



Public Feedback on the State of Snow Clearing in Winnipeg

***Compiled by the
Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 500***

Produced by the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Local 500 and the CUPE Research Branch.

This report was presented to the public on October 23, 2015.
With thanks to the citizens of Winnipeg.

CUPE / *Canadian Union
of Public Employees*
Local 500

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Executive Summary

Snow plowing services in Winnipeg are, as a byproduct of living in a northern city, an essential public service. Every Winnipegger – regardless of how they travel to-and-from work, school, or other destinations – has to contend with the sometimes voluminous amounts of snow our city receives in a typical winter.

With climate scientists noting “winter precipitation is likely to increase by 3–10% by 2050” due to the effects of climate change on Southern Manitoba*, the impact of snow clearing services on Winnipeggers will only increase over the next few decades. It is fair to state that ensuring the city streets and sidewalks remain as accessible and functional as possible for residents during winter is a key responsibility of the civic government; therefore, the impact of how those snow clearing services are implemented has a substantial impact on Winnipeggers everywhere and deserves some innovative thinking.

With this in mind, the Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 500, representing Winnipeg’s municipal workers, engaged the public between February and April 2015 to offer their experiences with snow clearing in Winnipeg. From that, we’ve assembled this report for Winnipeg City Council to try and move the conversation forward on snow clearing. What we found was a significant level of dissatisfaction with how snow clearing currently operates – and perhaps more importantly, several options to improve it.

The quality of plowing is a major concern, and appears to be somewhat geographically dependent. Residents are finding, as private contractors take on an ever growing responsibility for snow clearing in Winnipeg, that snow clearing is not be treated as the crucial public service it is. Some residents have flagged concerns with the safety of our roads, and the impact of what poorly-plowed roads could mean for motorists and others.

Property damage caused by private contractors is a major issue for many homeowners, and many are reporting that they are not receiving the fair treatment they would expect to receive from the City when seeking compensation.

We reviewed the concerns of participants and looked for how other factors – such as geographic area or housing values – might have impacted the experience Winnipeggers were having with snow clearing services.

Finally, in an effort to provide City Council with a usable plan of action to use the results of this research project, we have compiled a list of recommendations arising from this report. Chief among those recommendations is to restore public and democratic control of snow clearing by reducing our reliance on private contractors. To start Winnipeg should look to reassert public plowing in several neighbourhoods particularly in the East end, in an effort to improve quality and pressure private contractors into improving the service they provide to Winnipeggers.

* Telling the Weather Story, The Institute for Catastrophic Loss Reduction (ICLR) for the Insurance Bureau of Canada, page 44. Available at <http://www.scribd.com/doc/172260750/IBC-McBean-Full-Report>. The report also notes that the proportion of precipitation that falls in winter as snow will likely decrease slightly (p. 45), although the experience of last winter should prove that dealing with warmer temperatures in the winter doesn’t preclude problems with snow clearing.

Why ask Winnipeggers for their opinions on Snow Plowing?

Under pressure from residents, and with a new City Council and new Mayor of Winnipeg in place, the City chose in February 2015 to review plowing operations in Winnipeg with an eye to improving quality-of-service. CUPE 500 wanted to contribute to the public policy debate around this issue and offer Winnipeggers a chance to voice their concerns in detail.

CUPE 500 announced it would be conducting its own review of snow plowing operations in the City of Winnipeg. A growing sense of dissatisfaction with snow plowing in Winnipeg

was noticeable, especially after the massive snowfall in the winter of 2013/2014 and the increasing number of complaints raised by Winnipeggers. Recent media reports had focused on this dissatisfaction, and it was clear that snow plowing in Winnipeg needed to change.

In response to this public outcry, CUPE Local 500 took the initiative to solicit residents' feedback on snow clearing in Winnipeg.

“We know that Winnipeggers have concerns about snowplowing.

- CUPE 500 President Mike Davidson, CBC, Feb 23, 2015



Curb and tree damage caused by private snow contractors
Image submitted by Winnipeg resident



Study Methodology

Instead of using traditional telephone surveys, which can only scratch the surface of where people are coming from, CUPE 500 elected to open up the door to Winnipeggers to comment in general and however they wished on the topic of snow plowing in Winnipeg.

City residents had two ways to participate: they could call our toll-free telephone hotline and leave a recorded message, or they could go on wpgsnow.ca and enter a comment. A handful of other residents also emailed CUPE 500 directly with their concerns about snow plowing, which have also been included in this report.

The split between voice messages and website messages were nearly even, with more participants electing to use our website to comment.

CUPE ran print advertisements in local papers as well as radio ads to promote both the toll-free number and website.

For participants who provided us with their address or a close approximation of it, we were able to access information on their ward, snow plowing zone, street priority and more through the City's Electronic Citizen Information System (E-CIS).

