported higher life satisfaction". (Lee et al. 2004: 632). Job dissatisfaction for employees can also lead to such health issues as burnouts, low self-esteem, depression and anxiety (Shields 2006: 35). However, employees do not evaluate job satisfaction in the same manner. In fact, the ways in which a worker will evaluate his or her job depends greatly on their class, ethnic group or subculture (Etzioni 1995: 256). This is an important point because jobs are not purely evaluated on a monetary basis. While some of my informants, such as Mary, explained their dissatisfaction with overnight work in terms of the low level of economic return, the vast majority of the participants explained that social complications, and not money, were the main reasons for their discontent with overnight work.

Johnny's particular case is quite interesting because of the contrasting experiences he had working two very different overnight jobs. When asked if he enjoyed working overnight, Johnny replied: "At Maxi's yes because it was during closing hours, so that was pretty fun. You know, it was basically us, the gang of boys. You know, joke around for sure. The boss was pretty cool. But at Couche-Tard no because you got all the drunk people walking in all the time and most of the time you have to break fights up and stuff". In this statement, it becomes clear that not all overnight employments are experienced in the same way. For Johnny the atmosphere and interactions with coworkers played a great role in whether or not he enjoyed his overnight employment: "Overnight, if you don't have a cool boss, forget about it. If you were to have a strict, strict boss then honestly, I would not keep that job." Even if an individual enjoys working overnight at

one particular company this does not mean that they will enjoy working overnight elsewhere.

According to Johnny, working overnight at the gas station-dépanneur was very lonely. For him, solitude was the number one downside associated with overnight work:

> "At night, first of all the people you meet are not really the people you want to meet. Second of all they might be people you want to meet, just not in that situation because, you know, they might have drank too much. That was the downside, it was pretty lonely. During the day, the store was always more occupied, you got more stuff going on. You could call someone. You can't even call anybody, you won't receive any calls, I mean who is going to call you at 2 o'clock in the morning? It depends what kind of person you are, I guess. But I have never really been the lonely type. I like being with people. Not only that, I guess, when you work at a dépanneur to me, they should always be two because you never know what could happen, like that little girl at Shell [referring to Brigitte Serre]".

When asked if she enjoyed working overnight, Mary answered: "At first yeah, because the tips were good. But after a while, it got a little redundant. You feel a little unappreciated". When I asked her to clarify how she felt unappreciated, she started to paint a very different portrait of overnight work at the coffee shop, one which vastly contrasted with that depicted by both Johnny and Jacques: "Well, the other employees, you had to train them to help you out and they would do less than you so you would actually end up doing double the work. And when the managers came in they would ask you what is going on? Nothing is done and blah, blah, blah." Some days, she would explain to me, she would arrive to work at the coffee shop and realize that very little of the works tasks were actually completed: "I would have to walk to work and when I would get there, the other crew before me did not really do the 'restock'. Some days I

would walk in and clear the trays and clean the tables and I have not even punched in yet."

Another element that contributed to overall employment dissatisfaction is the lack of fit between the worker's qualifications and the level of skill required for the job they were performing. As explained in previous chapters, while some overnight workers may be highly skilled, they may still be employed in a low-skilled position. "Overqualified workers may be less satisfied and more frustrated with their jobs, be absent more frequently and be more likely to quit" (Crompton 2002: 23). Some studies have pointed to schedule flexibility as a way of countering employment dissatisfaction. According to Williams:

> "Previous research has shown that flexible work schedules lead to greater work-life balance and can offset work stress ... While about 4 in 10 day workers had flexible times, some shifts were less likely to offer this flexibility. For example, only about 20% of evening shift workers and less than 12% of night shift workers had flexible work arrangements, but over 50% of those who worked irregular, on-call or casual shifts had flexible schedules."(2008: 11).

However, this may not be a suitable schedule for all overnight workers. For instance, Trevor has explained how it was more difficult to cope with overnight shifts when they were practiced on a rotating schedule. He argued: "You get into a routine after doing overnight on a nightly basis. If not, your whole sleeping pattern gets thrown." Roger had similar experiences, arguing that his body had a harder time adjusting to the shifts, especially considering he did not find sleeping during the day to be restful. Even with increased flexibility, there will always be a concern about sleep disruption for overnight workers.

