



**ASSOCIATION DES CONSOMMATEURS
POUR LA QUALITÉ DANS LA CONSTRUCTION**

ANALYSIS OF STRATEGIES USED BY CONSUMER GROUPS IN THE CONSTRUCTION SECTOR

Final Report of the Research Project Presented to
Industry Canada's Office of Consumer Affairs

July 2014

Report published by



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English version : ISBN 978-2-92267721-8 (Print)
ISBN 978-2-922677-22-5 (PDF)
Original publications : ISBN 978-2-922677-19-5 (Print)
ISBN 978-2-922677-20-1 (PDF)

Translated from French. Please note that the Annexes were not translated.

The Association des consommateurs pour la qualité dans la construction is member of the Union des consommateurs.

The masculine is used generically in this report.

The *Association des consommateurs pour la qualité dans la construction* received funding from Industry Canada's Contributions Program for Non-Profit Consumer and Voluntary Organisations. The views expressed in the report are not necessarily those of Industry Canada or the Government of Canada.

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ASSOCIATION DES CONSOMMATEURS POUR LA QUALITÉ DANS LA CONSTRUCTION

The organization

The *Association des consommateurs pour la qualité dans la construction* (ACQC) was founded in 1994 by a group of consumers concerned by the issue of residential construction work quality and organized by the *Association coopérative d'économie familiale* (ACEF) of Montreal East.

A non-profit organization incorporated under Part III of the Quebec Companies Act, the ACQC is managed by a board of directors comprised of victims, legal experts and real estate professionals (certified architect and appraisers) to whom the coordinator reports, assisted by regular and contractual employees and by volunteers.

In 2005, the ACQC joined *Union des consommateurs*, which groups numerous ACEFs and is a member of the International Consumer Organization.

Its mission

- To bring together consumers of construction and renovation goods and services in order to defend and promote consumer interests;
- To educate and raise the awareness of consumers of construction and renovation goods and services with regard to their rights, obligations and responsibilities;
- To promote, in collaboration with the various construction stakeholders, any action likely to improve construction quality.

Consumer services

Since its foundation, the ACQC has endeavoured to guide consumers in the complex world of construction. It provides advice and information, notably through its publications and website. The organization answers consumers' questions by telephone or e-mail, and if necessary refers consumers to organizations, professional associations or specialists who can best inform or help them.

The ACQC keeps apprised of complaints and information, fosters the association of consumers facing a similar problem, and thus promotes research, the sharing of solutions, and the development and implementation of non-partisan political action. Some problematic situations may give rise to class actions. In particular, ACQC supports collective action in the face of problems such as cracked houses, ocher deposits, the pre-purchase inspection or other related to the lack of consumer protection against the industry. The ACQC supports any action that might improve the quality of the construction field.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The association extends sincere thanks to those who participated in this study by sharing their experience and expertise.

In particular, we thank Pierre Hamel, Sociology Professor at *Université de Montréal* for his advice, availability and involvement in the research. His contribution greatly enriched the methodology and the results analysis.

The association also thanks Yvon Boivin, Ruth Ellen Brosseau, Jeffrey Edwards, John Grasty, Carmen Maretic, Charles Tanguay and Brigitte Trahan for their time and their major contribution to our understanding and analysis of the dynamics of homeowner movements.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Certain construction problems provoke the mobilization of affected homeowners, who seek compensation or regulatory changes to improve their situation. Those mobilizations are relatively rare, but some of them receive substantial media coverage and pertain to major problems affecting thousands of homeowners. The latter organize within groups making claims and implementing strategies to meet those demands.

This study seeks to better understand the strategies of consumer groups mobilized following a construction problem. It also seeks to distinguish between the factors that have a positive and a negative impact on the mobilizations' success.

The main questions that this report attempts to answer are the following:

- Do the organization methods chosen by homeowner movements influence the success of their mobilizations?
- How do the participants in those mobilizations design and implement their communication strategy?
- To what extent do contextual factors, independent of the collective action launched by homeowner groups, have an impact on the mobilizations' outcome?

To that end, we compared three case studies: the mobilizations of leaky condo owners in British Columbia in the late 1990s, of homeowners affected by pyrite in the Montérégie and Montreal regions of Quebec in the late 1990s, and of homeowners affected by pyrrhotite in the Mauricie region of Quebec since 2009.

By using both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, we analysed the discourses and strategic choices of the mobilization stakeholders. The analysis of newspaper articles was central to this work and was completed by the homeowner groups' internal documentation and by interviews.

Homeowner groups encounter many obstacles in their undertakings; the success of their mobilizations does not depend solely on their strategic choices. Contextual factors play a major role in the outcome of their actions. However, strong leadership and internal cohesion reinforce the mobilizations' effectiveness. So it's very important for homeowner groups to be highly visible in the media, as soon as their problem is publicized, in order to disseminate their interpretation and agenda for resolving it. Support from already established consumer groups to the action of newly formed homeowner groups also increases the mobilizations' chances of success.

The ACQC issues the following recommendations to the various levels of government:

- Recognize the role of consumer groups already established and support their action so that they may provide material, technical, human and organizational support to consumers wanting to work together in defence of their cause;
- Establish mechanisms for improving construction quality and preventing major defects. Those mechanisms include mandatory inspections during construction, as well as more rigour in drafting and applying standards and codes.

The ACQC also recommends that individuals and groups affected by a construction problem contact a consumer protection and defence organization in that field in order to increase their chances of successful action.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACQC : Association des consommateurs pour la qualité dans la construction
AEG : Association of Engineering Geologists
APCHQ : Association provinciale des constructeurs d'habitations du Québec
APSB : Association des propriétaires de Saint-Bruno
CASH : Compensation and Accountability for Soaked Homeowners
CASH : Consumers Advocacy and Support for Homeowners
CCPP : Comité consultatif sur le problème de la pyrite
CHBA : Canadian Home Builders' Association
CHOA : Condominium Homeowners' Association
CMHC : Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
COLCO : Coalition of Leaky Condo Owners
CPB : Coalition Proprio-Béton
CTQ : Comité technique québécois d'étude des problèmes de gonflement associés à la pyrite
CVJP : Comité des victimes judiciaires de la pyrite
GMN : Garantie des maisons neuves
GVHBA : Greater Vancouver Home Builders' Association
IBC : Insurance Bureau of Canada
MNA : member of the Quebec National Assembly
MP : member of parliament
NARSB : Nouvelle association des résidents de Saint-Bruno
NHW : New Home Warranty
RBQ : Régie du bâtiment du Québec
RCVP : Regroupement des comités de victimes de la pyrite
RGCC : Regroupement des gestionnaires de copropriétés du Québec
SHQ : Société d'habitation du Québec
SMI : Social Movement Industry
SMO : Social Movement Organisation
SMS : Social Movement Sector
SPO : Structure of Political Opportunities
UDI : Urban Development Institute

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, consumers have attracted greater attention from researchers regarding various means of involvement or collective action. Many issues are addressed, such as the emergence of consumers in the medical field (Bastian, 1998 and Allsop, Jones & Baggott, 2004 among others), choices of food consumption, consumers' growing environmental concerns (Dubuisson-Quellier, 2009)... However, an evaluation of the literature on the subject reveals a vacuum in the research when collective action takes place in the field of construction.¹ And yet, home buying and maintenance are major acts of consumption that deserve special attention.

Despite the magnitude of the investment made in buying a home, it's rare that the owner is protected to the same extent as other consumers. For example, in Quebec, the Consumer Protection Act expressly excludes construction from its scope (sec. 6 b.). Similar provisions are found elsewhere in Canada (in Ontario and British Columbia, for example). This means that real estate transactions and residential work are governed by different legal frameworks, specific and often multiple. So when a problem arises, consumers are confused by the variety of housing laws and regulations. Moreover, the construction sector raises issues that are particularly technical, often requiring in-depth knowledge of the subject. This makes the task of homeowners difficult when they encounter a problem, because they have to determine its nature before identifying which responders to contact. Despite these pitfalls, occasionally homeowners succeed in organizing and coordinating in defence of a specific cause. Those groups go public to claim reparations, but also regulatory changes or adjustments in the practices of this industrial sector.

The purpose of this study is to foster a better understanding of consumer groups in the construction sector, of their actions and the determining factors involved. This will help the *Association des consommateurs pour la qualité de la construction* (ACQC) to support the actions of those groups, advise them on the best strategies to adopt when they launch a collective action and on the pitfalls to avoid. By identifying the most important factors in the success or failure of those movements, this project will offer a solide evidence base on which consumers who want to mobilize can rely. Lastly, by clarifying the relations between the various actors in such mobilizations, we want to strengthen the mutual understanding between those consumer groups, public authorities and other stakeholders.

The problems faced by homeowners affect a central aspect of their well-being, with an impact on their place of residence as well as their financial health. Those mobilizations concern serious and major events. In addition, the issues are important and under-represented in the literature. It therefore appears useful to better identify the specifics of those mobilizations, along with the common ground that may exist between various consumer movements in this field. Finally, the very nature of those groups, comprising persons who, *a priori*, have in common only the fact of sharing the same residential problem, is often original. It deserves attention.

¹ In fact, it proved particularly difficult to find studies on homeowner mobilizations concerning the quality of their housing. As opposed to tenants, homeowners are relatively ignored by sociologists. Moreover, most of the articles we found on the subject pertained to one specific mobilization and rarely considered it from a sociological perspective belonging to the study of social movements (Bucknell, 1999; Donnelly, 2000; and Waldron, 1999, among others, on the issue of leaky condos in Vancouver, the most documented mobilization to date, are exceptions in this regard).

The questions we want to answer in this study may be grouped into three broad issues: the impact of the groups' organization on their strategy and success; the role of the various actors' perceptions, communication and claims in the success of homeowner groups; and the influence of contextual factors on the strategic choices and the success of mobilizations.

First, do the organization models chosen by homeowner movements influence the success of their mobilizations? How do homeowners assemble and organize to meet their objectives? In the same vein, do those groups depend on other organizations or on the prior mobilization experiences of their members? More specifically, we will attempt to determine whether a transfer of methods and actions exists between various consumer groups in the construction sector.

Second, the various actors' communication strategy is at the heart of their interactions and plays a major role in publicizing the problem encountered by the homeowners and in the perception of their claims. How do the stakeholders in those mobilizations conceive and implement this aspect of their strategy? Do the homeowner groups simply try to resolve the problem faced by their members, or do they have broader goals, including changes in practices and regulations? What types of claims succeed most often?

Third, the construction sector is particularly difficult to examine. It links a multitude of actors and involves all levels of government. So homeowner groups must interact with many stakeholders. To what extent do contextual factors, independent of the collective action launched by homeowner groups, have an impact on the mobilizations' outcome? How do they influence the strategic choices of consumer groups?

To answer those questions, we conducted three case studies. It was essential to select cases for which information was abundant and that strongly resonated during the mobilization. To enable us to obtain information from interviews – following documentary research –, those cases also needed to be relatively recent. Such cases, important and recent, are rare in Canada, so we confined ourselves to the following three mobilizations:

- The crisis of “leaky condos” in British Columbia involved around 80,000 homes in the coastal region in the south of the province, from the early 1990s to this day (Boei, 2008). Several homeowner groups mobilized to seek financial compensation and legislative changes in order to better protect homeowners in the future. Two investigation commissions held hearings between 1998 and 2000. This led to the adoption of the Homeowner Protection Act, intended to better protect homeowners, notably by establishing mandatory warranties on new homes. However, the homeowners affected – whose damages were estimated at around 3 billion dollars – did not benefit from public compensation programs.
- Beginning in 1997, homeowners in the Montérégie and Montreal Island in Quebec, noticed cracks appearing on the floor slabs of their homes or garages. The cracks were caused by pyrite in the backfill deposited under the floor slab. The homeowners started mobilizing in 1998; this led to the establishment of an assistance program to alleviate the financial burden of those affected, and to the introduction of a voluntary standard for the quality of backfill intended for construction companies. This program began in 2000 and was interrupted in October 2011 (ACQC, 2011). The mobilization gradually lost steam after the aid program was implemented.

- In Mauricie, since the late 2000s, homeowners were discovering cracks in the foundations of their homes due to pyrrhotite contained in the concrete. Forced to completely rebuild their foundations, the homeowners affected started mobilizing in 2009 to resolve disputes with the managers of the *Garantie des maisons neuves* (GMN) in Quebec. Unhappy with the warranties' delays and payments, they claimed changes in the management of the GMN, which they obtained in 2013. In addition, a group of homeowners sued all the identifiable actors who had caused the presence of pyrrhotite in their homes. The verdict has not yet been rendered in this case. The homeowners also claimed financial assistance from the various governments. They obtained compensation from the provincial government, but not from Ottawa. Over 1,500 homeowners affected have already been identified and their total is estimated at around 5,000, for damages of 1 billion dollars, according to their representatives (Trahan, 2013a). This mobilization continues.

We used several methodological tools and various theoretical approaches to analyse those three cases, first separately and then by comparing them. We used mixed methods, i.e., a quantitative analysis of media content combined with a qualitative analysis of interviews conducted with the main actors in those mobilizations, and of primary and secondary sources.² We also relied on three largely complementary theoretical perspectives from the sociology of social movements: the resource mobilization theory, the perspective of political process promoting the notion of opportunity, and the framing perspective.

The report is divided into six sections. The first presents the methodology used throughout the research, and briefly covers the media content analysis and the qualitative analysis of other data collected, including the prior documentary research. The second section presents the theoretical framework providing us with the main tools for analysing all the data used in this report. The third section describes each of the cases examined and identifies the various actors that have been involved in the mobilizations studied; this section puts each mobilization in context and specifies its chronology. The fourth section analyses the media content for each mobilization; additional methodological clarifications are provided before that analysis can be presented. The fifth section compares the strategies of homeowner groups and the mobilizations' factors of success. Lastly, the sixth section presents the conclusions of the report and the recommendations addressed to consumer groups as well as public authorities.

² Journalistic sources are essential to this research. Given the crucial importance of discourse in the mobilizations, the media as the main carriers of that discourse are major sources of information for us. Moreover, the media contribute greatly to framing the problems' interpretation and the various parties' positions. Lastly, those sources inform us on the specific situation as it occurs, rather than relying entirely on the *a posteriori* reconstitutions of stakeholders.

1. METHODOLOGY

This section presents the various methods for collecting and analysing the data used throughout this research. To meet the project's objectives, we chose to collect as much information as possible by relying on both primary and secondary sources, and by soliciting interviews with the stakeholders in the mobilizations studied. We also relied on several theories from the sociology of social movements. Moreover, we chose to adopt mixed methods to analyse the data collected. More specifically, we conducted a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the media content.

1.1. *Documentary Research*

During the first phase of our research, we focused on theories from the sociology of social movements so that the study would have a solid theoretical foundation. This also helped us better understand the perspectives of other work in that discipline, by providing us with relevant avenues of reflection. The results of that preliminary phase are presented in the next section, which explains this study's theoretical framework.

Then we tried to access the internal documents prepared by homeowner groups as they were mobilizing. However, we succeeded in obtaining a large number of such documents only in the case involving pyrite, given that those were archived at ACQC, and to a lesser extent in the case of the leaky condos. Although having more similar documents at hand would have been useful, the abundance of secondary sources compensated for this shortcoming.

To identify and analyse those secondary sources, we searched the ACQC archives and the Internet and used tools made available by the network of the *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec*. This enabled us to collect a substantial corpus of news articles, research reports, press releases issued by homeowner groups, minutes of public debates or parliamentary commissions, and a variety of other documents.

1.2. *Interviews*

To complete the information obtained from our primary and secondary sources, we then conducted interviews with stakeholders in the cases studied. Given the broad objectives of the research, we chose to contact stakeholders with very diverse profiles. Thus, we approached mobilized homeowners, elected officials at all levels of government, consumer groups, journalists, lawyers and academics. The persons contacted were identified by an analysis of our primary and secondary sources and were contacted by e-mail and telephone.³ For each of the cases, we prepared a standard questionnaire, which was then adapted to each interlocutor.⁴ The interviews were semi-structured, so those questionnaires were used only as guidelines, to help us keep in mind the main information to be collected. Most of the interviews were conducted by telephone, except those of Yvon Boivin and Me Jeffrey Edwards.