To protect the privacy of participants, participants have been identified by their electoral ward instead of by name.*

* CUPE received phone calls, online submissions, and emails from individuals who either identified their address or the neighbourhood within which they reside. CUPE used this self-identified information to determine which municipal ward should be attributed to the participant's comment. This is provided for informational purposes only and is not to be relied upon to confirm the ward within which the participant resides as CUPE had no means by which to confirm the addresses.

Snow Plowing Satisfaction across the City

Before looking at the specific issues raised by participants, a quick overview of participants’ overall satisfaction with snow plowing operations is useful. As part of the research, we classified every respondent’s comments as either positive about snow clearing services in Winnipeg, negative about snow clearing, or mixed between the two positions.

For various reasons, about one-eighth of participants did not offer any clear indication about what they thought about current operations – some commented on related issues, but did not give any clear position on plowing services; others commented on the survey itself, or on the general issue of contracting-out or CUPE without discussing their opinion of plowing.

With some exceptions where appropriate, these comments that were unspecified about snow plowing were excluded from most numerical results in this report.



Across the city, a strong majority (71%) of comments made by participants were negative about current snow clearing operations. In addition to this, a small number of participants (4%) gave opinions that were mixed between

both positive and negative statements about snow clearing. A sizable minority (25%) made positive statements about snow clearing in Winnipeg.

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- St. Vital (130)*

* # Denotes respondent number

By Ward / Quadrant

To help illustrate the geographic nature of these results, we broke the city down into three large sections: North of the Assiniboine River, South of the Assiniboine River, and East of the Red River. These are the same three sections the City of Winnipeg uses for a number of administrative purposes, including splitting snow clearing contracts between private contractors.

Using electoral ward information from the City’s E-CIS, we have grouped each of the 15 wards into one of the three city-wide sections, with the distribution listed below*.

North	Daniel McIntyre, Mynarski, Old Kildonan, Point Douglas, St. Charles, St. James - Brooklands - Weston
South	Charleswood - Tuxedo, Whyte Ridge, Fort Rouge - East Fort Garry, River Heights - Fort Garry, St. Norbert
East	Elmwood - East Kildonan, St. Boniface, St. Vital, Transcona

Each section forms a geographically-contiguous and distinct section of the city, and by comparing the city by section we can pull out trends in the data.

	Positive	Negative	
North	21.5%	75.9%	2.5%
South	22.4%	71.6%	6.0%
East	19.8%	76.2%	4.0%
Unkown	37.5%	58.0%	4.5%

While participants in all sections of the city reported significant unhappiness with snow clearing services, participants from the Eastern part of the city reported the lowest level of satisfaction. Conversely, participants from the Southern part of the city reported the least dissatisfaction with snow clearing.

Participants who did not provide any geographical information were much more likely to report positive feelings about snow plowing; this may have been the result of positive comments being less detailed (and therefore less likely to include address information) than negative or mixed comments.

* The St. Norbert and Fort Rouge - East Fort Garry wards extend over a river. Being mostly located in the south section, both wards (and their residents) were grouped within the south section.

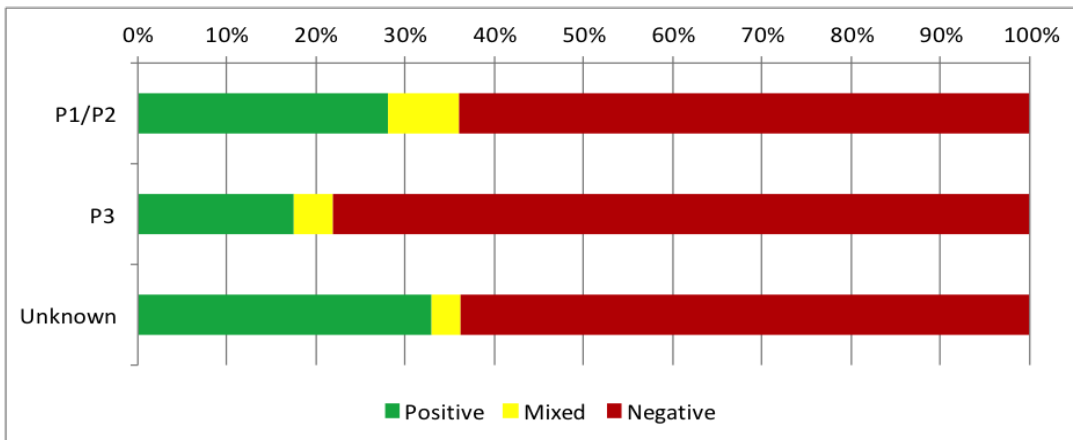
By Street Priority

We were able to obtain the plowing priority of each of the residences for which we had complete address information, which allowed us to draw out the following data*.

Priority 1 (P1) streets include all major, regional routes. Priority 2 (P2) streets include non-regional bus routes and collector streets. Finally, Priority 3 (P3) streets include residential streets**.

Participants living on either a P1 or P2 street clearly have a more positive outlook on snow clearing; this seems intuitively accurate, considering that their own roads are plowed much sooner and more thoroughly than P3 streets. This information should be taken with some caution, as only a small proportion of participants reported addresses on a P1 or P2 street.