Some studies offer ways of evaluating relative employment satisfaction. Ducharme and Martin explain that social support can be one way of minimizing workplace related stress: "Since the 1980s, a substantial amount of research on the beneficial effects of social support has appeared in the social science literature. Generally, these studies have argued that social support effectively mitigates against various stressors and strains, and much attention has been devoted to determining the nature of these effects" (Ducharme and Martin 2000: 224). One of the main ways to counteract job dissatisfaction, according to Martin and Ducharme is through establishing ties of social support:

> "The issue is not whether certain people are differently exposed or receptive to social support but rather the extent to which the provision of support is more or less structured into people's work roles. Social support bears directly on individuals' integration into social settings, and in the workplace, we might expect support to arise not only from personal affiliations but also from the functional interdependence of workgroup members" (Ducharme and Martin 2000: 225).

The social support offered must also be applicable to all employees regardless of shift. There is no point in offering programs to help employees if only the day personnel can fully benefit from their implementation.

The research conducted by Martin and Ducharme also pointed to an important and often overlooked component of employment support, namely the need to distinguish between support from co-workers and employers respectively:

> "For example, studies often do not distinguish between social support received from coworkers and support received from supervisors. These combined measures are potentially problematic because supervisors may contribute to as well as provide solutions for job stress. In addition, the frequency and content of workers' interactions with their supervisors may differ

substantially from their interactions with peers. Similar problems are created when measures do not differentiate between work-based and nonwork support such as that received from "coworkers, family, and friends" (Ducharme and Martin 2000: 228).

While each employee will have different needs and different criteria shaping their evaluation of their job, my research has shown that there are indeed some special obstacles faced by overnight workers that are unique to their nocturnal schedule. Martin and Durcharme argue that a healthy communication between the employer and employee can improve job satisfaction. However, many overnight workers, such as Jacques, work alone at night and only see their bosses briefly in the morning.

But, as indicated by Martin and Ducharme's research it is not enough to simply receive feedback from one's employer. The relationship one builds with co-workers is also an important source of employment satisfaction. This is a point that was most often brought up by Johnny, Jacques and Roger who each worked the overnight shift alone. Johnny explained the loneliness he felt and this is not something exclusively experienced by him. While it may be true that certain individuals enjoy the freedom and independence brought by working overnight alone, others miss the camaraderie and support offered by co-workers.

When I was invited to the annual Beach Party held by Trevor's restaurant (see page 19 for a description), I was told that this sort of team spirit building activity was something done quite often to ensure that the employees knew that they were cared about and supported. The restaurants hosted beach parties, picnics, and even outings to cabanes a sucres where each and every employee was invited to participate. But ironically, it was often difficult for the overnight workers to attend such activities. As mentioned in the

previous chapter, I was supposed to meet with an informant that day, but she was too tired from her shift the night before to come to the party. This points to a discrepancy between the idea behind the team spirit building activity and its outcomes. While it was supposed to help bring the workers closer together, it ended up alienating the overnight workers. It is precisely for this reason that not all policies aimed at improving employment satisfaction can be applicable to overnight work.

7.3 Wellness and Overnight Work

Throughout his study of hospital porters (2009), Nigel Rapport examined the ways in which wellness was achieved at work. Building upon Virginia Wolf's definition of wellness, Rapport explains that for the Constance Hospital porters, well-being is interpreted as "...an appreciation of the kind of moral system based on the perception of appropriate, normative, rhythms and movements" (Rapport 2009: 184). As in my own research, the topic of wellness and well-being at work often came up in Rapport's study as well:

> "Porters spoke about being well, and ill and sick, about feeling happy and unsatisfied, also about things going well and people doing well...But the porters never enunciated their sense of well-being. Nevertheless, I find that the concept offers a useful entrée into an awareness of an everyday equilibrium sought after and expected by the porters: that they would feel comfortable and secure working at Constance" (Rapport 2009: 184).

Like Rapport, the ways in which the overnight workers I have encountered during my research discuss their well-being can be used to gauge their comfort, or discomfort in working the overnight shift on the island of Montreal.