³ The list of persons contacted is annexed to this report (Annex 1).

⁴ The questionnaires can be found in Annex 2 of this report.

In total, we succeeded in discussing with at least two stakeholders for each of the cases studied:

Table 1: Stakeholders met for the three cases studied

Leaky condos	John Grasty	Co-founder of the Coalition of Leaky Condo Owners (COLCO) and former president of Consumer Advocacy and Support for Homeowners (CASH).
	Carmen Maretic	Founder and former president of CASH.
Pyrite	Me Jeffrey Edwards	An expert in construction disputes, he was consulted by the homeowner groups about an eventual reform of the legal definition of “hidden defect.”
	Charles Tanguay	Chief executive officer of ACQC at the time of the homeowners’ mobilization concerning pyrite.
Pyrrhotite	Yvon Boivin	Founder and spokesperson of <i>Coalition proprio-béton</i> (CPB).
	Brigitte Trahan	<i>Nouvelliste</i> journalist covering the pyrrhotite case.
	Ruth Ellen Brosseau	New Democratic Party MP for the riding of Berthier-Maskinongé.

On several occasions, we faced obstacles to contacting or meeting certain stakeholders. For example, in the cases of pyrite and leaky condos, several key personalities in those mobilizations have died in recent years. Regarding the pyrrhotite case, a provincial election campaign in spring 2014 prevented us from meeting the region’s members of the Quebec National Assembly (MNAs) with whom we had made contact. It proved particularly difficult to trace the former leaders of the mobilization regarding pyrite. To contact them, we issued a press release in local Montérégie newspapers (Annex 3), which did not yield the desired results, but led to several calls from homeowners still dealing with the problem in municipalities where it had not been publicized previously.

1.3. Quantitative Analysis of Media Content

The analysis of the written press constitutes an important tool for our study, for several reasons. First, the media coverage of the problems under study makes it possible, for example, to trace the chronology of events and identify the highlights of mobilizations, at least to a certain extent. So it's an important source of information for our case studies.

In addition, the handling of those cases in the written press informs us about the perceptions and viewpoints expressed by various types of actors. It is an indication of how the collective action is defined (or redefined) and identifies the main representations fashioning that (re)definition.

Moreover, in comparing the known facts of each case study with those publicized in the media, we are able to identify the strengths or shortcomings in how the groups publicize the collective action. One example is the crisis of leaky condos in Vancouver: the research of Donald Gutstein and Robert Hackett has revealed the Vancouver Sun low coverage of the problem in the 1990s, while the number of victims was already substantial. The authors' explanations notably highlight the relations that can bind press groups to real estate developers (1998). Their study also emphasizes the occasionally predominant role of some journalists in publicizing the issues.

A quantitative analysis of media content can thus inform us about the dominant patterns in the coverage, perception and communication strategies regarding the mobilizations of homeowners. Those aspects are central to the unfolding and the success of mobilizations, so it is particularly important to focus on them. We will present methodological supplements in Section 4.

1.4. Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis is divided into two distinct parts. First we conducted a historical study of data collected in order to gather the important facts and reconstitute the chronology of each case studied. Second, we analysed the content of those same data to offer answers to the questions we asked at the beginning.

1.4.1. Historical Analysis

The various data collected, through documentary research as well as interviews, were submitted to a historical qualitative analysis in order to identify the most relevant elements in the chronology of each case. The results of that analysis are presented particularly in Section 3 of this report.

1.4.2. Content Analysis

The quantitative content analysis yields an outline of the homeowners' mobilization and of their most characteristic interactions, whereas the qualitative media analysis adds details to that structure so that we can better understand its operation.

The quantitative content analysis enabled us to identify the highlights of consumer mobilizations regarding the problems we studied, but also the main actions or undertakings of the other stakeholders. However, the interactions between the various types of actors, and thus the dynamic relations they build while interacting, can be understood only through a finer analysis. The quantitative analysis does not enable us to understand more precisely the content of those

interactions or to examine in-depth the strategies of the various types of actors. To fill those gaps, a qualitative approach to the contents of the media coverage was necessary.

The qualitative analysis, coupled with the data obtained during the interviews, enables us to highlight the relations between the actors, and to describe their exchanges. It is important for understanding the dynamic relations between opposing parties, and even among consumer groups. Thanks to this approach, we can identify factual points of disagreement or agreement and the nature of the discourses that characterize them from the actors' viewpoints. The quantitative approach remained limited – for example, making it possible to identify the presence of a disagreement without making it possible to understand the nature of the problem. Thus, the qualitative analysis enables us to describe the precise development of the actors' discourses.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Social movement studies have continually grown in importance since the 1960s, to the point of becoming a distinct social science field, with its own methodological approaches and theoretical tools (Hamel, Lustiger-Thaler & Maheu, 2012: 172). The evolution of tools to analyse collective actions results from the transformations of social movements – with the appearance of new forms of mobilization and actions – and from a constant preoccupation with deepening the understanding of those movements. Thus, predominant paradigms have succeeded one another over the years, aggregating existing concepts while abandoning others, to form more and more complete theoretical sets. We will trace those developments, to present a panorama of theoretical progress in the sociology of social movements. Then we will focus on a specific aspect of that field: the place and role of expertise within social movements. We will begin this section by clarifying the definition of social movement.

2.1. *Definition of “Social Movement”*

There is no single definition of “social movement.” Behind this concept are several ideas, at times very different. Some very inclusive “soft” definitions, oppose extremely precise and much more limitative definitions. To better understand the various meanings attached to the concept of “social movement,” it is necessary to consider other related concepts, such as collective action and collective behaviour.

The concept of collective behaviour is used for analysing a set of phenomena, from crowd behaviour to much more structured mobilizations (Granovetter, 1978: 1421). According to Smelser (1962: 3), this concept comprises collective outbursts and collective movements. While outbursts “refer to panics, crazes and hostile outbursts, collective movements are understood as mobilizations to modify norms and values.” In all cases, these behaviors are perceived as collective mobilizations to promote social change (Smelser, 1962: 8). The main determinants of those collective behaviours would be structural tensions, which mobilizations attempt to correct through irrational behaviours, close to collective hysteria (Crossley, 2002: 11). The concept of collective behaviour is particularly inclusive and has often been criticized. In particular, it has been accused of not corresponding to empirical reality – given that periods of acute tension do not necessarily feature the most numerous mobilizations – and thus of not contributing to an understanding of those mobilizations, considered irrational (Crossley, 2002: 12). But it’s interesting to note that proponents of this approach already use the term “social movement” in reference to a specific category among the range of possible collective behaviours (Granovetter, 1978: 1421).

The concept of collective behaviour has been gradually abandoned since the late 1960s; new forms of mobilization have prompted researchers to renew their theoretical framework so as to better understand the new phenomena. The concepts of collective action and social movement have taken a central place in the analysis and designation of those new mobilizations.

Collective action is a many-faceted concept that can cover all the “situations where numerous social agents converge”⁵ (Neveu, 2011: 6). However, this definition is of very limited practical interest because its scope is too general. So to fine-tune that definition, several new dimensions of collective action have emerged over time. The main one is doubtless the concept of a willingness to cooperate by the various agents of collective action. Thus, “perverse effects” can be set aside from the scope analysis of collective action. They are defined as follows: “There is a perverse effect when two (or more) individuals seeking a given objective generate a situation that is not sought and may be undesirable to either or both of them”⁶ (Boudon, 1977: 20). The intention to act together toward a shared objective is therefore one of the essential aspects of collective action as we understand it.

It is also important to distinguish the nature of the objectives of collective action. Indeed, if a willingness to cooperate is the sole criterion, collective action may refer to entities as different as labour unions, sports associations or companies. Each of those forms of collective action pursues very different objectives; to group them in the same, very broad category does not foster a fine analysis of the phenomena covered. While organizations constitute an essential component of collective action, they are distinct from mobilizations in several respects, such as their level of institutionalization, their hierarchies, and their purpose or operating methods. Two very different types of collective action are therefore implied, with often opposing objectives. While organizations may be directed toward gains such as profits or benefits to their members, they may also involve mobilizations toward social change. However, the distinction between them can disappear in some cases. Thus, certain organizations – companies, for example – don’t hesitate to use methods usually found in social mobilizations, while the latter often develop thanks to the role adopted by organizations (Neveu, 2011: 8). So given that the subject of our research is mobilizations, we should keep this distinction in mind, while remembering the porosity between the two categories. A last major aspect of collective action, critical to our work, resides in the action’s motivation: some authors consider that one of the criteria for defining collective action is the existence of a claim, derived from a cause motivating the mobilization and/or the organization (Neveu, 2011: 9).

The above clarifications regarding the definitions of collective behaviour and collective action will help us better understand their differences when we compare them to the concept of social movement.

While social movements may be a type of collective behaviour, as we have seen, they are also a type of public action. However, they constitute in themselves an independent object of study, and there is no consensus on their definition. A common definition asserts that a collective action defending a cause may be considered a social movement (Neveu, 2011: 10). The corollary of this definition is the political dimension of that form of collective action. Indeed, defending a cause entails publicizing it, so that the social actors involved enter the public space. This interpretation implies that an opposition – a conflict – exists between the social actors and their adversaries. The idea of social movements as constituting a specific form of conflict is very prevalent in the literature of social movements (Touraine, 1985: 750). It is a condition that most researchers, except proponents of a very inclusive approach, recognize as necessary, but not

⁵ Our translation of: « situations dans lesquelles se manifestent des convergences entre une pluralité d’agents sociaux. »

⁶ Our translation of: « Il y a effet pervers lorsque deux individus (ou plus) recherchant un objectif donné engendrent un état de chose non recherché et qui peut être indésirable du point de vue soit de chacun d’eux soit de l’un des deux. »

always sufficient for the definition of “social movement.” For example, Tarrow defines social movements as “collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities” (1994: 3-4). But other authors are not satisfied with this definition, which they consider too broad. This leads them to add other criteria to better recognize the specific nature of social movements. In that vein, Maheu (2005) suggests that social movements be defined as forms of collective action to reconstitute and overcome the social structures they oppose, and thus to change the power relations within a society. This condition is interesting in giving the concept of social movement an added dimension compared to the more general concept of collective action. If this added dimension is retained, the success of a social movement is measured by its effectiveness in reconstituting social structures and not merely in mobilizing social actors in favour of a cause and obtaining concessions from adversaries (Fontan, Hamel & Morin, 2012: 24-25).

Another conception of social movements emerged during the 1990s. Authors such as Sidney Tarrow, Charles Tilly and Doug McAdam, in their work *Dynamics of Contention* (2001) notably, advocated their view of “contentious politics”; this concept is still being developed. The authors define contentious politics as “episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects when (a) at least one government is a claimant, an object of claims, or a party to the claims and (b) the claims would, if realized, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants.” (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001: 5). Contentious politics are now the predominant paradigm of social movement studies (Fillieule, Agrikoliansky & Sommier, 2010: 8). Although recent, this concept integrates several elements mentioned above, while combining them to fashion a definition that is not, however, above reproach. Indeed, this definition is particularly inclusive and devoid of a strict criterion for action to have a reconstituting purpose, as opposed to Maheu’s definition. The usefulness of the contentious politics paradigm is to provide for a general definition of collective action and to put it in political context.

For the purposes of this report, the mobilizations studied are forms of collective action, which we define here as a voluntary grouping of numerous social agents in favour of a common cause.⁷ However, this does not necessarily imply that they are social movements. We retain here Maheu’s more restrictive definition (2005), which considers a social movement as a form of collective action to reconstitute and overcome the social structures it opposes, thus changing the power relations within a society. One of the goals of our research will thus be to circumscribe cases of mobilizations that have acquired an additional dimension and have become social movements, and to identify the factors explaining that transition.

2.2. Evolution of Theoretical Approaches to the Analysis of Social Movements

The various conceptual tools developed over time by researchers to analyse social movements are often compatible and shed light on complementary dimensions of collective action. Although some tools have gradually been abandoned, usually there is sedimentation of concepts and approaches as the study of this field evolves. We will therefore present here, in chronological order, the main concepts for analysing social movements.

⁷ See Neveu (2011: 5-26) for a summary of the various dimensions of collective action.

2.2.1. *The Theory of Resource Mobilization*

We have already outlined the concept of collective behaviour that considers collective actions as irrational and offers a methodological perspective using crowd psychology to analyse such actions. Breaking radically from that approach, the theory of resource mobilization assumes rather that collective action is rational (Pierru, 2010: 20). The theory of resource mobilization seeks to determine why, although various structural frustrations and tensions are present in societies, some lead to social movements while others encounter no collective opposition. At the heart of this question is the paradox of collective action as presented by Mancur Olson (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1216). The paradox is that each rational individual, attempting to maximize his well-being, has every interest in getting involved as little as possible in a mobilization that defends the interests of his own group (Olson, 1965: 2). Thus, it is preferable for the rational individual to let others bear the burden of mobilization, because if it fails he will not have wasted time, energy and money, whereas if it succeeds he will have obtained the gains generated by the collective action. According to this logic, no mobilization is expected to take form, since each individual's interest is to wait for a "free ride" and profit from others. But evidently, despite those barriers, mobilizations do occur and individuals get involved to defend their interests and those of their group. The theory of resource mobilization attempts to explain the mechanisms leading to the emergence of collective action despite that paradox.

McCarthy and Zald (1977) consider it necessary to establish mechanisms for reducing the cost of involvement in the mobilization, as well as incentives for individuals to join in. To that end, the best way is to rely on social movement organizations (SMOs), which will identify objectives in line with their members' preferences. SMOs are part of a social movement industry (SMI) grouping all SMOs pursuing related objectives. All the SMIs form a social movement sector (SMS), whatever their objectives. Within those more important groupings, SMOs as well as SMIs compete as in a market to increase their audience and meet their objectives. To that effect, the SMOs mobilize resources originating from the individuals within the organization. Those resources may be money, time, legitimacy or infrastructures. Although part of the resources comes from potential beneficiaries of the mobilization, the organization may hire individuals who would not otherwise benefit from the mobilization. By getting involved in a cause in exchange for remuneration, those mobilization professionals bear most of the burden of collective action, thus overcoming Olson's paradox.

The theory of resource mobilization was largely opposed because of its entrepreneurial perspective, which borrows much more from economics than sociology. However, other researchers contributed to amend and complete it. Thus, it is important to evaluate the place of SMOs in relation to the pre-existing mobilization structures and the informal networks that link the potential beneficiaries of mobilizations (Pierru, 2010: 26). Even though the unorganized socialization areas are not political, they can have a considerable impact on mobilizations on the ground. In addition, the organizations are not monolithic. On the contrary, they are subject to different schools of thought, dissensions that may vary depending on their degree of institutionalization or operating method (Staggenborg, 1989). The organizations' specific internal dynamics and cultural references must not be neglected in an analysis of their actions and their relations with their adversaries or audience. Lastly, the way to understand resources has much evolved since Zald and McCarthy formulated their theory. While they were long neglected, or else excessively inventoried and classified, resources are now studied much more dynamically. As a result, everything is now considered a potential resource (Offerlé, 2004). Thus, all the organizations have some resources, as long as they succeed in recognizing them and putting them to good use. Resources are subjective and volatile. They can be lost, but also acquired at any time of the mobilization (Pierru, 2010: 37). Nowadays, authors rarely dispute the importance

of a type of organization in social movements, but it is almost as difficult to find authors who rely solely on the theory of resource mobilization in analysing collective action.

2.2.2. *The Structure of Political Opportunities (SPO)*

After long emphasizing the importance of the internal organization and the resources mobilization of the social movements, in the 1980s researchers began to show interest in the political context to explain the emergence and trajectories of social movements. The concept of the structure of political opportunities (SPO), which McAdam borrowed (1982) notably from Eisinger (1973), describes two conditions of political structure: the first is called “open,” when the political context is favourable, i.e., when it is vulnerable or receptive to the claims of social movements; the second is “closed” and describes a political system that rejects all the claims, and even represses them. Researchers have thus become aware of the role of social movements as political actors and not merely as a conduit between society and institutional politics.