As before, participants with no geographical metadata had a more positive opinion of snow plowing.



* Due to the low amount of participants reporting addresses from either Priority 1 or 2 streets, we grouped the two together to provide more useful information.

** Detailed information about the different snow plow priorities can be found on the City of Winnipeg's website: <http://winnipeg.ca/publicworks/FAQs/MoreStreetPriority.asp>.

By Housing Value

For participants who provided their address, we were able to record their house value (according to the 2015 City Assessment) using the City of Winnipeg website. While the housing values used for purposes of tax assessment are not necessarily equal to market value, they do help us to compare the relative value of participants' houses and look for any difference in response between houses of different value within our project.

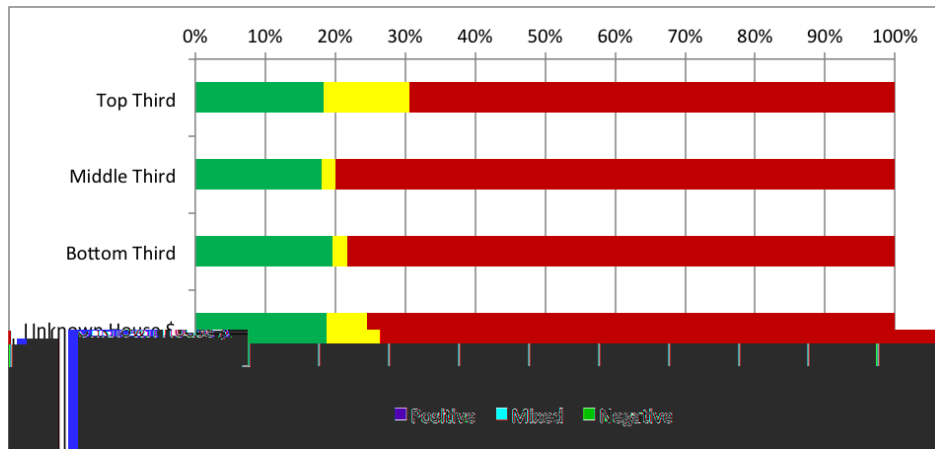
Of the respondents whose comments indicated a clear opinion of snow plowing services, we were able to determine the house value for just less than half (46.9%)*.

Splitting the housing value of participants into three bands, it became apparent that concerns about snow plowing in Winnipeg are relatively consistent between participants of differing house values.

Each of the three groups (or terciles) represented one third of the houses for which we had sufficiently-precise geographic data; the top tercile included the most expensive one-third of residences, and so on.

A number of participants had housing that did not fit into this model, notably participants living in apartment buildings or condominiums for which the tax assessment data did not specify a per-unit value. These participants have been included in the 'Unknown House \$' category.

Interestingly, the proportion of participants satisfied with snow clearing services was nearly identical between all four groups, and only the top tercile had a larger-than-average amount of participants with a mixed opinion on snow clearing services.



* This number is lower than the amount of participants for which we had any kind of geographical information, such as Ward or Section; for housing values, we needed the exact house address - the street alone was insufficient.

Concerns Raised by Winnipeggers

Each of the comments provided by the participants was reviewed, and frequent issues were flagged. While some of the most interesting information from the project was to be found in the individual responses of the participants, by looking for trends in the types of concerns raised by participants we have found additional methods of pulling useful information from the data.

1. Poor Quality Plowing

Complaints about poor quality plowing were by far the most reported concern raised by participants –almost a third of all participants reported specific issues with the quality of plowing done by private contractors. Among participants who were critical of the City’s existing snow clearing operations, the number was even higher – half reported varying issues with plowing quality

Many participants not only criticized the quality of plowing, but also made specific suggestions as to what could be done better in the future to improve the quality of plowing.

A common theme that emerged was private contractors not ‘dropping the blade’, or not clearing directly to the street, resulting in a layer of snow and ice that compacted over time to create the ruts that became common on Winnipeg streets in recent winters.



proper plow.

The proportion of participants who reported concerns about plowing quality were considerably higher in the East section of the city, and marginally lower in the South; the large discrepancy between the sections indicates that an underlying issue with plowing may exist in that part of the City, and likely warrants further investigation that is beyond the scope of this project.

North	27.6%
South	25.3%
East	43.1%
Unknown	28.6%

Note that measurements of ‘poor quality plowing’ do not automatically include concerns about windrows or plowing that results in dangerous roads; including those categories increases the level of concern with plowing considerably.

Intersection of Poor Quality Plowing, Windrows, and Dangerous Roads



The above diagram – which is to scale – illustrates the overlap between participants reporting concerns about plow quality, dangerous roads, or windrows.

Many participants who reported two of the three listed concerns included poor plowing as part of those; this also illustrates the significant ‘depth’ of dissatisfaction with plowing in the city, as it shows that the issues raised by participants often are multi-layered and involved multiple interconnected problems.