Rapport's research makes a number of points that are also relevant to my own case study. Firstly, he makes the link between a sense of wellness in the workplace and balance. This sense of equilibrium is something that is often lacking in the lives of 3rd shift workers. Dave, one of the porters featured in Rapport's study, explains that after enjoying a break away from the hospital, he was ready to be back into the swing of things. According to Rapport, Dave's experiences illustrated "...how a balance is to be sought between the work-site and else-where for retaining an even tempered life; also, how sickness combines with vacations for together affording an appropriate and necessary time away from the work-site; lastly, how there is a rhythm to time spent at the work-site which provides an overall sense of security, but which can be lost or forgotten if not practiced regularly" (Rapport 2009: 185). However, as seen throughout the last few chapters, it can be especially difficult for overnight workers to achieve a healthy balance in their lives. Considering our society is mostly structured around a diurnal schedule, it can be difficult for them to equally enjoy the same benefits as day and earlier evening shift workers.

Secondly, the interactions between ill patients and porters often created a very depressing environment, one which porters at times needed to move away from (Rapport 2009: 192). Collin, one of Rapport's informants explained that being around sick people all day rubbed off on him and made him feel like he needed a change (Rapport 2009: 192). Similarly, many of my collaborators, including Mary and Johnny, have argued that their interactions with the overnight clientele drained them of energy much more quickly than would normally occur with daytime clients. The overnight clientele, in certain instances, also contributed to elevated security risks. As a taxi driver, Jacques knew what

to expect when the bars closed. His clients were drunk and many of them could not even remember where they were going when they stepped into the cab. Certainly, these types of encounters added to his frustrations with overnight employment.

Lastly, Rapport's study outlines the importance of maintaining a degree of selfhood outside of the workplace (Rapport 2009: 201). But this is something very difficult for certain overnight workers to maintain. Another of Rapport's informants, Bob the hospital body-builder, argued that while most of his co-workers had no real hobbies outside of work besides drinking, he liked to work out and do weight training (Rapport 2009: 97). Like Bob, Trevor and Johnny both believed in the importance of maintaining a healthy life outside of the workplace. Trevor made sure that the gym at which he was a member was opened for longer hours, accommodating his schedule. Maintaining a degree of selfhood outside of the workplace is often a way of increasing personal and work satisfaction. According to Applebaum: "For most people, work is considered time spent for the benefit of others. People seek satisfaction outside of the workplace" (Applebaum 1995: 61).

At the end of each interview I always asked my informants if, after having read the consent form and being informed of the general goal of the research project, they had anything to add. I was taken aback by what Mary had to tell me: "People that work overnight, minimum wage especially, don't get the props that they deserve. We are overworked and the amount of work that we do is high. If we voice our opinions, maybe something can be changed. We try to find ways to make a little extra money, we kind of take anything that comes to us." Like Mary, the porters at Constance hospital felt as though they needed to care for their own well-being: "When it came to the Hospital's

dealings with the porters in particular, the common discourse was that the porters had to look out for their own health and take precautionary measures because the doctors and administrators did not care- were even remiss in passing on the information porters might use to acquire security for themselves" (Rapport 2009: 186). This feeling of being devalued or taken for granted is a sentiment shared by many of my informants. As seen in the previous chapters, overnight workers are more susceptible to health problems and have a much harder time maintaining a social life than other day and evening workers and they face certain safety risks. Additionally, because it may be harder for them to have access to the same social support at work, be it from co-workers or from their superiors, it is harder for them to achieve a sense of employment satisfaction. All of these issues and problems are facets that shape the experiences of overnight workers in Montreal.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Individuals working the overnight schedule are faced with unique obstacles, brought on by the very condition of their nocturnal schedule. When I first began conducting field research for this thesis, I was under the assumption that my research would be centered on the theme of isolation. I falsely thought that my interviews would depict the overnight worker's life as a frustrating, isolating and alienating struggle, a struggle to make it in a 9 to 5 society. However, as the research progressed, I realized that the thesis was more about overnight workers' desire for inclusion. They understood that they were the minority, they understood that there would be difficulties, but they also wanted to make the rest of society understand that they wished to be included in such seemingly banal activities as taking the metro or having their children in daycare. For the majority of my informants, the issue was not so much about the ways in which they stand apart from the rest of society, but more about the ways in which they can be included within it. During interviews, they spoke of the need for longer hours for public transportation, the creation of 24H CPE (Centre de Petite Enfance) daycares, the formation of legislations controlling security training for overnight workers and of the implementation of a minimum age for overnight hours.