The choice of variables for analysing the SPO is still a subject of controversy in the sociology of social movements. While McAdam stated that “*any* event or broad social protest that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured occasions a shift in political opportunities” (1982: 41), this very vague definition was soon criticized and was replaced by many attempts to categorize the various factors affecting the SPO’s degree of openness or closure. We will not detail here the various classifications proposed, but simply present one of the most recent ones, developed by Tilly and Tarrow (2008), who distinguish between six components of the SPO: “the multiplicity of independent centres of power within the regime under study, its openness to new actors, the instability of political alignments, the availability of influential allies on the protestors’ side, the regime’s propensity to facilitate or repress the collective expression of claims, and decisive changes within the five preceding elements”⁸ (Mathieu, 2010: 41). Those elements reproduce most of the dimensions addressed by other researchers, while presenting them slightly differently. The status of each element serves to define the SPO’s degree of openness. The SPO developed by following two main, very distinct paths. In the first case, it was used to link the evolution of social movements in a given country according to that country’s SPO. In the second case, it was used by researchers comparing the characteristics of political systems in various countries, and the influence of those characteristics on the development of social movements in those societies (Mathieu, 2010: 41-42).

Despite its rapid adoption by many researchers, the SPO has been the target of many critiques. In particular, it was reproached for arbitrarily limiting the analysis of the context solely to the political aspect, to the detriment of other factors such as socio-economic or cultural aspects (Mathieu, 2010: 44). Another recurrent critique rejects its claim of objectivity and its static aspect (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999). Indeed, the approach refers above all to structural aspects; this may be seen as opposed to the concept of opportunity, which relates to an ephemeral situation by nature. The cumbersome structures described hardly appear compatible with the appearance of opportunities, which result more certainly from volatile and changing elements related to a dynamic context. In addition, a political system will be more open to certain causes than to

⁸ Our translation of: « la multiplicité des centres de pouvoir indépendants au sein du régime considéré, son ouverture à de nouveaux acteurs, l’instabilité des alignements politiques, la disponibilité d’alliés influents pour les contestataires, la propension du régime à faciliter ou à réprimer l’expression collective de revendications, et des changements décisifs à l’intérieur des cinq précédents éléments. »

others. So it is difficult to explain the existence of opportunities solely by structural data and to defend the existence of a single SPO for a country or political system (Mathieu, 2010:45). Moreover, the SPO seems to have a relatively weak explanatory scope. In fact, many mobilizations emerge within societies considered “closed,” whereas some “open” societies have few social movements, given that citizens have greater access to institutions for influencing the changes they desire, and don’t see the usefulness of mobilizing (Mathieu, 2010: 46). This seems to indicate that the political structure’s degree of openness does not play a determining role in the decision to mobilize. Lastly, for a social movement to use a political opportunity, the latter must be clearly perceived and identified as such (Chazel, 2003: 124). Just as there is no resource per se, an opportunity is not an objective entity by itself. It is therefore important to focus on the strategies and values of groups in order to understand why some opportunities are seized and others are not.

The SPO concept adds a dimension to the study of social movements, but cannot alone explain the factors of mobilizations. But the concept is very useful in taking into account the context of social movements and the importance of the opportunities they encounter in order to develop and seek their objectives.

2.2.3. *Repertoires of Contention*

Repertoires of contention are a major tool for analysing social movements. They improve our understanding of actions taken by groups mobilized within social movements. According to Charles Tilly, who originated this concept, the repertoires of collective action explain why in a given time and place, people learn a limited number of claim-making performances, then mostly stick with those performances when the time comes to make claims. Those grounded performances evolve slowly with accumulated experience and external constraints. But in the short run, those restrictions strongly limit the choices available to would-be makers of claims (2008: 4-5). This structuralist approach thus focuses on the forms rather than the factors of collective action. The aim is to analyse the actions of groups and understand their rationality rather than their motivations.

Tilly offers a distinction between actions (such as clapping or singing, for example) and interactions in order to discern the context or persons addressed by the action. A sequence of planned interactions constitutes a performance. Combined performances are grouped in episodes. Those episodes, which aggregate a set of observable and planned interactions, are the unit of analysis for most analyses of protest events. The repertoire of contention represents “the limited knowledge of performances and interactions available to individuals”⁹ (Fillieule, 2010: 81). Tactical repertoires are also found in the repertoire of contention. Specific to each group, those tactical repertoires explain why some mobilizations never use performances they could master (Fillieule, 2010: 83). The repertoire of contention is shared by an entire society, but each tactical repertoire is specific to a social movement, which relies on it according to strategic choices.

This concept of repertoires of contention has been criticized for its static aspect. Indeed, in its perspective, changes of repertoire are considered over a long period, corresponding to fundamental changes within societies, not necessarily taking into account the proliferation of new forms of protest. In addition, this model adopts a historical perspective that barely takes

⁹ Our translation of: « connaissance limitée des performances et des interactions auxquelles les individus peuvent avoir recours. »

into account the recent transnationalization of social movements and the ensuing cultural and organizational dissemination (Fillieule, 2010: 93-94). These considerations limit the usefulness of the concept in the study of new forms of collective action. However, the concept of tactical repertoires is useful in our research, by clarifying the choices of action that are made by homeowner groups.

2.2.4. *Framing Processes and Public Arenas*

Framing processes emerged in the analysis of social movements along with a new awareness, during the 1980s, of the importance of culture and representations. By putting, at the centre of the analysis, subjective factors related to the beliefs of groups and individuals, the framing process adds a major dimension to the study of social movements. Breaking in part with the structuralist perspective of the theories of resource mobilization and of the structure of political opportunities, the framing concept takes into account the centrality of representations arising from the factors of collective action.

As defined by Benford and Snow, framing processes “assign meaning to and interpret, relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists” (1988: 198). This definition takes into account several original aspects that the predominant paradigms had not previously addressed in the analysis of social movements. First, it indicates that mobilization does not proceed so much from objective conditions, i.e., an unfair situation or a structural tension, as from the capacity of a group of persons to build a common representation of that situation as problematic (Contamin, 2010: 57). It is therefore necessary to have an alignment of those individuals’ interpretations within a common frame. This alignment process follows three successive stages: “The actors potentially mobilized must agree on a diagnosis of the situation to identify the problem and assign responsibilities, on a way to remedy the problem or at least tackle it and, finally, on the necessity and possibility of action”¹⁰ (Contamin, 2010: 58). This alignment occurs through discursive work, done by mobilization entrepreneurs, that articulates and amplifies available ideologies in order to stimulate mobilization (Snow, 2001: 38). The decisive criterion for successful framing is the correspondence between the frames developed by mobilization entrepreneurs and the frames’ broader cultural context (Snow, 2001: 35, 40).

As a discursive process, framing emphasizes an important aspect of social movements, i.e., the interactions between the groups and individuals mobilized, their adversaries and other potential interlocutors. Thus, a framing undertaking may trigger counter-framing processes from the mobilization’s adversaries (Snow, 2001: 32-33). The two parties don’t seek to convince each other, but to win a third party to their cause, whether the community, political leaders or a public administration. The work of significance takes place in public arenas, which are the areas of interaction between social entrepreneurs and target audiences. These groups contribute to the definition of public problems in the public arenas through their interactions and by means of the resources they mobilized while taking into account existing social networks and relevant institutions (Cefaï, 1996: 49-50). So public problems must be understood as products of those interactions between observers and actors, as well as observable facts in an objective world (Gusfield, 1996: 4). This crucial work to define and ascribe meaning to public problems in the

¹⁰ Our translation of: « Les acteurs potentiellement mobilisés doivent s’accorder sur un diagnostic de la situation qui identifie le problème et attribue des responsabilités, sur un moyen d’y remédier ou tout au moins de s’y attaquer et, finalement, sur la nécessité et la possibilité d’agir. »

emergence of social movements cannot be ignored without neglecting one of the major tools for analysing collective action.

We should outline here the operation of public arenas and the process whereby public problems develop. As indicated above, there are a multitude of public arenas, which may be of various natures – scientific, political, media, or belonging to social movements. Those arenas are organized around institutions and have their own operating methods, repertoires of specific frames – the Parliament is a good example of a political public arena (Cefaï & Trom, 2001: 17). The arenas are not only places of struggle to impose definitions on stakeholders, but also places of competition between the various causes seeking publicity. Indeed, the mobilization actors oppose one another within the arenas to draw public attention and thus maintain a strong position in the “hierarchy of priorities and urgent situations”¹¹ (Cefaï, 1996: 55). The resonance between the frames proposed by mobilizations and the broader cultural context is one of the major factors of success in capturing part of public attention, as are the groups’ ability to best use their resources and seize opportunities that arise. The resonance serves to describe the correspondence between the values and representations of society and those of the mobilization. So although mostly discursive, the development of an issue into a major social problem also depends on other practices, which don’t have the specific objective of formalizing a discourse (Henry, 2007: 70). For example, a multitude of individual legal actions in response to a similar problem may publicize a problem as much as discourses produced by mobilized groups.

The theory of framing is not exempt from criticism. Its descriptive and static bias is criticized, as well as the absence of empirical studies to corroborate this approach (Contamin, 2010: 72). In fact, most studies tend to examine framing at a precise moment rather than consider it from an evolutionary and interactionist perspective. The theory is also reproached for putting too much emphasis on the strategic dimension of the framing process, thus underestimating the weight of emotional and ideological factors on the orientations of social movements. Lastly, the tenants of this theory have been faced with myriad frames, proposed by all the participants in the public arena, whereas they often defend the idea that mobilization entrepreneurs are able to impose their framing on the entire movement simply by finding a good way to present their problem. Those criticisms are particularly stimulating in prompting the development of new approaches to framing processes, without denying the relevance of this perspective in studying social movements. One of the most interesting aspects of those new approaches is to recognize the importance of the dynamic context, at times restrictive and at times favourable, in which the framing undertaking takes place. This leads to questions about the place of social movements in a broader context than their public arena alone, and about their interactions both internally and with external actors.

Framing therefore constitutes an advance in the study of social movement, in serving to understand the formation of a public problem, indispensable to the movement’s success, but also in drawing attention to the central aspect of representations and values in the mobilization process.

¹¹ Our translation of: « hiérarchie des priorités et des urgences. »

2.3. The Place of Expertise in Social Movements

As social movements began to address more and more complex issues, with an increasing level of sophistication, the involvement of individuals had to rely on ever-greater knowledge to understand the issues and be able of defending a cause. This led to increased reliance on expertise. The latter may be defined as a “production of knowledge, characterized by a certain level of technical skill, and involved in a political process to influence decision-making”¹² (Mouchard, 2009: 235). This growing importance of expertise within mobilizations has been particularly acute in the ecological movement, featuring great complexity, issues affecting many aspects of daily life, and a reliance on many scientific disciplines (Ollitrault, 2001: 105). For some social movements, this serves to establish their credibility and appear “serious” (Ollitrault, 2001: 106). Having expertise enables organizations to stand out as legitimate actors in the debate, particularly in the case of highly technical subjects, while advocating their ideas. Indeed, far from being impartial, that knowledge is made to serve the political objectives of the mobilized groups, while being presented as objective because it is scientific (Saurugger, 2002: 375-6). Expertise has thus become a major resource for certain types of social movements, by enabling them to take part in public and decision-making arenas, while disseminating their views of a social problem on an equal footing with their opponents.

The expertise model presented in social movements can be summarized as follows: “Attempt to diagnose a ‘request’ for assistance, to develop an *ad hoc* project with specific purposes, to take effective actions on the ground, to adapt professional skills to the objective sought”¹³ (Collovald, 2001: 135). So this is more a way for the groups to take action and mobilize than to produce knowledge in service of a cause. This type of expertise is found, for example, in the humanitarian sector (Collovald, 2001). It serves to further the mobilization’s agenda, while presenting concrete and precise proposals and projects less likely to be attacked ideologically. This type of expertise is fully compatible with technical expertise, as demonstrated by the effective, active and highly successful participation of interest groups in relation to the European Union (Saurugger, 2002).

While expertise may be internalized within a social movement thanks to the acquisition of new skills by its members or to the mobilization of existing skills, there are also many bridges between social movements and the scientific world that enable well-known experts to get involved in causes they hold dear (Ollitrault, 1996: 141-142). This participation of experts in the public debate is widespread and can help publicize a social problem, although it is only one factor and not always decisive (Henry, 2007: 11). In fact, even if experts describe a situation as problematic, their interpretation will not necessarily be accepted; and inversely, even when experts don’t consider a situation to be problematic, it may gain status as a public problem (Henry, 2007: 18-21). The social, political, media and cultural context is one of the major factors in explaining the publicization of a problem, and the role of that context should not be minimized.

¹² Our translation of: « une production de savoir, caractérisée par un certain degré de technicité, et investie dans un processus politique à des fins décisionnaires. »

¹³ Our translation of: « souci du diagnostic d’une « demande » d’aide, de l’élaboration d’un projet *ad hoc* aux finalités précises et de l’efficacité des actions de terrain, ajustement des compétences professionnelles à l’objectif visé. »

It's easy to imagine that social movements have many other ways of access to expertise, since each mobilization is different. The main point is the importance of technical knowledge, in any field, to help mobilized groups establish their credibility, better frame their discourse and organize their actions.

3. CASE STUDIES

3.1. *The Case of Leaky Condos*

The leaky condos case began in the late 1980s, continued throughout the following decade, and peaked between 1998 and 2001. Of unprecedented scope in British Columbia, this major construction problem affected at least 72,000 housing units out of the 160,000 built between 1985 and 2000, with damages estimated at 3 to 4 billion dollars (Stueck, 2008; Boei, 2008). The “leaky condo syndrome” consists of a defect in building envelopes that causes water infiltrations in housing units and within walls, and leads in the worst cases to complete and invisible rotting of building structures. It mainly concerns condominium buildings built between 1983 and 1999 based on a “Californian” model. Featuring the absence of a roof overhang, this building style is well suited for the arid regions where it was designed, but not for the particularly rainy climate of British Columbia’s coastal regions (MacQueen, 1998). However, other types of buildings, such as concrete towers and single-family houses, were also affected (Boei, 2002a). Several other factors – poorly qualified workers, changes to the National Building Code, a desire to lower construction costs – are regularly cited as having contributed to spreading the problem (Penner, 2009; Paterson, 1999).

In 1996, only 65% of new homes in British Columbia were covered by a voluntary insurance plan to which builders subscribed. Under that plan, envelope water infiltration problems were covered for only one year (Canadian Press Newswire, 1996). That duration is short and the warranty is of doubtful value, given that most envelope failures appear after several years. In 1996, as the number of leaky condos kept increasing and the most pessimistic predictions proliferated, the British Columbia government had already called upon the establishment of better warranties on new homes, but without legislating, preferring self-regulation of the sector (Canadian Press Newswire, 1996). Facing an ever-worsening crisis, growing popular discontent, and pressure from certain groups such as the Condominium Homeowners’ Association (CHOA), the British Columbia government decided to address the problem by organizing public hearings in spring 1998.

Through Jenny Kwan, then Minister of Municipal Affairs, the government set up a commission of public inquiry in April 1998, chaired by Dave Barrett, a former New Democratic premier of the province. From the outset, the stated objective of the Commission of Inquiry into the Quality of Condominium Construction was to re-establish trust in the residential construction sector. To that end, Glen Clark, the province’s premier, indicated before the start of the hearings that the government was considering a class action against the “villains” reportedly having defrauded the homebuyers, and entrusted the commission with determining liabilities (Hunter, 1998a). However, the Barrett Commission’s mandate, set to last one month, was relatively limited. Its mandate was merely to determine liabilities in the leaky condos crisis and to issue recommendations to the government for introducing new regulations to prevent a similar crisis in the future. Compensating the victims was not on the agenda.