The range of complaints regarding windrows varied: some participants were upset delays in clearing front-lane windrows meant windrows would ice over and be difficult or impossible for them to clear themselves; others noted windrow clearing was done poorly, or not at all.



Concerns about windrows varied only slightly by section of the city, with participants from the South (13.9%) reporting concerns slightly more frequently.

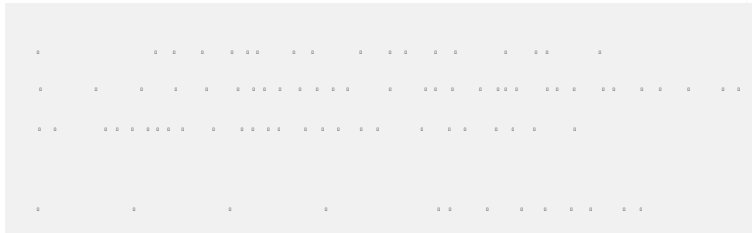
North	12.6%
South	13.9%
East	11.0%
Unknown	9.8%



Many participants also noted the inequity between crews plowing the front lane windrows but not back lane windrows; another common theme amongst participants concerned about windrows was their effect on seniors and persons with disabilities who were unable to clear their windrows themselves.



Many respondents reported concerns about the safety of roads and whether they were sufficiently plowed in order to be safe enough to drive on. Two common complaints about plowing and road safety were icy roads and ruts, both ultimately caused by plows not going deep enough to ensure any packed ice is removed.



Some reported being involved in vehicular accidents as a result of poorly-plowed roads. There was a sizeable amount of overlap between reported concerns regarding poor plowing and road safety.

	Dangerous
North	12.6%
South	10.1%
East	11.9%
Unknown	8.0%



As with windrows, the concerns about the impact of plowing on the safety of roads was consistent across the city, with participants from the North being slightly more likely to report concerns (12.6%).

One concern raised by several participants was the impact of poorly-plowed and dangerous roads onto the Manitoba Public Insurance and vehicle owners. The question of what costs are being created and externalized to other bodies (e.g. Manitoba Public Insurance) is beyond the scope of this report, but may be an issue that requires further investigation.

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negligence.

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parts at auction.

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Some drivers blame snow ruts for recent crashes; MPI says responsibility still resides with motorists

- CTV - December 10, 2013

CAA blames city for increase in car crashes over winter months

- CTV - June 17, 2014

2. Property damage

After quality of plowing, property damage was the next most raised issue by participants. Many reported damage to their property or the city-owned property in front of their homes caused by plow operators, and frustration at having to repair damage done every spring was a common theme.

Much of the property damage reported was to lawns; some was to trees and bushes near the road, and a smaller portion were to built structures such as fences or garages.

Damaged curbs were also commonly cited, with many participants making general statements about the damage done to city curbs by plows as a barometer for the poor plowing done by plow operators.

<i>Section</i>	<i>Property Damage</i>
North	19.5%
South	26.6%
East	29.4%
Unknown	11.6%

As with concerns about the quality of plowing, the participants from the East section of the City were the most likely to report damage to property – nearly a third of participants from that section reported some form of property damage (29.4%), with the South close behind (26.6%).

Not only does this damage cause frustration for residents, it also incurs greater costs for the City when it comes to repairing them in the spring and summer.

Participants reporting more serious property damage also noted a recurring problem: disputes with either the City of Winnipeg itself or (more likely) a private contractor as to financial responsibility for damage done.

Currently, if a private contractor causes damage to a homeowner's property, they are required to contact the City for information on which contractor was working in the area at that time, and then follow-up directly with the contractor for compensation, a process that appears to be far less efficient and responsive than dealing directly with the City.

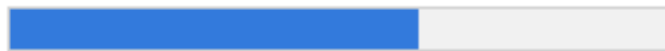


Winnipeggers frustrated with yard damage from snow plows

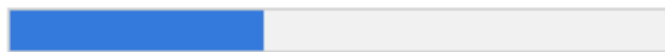
- CBC February 18, 2014

Has a snow plow ever damaged your property?

Yes. (525 votes) 61.76%



No. (325 votes) 38.24%

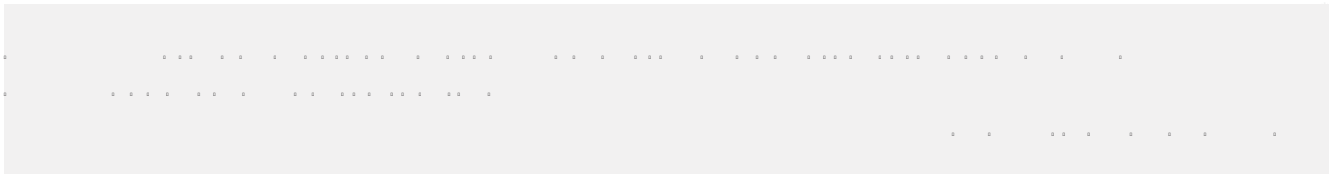


- CBC Web Poll February 18, 2014



Many of the participants reporting damage also report having to take the contractor to Small Claims Court in order to receive compensation; some of these participants won at Small Claims, only to have their case appealed to Court of Queen's Bench by the contractor.