While I initially struggled with conducting fieldwork in my hometown, I was able to surmount these difficulties by reminding myself that exotic fieldwork locations are not more appropriate than closer ones, that they do not offer 100% objectivity and that anthropologists abroad do not completely detach themselves from the rest of their lives. After a few weeks of fieldwork, I was able to appreciate the benefits of conducting

anthropology at home, such as familiarity with the environment and easier communication.

Overnight work was facilitated by technological innovations, such as electricity, and grew out of companies' desire to increase profits and maintain a competitive edge. However, the growth of society also prompted the need to have access to emergency services around the clock. As a response to economic changes (such as a recession) and social changes (such as the birth of children) there has been a change in the workforce. Non-standard forms of employment, such as shift work or overnight work, have been adopted as a result of these changes. What has not yet changed, however, is the schedule and structure of Montreal society in general. This is in large part the cause of many social and even physical ailments experienced by certain overnight workers.

Sleeping disorders, loss of appetite, weight gain, fatigue and decreased energy levels have all been attributed to a shift from a diurnal to a nocturnal schedule. The Circadian Rhythm Theory hypothesizes that these physical ailments are the result of going against one's biological rhythm. While this theory may account for these issues, it fails to address certain key issues such as why certain overnight workers are able to thrive on a nocturnal schedule while others fail.

The social problems associated with overnight work are in large part caused by the incompatibility between a nocturnal schedule and more dominant daytime schedules. When one sleeps during the day, even the simplest of errands (such as going to the local mall) can become complicated, especially considering most shopping centers close at 5pm on weekends. In addition, because overnight workers cannot fully benefit from

certain public resources, they experience a sense of isolation from the rest of society. This was notably depicted in Mary's and Jacques' interviews.

Familial stress is also intensified by a nocturnal schedule. Parents working overnight often feel as though they are missing out on important moments with their children and couples often find it difficult to live together while working opposite schedules. Both Dave and Jacques' experiences illustrate the toll overnight work can place on a relationship. Additionally, the overnight schedule is difficult for family member's to bear as well, especially because of the lack of stability.

Restrictions are also a major facet of the lives of overnight workers. Because of these restrictions, be they security threats of lack of public transportation, overnight workers are forced to navigate around the island of Montreal differently than daytime workers. For instance, I had to spend a good portion of each night determining how I was going to get to and from the field site. The ways in which the field sites were used also significantly differed from day to night. During the night time hours, the fast food restaurant's parking lot was transformed into a dining space, whereas the coffee shops lobby turned into a library, study hall and even place of business.

Because the experiences of overnight workers are not always properly understood, they can be stigmatized by the rest of society. Certain individuals view overnight workers as lazy, socially awkward people, when in reality, this is not the case. However, these false assumptions can make it hard for overnight workers to feel accepted by the rest of society, which in turns adds to their everyday frustrations.

As seen in Mary's descriptions, the drunken nature of overnight clients often force overnight workers into adopting a more reserved attitude, which can be

misunderstood as anti-social behaviour. Others sometimes perceive overnight workers as unskilled and uneducated, however this is also a misconception. For instance, as was the case with Jacques, moonlighters often have highly skilled positions in the day and hold more deskilled positions overnight.

While changes within the structure of Montreal society may be slow, they are starting to take effect. Because many of the overnight workers in Montreal are invisible to the rest of society, their problems are not always recognized. Hopefully, more companies will start paying taxi fares like Trevor's does and minors like Johnny will not be coerced into accepting overnight shifts or face dismissal. Failed preventative measures, such as Wal-Mart's policy to keep doors locked at all times during overnight hours and making prisoners out of the workers do not work because they are not addressing the fundamental issue with overnight work: the workers do not have the same access to support, security or wellbeing as those working the day or evening shifts. I wonder if some of the ministers in the house of commons realize just how many workers maintain the cleanliness of the buildings and their security during the overnight hours. We are indeed living in a 24H society and it is time to pay more attention to the needs of those who keep the city running while the rest of us are sleeping. As Mary said, overnight workers are very often not given the recognition they deserve. She ended her interview by stating: "Maybe if we all voice our frustrations, we will be heard and something will be done to change this situation". I, in turn, will end this thesis by saying that I hope it has helped to give overnight workers in Montreal a voice.

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Appendix

Figure1: Location of the borough of LaSalle within the city of Montreal.

(Wikipedia.org: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LaSalle,_Quebec).