Reactions to the announcement to hold the Barrett Commission were mixed. On one hand, the homeowners’ representatives, led by CHOA, were disappointed with the mandate, which they considered too narrow in not allowing them to obtain compensation for the damaged homes. On the other hand, industry leaders considered the commission merely a political manoeuvre by the government to gain time and impose unionization on the sector rather than take measures to

improve new home warranties and encourage the industry's self-regulation efforts (Mertl, 1998). The homeowners' representatives and the industry's also disagreed on the amount of damages caused by the leaky condos crisis: the former claimed 1 billion dollars and the latter estimated a much lower amount, without specifying it. The appointment of Dave Barrett was also severely criticized by the Liberal Opposition, viewing it as a political manoeuvre intended to exonerate the New Democratic government in power and blame the Liberal Party (Palmer, 1998). Attacks against Dave Barrett's impartiality continued throughout the commission's hearings; the most frequent objections were expressed by his political opponents – Liberals – and the industry, about his supposed bias in favour of unionizing the residential construction sector.

Three main viewpoints were defended before the commission. The measures advocated by representatives of the industry and the real estate sector, led by the Urban Development Institute (UDI) and the Canadian Home Builders' Association (CHBA), aimed at preventing payment defaults by granting preferential rate loans and tax advantages to homeowners dealing with a leaky condo (Mertl, 1998). Nona Saunders, on behalf of CHOA, recommended the establishment of residential construction permits so as to hold the sector's various actors accountable if problems related to their work appeared. She also stated that the assessment of 1 billion dollars underestimated the magnitude of the damage (Daily Commercial News and Construction Report, 1998). A third position was defended by British Columbia's Liberal leader and former mayor of Vancouver, Gordon Campbell. He considered that suing municipalities should not be allowed for a failure in construction site supervision (Hunter, 1998b).

Those three "institutional" positions contrasted with the testimonies of the consumers confronting costly and unforeseen repairs, who often had no one to turn to answer for their home's defects. They were all the more disenchanted because the government did not seem inclined at the outset to offer them financial compensation (Mulgrew, 1998).

After over a month of hearings, the findings of the report tabled by Dave Barrett favoured the homeowners, while exonerating them from any liability and ascribing the latter on all the other actors. The report highlighted a series of failures at all levels to explain the magnitude of the leaky condos crisis, and advocated compensation to the wronged homeowners. Of the report's 82 recommendations, the most striking proposed the introduction of a law reinforcing homeowner protection and the creation of an *ad hoc* office, setting up a reconstruction fund intended for the victims most affected, and tax exemptions on remedial work (Barrett, 1998). The total amount of the recommended subsidies and tax exemptions was 650 million dollars, to be paid by the various industry players and the provincial and federal governments (Maclean's, 1998). The findings raised questions about how the provincial government would react, given that it had stated its intention to sue those responsible, but without compensating the victims.

After publication of the report, the Minister responsible, Jenny Kwan, announced that the British Columbia government was prepared to contribute up to 75 million dollars toward a total effort of 250 million dollars, completed by tax exemptions and by funding from the industry and mortgage-lending banking institutions (Lazaruk & Haysom, 1998). The federal government announced that it would first pay 75 million dollars into the rebuilding fund, without granting a sales tax exemption, but the final contribution of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) only totalled 2.3 million dollars in interest-free loans (Lazaruk, 1998). Although those numbers diverged widely from Dave Barrett's recommendations, Minister Kwan also announced the tabling of two bills, taking up the commissioner's recommendations regarding homeowner protection and the establishment of loans at preferential rates for the homeowners affected. Those loans and the new mandatory warranty system would be administered by the Home Protection Office created by those laws.

The construction industry was critical of those proposals, by reiterating the reproaches heard during commission hearings and predicting housing cost increases directly caused by the proposed reforms. The homeowners also expressed dissatisfaction because they would continue to bear most of the burden for remedies, and CHOA expressed satisfaction because the new measures better protected homeowners (Lazaruk & Haysom, 1998).

Although the Barrett Commission's findings were very favourable to the homeowners, the British Columbia government hardly budged from its position on solutions to bring to the leaky condos crisis. The unionization feared by the industry was avoided in favour of permits for entrepreneurs and the creation of a fund to which they must contribute in order to extend loans to owners of leaky condos. This solution, not negotiated between the parties to the dispute, left the homeowners responsible for the cost of remedial work, while it reinforced protection against dubious practices.

At the end of March 1999, shortly before the launch of the new mandatory warranty on new houses, New Home Warranty (NHW), the main supplier of private warranties before the new regulations and managed by CHBA, went bankrupt, crumbling under the compensation claims of leaky condo owners (Hogben, Skelton & Chow, 1999). The amounts claimed, around 13 million dollars in expenses between 1998 and 1999, were very low compared to the total estimated cost of the crisis, but sufficed to delay the launch of the new public mandatory warranty program, managed by the Home Protection Office. To give the former program's managers time to recover from that brutal interruption, the government delayed by two months, to July 1, 1999, the launch of its new mandatory warranty (Barrett, 1999). That interruption called into question the effectiveness of the reforms imposed by the government. Moreover, the low adhesion of contractors to the new standards – around 250 companies out of the province's 3,000 registered with the Home Protection Office as provided by the new legislation – further complicated the government's efforts to establish a new organization of the sector (Constantineau, 1999). In August 1999, facing the bankruptcy of the former new home warranty program, the lack of progress with the reforms, and the growing discontent of homeowners – still left to their own devices in most cases –, the New Democratic government decided to set up a second commission on the leaky condos crisis, again chaired by Dave Barrett.

That new commission's principal mandate was to examine in detail the issue of warranties following the bankruptcy of the previous new home warranty program earlier in 1999, in order to prevent the eventual new program from being as vulnerable. From its announcement, the second Barrett Commission was broadly criticized by some homeowners, who doubted its usefulness and advocated concrete measures to aid the victims. But it was supported by CHOA, which welcomed the government's decision to gather more information in order to limit the risk of repeating such a crisis (Daily Commercial News and Construction Report, 1999). Disagreements between homeowners led to the creation, in September 1999, of the Coalition of Leaky Condo Owners (COLCO), led by John Grasty, Sandra La Couvee and James Balderson, leaky condo owners who didn't feel adequately represented by existing organizations (Luba & Lazaruk, 1999). Their very active group claimed full compensation of leaky condo owners rather than tax measures or loans at preferential rates.

The opposition between Victoria and Ottawa is in the backdrop to the second Barrett Commission. Indeed, in parallel to the hearings, the British Columbia government threatened the federal government with passing a law that would facilitate lawsuits against the federal government by leaky condo owners, unless the federal government started negotiating to compensate those homeowners. The argument put forward by the homeowners and taken up by Victoria was that, although CMHC was informed long before the crisis about the inherent

defects in the design of those condos in British Columbia, and about the health problems that occupants could suffer due to mould caused by leaks, the Corporation did not act to prevent or limit the damage (Fong, 1999). In this view, CMHC was therefore partly liable for the leaky condos crisis and should compensate the homebuyers whose mortgages it had guaranteed. CMHC's chief executive officer in British Columbia corroborated those arguments before the Barrett Commission, by admitting that the Corporation had been aware of the leaky condos' risk and existence since 1992. CMHC did not widely disseminate its information on those potential problems as soon as obtaining because it feared that the homeowners would abandon their homes and mortgage loans, thus leaving the Corporation as guarantor to the banks and risking its own financial health.

The commission focused for a long time on the means used by developers to dodge the Homeowner Protection Act of 1998 by using loopholes in the legislation in order to bypass obligations to obtain permits and pay into the fund for new home warranties.

The second Barrett Commission published part of its findings in early February 2000, after almost 6 months of hearings. The recommendations largely supported the homeowners by advocating compensation of up to 900 million dollars for affected homeowners, allocated equally between the province, the federal government, and a contribution spread over 10 years by companies building new rental properties. While those findings may be viewed as a victory for the homeowners, they were very negatively received by the provincial government, which deemed them unrealistic and doubted that the federal government would participate in an eventual assistance program (McInnes & Simpson, 2000).

In response to the Barrett Commission's report, the provincial government established an improved warranty program in June 2000. The new warranties included coverage of labour for 2 years, of home watertightness for 5 years, and of the structure for 10 years. Although the measures announced by the government pleased the various homeowner organizations, they didn't prevent the latter from deploring the absence of direct assistance to current victims of leaky condos. Moreover, the federal government pledged to contribute 75 million dollars to the Home Protection Office for granting interest-free loans to victims of leaky condos – an amount that was finally reduced to 28 million dollars (The Province, 2000). The provincial government also confirmed its commitment to a sales tax exemption for materials and work intended to renovate leaky condos.

In June 2000, a new group defending homeowners was created. The Compensation and Accountability for Soaked Homeowners Society (CASH) also demanded the establishment of a homeowner assistance program to benefit the economy as a whole. The group's announced strategy was to take advantage of the next election dates by encouraging candidates to take position on the subject and raise public awareness of the problem (Times-Colonist, 2000). Its president, Carmen Maretic, a real estate agent who did not own a leaky condo, wanted to counter the broader problem of construction quality that the crisis highlighted.

In parallel to the various public commissions and government initiatives, the leaky condo owners also launched many lawsuits against all the actors likely to share responsibility for the problem, such as municipalities, construction companies, engineering firms and architectural firms. In August 2001, some homeowners won a first victory by obtaining from the British Columbia Supreme Court that the City of Delta pay them over 3 million dollars for having failed in its obligations to ensure compliance with the Building Code (Skelton, Fong & Chandler, 2001). While that legal victory was encouraging for the homeowners, it was mitigated by the fact that Vancouver, where the largest number of such buildings was concentrated, was exempt from

such lawsuits because of one of its bylaws, passed by Gordon Campbell, Liberal Premier between 2001 and 2011, when he was the city's mayor (Skelton & Beatty, 2001). Most of the lawsuits launched by the homeowners ended in out-of-court settlements, whereby the plaintiffs rarely obtained full satisfaction but still received partial compensation from the other parties (Boei, 2006). Likewise, several class action attempts were made, but none was accepted by the courts. Most such attempts were to demonstrate the liability of the government that had adopted the Building Code they were incriminating. This interpretation was also defended by industry representatives, thus raising suspicions regarding the funding and motivations of those claims (Willcocks, 2001).

In 2003, CMHC offered new loans at preferential rates to leaky condo victims for their remedial work (Daily Commercial News and Construction Report, 2003: 196). Those loans were not accompanied by subsidies to the homeowners. On the occasion of the 2005 federal election, Stephen Harper promised to reassess the possibility of compensating leaky condo owners. However, the victims obtained no further success in their representations to Ottawa after the Conservative Party won the election (O'Neil, 2006).

While government responses remained modest, the problem worsened for homeowners. According to Carmen Maretic, of CASH – whose acronym changed to reflect the organization's new missions and became the Consumer Advocacy and Support for Homeowners Society – the average cost of repairs jumped from \$20,000 in 2000 to \$60,000 in 2006 (Ford, 2006). This reflected not only the additional damage sustained by buildings where work had not been undertaken earlier, but also the increasing occurrence of leaks in concrete towers, where corrective work was costlier.

The British Columbia government ended the program of preferential rate loans it had granted through the Home Protection Office in 2009, although the leaky condo owners still showed strong demand for it. The government argued that a market downturn threatened the fund's sustainability because it was supplied by a special contribution from builders in the amount of 750 dollars per new housing unit (Shaw, 2009). British Columbia's adoption of the harmonized sales tax in 2010 also ended provincial sales tax exemptions for repairs done on leaky condos – one of the last measures of assistance to victims of that crisis – while almost 30,000 housing units had not yet been repaired (Ward, 2010).

The disappearance of those various measures signalled the end of the leaky condos chapter for the British Columbia government, without the affected homeowners having obtained satisfactory compensations. However, that episode contributed to improving the province's legislation to protect homeowners and regulating the sector. As for the homeowner groups, in 2011 CASH merged with an organization of federal scope, called Canadians for Properly Built Homes, thus marking the end of its action regarding leaky condos, while COLCO has been dormant for several years and CHOA is concerned with other issues.

3.2. The Pyrite Case

The swelling of rocks containing pyrite has been known since the first half of the 20th century, and residential problems caused by that natural phenomenon have been studied in Canada since 1975 (ACQC, 2003: 15). Whereas isolated cases have been observed in Quebec since 1985, only in 1998 was a major problem with that mineral revealed. The problem mainly affects Montérégie, Montreal Island and Ile Jésus.

In those regions, materials used as backfill under buildings' floor slabs contained pyrite, a metal sulfide which contact with moisture and oxygen results in oxidation. That oxidation produces sulphuric acid, which will interact with calcium carbonate contained in the backfill's other components, to form gypsum swelling the backfill (CMHC, 2003: 6). The backfill layer is located just under the floor slab in the basement or garage, so that layer's swelling exercises continual pressure on the slab, thus provoking cracks in the concrete. The foundations are not necessarily compromised by the backfill swelling, but the presence of a garage adjacent to the house, at street level, may fragilize the house's structure (ACQC, 2003: 9). Indeed, the floor slab of such a garage is higher than the basement's floor slab, and the backfill likely to swell is thus in direct contact with the house's foundations, on which it exercises pressure that can cause cracks to appear. Those phenomena take time to develop, and the damage starts being visible only after around ten years (ACQC, 2003: 9).

The general public did not become aware of the pyrite problem until 1998, but experts detected it a little earlier, since in 1997 the Montreal section of the Association of Engineering Geologists (AEG) held a scientific symposium on the subject. That meeting led to the formation of the *Comité technique québécois d'étude des problèmes de gonflement associés à la pyrite* (CTQ) for studying pyrite-related swelling problems; the committee first reported to AEG and from 1998 to the *Société d'habitation du Québec* (SHQ) (CTQ, 2001: 1). The CTQ's work constituted the first concerted efforts to counter the pyrite problem. The committee members have very different perspectives, coming from government organizations, consumer associations, specialized companies, industry representatives, educational institutions and professional associations.¹⁴ As indicated by the commission's name, its mission is essentially technical and its objectives are to

¹⁴ The CTQ is comprised of the following members:

- Société d'habitation du Québec (SHQ) – Committee Chair
- Association of Engineering Geologists (AEG) – Montreal Section
- Association des consommateurs pour la qualité dans la construction (ACQC)
- Association provinciale des constructeurs d'habitation du Québec (APCHQ)
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)
- National Research Council of Canada (NRC)
- Bureau de normalisation du Québec (BNQ)
- Université Laval
- École Polytechnique de Montréal
- Université de Sherbrooke
- Laboratoire LVM-Fondatech Inc.
- Laboratoire de béton (1997) Inc.
- Laboratoire Inspec-sol Inc.
- Construction DJL Inc.
- Démix agrégats Inc.
- Lafarge Canada inc.
- Association des constructeurs de routes et grands travaux du Québec (ACRGQTQ)
- Regroupement professionnel des producteurs de granulats (RPPG)

“prevent and remedy problems caused by pyrite, by offering the public advice, information, recommendations, protocols to follow and even standard documents to use”¹⁵ (CTQ, 2001: 2).

The main results of the committee’s work are the standards CTQ-M100, CTQ-M150 and CTQ-M200. Published in 1999, 2000 and 2001 respectively, they are complementary. Standard CTQ-M100 defines the protocol for characterizing the swelling potential of granular materials intended for the residential market and their application procedures. Standard CTQ-M150 has the same object, but applies to commercial and industrial markets. Standard CTQ-M200 is slightly different in establishing “the steps to follow, on site and in the laboratory, to produce expert reports uniformly in order to determine whether the building under study is or risks being affected by the presence of swelling granular backfill”¹⁶ (CTQ, 2001: 2-3). That standard thus completes the first two in order to ensure the uniformity of results independently of the expert and location.

Those standards are consensual and useful for diagnosing a pyrite problem or preventing one at the time of construction, but they don’t help people dealing with the swelling of backfill under their floor slab. Homeowners concerned with pyrite therefore organized very rapidly to have their problem recognized and obtain help.

The homeowners first mobilized within well-established homeowner associations, as in Saint-Bruno, where the *Association des propriétaires de Saint-Bruno* (APSB) formed the *Comité consultatif sur le problème de la pyrite* (CCPP) in November 1998. Those local initiatives were almost immediately in contact with the ACQC, which quickly offered its expertise and assistance to the homeowners concerned. The mobilization organized rapidly: the first meetings of the *Comité régional des victimes de la pyrite*, charged with maintaining relations between local groups – formed at the municipal level – and the ACQC, were held in February 1999. In June 1999, the *Comité régional* became the *Regroupement des comités de victimes de la pyrite* (RCVP). The number of member committees of the group gradually increased to fifteen.