The overall feeling of participants on this issue appears to be that the process would have been faster and fairer had it gone through the City of Winnipeg's internal compensation processes.



- Image of property damage caused by snow plows, submitted by respondent in Elmwood

Other concerns noted

A number of other general concerns were noted by participants.

Access issues were raised by several participants, in terms of plowing (or the lack thereof) preventing them from being able to put out garbage bins properly, or even to access nearby properties or public spaces. Clearly some reduction in access to private and common areas will occur in winter, but some participants did raise the question of what impact this had on quality-of-life in Winnipeg.

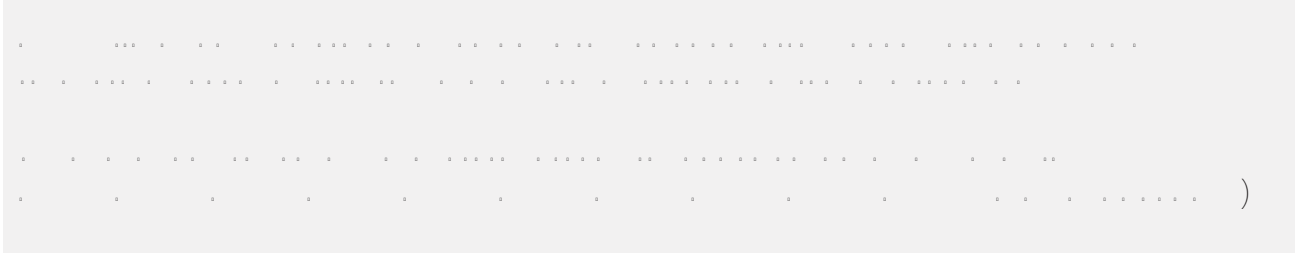
One common theme that arose with regards to sidewalk clearing was the poor coordination between the sidewalk clearing and the street clearing, resulting in windrows being created unnecessarily that blocked walking paths. To ensure Winnipeg remains active-transportation-friendly year round, this could be improved.

While it is beyond the scope of this report, it could be that those sections of the City where sidewalks and streets are plowed by different operators (city workers & contractors, or even different contractors) is having the effect of suboptimal service coordination.

While the recent introduction of the new street zone system has not been problem-free, many participants raised the concern that cars were not being towed when they should be, resulting in plows driving around them and leaving large ridges on streets.

We did not receive any comments from participants noting that cars were being towed too often, although some concerns were raised about whether the snow zones allowed residents ample opportunity to find alternative parking spots.

Finally, some participants indicated they were unhappy with the plowing services as they affected residents with disabilities or with health concerns. The windrows were flagged as especially troublesome for residents unable to remove the windrows themselves.



[Redacted content]

[Redacted content]

Opposition to Public Snow Plowing

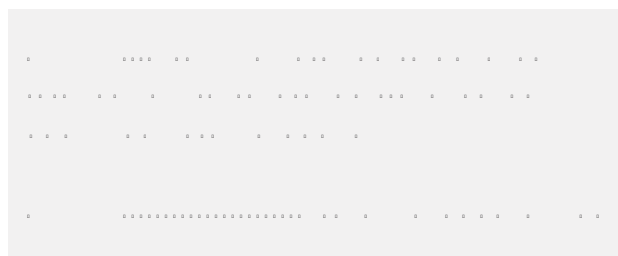
While the recommendations arising from this report clearly support public snow clearing for several reasons, not all participants agreed with this position.

A number of respondents expressed either support for the private contractors currently responsible for plowing, or an opposition to unionized civic employees having any expanded role in snow plowing, for varying reasons. This shouldn't come as a surprise considering the relatively mild winter of 2014.

Approximately one-quarter of participants who stated a position on snow clearing were positive about it as it is now. Furthermore, we also flagged two (sometimes overlapping) positions that came up in opposition to either moving plowing back in-house or having anything to do with CUPE.

The cost of switching to a public snow clearing operation was a larger concern for participants than was the unionized status of civic employees, although there was substantial overlap between the two positions.

While we obviously cannot speak for participants who raised concerns about the financial cost of switching back to public plowing, but if the financial cost of having the snow plowing done by civic employees was shown to be near or equivalent to that of outsourcing the work, it stands to reason that some of this group would alter their position.



Recommendations for Council

As part of this research project, we have identified several recommendations for the City Council to consider implementing based on the information included in this report.

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contractors

CUPE is well aware that there will always be a role for private contractors to play in snow removal. Indeed, as far back as anyone can remember in CUPE private contractors have played an important role in critical plowing operations. Historically, city owned equipment and its employees were the heart of the snow clearing operations, and private contractors were brought in at critical moments to subsidize the city fleet.