Figure 2: Sample Interview Questions

Date:_____

Interview number: _____

Gender and Age:_____

Employer (opt.) and Position:_____

Working there since:_____

Working Overnight since:_____

Status: Circle One

Single   In a relationship   Live-in relationship   Married   Divorced   Separated

Education Level: Still in School?

_____

_____

_____

How did you start overnight work?

_____

_____

_____

Do you enjoy the hours? If not, what are your reasons for working overnight?

_____

_____

_____

When you first began working overnight, was there an adjustment period? Did it take you long to get used to the hours?

_____

_____

_____

How do you sleep during the day? Any tricks, like black curtains, an eye-mask, ear plugs?

_____

_____

_____

Has overnight employment affected the time you devote to social activities? Friends? Significant other (are you in such a relationship)? Family?

_____

_____

_____

_____

How is your health? Do you eat well? Do you work out (time/location)? Has overnight employment made this routine more difficult?

_____

When you have days off, are you up at night or during the day?

_____

Would you rather work during the day? Why?

_____

What are the benefits of working overnight?

_____

What are the downsides of working overnight? -

_____

If you work the overnight shift alone (ie. Without any co-workers), does it make the work more or less enjoyable? Does working without any co-workers make you job more or less satisfying?

_____

Do you consider working overnight "normal"? Why or why not? -

_____

Do you feel as if there is a certain level of judgment that society places upon overnight workers? Explain and provide specific examples if possible.

_____

Having read the consent form and knowing the purposes of this interview, do you have anything else to say which you think will contribute to this study?
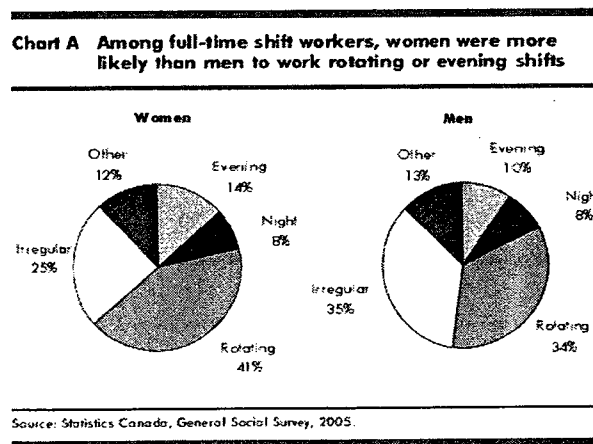
_____

Figure 3: Four Main Types of Non-Standard Employment.

Table 1
Non-standard employment by age and sex

	Total employment		Part-time		Temporary*		Multiple jobholders		Own account**	
	1989	1994	1989	1994	1989	1994	1989	1994	1989	1994
					'000					
Both sexes	12,468	12,799	1,905	1,972	799	970	635	944	858	1,147
Women	5,535	5,764	1,400	1,379	408	433	302	488	327	486
15-24	1,091	922	437	425	138	152	66	124	31	–
25-34	1,654	1,556	332	258	110	116	96	128	84	118
35-44	1,427	1,700	327	360	96	62	89	140	108	146
45-54	906	1,147	193	209	45	70	26	66	69	151
55-64	457	439	111	126	–	--	--	30	35	48
Men	6,933	7,036	505	593	391	537	333	458	531	661
15-24	1,151	1,049	352	386	151	161	48	73	57	51
25-34	2,057	1,952	72	87	112	177	104	142	126	156
35-44	1,805	1,919	--	54	52	118	86	126	154	193
45-54	1,182	1,473	--	32	27	62	73	72	117	133
55-64	736	654	38	40	48	27	--	45	77	128
					% of total employment†					
Both sexes	100	100	15	15	6	8	5	7	7	9
Women	100	100	25	24	8	8	5	8	6	8
15-24	100	100	40	46	13	17	6	13	3	–
25-34	100	100	20	17	7	8	6	8	5	8
35-44	100	100	23	21	8	8	6	8	8	9
45-54	100	100	21	18	6	7	3	6	8	13
55-64	100	100	24	29	–	--	--	7	8	11
Men	100	100	7	8	7	8	5	7	8	9
15-24	100	100	31	36	14	16	4	7	5	5
25-34	100	100	4	4	6	10	5	7	6	8
35-44	100	100	--	3	4	7	5	7	9	10
45-54	100	100	--	2	3	5	6	5	10	9
55-64	100	100	5	6	9	6	--	7	10	20