RCVP’s mission was very clear: to obtain financial compensation for homeowners affected by pyrite. The committee’s argument did not target the construction industry or specific companies. According to the ACQC’s position at the time, the homeowners “will win nothing by trying to find who is responsible”¹⁷ (Gagnon, 1998). By dissuading the homeowners from suing one another, the ACQC was using the strategy it had put in place to resolve the problem of houses with cracked surfaces; the government had then compensated the homeowners for corrective work on their homes. Moreover the ACQC called on the affected homeowners to organize and offered to assist them in their representations.

Starting in 1998, responses to the pyrite problem were both technical and related to mobilizing the homeowners. RCVP, with the ACQC’s help, multiplied representations before local elected officials and the provincial and federal Ministers concerned in order to obtain financial compensation. Their efforts quickly bore fruit: in March 2000, when the provincial budget was

¹⁵ Our translation of: « prévenir et remédier aux problèmes causés par la pyrite, en procurant au public des conseils, de l’information, des recommandations, des protocoles à suivre et même des modèles de documents à utiliser. »

¹⁶ Our translation of: « établit les différentes étapes à suivre, autant sur le site qu’en laboratoire, afin que les expertises soient réalisées de façon uniforme et permettent d’établir si le bâtiment à l’étude est affecté ou risque d’être affecté par la présence d’un remblai granulaire gonflant. »

¹⁷ Our translation of: « gagneront rien à essayer de trouver un responsable. »

tabled, the government of Quebec introduced an aid program of 70 million dollars to the affected homeowners. The program's terms were not specified at that time, but the provincial government planned to contribute half of that amount, and negotiations were held to ensure the participation of the federal and municipal levels of government (Pelchat, 2000).

Negotiations between the levels of government were not successful. The discussions failed notably on the allocation of amounts to be paid. The initial plan was for a contribution of 50% from the provincial government, 40% from the federal government and 10% for the municipalities. Faced with Ottawa's reticence to offer around 28 million dollars, the municipalities also hesitated to participate in the program, and complained about bearing that additional load without more financial resources (Pires, 2000a). Moreover, they feared that their participation in the aid program would constitute recognition of their liability for the problem and lead to lawsuits against them (Girard, 2000). Despite those obstacles, most of the municipalities concerned pledged to contribute up to 10% of the program, as initially planned.

The federal government's participation was much more difficult to guarantee to the homeowner groups and the Quebec government. Despite RCVP's pressing and repeated claims, the federal government delayed in confirming its contribution to the aid program. It should be noted that similar claims from homeowner groups dealing with the leaky condos crisis and from the British Columbia government were being made at the same time. So Ottawa had to contend with both solicitations before responding, which may have contributed to the slowness of the process. On October 31, 2001, one year and a half after the provincial government presented the program, Alfonso Gagliano, the federal Minister responsible, announced that CMHC and SHQ had reached an agreement for the government of Canada to contribute 17.5 million dollars, i.e., 25% of the total (SHQ, 2001). The amount announced was far from that initially hoped for by the other partners. The program was launched in early 2002, but the provincial officials continued demanding increased participation from the federal authorities (Penven, 2002). To compensate for the relatively weak assistance provided by Ottawa, some municipalities, such as Chambly, decided to increase their contribution to the program (Cloutier, 2002). The provincial government finally assumed 62.5% of the costs, while the municipalities were invited to raise their contribution to 12.5%, without any obligation to do so.

One of the points of contention between the government's proposal and the homeowner groups concerned the retroactive eligibility of repair work to the aid program. In the program's initial iteration, no corrective work undertaken before its announcement in spring 2001 was eligible (Pires & Cloutier, 2000). That set aside the homeowners who had suffered the most damage and therefore required the most urgent work, as well as those who had been most diligent in making necessary corrections. After several months of negotiations, the government finally acceded to the homeowners' claim, and work done between January 1, 1997 and July 19, 2000 would be covered by the program (ACQC, 2011).

Another grievance from the homeowners pertained to the nature and value of eligible buildings. The program provided that only work done on homes valued at less than \$200,000 was eligible and that garages – among the main structures affected due to having more backfill under them – were excluded. Those provisions were maintained in the program's final version, despite the homeowners' protests that too many potential beneficiaries were excluded thereby.

The program's main terms were the following: residential buildings with at least one housing unit being a main residence may receive up to 60% of the cost of corrective work, after determination of the damage caused by pyrite. The maximum cost of eligible work was \$30,000. The percentage of the cost reimbursed by the program decreased inversely to a building's

value, excluding the land. The maximum reimbursement (60%) was for buildings valued at \$70,000 or less and gradually decreased in increments of \$5,000, to reach 0% for buildings valued at more than \$200,000 (ACQC, 2003).

One of the homeowners' criticisms of the aid program was that the amounts consented were too low to prevent lawsuits for hidden defects (Penven, 2000). So it would not meet one of the mobilization's objectives – to limit lawsuits between homeowners.

In parallel to the establishment of an aid program, in October 1999 RCVP welcomed the *Comité des victimes judiciaires de la pyrite* (CVJP), which planned to represent former owners of residences damaged by pyrite who were involved in successive lawsuits for hidden defects (Gagnon, 1999). Hidden defects are covered by section 1726 of the Civil Code of Québec:

The seller is bound to warrant the buyer that the property and its accessories are, at the time of the sale, free of latent defects which render it unfit for the use for which it was intended or which so diminish its usefulness that the buyer would not have bought it or paid so high a price if he had been aware of them.

The seller is not bound, however, to warrant against any latent defect known to the buyer or any apparent defect; an apparent defect is a defect that can be perceived by a prudent and diligent buyer without the need to resort to an expert.¹⁸

The Civil Code thus allows a homeowner to sue the previous owner after noticing a hidden defect, pyrite belonging to that category. The former homeowner sued may in turn sue his predecessor, and so on, the final goal being to reach the person at fault, a contractor or self-builder who had used the defective backfill. In practice, the lawsuits are often confined to homeowners between each other, who then must bear legal costs, as well as part of the repair costs if they are found liable. This is apart from the psychological burden of those lawsuits on people who have sold the property concerned, in some cases several decades earlier (Vaillancourt, 2007).

To counter this phenomenon, which they considered harmful to consumers, CVJP, assisted by the ACQC and RCVP, proposed that the Quebec government amend the legal definition of hidden defect. This led to a provision in Bill 50, introduced in 2001 by Justice Minister Paul Bégin, for adding the following paragraph at the end of section 1726:

The seller of a residential immovable, including land intended for residential purposes, is not bound to warrant against any latent defect that appears more than five years after the sale, except if he acted in bad faith (government of Québec, 2001).

In our research we noticed that this five-year limitation exceeds the demands of homeowner groups. The *Barreau du Québec* notably opposed the reform, and argued that the hidden defect amendment “directly attacks the structure of civil liability in Quebec”¹⁹ (*Barreau du Québec*, 2001: 13). To the *Barreau*, the provision is therefore disproportionate to the problem encountered, especially since the system seems to operate well. The amendment to section

¹⁸ C.C.Q. 1991, c. 64, s. 1726.

¹⁹ Our translation of: « frappe de plein fouet l'édifice de la responsabilité civile au Québec. »

1726 was rejected in the end, and the definition of hidden defect remained unchanged. This demand from homeowners, which went beyond the settlement of their case alone, was thus not adopted, in spite of the government's initial intention.

In October 2011, SHQ terminated the aid program for homeowners affected by pyrite. The homeowner groups had demobilized well before then. For example, APSB's CCPP, one of the first associations mobilized and the most active one, was dissolved in 2006 (Penven, 2006).

3.3. The Case of Pyrrhotite

Like pyrite, pyrrhotite is an iron sulfide that swells in contact with humidity and oxygen. And like pyrite, when present in building materials this mineral is harmful to buildings. As opposed to pyrite, it is not present in backfills under floor slabs, but directly in concrete. This entails worse consequences because the foundations are then the main victims of pyrrhotite. In a few years, cracks may appear in the concrete due to pyrrhotite oxidation and thus threaten the building's structure. As opposed to corrective work related to pyrite, which consists of replacing the backfill with material exempt from that mineral and installing a new concrete floor slab, the presence of pyrrhotite involves lifting of the house and the foundations to be fully replaced. That work is lengthier, costlier, and often requires new landscaping and remedial work in the basement.

Pyrrhotite triggered problems twice in Mauricie, a region of Quebec. The first time concerned thirty homes built between 1996 and 2000 (Trahan, 2010a). The discovery of this problem in 1999 coincided with the publicity around the pyrite case in the Montreal area and, given the resemblance between the names of the two minerals, the two cases and their consequences have often wrongly been treated as similar (Tremblay, 2003). Aggregates used for producing concrete originated from the B&B and Maskimo quarries, 500 metres apart, which began operating in 1995 and 1996 respectively (Trahan, 2013b). Between 2001 and 2002, the quarries received the first complaints about the quality of their rock and an out-of-court settlement was reached in 2006 between the Maskimo quarry and the homeowners affected. That agreement, whose details were not made public, ended the first chapter of the pyrrhotite story in Mauricie; but only in 2008 did the region's contractors stop using aggregates from the B&B quarry (Trahan, 2013b). That extended usage led to the second chapter, which continues to this day.

In summer 2009, some homeowners noticed the appearance of cracks in the foundations of their houses. Those covered by the *Plan de garantie des maisons neuves* (GMN) (new home warranty plan) offered by APCHQ contacted their local official to make a claim, while those who were not covered – mainly self-builders – took steps individually to discover the cause of those cracks. The situation was not clarified until November of that year. On one hand, 6 to 8 homeowners not covered by the GMN, armed with analysis results indicating the presence of pyrrhotite in the concrete, launched a series of lawsuits against the suppliers of aggregates and concrete, in the same manner as the earlier lawsuits against the Maskimo quarry (Trahan, 2009a). On the other hand, GMN representatives held an information meeting to explain the problem and the warranty's terms to the 222 homeowners who had already submitted a claim to the organization (Lamothe, 2009a). The GMN officials expected other cases to arise, but were confident in their financial and logistical capacity to manage the crisis. They also expected corrective work to be done within three years and to start in spring 2010.

That meeting gave the homeowners the opportunity to ask questions of the GMN officials, and to exchange information among them as well. One of the homeowners, Yvon Boivin, presented a project for a petition to be submitted to the City of Trois-Rivières in order to obtain a decrease

in the municipal assessment of the properties affected; he also proposed that the homeowners concerned pool their resources to share information. That spontaneous initiative led to another meeting between some homeowners during the winter holidays, and on that occasion the *Coalition Proprio-Béton* (CPB) was formed (Lamothe, 2009b).

CPB's first actions were to alert the municipal authorities and local MNAs about the situation. Those officials did not refuse to help the homeowners, but had difficulty understanding the context of the homeowners' action, since the persons responsible for the situation had clearly been identified (Francoeur, 2009). At the same time, CPB explored the possibility of taking legal action jointly with homeowners not covered by the warranty plan who were already suing the aggregate suppliers (Lamothe, 2009b).

The homeowners' class action organized very quickly. Although many homeowners taking part in that initiative were CPB members, the group did not originate or frame it. In January 2010, the various parties' lawyers met in the judge's presence to discuss how the proceedings would take place (Trahan, 2010b). That coordinating work was particularly important because the trial involved numerous parties.²⁰ The case's complexity made the legal proceedings very lengthy, and the "megatrial" hearings only began in November 2012, after a lot of background work, notably to assess the magnitude of the damage (Trahan, 2012a). The trial ended in June 2013, following over 60 days of hearings, but as of May 2014 no verdict had yet been rendered (Trahan, 2013c).

If they win their case, the homeowners hope to be awarded enough money to compensate for the difference between the subsidies already granted by the government and the actual cost of the work. Those lawsuits are particularly important to those not covered by a warranty plan, since they have to defray the total cost of the work. The aid program established in June 2011 by the Quebec government is especially useful to them, but the amounts obtained are still insufficient to cover most of the expenses, and many homeowners don't have a sufficient margin of manoeuvre to start the work (Trahan, 2012b). So some homeowners are awaiting the outcome of the trial before starting the corrective work in their homes.

In parallel to the legal actions, CPB continued making representations and proposals before the various levels of government. Its claims focused on two main aspects. First, it demanded a financial aid program to help the affected homeowners undertake necessary work. Second, it criticized the GMN's management and demanded that it be thoroughly reformed.

The number of persons affected increased rapidly from a few hundred to several thousand. Today, over 1,600 identified homeowners are sustaining damage related to pyrrhotite, and that total should rise to around 5,000, which corresponds to the CPB's assessment of the damage at over a billion dollars (Trahan, 2013a).

The homeowners have been very active before their elected officials and receive major support from them in their undertakings, irrespective of party affiliation. Provincial MNAs, both PQ and Liberal, as well as federal New Democratic members of Parliament (MPs), have periodically published common declarations of support to the affected homeowners (Aubin, 2013). They also help raise the problem in their respective parliaments. Thus, after lengthy work to raise

²⁰ Over 40 contractors were sued, as well as companies such as SNC-Lavalin and Lafarge. A total of 75 distinct files were tabled before Superior Court on behalf of 650 recorded victims. Over 70 lawyers attended the hearings and 183 witnesses were heard (Samson, 2014; Trahan, 2013b).

awareness and disseminate information, in May 2013, the Quebec National Assembly unanimously adopted the following motion: “The National Assembly urges the federal government to follow the government of Québec’s lead in compensating the 1,000 victims of pyrrhotite in the Mauricie region”²¹ (Delisle, 2013a). Similarly, the federal Leader of the Opposition, Thomas Mulcair, supported the homeowners’ cause in Parliament and visited Mauricie at the invitation of the region’s New Democratic MPs to take stock of the magnitude of the problem and restate his support to the homeowners (Plante, 2013). The New Democratic Leader addressed the federal government several times on the subject, and refuted the argument put forward that the problem fell exclusively under provincial jurisdiction.

Beyond the demands addressed to Ottawa, the provincial MNAs demonstrated political will resulting in the Quebec government granting an aid fund of 15 million dollars in June 2011, while demanding up to 5 million dollars from the federal government (Trahan, 2011a). To date, the latter has not granted funds to compensate the victims of pyrrhotite. The homeowners claim 20 million dollars from the federal government, and base their claim on the precedent related to pyrite, when that government contributed funds even though the necessary work was less costly and less invasive (Gauthier, 2012). The provincial program is administered by SHQ, which has delegated the management to the municipalities.

To be eligible for the aid fund, a building must have sustained sufficient pyrrhotite damage for work to be necessary in ensuring the foundation’s integrity. The housing unit must also serve as the main residence, but not necessarily to the building’s owner. Rental buildings are thus eligible for the program. Those terms exclude commercial building owners, although some are affected by pyrrhotite damage (Delisle, 2013b). This issue was taken up by CPB, which doesn’t defend individuals only, but also the interests of affected business owners.

Homeowners must prove the presence of pyrrhotite by having experts perform tests, whose results will be sent at the same time as the claim. The high cost of those tests – around \$2,000 – and the waiting period before obtaining their results pose a problem for the homeowners, who are protesting that the situation is a duopoly since only two companies are recognized by SHQ (Trahan, 2011b).

Eligible work covers the replacement of foundations, including a house’s pavement, as well as rehabilitation of the basement rooms in the state they were before such work. Eligible costs cover labour, materials, expertise expenses, and professional fees.

To determine the subsidy amount, various types of homeowners are defined:

- Type 1: owner of a residence damaged by pyrrhotite, covered by the *Plan de garantie des maisons neuves*, with basement repair work not covered by the warranty plan, and whose foundation reconstruction work has not yet begun;
- Type 2: owner of a residence damaged by pyrrhotite, covered by the *Plan de garantie des maisons neuves*, with basement repair work not covered by the warranty plan, and whose foundation reconstruction work was done between January 1, 2010 and August 11, 2011;

²¹ Our translation of: « l’Assemblée nationale presse le gouvernement fédéral d’emboîter le pas au gouvernement du Québec pour indemniser les quelque 1 000 victimes de la pyrrhotite dans la région de la Mauricie. »

- Type 3: owner of a residence damaged by pyrrhotite, not covered by the *Plan de garantie des maisons neuves*, and whose foundation reconstruction work has not yet begun.