Today these private contractors, once the “auxiliary” to the city’s main fleet, have become the *de facto* defense against winter blizzards, while the city only maintains a small reserve of equipment and operators.

The roles have now switched – with city forces serving as auxiliary to fill in the holes of private operations. While we fully recognize that it is not practicable to reverse this trend overnight, the city can and should begin to restore its ability to return to some degree of self-sufficiency with regards to snow clearing. A good first step would be to re-establish the cities role as the primary snow clearing providers in a few neighbourhoods throughout the city.

CUPE Local 500 fears that if the city fails to restore its disappeared fleet, the City will continue to be completely at the mercy of private contractors who will know that Winnipeg literally has no other option but to contract their services.

This provides little incentive for contractors to submit economical bids and, just as importantly, to provide good quality services that Winnipeggers deserve and expect.

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One of the constant refrains we hear from naysayers is the City must use contractors for snow removal because the City could not possibly afford to purchase the equipment, or pay the annual wages, for services that will only be used for 4 or 5 months a year. We also hear the same justification for the city contracting out heavy equipment work for building and maintaining infrastructure, for street maintenance, and in Water and Waste. City practice has been to look at these costs on a micro scale at the department level.

However, this kind of thinking is short sighted and indicative of the silo mentality that influences administrative decision making of the City. Winnipeg desperately needs to develop a better, more innovative and efficient approach.

This is why CUPE fully endorses the Hajer Report recommendation to reduce reliance on contracted heavy equipment operations

by reimagining how the city manages heavy equipment and their operators.

We know having heavy equipment and operators move between divisions would be a significant break from past practice, and would require strong leadership, but the city has a chance to innovate here and improve on these dated ways of doing business. We are hopeful that this Mayor and Council, which was elected on a platform to change City Hall is up to this important challenge.

Allowing heavy equipment operators to operate across departments would change the economics of contracting out vs in-house cost comparisons. Rather than each department relying on its own small fleet, or contracting out, divisions could instead have equipment and operators made available to them on an as needed basis. We believe that by doing so the City could ensure that it has a modern fleet with permanent, well trained and professional operators. This would improve services to Winnipeggers, especially snow plowing, and be more economical than the current reliance of contracting out a vast array of City services.

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While the contracts with the private contractors do specify that all streets should be plowed to the bare pavement, and Priority 3 streets only not plowed to the pavement during

“abnormal snow and ice conditions” where it becomes “impossible to adequately clear” those streets, it appears that not plowing to the bare pavement in normal conditions may be occurring as well. Anecdotal evidence of plow operators reporting that they were told not to plow to the bare pavement regardless of snow conditions indicates it may be an issue that needs to be raised with the contractors.

Should private contractors be acting in contradiction of Bid requirements or otherwise underperforming on this issue, we propose immediately corrective action be taken to prevent this issue from occurring again.

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private contractors

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A common theme from participants was the poor quality of street plowing and the seeming lack of accountability for the work performed. In the past administrators have claimed that the city actively supervises the work of contractors.

However, the reality is that there are only twenty-four individuals working for the City who are assigned to supervise private contractors. When all-out snow plowing is taking place, it does so under twenty-four hour operations. This means that the 24 person crew actually translates into eight individuals to supervise city-wide plowing operations.

Eight persons cannot possibly even keep up with checking in on complaints that come in to 311 from the public, let alone keep an active look over the whole city.

These individuals are being asked to do an impossible task. If the City is serious about supervising the work of private contractors, it must increase its own capacity to actively supervise plowing operations as they would if the work was being performed by city workers themselves.

Additionally, the City needs to take responsibility for ensuring that the individuals who are employed by private contractors adequately trained, and are doing the work competently, safely, and in a manner which meets the expectations of Winnipeggers.

Serious concerns were raised by participants about driver training, hiring practices, and safety concerns for the drivers, other motorists, and people in the community.

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Several participants reported quality-of-life and accessibility issues with regards to windrows on sidewalks caused by street plows – improving coordination between sidewalk and street plows would go a long way to ensure that all residents, regardless of physical ability, are able to get around Winnipeg in the winter.

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lanes

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Many participants were upset that their back lane windrows were not dealt with in the same way that front lane windrows were by snow clearing crews.

While some residents are capable of clearing windrows quickly and with a minimum of frustration, others reported that they were unable to do so, either due to physical ability or the timing of the plowing (either during their work hours or the middle of the night).

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ensure streets are clear

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With the current ‘Know Your Zone’ system now in place since 2011, residents have had time to adjust to the system. Nevertheless, many participants noted that cars parked in violation of the snow parking ban are not being towed, resulting in plows being unable to do their jobs and clear the street properly.

We propose the City review the effectiveness of snow ban towing in the City and consider options to ensure streets are clear and plows are able to effectively clear the streets of snow.