Source: General Social Survey (Cycles 4 and 9).
* Excludes the self-employed.
** Self-employed workers without paid employees.
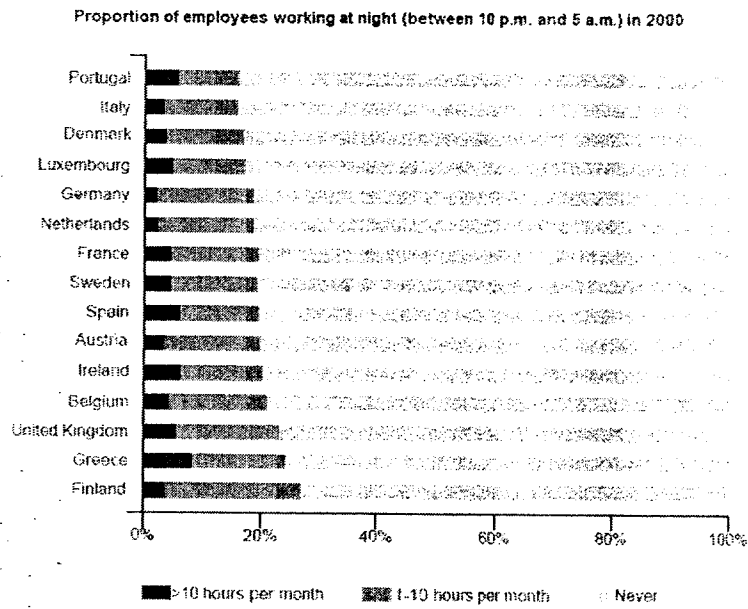† For temporary workers, this calculation excludes the self-employed.

(Krahn 1995: 36).

Figure 4: Gender and Overnight Work

Chart A Among full-time shift workers, women were more likely than men to work rotating or evening shifts

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2005.

(Williams 2008: 8).

Figure 5: Overnight Workers in the European Union.

Proportion of employees working at night (between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m.) in 2000

Source. European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

(ILO 2004).

Figure 6: *Rhymes with Orange* Carton Taken from the *Montreal Gazette*

(Price 2010).

Figure 7: Employment Dissatisfaction in Canada.

Table 1

	Total %	Men %	Women %
Total	8.6	8.4	8.8
Occupation‡			
Management	5.7*	4.2*	8.3
Professional	5.3*	5.8*	4.9*
Technologist	7.4	7.2	7.9ᴱ
Administrative/Financial/Clerical	10.7*	14.5ᴱ	9.8
Sales/Service	11.4*	10.9*	11.8*
Trades/Transport/Equipment operating	8.0	8.1	F
Farming/Forestry/Fishing/Mining	4.4ᴱ	4.2ᴱ	F
Processing/Manufacturing/Utilities	16.7*	17.9*	14.7ᴱ
Work schedule			
Regular daytime‡	7.7	7.0	8.5
Evening shift	14.9*	15.5ᴱ	14.3*
Night shift	18.4*	19.1ᴱ	17.3ᴱ
Rotating shifts	10.0*	10.5*	9.4
Irregular shifts	7.8	9.0	6.3*
Weekly work hours			
Part-time (1 to 29)	9.5	13.4*	7.9*
Regular (30 to 40)‡	9.5	9.3	9.7
Long (more than 40)	6.8*	6.6*	7.3*
Self-employed			
Yes	4.2*	4.6ᴱ	3.6ᴱ
No‡	9.4	9.3	9.6
Personal income			
Less than $20,000	12.0*	15.0*	10.4
$20,000 to $39,999‡	9.2	9.5	8.9
$40,000 to $59,999	7.4*	6.9*	8.2
$60,000 or more	4.5*	4.6*	4.3ᴱ
Education			
Less than secondary graduation	8.4	9.1	7.3
Secondary graduation‡	8.8	8.6	9.0
Some postsecondary	10.8	10.6	11.0
Postsecondary graduation	8.2	7.7	8.7
Age group			
18 to 24	13.6*	13.7*	13.5*
25 to 39‡	9.5	9.2	9.8
40 to 54	7.2*	6.9*	7.5*
55 or older	5.2*	5.7ᴱ	4.4ᴱ

(Shields 2006: 33).

125