Type 1 and 2 homeowners are eligible for assistance of 75% of acknowledged costs, up to 15,000 dollars, whereas type 3 homeowners are eligible for assistance of acknowledged costs up to 75,000 dollars. The amount set aside for homeowners not benefiting from a warranty evidently aims at compensating them for not having additional funding sources to help them resolve their problem.

While the aid fund's budget was depleted by August 2013 for the fiscal year underway, a dispute arose about the allocation of some subsidies. The victims complained that real estate brokers or building contractors had bought at a discount some houses damaged by pyrrhotite and then had received the subsidy, done work on the homes and resold them at considerable profit. Faced with that predatory attitude, the homeowner groups demanded and obtained from the SHQ that homes sold beneath their market value were excluded from the subsidy program (Trahan, 2013d).

The municipality of Trois-Rivières was particularly involved in favour of the pyrrhotite victims, through management of the provincial government's aid fund and through several programs it established. Observing the magnitude of the problem on its territory, the municipality assigned several employees to the case. The City also granted municipal tax exemptions for residences damaged by pyrrhotite. It also granted subsidies or material resources to victim organizations and consumer protection associations such as CPB, SOS-pyrrhotite, *Multiboulot* and the *Centre de coordination et d'information sur la pyrrhotite* (Trahan, 2012c).

All those organizations assisted one way or another the homeowners affected by pyrrhotite. Initially, their missions were complementary. CPB had the broadest mandate and aimed at grouping affected homeowners to obtain compensation from those liable and from the government, and to publicize the problem they witnessed. SOS-Pyrrhotite was formed in July at Jacques Rheault's initiative, a Trois-Rivières resident not affected by pyrrhotite who wanted to help the homeowners. That organization was charged with very concrete mandates that CPB could not or would not carry out, such as obtaining discounts from merchants on materials necessary for the work, obtaining temporary warehouses, or opening a laundry service for homeowners during the work (Trahan, 2011c). However, SOS-Pyrrhotite gradually broadened its scope to the extent of competing with CPB. That positioning change led to a rupture between the two organizations in spring 2014 (Trahan, 2014a). As for Multiboulot and the Centre de coordination et d'information sur la pyrrhotite, their objective is to assist homeowners in various tasks such as emptying basements before the work or housecleaning afterward (Trahan, 2011d).

The issue of the GMN's management is central to the homeowners' mobilization. Most of those affected by pyrrhotite subscribed to that warranty, so they were affected by the choices made by its managers. Thus, the homeowners criticize it particularly for delays in receiving analysis results almost one year after a problem arose, or for the selection of contractors for making the repairs. Another CPB grievance against the GMN is related to the structure of calls for tenders that the GMN established to grant repair contracts. While the GMN favours large lots and thus large companies, the homeowners would prefer that it favour smaller lots that would enable the region's smaller companies to win repair contracts (Trahan, 2011a). In the homeowners' view, that would reduce repair times while maintaining healthy competition inducing companies to

charge reasonable prices, and would inject more money in the local economy rather than calling upon firms outside the region.

One of CPB's principal demands was to replace APCHQ from the GMN's management with an organization more favourable to consumers. That demand bore fruit in June 2013, when the Régie du bâtiment du Québec (RBQ) announced that it was replacing the GMN'S management with an interim administrator (Trahan, 2013e). This opened the path to the new administration's examination of APCHQ's management of the warranty plan. The ensuing report, made public in May 2014, criticizes the practices that had prevailed during the former administration (Trahan, 2014b). The restructuring of the new home warranty plans followed the recommendations of CPB, which had been joined in this matter by ACQC and the Regroupement des gestionnaires de copropriétés du Québec (RCGQ), which had also observed the dysfunctions in the plans' administration. The management will be entrusted to a non-profit organization within which consumers will be better represented (Trahan, 2014c). This reform is undoubtedly a victory for the mobilization of homeowners affected by pyrrhotite, who still await the verdict of the "megatrial" they launched and continue to claim a financial contribution from Ottawa.

4. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA CONTENT:

4.1. Methodology

We will describe here the methodology used for performing the quantitative analysis of media content. More specifically, we will focus on the constitution of the corpus and the development of the analytical grid. This will help to better understand the results presented immediately afterward.

4.1.1. Constitution of the Corpus

4.1.1.1. Choice of Media

Among all the sources consulted, we noticed that the most detailed and regular media coverage was from local and/or provincial daily and weekly newspapers. Those media were therefore essential to the content analysis, by best informing us on the publicization of the problem by consumer groups and on the counter-speech of those groups' adversaries.

National publications not located in the region where the problem resided offered fragmented coverage of the mobilizations, and were therefore a less relevant source for an in-depth content analysis. Similarly, the audiovisual media did not sufficiently follow up on the mobilizations and their consequences to offer new elements compared to what we found in local newspapers.

Given those considerations, the newspapers retained for our content analysis are the following:

- Pyrite:
 - *La Presse* (Montreal, daily)
 - *Le Journal de Saint-Bruno* (Saint-Bruno-de-Montarville, weekly)
 - *Le Journal de Chambly* (Chambly, weekly)
 - *Le Courrier du Sud* (Longueuil, weekly)
- Leaky condos:
 - The Vancouver Sun (Vancouver, daily)
 - The Province (Vancouver, daily)
 - The Times-Colonist (Victoria, daily)
- Pyrrhotite:
 - *Le Nouvelliste* (Trois-Rivières, daily)
 - *L'Hebdo-journal* (Trois-Rivières, weekly)
 - *L'Écho de Trois-Rivières* (Trois-Rivières, weekly)

Certain newspapers, such as the Journal de Montréal, were not selected for practical reasons of access to the archives, so that constituting our sample from those sources would have been difficult.

4.1.1.2. Sampling

The purpose of this research is to analyse and then compare the strategies of consumer movements in the construction sector. Accordingly, the analysis of the media content is to study the groups' public formulation of those strategies, and the counter-arguments of the other parties concerned by the problems studied. Those factors governed our choice of a stratified sampling to constitute the corpus of texts submitted to the content analysis.

After selecting the most relevant publications for analysing those dynamics, we selected articles addressing the subjects of interest to us, by using the keywords "leaky condo," "pyrite" and "pyrrhotite." The searches were then limited within the relevant timeframe for each problem.²² This gave us a first corpus of articles for the content analysis.

However, in the cases of pyrrhotite and leaky condos, the number of articles (around 600 and 1,800 respectively) we obtained was too great for an exhaustive analysis. It was thus necessary to resample our corpus. We then followed the guidelines of Jean de Bonville, who advocates always prioritizing the representativeness over the quantity of resources when sampling (2006: 114). In terms of quantity and to guarantee the corpus's representativeness, he suggests 12 to 14 editions for a daily newspaper and 14 for a weekly. But those numbers are valid only if the sample contains all the articles in a given edition. In that vein, another author states "If you're alone, aim at a corpus containing 200 to 300 medium-size documents, which is already an ambitious goal. Forming a sample of over 1 out of 10 documents entails risks"²³ (Leray, 2008: 48). Those two injunctions enabled us in limiting the size of our corpus, but also in identifying pitfalls to avoid.

Considering the means at our disposal, the above observations and the quantity of articles to analyse in the cases of leaky condos and pyrrhotite, we determined the sample size in those two cases by using the following formula:

$$n = \frac{p * (1 - p) + \frac{e^2}{Z^2}}{\frac{e^2}{Z^2} + \frac{p * (1 - p)}{N}}$$

where

n: sample size to which the proportion applies;

p: proportion found in the sample and whose margin of error we attempt to calculate;

²² The dates used are the following:

- Leaky condos: from 1996 to 2009, i.e., from regular media coverage of the problem to the end of governmental measures of support to the homeowners;
- Pyrite: from 1998 to 2006, i.e., from start of media coverage of the problem to the dissolution of the CCPP of Saint-Bruno, one of the most active groups;
- Pyrrhotite: from 2009 to 2013, i.e., from start of media coverage of the problem to the end of last year.

²³ Our translation of: « Si vous êtes seul, visez un corpus comprenant de 200 à 300 documents de taille moyenne, ce qui, déjà, représente un objectif relativement ambitieux. Réaliser un échantillon qui se situe au-delà de 1 document sur 10 comporte des risques. »

e : margin of error;

Z : level of confidence retained;

N : total population.

The most common level of confidence retained, which we used for sampling, is 95 %, i.e., $Z = 1.96$. In addition, we did not want the margin of error to exceed 5% in the two cases where we had to resample, i.e., $e = 0.05$. Finally, the maximum proportion used will be 50 %, i.e., $p = 0.5$.

In the case of leaky condos, the calculation is as follows:

$$n = \frac{0.5 * (1 - 0.5) + \frac{0.05^2}{1.96^2}}{\frac{0.05^2}{1.96^2} + \frac{0.5 * (1 - 0.5)}{1804}}$$

$$n = 317.54$$

In the case of pyrrhotite, the calculation is as follows:

$$n = \frac{0.5 * (1 - 0.5) + \frac{0.05^2}{1.96^2}}{\frac{0.05^2}{1.96^2} + \frac{0.5 * (1 - 0.5)}{593}}$$

$$n = 233.74$$

The results were rounded to the nearest integer. Each year is a proportional strata within each newspaper, to avoid under-representing weekly newspapers and maintain a chronological representativeness. For each year, we rounded the result to the nearest integer.

The samples' final size is the following: 318 articles for the leaky condos case and 236 articles for the pyrrhotite case. In the newspapers retained for the pyrite case, we identified 191 articles, all of which we analysed.

4.1.2. Analytical Grid

In line with the study's objectives, several criteria or variables were identified and grouped into five categories. This section presents those elements. The data collected were the object of a descriptive statistical analysis. We sought mainly to evaluate frequencies in order to generate a global portray the publicization of the problem and the mobilization of consumer groups.

4.1.2.1. Identification of Information Sources

This category includes the newspaper's name and the article's publication date.

The article's form serves to distinguish:

- A news article;
- A press release;
- An in-depth analysis;
- An editorial or column;
- An open letter.

4.1.2.2. Generalities

This category's variables may have limited, predefined values.

The primary and secondary themes (two variables) concern:

- A government initiative;
- An action or event attributable to consumer groups;
- A spontaneous individual action (its actor not claiming membership in an identifiable group);
- An action or event attributable to an opponent of the mobilization;
- An action or event attributable to another actor;
- One or more testimonials by homeowners;
- A description of the issue (technical or factual aspects).

The article's tone may be:

- Favourable;
- Unfavourable;
- Neutral.

This qualification pertains to the action of consumer groups: does the article as a whole present the collective action in a positive, negative or neutral manner? This impression may emerge from the article's subject, the adjectives used for qualifying the subject, or the place left to the various actors in the article's content.

Of course, this is a subjective interpretation that, in some cases, may be difficult to make. In such situations, we will borrow from Lise Chartier the "10-Second Rule," whose objective is to "facilitate and accelerate decision-making in case of doubt"²⁴ (2003: 144-145). Once that period has expired, the neutral tone will be retained. The idea is to put the analysis in the context of an ordinary reader who "doesn't have (and generally doesn't take) a long time to reflect so as to interpret the orientation of a news excerpt"²⁵ (Chartier, 2003: 144-145).

²⁴ Our translation of: « faciliter et accélérer la prise de décision en cas de doute. »

²⁵ Our translation of: « ne dispose pas (et ne prend généralement pas) de temps prolongé de réflexion pour se faire une idée sur l'orientation du contenu d'un extrait de nouvelle. »

The types of actors that may be mentioned are:

- Experts;
- Political actors;
- Homeowners;
- Consumer groups;
- Other actors concerned;
- Opponents.

To refine the analysis, it is possible to include a statement regarding “other actors” mentioned in the article. The actors’ names are also specified.

Lastly, the actors’ tones are identified. When the article presents various viewpoints and its overall tone is neutral, it is still relevant to distinguish between the tones of the different actors in order to discern whether (and when) some of the latter support the consumer groups or not. Those tones may be deemed:

- Favourable;
- Unfavourable;
- Neutral;
- Multiple.

As opposed to the article’s tone, the actors’ tones may be multiple if several actors are quoted in the article.

4.1.2.3. Dispute Framework

The purpose of this category is to explain the eventually confrontational nature of relations between actors involved in the mobilization. Three dichotomic variables are identified.

Plurality of viewpoints

This variable has a positive value if at least two viewpoints are expressed. However, the variable is cumulative with the following one. So the viewpoints’ conflictual dimension will be identified specifically.

Example: group X focused on a given dimension of the problem. Organization Y emphasized another aspect.

Dispute or disagreement

The viewpoints expressed must demonstrate divergent perspectives on the subject mentioned.

Example: group X estimates that a given aspect of the problem is due to a given factor; organization Y refutes that and attributes it to another factor.

Concertation effort

This variable is positive if the article's content pertains to discussions, negotiations or meetings between various groups of actors involved in the mobilization.

Example: group X, the Minister and the leaders of organization Y met today in the context of the victims' compensation.

4.1.2.4. Liability Framework

This category is used for determining if the liability of certain actors is clearly questioned or if accusations or reproaches are expressed toward them. Here again, the variables are dichotomous.

Criticism/reproach/denunciation

The point here is to determine if an actor reproaches another for a specific action, denounces his conduct or criticizes a lack of response, for example.

Liability/third party claim

This variable is positive if an actor is accused of causing the problem.

4.1.2.5. Strategic Framework

This category aims at identifying specific points in the publicization of the collective action.

Means of action

The last column of the grid pertains to the means of action used by homeowner groups. After conducting preliminary searches, we retained the following means of action:

- Demonstration;
- Change proposal addressed to decision-makers;
- Attack on an actor's image or reputation;
- Expertise;
- Legal;
- Public meeting;
- Petition;
- No mention.

Most of those means of action are clear, but some cover several realities. By "expertise" we mean participation in the development of technical standards by homeowner groups as well as providing homeowners with legal aid or helping them do corrective work or take steps to obtain financial compensation. That list is not limitative, and expertise is one of the broadest means of action for homeowner groups. Legal action is particular in that it rarely concerns the most active homeowner groups, but rather *ad hoc* groups, who exist only for legal action. This category covers all legal initiatives taken by homeowners.

Use of the term “victim”

For this variable, we sought to identify the actors who may be using this term, such as:

- A consumer group;
- A journalist;
- An opponent;
- A political actor;
- A government representative;
- Another actor.

Moreover, in the event that the term “victim” is used, we consider it more significant if a government representative uses it than another political actor. Similarly, we find it more significant if a government representative qualifies the homeowners as victims than if their adversaries, or journalists, or *a fortiori* the homeowner groups themselves do so. In that vein, if several persons use that term in the same article, we retain the category we consider most relevant.

4.2. Results

4.2.1. Presentation

In this section, we will present the content analysis results regarding the corpus of articles we constituted, and then we will briefly discuss those results. During our analysis, certain variables presented in our grid proved more significant than others that turned out not to be very explanatory. The articles’ principal and secondary theme, as well as the types of actors, belong to the latter category.

The examination of the articles’ themes provides little information about the action of homeowner groups and is more informative of the newspapers’ choice of subjects. Those data may have future use, but do not provide answers sought in our research. So we have not reproduced those data here, but they are available in Annex 4, which presents the grids for each of the three cases studied.

The types of actors also proved of little use, particularly when they numbered more than two. Two problems emerged: we could not multiply the number of columns to cover all the types of actors in the few occasions where it would have been necessary. In addition, it was impossible to retain one type of actors rather than another without risking a biased analysis. Instead, we used the actors’ names, which we then classified into three categories (homeowner groups, opponents and other actors) to better distinguish between them in the following presentation. This enables us to be more precise by clearly identifying the stakeholders while making sure not to neglect any.

Two persons coded the corpus. To avoid individual biases, they met and swapped their respective grids during the process. In addition, one of them revised all the grids at the end of the coding process.