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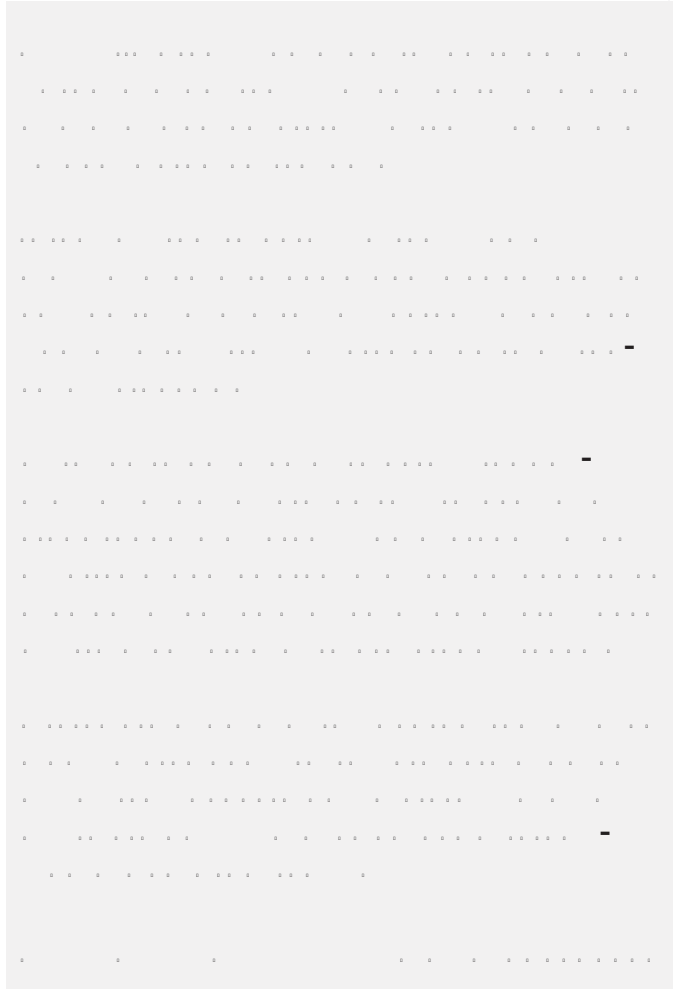
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With the shift to private contractors, the City has created a situation where homeowners are faced with trying to enforce, through legal action if necessary, the requirement in the Bid contracts for the private contractors to be financially responsible for any property damage.

The City itself, presumably to avoid becoming involved in legal action, only takes responsibility for informing residents of which private contractor to contact with any concerns.

In our opinion, residents should not have to subject themselves to a legal process external to the City of Winnipeg due to the fault of a private contractor operating on behalf of the City.



We propose, in order to reduce the financial and emotional cost of seeking compensation in this event, that the City either require private contractors to commit to binding arbitration under the purview of the City to deal with property damage claims, or the city itself take on the responsibility of compensating for property damage and in turn seek to be refunded the costs by the contractors.

It appears that downloading the costs (both in terms of time and money) of dealing with requesting compensation from private contractors to individual homeowners may be damaging the City’s reputation with residents, and deserves further study by the City.

From the information available to us, it does not appear a contractor’s past record with regards to property damage or contesting compensation claims by residents has any bearing on the bid process.

Therefore, we further propose that part of the bidding process in the future factor in information collected by the City on compensation claims against private contractors by homeowners in an effort to reduce carelessness and encourage fair dealing for homeowners, acknowledging that any process external to the City of Winnipeg will be fundamentally inferior and represent a loss of accountability and democratic control.

collisions in Winnipeg

The safety of the roads were questioned by many participants, and while winter driving in Winnipeg presents some inherent danger, it does raise the question of whether any ‘savings’ from utilizing private contractors actually represent a downloading of costs from the City to Manitoba Public Insurance and individual insurance policyholders.

We therefore propose that the City initiate contact with MPI to review plowing policies in the City of Winnipeg as to their impact on motor vehicle collisions and the financial and human cost of those collisions.

Select Quotes from the Public

Hundreds of Winnipeggers provided feedback to our hotline and website.

While many comments were lengthier than others, this report provides numerous select quotes from the public that we feel fairly represents overall feedback.

Critical of Public Plowing -----	27
Windrows-----	30
Property Damage -----	33
Critical of Private Contractors -----	38
In Support of Public Workers -----	41
Sidewalks -----	43
Critical of Public Plowing -----	44
In Support of Contract Plowing -----	45

Critical of Plowing Quality

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Property Damage

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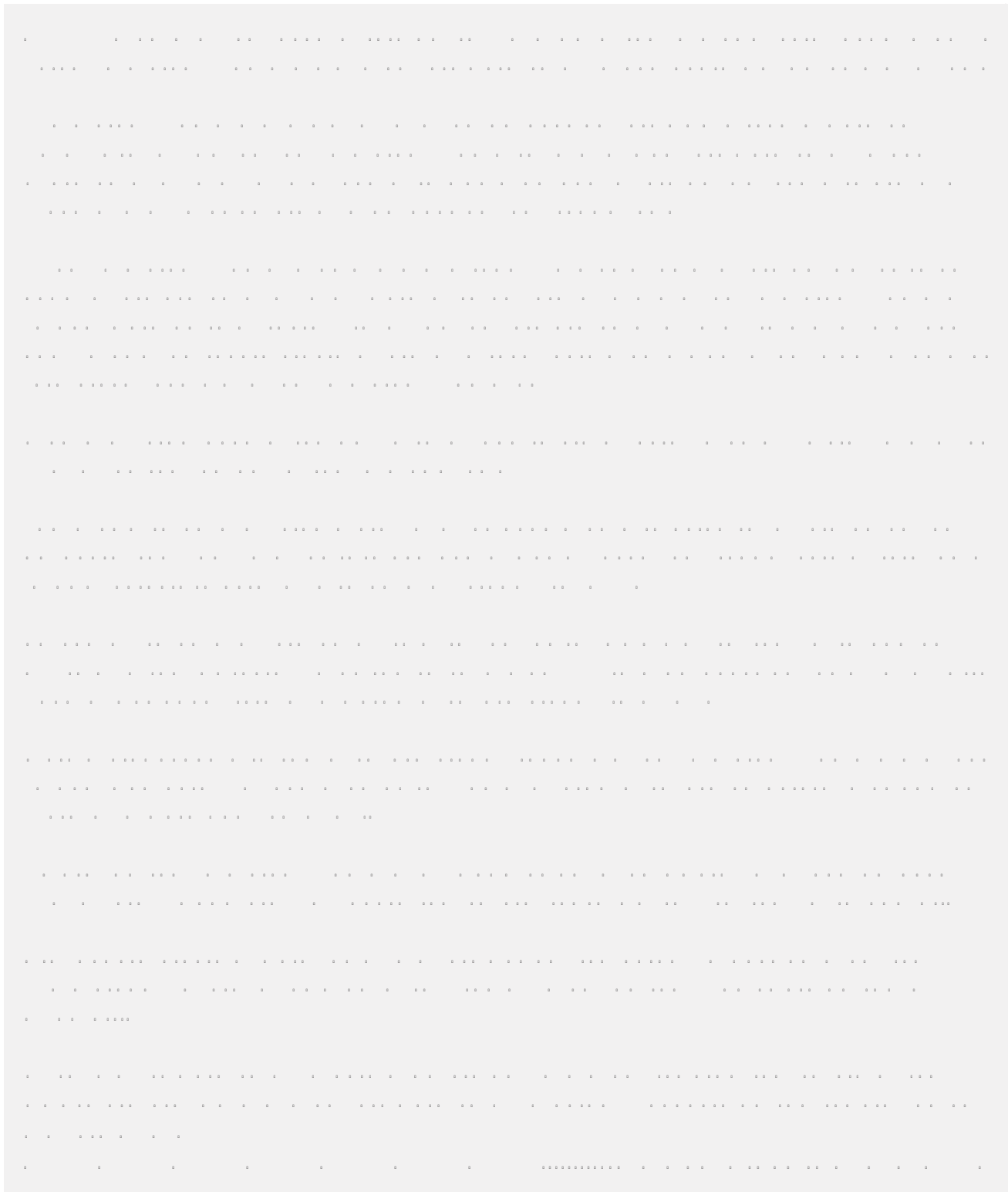
operator.

[Redacted content]

clearing snow.

I have to repair.

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Critical of Private Contractors

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worst I've seen.

In Support of Public Workers

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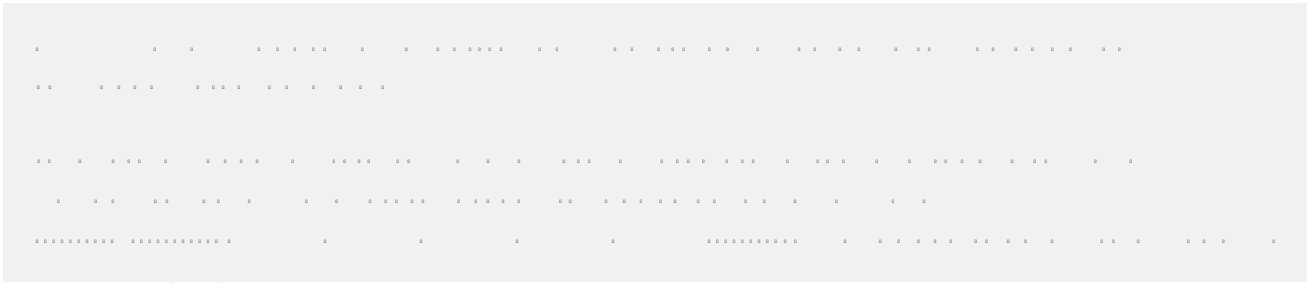
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Sidewalks



Critical of Public Plowing

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In Support of Contract Plowing

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CUPE / *Canadian Union
of Public Employees*
Local 500