4.2.2. *Leaky Condos***Table 2: Results of the content analysis in the leaky condos case**

Form of the article		
	NB	%
Press release	5	1.6%
News article	194	61.0%
Analysis	1	0.3%
Editorial/column	57	17.9%
Open letter	61	19.2%
Tone of the article		
	NB	%
Favourable	55	17.3%
Unfavourable	39	12.3%
Neutral	224	70.4%
Presence of homeowner groups		
	NB	%
Coalition of Leaky Condo Owners (COLCO)	23	7.2%
Compensation and Accountability for Soaked Homeowners Society (CASH)	19	6.0%
Condominium Homeowners Association (CHOA)	36	11.3%
Conduits	2	0.6%
TOTAL	80	25.2%
Presence of opponents		
	NB	%
Urban Development Institute (UDI)	20	6.3%
Canadian Home Builders' Association (CHBA)	25	7.9%
Greater Vancouver Home Builders' Association (GVHBA)	12	3.8%
TOTAL	57	17.9%
Presence of other actors		
	NB	%
Architectural Institute of BC	5	1.6%
BC Federation of Labour	9	2.8%
Home Protection Office	41	12.9%
Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)	42	13.2%
TOTAL	97	30.5%

Table2 (continued) : Results of the content analysis in the leaky condos case

Tone of the stakeholders		
	NB	%
Favourable	63	19.8%
Unfavourable	27	8.5%
Neutral	123	38.7%
Multiple	103	32.4%
Dispute framework		
	NB	%
Plurality	130	40.9%
Disagreement	109	34.3%
Concertation	45	14.2%
Liability framework		
	NB	%
Criticism	185	58.2%
Third party claim	110	34.6%
Means of action		
	NB	%
Demonstration	12	3.8%
Change proposal addressed to decision-makers	8	2.5%
Attack on an actor's image or reputation	6	1.9%
Legal	48	15.1%
Public meeting	5	1.6%
No mention	236	74.2%
Use of the term "victim"		
	NB	%
Consumer group	7	2.2%
Journalist	13	4.1%
Government representative	2	0.6%
TOTAL	22	6.9%

4.2.2.1. Pyrite**Table 3: Results of the content analysis in the pyrite case**

Form of the article		
	NB	%
Press release	26	13.6%
News article	142	74.3%
Editorial/column	14	7.3%
Open letter	9	4.7%
Tone of the article		
	NB	%
Favourable	55	28.8%
Unfavourable	1	0.5%
Neutral	135	70.7%
Presence of homeowner groups		
	NB	%
<i>Association des propriétaires de Saint-Bruno (APSB)</i>	38	19.9%
<i>Association des consommateurs pour la qualité dans la construction (ACQC)</i>	45	23.6%
<i>Regroupement des comités de victimes de la pyrite (RCVP)</i>	40	20.9%
<i>Nouvelle association des résidents de Saint-Bruno (NARSB)</i>	6	3.1%
<i>Comité consultatif sur le problème de la pyrite (CCPP)</i>	13	6.8%
<i>Comité permanent sur le problème de la pyrite à Chambly (C3PC)</i>	20	10.5%
<i>Comité des victimes judiciaires de la pyrite (CVJP)</i>	6	3.1%
TOTAL	168	88.0%
Presence of opponents		
	NB	%
<i>Association provinciale des constructeurs d'habitation du Québec (APCHQ)</i>	14	7.3%
Presence of other actors		
	NB	%
<i>Société d'habitation du Québec (SHQ)</i>	29	15.2%
Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC)	15	7.9%
<i>Association des courtiers et agents immobiliers du Québec (ACAIQ)</i>	4	2.1%
TOTAL	48	25.1%

Table3 (continued) : Results of the content analysis in the pyrite case

Tone of the stakeholders		
	NB	%
Favourable	75	39.3%
Unfavourable	1	0.5%
Neutral	87	45.5%
Multiple	21	11.0%
Dispute framework		
	NB	%
Plurality	49	25.7%
Disagreement	32	16.8%
Concertation	47	24.6%
Liability framework		
	NB	%
Criticism	72	37.7%
Third party claim	47	24.6%
Means of action		
	NB	%
Change proposal addressed to decision-makers	41	21.5%
Attack against an actor's image or reputation	13	6.8%
Expertise	26	13.6%
Legal	8	4.2%
Public meeting	26	13.6%
No mention	77	40.3%
Use of the term "victim"		
	NB	%
Consumer group	15	7.9%
Journalist	51	26.7%
Other actor	3	1.6%
Government representative	5	2.6%
TOTAL	74	38.7%

4.2.2.2. Pyrrhotite**Table 4: Results of the analysis content in the pyrrhotite case**

Form of the article		
	NB	%
Press release	4	1.7%
News article	221	93.6%
Open letter	11	4.7%
Tone of the article		
	NB	%
Favourable	103	43.6%
Unfavourable	3	1.3%
Neutral	130	55.1%
Presence of homeowner groups		
	NB	%
<i>Coalition Proprio-Béton</i> (CPB)	98	41.5%
<i>SOS-Pyrrhotite</i>	15	6.4%
<i>Association des consommateurs pour la qualité dans la construction</i> (ACQC)	3	1.3%
TOTAL	116	49.2%
Presence of adversaries		
	NB	%
<i>Association provinciale des constructeurs d'habitations du Québec</i> (APCHQ)	22	9.3%
<i>Garantie des maisons neuves</i> (GMN)	33	14.0%
SNC-Lavalin	9	3.8%
TOTAL	65	27.2%
Presence of other actors		
	NB	%
Insurance Bureau of Canada (IBC)	2	0.8%
<i>Société d'habitation du Québec</i> (SHQ)	9	3.8%
<i>Régie du bâtiment du Québec</i> (RBQ)	8	3.4%
TOTAL	19	8.1%
Dispute framework		
	NB	%
Plurality	71	30.1%
Disagreement	45	19.1%
Concertation	41	17.4%

Table4 (continued) : Results of the analysis content in the pyrrhotite case

Liability framework		
	NB	%
Criticism	114	48.3%
Third party claim	85	36.0%
Means of action		
	NB	%
Demonstration	5	2.1%
Change proposal addressed to decision-makers	41	17.4%
Attack on an actor's image or reputation	37	15.7%
Expertise	16	6.8%
Legal	16	6.8%
Public meeting	10	4.2%
Petition	2	0.8%
No mention	109	46.2%
Use of the term "victim"		
	NB	%
Consumer group	12	5.1%
Journalist	124	52.5%
Other actor	17	7.2%
TOTAL	153	64.8%

4.2.3. Discussion

This subsection aims at discussing lessons derived from the content analysis. Those lessons will be confronted with other data collected in our research and presented in the next section of this report. We consider that using mixed methods yields a more nuanced analysis and reduces biases that may arise if only the quantitative or qualitative method is used. For that reason, we will not attempt here to answer our research questions, but will do so in the next section.

First, the content analysis reveals a major difference in the media treatment of the three cases. The number of articles identified is one indicator of that, but the form of those articles is another. Thus, in the leaky condos case, over 38% of published texts are columns, editorials or open letters. That proportion is only 12% in the pyrite case and 5% in the pyrrhotite case. As opposed to the other articles, the content of such texts is not bound by objectivity or impartiality. The greater quantity of editorial content suggests that the problem encountered raised more debates and/or that the newspapers concerned wanted to disseminate a certain viewpoint on that problem. This is the interpretation given by the authors of "Question the Sun!"; they criticize Vancouver's major daily for its unfavourable coverage of homeowners in the leaky condos crisis during the 1990s (Gutstein, Hackett & Newswatch Canada, 1998). A more thorough study would be necessary to confirm or refute the authors' interpretation, but we may still conclude that the

abundance of opinion contents in the form of the articles is directly related to the presence of adversary discourse among the public.

That result is supported by the much more balanced proportion of favourable and unfavourable articles in the leaky condos case – 17.3% of favourable articles and 12.3% of unfavourable ones – compared to coverage of the pyrite and pyrrhotite cases, where articles unfavourable to homeowners (0.5 % et 1.3 %, respectively), are much rarer than those favourable to them (28.8 % et 43.6%, respectively). The conclusion is reinforced by the results obtained for the dispute framework where the rate of disagreement identified in the articles is half as high in the pyrite case (16.8 %) as in the leaky condos case (34.3 %). In the pyrrhotite case, that rate of disagreement with the homeowners is slightly higher than in the pyrite case (19.1 %), but still well below that in the leaky condos case. This may be explained in part by the media treatment reserved for homeowners affected by pyrrhotite, which was much more favourable than in the two other cases. The homeowners affected by pyrrhotite also had a much greater presence in the media, so they had a major platform for publicizing their problem. This allows us to draw a first portrait of the three cases in terms of the presence and virulence of the opposition facing the homeowners. That opposition is strongest in the leaky condos case and weakest against homeowners affected by pyrite. The pyrrhotite case is an intermediate one. A qualitative analysis will enable us to evaluate the influence of this factor on the forms and outcomes of the mobilizations.

In the same vein, this analysis has also enabled us to evaluate the relative weight or presence of the various stakeholders' discourse in the media. This helps us to distinguish between the most active homeowner groups, but also to identify their opponents and the other stakeholders in the mobilization. Their number varies from one case to the other, but we always find government organizations, industry representatives and several homeowner groups. This relative stability in terms of interlocutors suggests that homeowner groups adopt strategies that have many points in common, which leads them to interact with the same actors.

Other actors' frequency of criticism and third party claims is relatively high in all three cases. The stakeholders' discourses are relatively similar in this regard.

There are major differences between the means of action used by homeowner groups. Our observations induce us to think that their strategies are more varied than the other variables suggest. While the homeowners affected by pyrite made extensive use of their expertise, the leaky condo owners preferred legal action to win their case, and the homeowners affected by pyrrhotite frequently resorted to attacking the image or reputation of other actors. This measure certainly leads to bias because certain types of actions are more likely to be reported by journalists and a single action may last several days or months – such as a trial; but the qualitative analysis will enable us to attenuate that bias and obtain a more accurate portrait of the means of action used by those actors.

Lastly, the frequency of use and the identity of the actors who pronounce the term “victim” in each of the cases are particularly interesting, in revealing the homeowner groups' discursive strategies and their effectiveness. Here again, the three cases are widely divergent. While that term was rarely used in reference to the leaky condo owners (6.9 %), it is part of the very name of the most important group of homeowners affected by pyrite and was found in 38.7 % of the articles. This situation led the term to be repeated often by the media, but also by government representatives on a few occasions. In the pyrrhotite case, the term “victim” appeared in 64.8 % of the articles analysed. Those differences illustrate the strategic choices made by the

homeowner groups and other actors. For example, it is significant that government representatives almost never referred to the homeowners as victims.

5. DISCUSSION

This section presents an analysis and discussion of the data collected throughout our research, in order to provide answers to the research questions. To that end, we will divide this section into three parts, according to the issues raised in the introduction. First we will consider the organizational and resource management strategies and the means of action used by the homeowner groups. Second, we will study the influence of the homeowners' discourse and claims on the conduct of mobilizations, as well as the various actors' discursive strategies. Third, we will focus on the effects of contextual factors to explain the results and certain strategic choices made by the homeowner groups.

5.1. *Organization as Key to the Effectiveness of Collective Action*

In this first part, we will discuss the importance of organizational factors in the success of the mobilizations studied. We will initially consider the relations between homeowner groups in each case and try to draw lessons about the effectiveness of the different models. Then we will analyse the difficulties encountered by the homeowner groups in their organizational efforts, along with the means they use to overcome them. Lastly, we will describe the means of action chosen by the groups and the reasons for those choices.

5.1.1. *Structure of Mobilizations and of Relations between Homeowner Groups*

The three mobilizations studied in this project present different forms of organization. The configurations range from a horizontal model – several groups having similar missions and at times cooperating, at other times competing in the leaky condos case – to a more hierarchical pyramid organization for the homeowners affected by pyrite. The pyrrhotite case is intermediate, with the various groups' positioning changing over time. Considering the three cases under study, based on the diagrams below, we can better understand the organizations' place and role in the mobilizations.

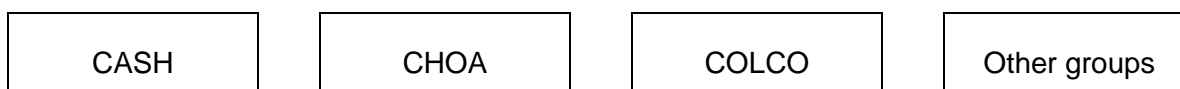


Figure 1: Horizontal organization of the mobilization in the leaky condos case

In the leaky condos case, the various homeowner groups were founded on different dates and, beyond a common desire to work on behalf of the homeowners, pursued distinct objectives. CHOA, which existed before the leaky condos crisis, had the mission of defending the interests of condominium owners and of promoting and informing the public on condominium living (CHOA, 2014). In that sense, the cause of leaky condo owners represents only one of that organization's tasks, and one its main objectives remains the improvement of consumer protection in the long term. Inversely, all the other groups were created specifically to help the homeowners affected, and resolving this problem was their *raison d'être*. Their attitude thus differs from that of CHOA.

Those groups may be classified into three categories. On one hand, COLCO defended a firm position of full compensation for the homeowners. On the other hand, CASH and CHOA

adopted a position much more open to negotiations with the other stakeholders in order to obtain even minimal gains for the homeowners. Other groups, not identified in the diagram, are much less important than those in the two first categories. This third category comprises local groups acting within a city, neighbourhood or housing development. Among those local groups are Conduits, a group in Victoria, and the Tri-Cities Condo Groups in the Vancouver suburb. They feature more modest objectives, often working within municipal institutions; the two groups just mentioned also participated in meetings with provincial representatives.

Generally, each group operated independently of the others, but many points of convergence existed between them and their relations were cordial most of the time. Both *ad hoc* and extended collaborations thus arose, without those initiatives resulting in mergers (Down, 2000a). Good relations between the various groups were reinforced by member transfers. For example, Carmen Maretic first worked with CHOA before briefly joining COLCO, then founding and managing CASH. Similarly, John Grasty, who founded COLCO, joined CASH and became its president when Carmen Maretic passed the torch.

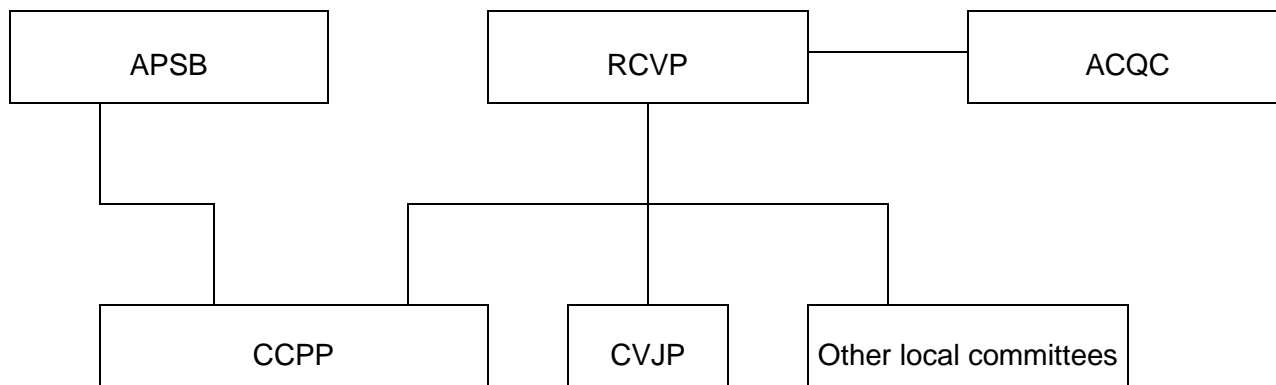


Figure 2: Hierarchical organization of the mobilization in the pyrite case

As opposed to the leaky condos case, the mobilization of homeowners affected by pyrite organized from the start according to a hierarchical model whereby the *Regroupement des comités de victimes de la pyrite* (RCVP) centralized decision-making. Once the major orientations were validated, local and specialized committees were charged with applying them. Rather than having to manage the emergence of competing groups defending the same cause, RCVP preferred to integrate, along the way, persons who wanted to act in favour of homeowners affected by pyrite. That willingness to integrate served to broaden the group's objectives with the creation of the Comité des victimes judiciaires de la pyrite (CVJP), whose objective was to assist former homeowners engaged in claims for hidden defects. Both parties benefited from that alliance, RCVP avoiding the appearance of a potential competitor before the public authorities, and CVJP benefiting from the recognition accorded to the group.

From the start, the ACQC was a solid partner for RCVP, which could count on its logistical support and expertise in mobilization. There was no hierarchical relation between the two organizations and, here again, cooperation was mutually beneficial for both groups, since the ACQC's participation in that mobilization helped reinforce the association's image and expertise. Moreover, the ACQC's participation in the Comité technique québécois (CTQ) illustrates the association's credibility among the other stakeholders, which made it all the more valuable as a partner for RCVP.

Local homeowners associations are another important component of the mobilization. The best example of their role is provided by the *Association des propriétaires de Saint-Bruno* (APSB), which formed the *Comité consultatif sur le problème de la pyrite* (CCPP) before the latter joined RCVP, without betraying its origins. The CCPP must therefore follow the agendas of its two “superiors.” However, this configuration may prove a double-edged sword for the mobilization. It may enable affected homeowners to disseminate their message more effectively through associations already well established locally, or it may be a factor of discord when the groups pursue different objectives. In this specific case, both situations occurred successively; we will return to this episode later in this section.

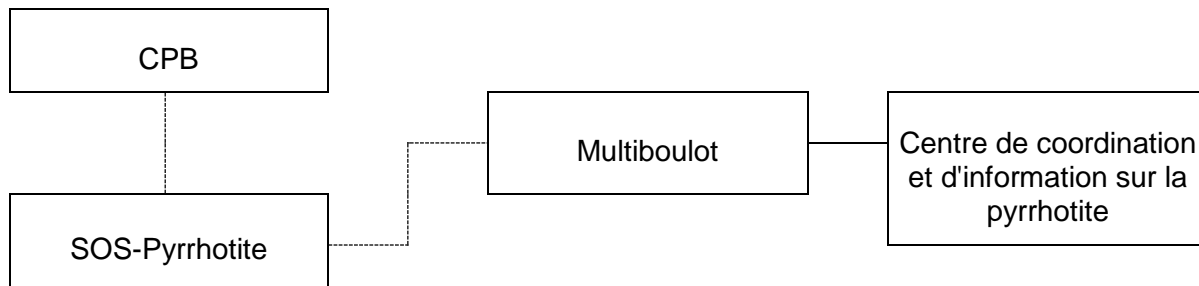


Figure 3: Mixed organization of the mobilization in the pyrrhotite case

The organization of the mobilization of homeowners affected by pyrrhotite differs from the two cases presented above. At times it had the features of a relatively loose hierarchy, and later favoured competition between two of the homeowner groups, while others worked independently.

CPB was the first homeowner group to be formed, and the most important one. SOS-Pyrrhotite then arrived as an organization affiliated with CPB. Multiboulot and the Centre de coordination et d'information sur la pyrrhotite worked in concert to help the homeowners before, during and after repair work. Those two organizations are not specifically homeowner groups. They result from a contract between the Corporation de développement communautaire de Trois-Rivières (Écof) managing the Centre de coordination, Multiboulot, and the City of Trois-Rivières. The City granted funding to those organizations to assist the homeowners after repeated demands from SOS-Pyrrhotite (Trahan, 2011c). However, the latter never actually worked with the two other organizations, despite their missions' similarity and the role that SOS-Pyrrhotite played in obtaining that funding (Trahan, 2011d). The ACQC also became interested, although belatedly, in the cause of homeowners affected by pyrrhotite. It was not as active in this case as in the pyrite case, for example. But it collaborated effectively with CPB to reform the management of warranty plans on new homes, while letting CPB lead the way in defending the affected homeowners.

Is one mode of organization more effective than another? If we compare the results obtained by the homeowner groups with the organization of their mobilization as a whole, it appears that a model where a group centralizes the essential claims and attention, the mobilization has a better chance of success than when several groups work independently. However, the effectiveness of a mobilization's mode of organization is only one of the factors that may lead to homeowners' claims being satisfied. Contextual factors, and many other ones directly related to the groups, will also contribute to the success or failure of mobilizations.

5.1.2. Influence of Organizational Factors on Mobilization Success

Homeowners face many obstacles in their organizing efforts. Whether meeting other people in their situation, convincing them to join their cause or defining operating rules and ensuring group harmony, there are many pitfalls in the acquisition of means to act collectively. We will compare here the strategies for organizing and mobilizing the resources of homeowner groups.

Despite the many differences between homeowner groups, most share a common point: the intervention of a third party has triggered their creation. This is the case for CASH, RCVP and CPB. CASH was formed after Carmen Maretic joined Nona Saunders at CHOA and observed that the latter group did not address the problem of all leaky condo owners (Maretic, 2014). With regard to RCVP, the ACQC called upon the affected homeowners to band together and offered material and organizational assistance to that effect (Gagnon, 1998). Lastly, the homeowners struggling with pyrrhotite took advantage of a meeting organized by the GMN to get together and launch the initiative that became CPB. Other groups such as COLCO did not follow this model. John Grasty personally contacted the homeowners whose names he had read or heard in the media, to invite them to meet and discuss their shared problem, thus leading to the creation of COLCO (Grasty, 2014); but this case is exceptional. Those examples illustrate one of the obstacles facing homeowners wanting to mobilize, and the means they use to overcome those obstacles: the difficulty of identifying other persons with the same problem. Our research shows that without particularly favourable circumstances, the best way for homeowners to band together is to be able to count on the presence and support, at least temporary, of an organization sharing a certain number of objectives with them and pre-existing the occurrence of the problem. All the groups we are discussing evidently had to overcome this initial obstacle. So it seems difficult to specify precisely which factors are determining in this process. Still, the result is better knowledge of the required ingredients for resolving this problem. In any case, the long period between the start of the leaky condos crisis in the first half of the 1990s and the creation of *ad hoc* homeowner groups at the end of that decade prompts us not to underestimate the magnitude of the task.

Once other homeowners affected by the same problem are identified, the next step for individuals wanting to mobilize is to convince them to join their cause. They are then confronted by the dilemma of collective action as described by Mancur Olson, since the homeowners have every interest in letting other individuals bear the cost of mobilization and in hoping to reap the benefits. The inducement to wait for a “free ride” in the context of construction problems is all the stronger because the homeowners fear that their participation in the mobilization helps reduce the value of their homes, which are henceforth labelled as leaky condos, or as containing pyrite or pyrrhotite. In all three cases, our research revealed the existence of this problem (Pires, 2000b; Grasty, 2014; Boivin, 2014). But the homeowners’ level of participation in the mobilization appears to have consequences on its success. CPB groups over 1,200 members out of the 1,600 affected homeowners identified, and RCVP grouped over 3,000 members out of an estimated total of 15,000 buildings affected by pyrite (Penven, 1999a; Penven, 1999b; Boivin, 2014). In those two cases, the influence of local mobilizations on the elected officials in the regions concerned quickly raised the problem’s public visibility. Inversely, it is more difficult to evaluate the number of COLCO and CASH members, for which a larger audience is more important than an increase in membership.²⁶ Their more flexible and less hierarchical structure leads to a greater rotation of active members of those groups. The proportion of homeowners who participated in the actions of those two groups was much lower

²⁶ That audience is estimated at 15,000 to 20,000 persons reached directly and indirectly for CASH, according to Carmen Maretic; and COLCO had around 600 names on its mailing list (Maretic, 2014; Grasty, 2014). Their meetings often numbered several hundred people.

than in the two other cases. This did not hinder their visibility, since they appeared very regularly in the media, but it may have hindered their efforts among the other stakeholders. While the reticence to get involved in mobilization faded quickly in the cases of pyrite and pyrrhotite as the movement grew, it appeared to remain strong among the leaky condo owners, as attested by the criticisms raised when the homeowner groups invoked the situation of specific buildings (Skelton, 1999; Lockhead, 2001). Combined with the division between the various groups, this gives the unfavourable image of an unrepresentative and scattered mobilization. So not all the groups succeeded in resolving the collective action dilemma facing the homeowners, and the mobilization's effectiveness suffered as a result.

The choice of the groups' internal mode of operation posed another challenge for the new homeowner groups. All the groups opted for relative specialization of their most active members. Thus, they all had a spokesperson and a small number of persons reflecting on the strategic directions of their action. Then the decision-making mode may be very collegial, as in the case of COLCO, or more rigid in that of RCVP. The many similarities between groups on this point suggest that it is not a determining criterion in the mobilization's success, as shown by the contrasting results in the three cases studied.

The groups' survival during their mobilization is threatened by three principal factors: lack of funding, demobilization of members, and the rise of internal discord. Despite the fact that almost all the work of the various homeowner groups was done voluntarily, their operation alone entailed unavoidable costs. There exists here a clear contrast between Quebec and British Columbia groups: the former could count on public funds or at least on logistical support from public authorities, while the latter were completely left to themselves so that the search for funding was a major part of their efforts. In Quebec, municipalities were often the first to assist the groups, not without being solicited, and provided logistical, material and/or financial support.²⁷ Provincial organizations sometimes funded specific projects, but more rarely. In addition to several municipal subsidies that enabled it to hire an employee, CPB also benefited from a wave of regional solidarity whereby several companies and organization from the region made them donations (Trahan, 2013f). By contrast, the leaky condo homeowner groups received no public funds and had to rely on their members' generosity and be imaginative in order to survive. For example, COLCO sold T-shirts and umbrellas. For its part, CASH organized "loonie drives": the organization asked the co-owners, during meetings, to pay one dollar per co-owner on a voluntary basis, and then asked the managers of those condominium buildings to match that contribution (Maretic, 2014). Fund-raising dinners and other funding activities filled the mobilization time of those groups, to the detriment of their principal mission.

The demobilization of homeowner group members may also fragilize a mobilization. It is particularly difficult to maintain the dynamic of a mobilization without obtaining any gains. For example, in early 1999, the delegates of local committees of homeowners affected by pyrite reported to RCVP the growing discontent of their members, disappointed with not seeing any results after a few months of mobilization, and impatient to resolve their problem. Nevertheless, the progress of negotiations with public authorities, the group's effective organization and the permanent addition of new local committees made it possible to overcome that episode. Similarly, COLCO progressively disappeared from the public arena in 2003, and remained visible only through its spokesperson, James Balderson. The reasons for such declines are several: as homeowners do corrective work, they have less incentives to prolong their

²⁷ That support can take various forms, from making rooms available for homeowner group meetings to opening a voice mailbox.

participation; the absence of results discourages them; personal or health reasons prevent them from maintaining their role within the mobilization (Maretic, 2014; Grasty, 2014). In the pyrite case, the demobilization appeared from the moment when the homeowners obtained gains, even though not all of RCVF's claims had been heard. That demobilization also revealed disagreements within the movement, between committees considering their mission accomplished and others wanting to pursue their involvement (Cloutier, 2002).

The appearance of dissent within homeowner groups is another danger facing most of them. Disputes may have an internal or an external origin and may result from individual rivalries or divergent opinions. Their emergence may coincide with periods of lassitude or demobilization, but seems more often to result from personal ambitions. Thus, SOS-Pyrrhotite, previously allied with CPB, gradually broadened its scope until it was competing with the coalition. The divorce between the two parties is now finalized. One of the reasons given to explain this schism is the political ambition of the president of SOS-Pyrrhotite (Trahan, 2014a). Such problems may also be caused by factors external to the group, as in the case of RCVF. Tensions between Edwige Skulska, APSB vice-president with no links to RCVF, and other members such as André Moisan, who was not only responsible for the CCPP – which was affiliated to APSB – but also the president of RCVF, led to the creation of the Nouvelle association des résidents de Saint-Bruno (NARSB), which the dissidents joined (Pires, 2001). But NARSB was not empowered to send RCVF delegates to represent the City of Saint-Bruno; that was the CCPP's task. Following that episode, André Moisan resigned as RCVF president, which also illustrates the risks that groups take by associating with other organizations and thus acquiring a rigid structure.

We observed a leadership bias within those groups. The most effective and visible groups all have a charismatic spokesperson or president, particularly involved, and appearing in the media. Other members are rarely mentioned. James Balderson quickly asserted himself as the symbol of leaky condo owners when at the Barrett Commission hearings he showed up wearing a T-shirt on which the words "Condo Rot" could be read. Before that striking appearance, he had already expressed his discontent virulently in several media, and was many times the face and driving force of COLCO. His presence so bothered the industry that its representatives multiplied personal attacks against him (Grasty, 2014). On the other hand, Nona Sanders rose as a major figure in the mobilization. Her action led to the Barrett Commission hearings and she was the person most responsible for publicizing the problem (Boei, 2002b). Carmen Maretic and John Grasty were also charismatic and competent leaders who greatly contributed to the success of CASH. The case of CPB spokesperson Yvon Boivin resembles that of James Balderson in that he quickly became one of the most ardent defenders of the affected homeowners and continued leading a group for several years after his personal situation was settled. To many people, he is the face of homeowners affected by pyrrhotite. Lastly, André Moisan is the one who enabled RCVF to acquire such an effective structure. Less present in the media than the persons mentioned above, he was the group's principal strategist and negotiator. His role was central in obtaining the aid program. After he left, RCVF continued acting effectively, by maintaining, although less successfully, the strategy and organization he had greatly helped to establish.

5.1.3. *Choice and Effectiveness of Means of Action*

As the quantitative analysis of media content demonstrated, the three mobilizations preferred different means of action. We will further detail the first observations we formulated, and compare the effectiveness of the different groups' actions.

The leaky condo homeowner groups chose to be much more publicly visible than those defending homeowners affected by pyrite, who relied more on expert advice and negotiations with the other stakeholders. As for CPB, it diversified its means of action to a greater extent.

One of the means of action preferred by the leaky condo owners was public demonstrations. They were often held in front of politicians' rallies during election campaigns, in order to attract the attention of the politicians and the public regarding the groups' claims. Despite relative victories, as when Paul Martin and federal Liberal MP David Anderson agreed to meet representatives of the demonstrators, led by CASH, the demonstrations don't seem to have led to concrete results for the homeowners and rarely succeeded in mobilizing more than a few dozen people (Down, 2000b). We did not identify demonstrations held by homeowners affected by pyrite, but those affected by pyrrhotite marched several times: in the City of Trois-Rivières to attract attention to their problem, at the start of the "megatrial" and in front of the building housing the general meeting of SNC-Lavalin shareholders (Le Nouvelliste, 2013). The latter action was part of a broader strategy that saw two CPB members acquire SNC-Lavalin shares to intervene at general meetings, address the board of directors, and raise the other shareholders' awareness of the fate of homeowners struggling with pyrrhotite (Boivin, 2014). This second action appears to have been more successful than the demonstrations, because it enabled the CPB members to discuss directly with the other shareholders, as peers, rather than appearing solely as a protest group. The effectiveness of this action can be validated if SNC-Lavalin declines, as the CPB members have requested, to appeal an unfavourable verdict in the "megatrial" (Trahan, 2014d).

All the groups without exception presented written claims to the ministers responsible for these construction matters. The effectiveness of this action is variable, but doesn't seem to depend so much on the manner in which the groups formulate their demands than on the calculations made by their interlocutors. In that sense, the action's success depends rather on the structure of political opportunities and on other contextual factors we will discuss later.

In British Columbia and Mauricie, the homeowner groups relied on strongly symbolic actions. While CASH was holding "rain dances" as an irony on the leaks sustained by homes (Maretic, 2014) and COLCO was organizing "Pour-gees Awards" to single out the worst leaky condos as a satire of the construction industry's "Georgie Awards" (Down, 2000c), CPB asked each participant to a demonstration in Trois-Rivières to attach a message to keys that were then handed to the municipal council so as to symbolize the problems related to pyrrhotite and the homeowners' risk of bankruptcy (Trahan, 2011e). Despite often-spectacular showings, those actions appear to have had little effect on the homeowners' interlocutors and served more to raise the groups' public visibility than to resolve their problem.

Among the means of action taken by the homeowner groups, expertise is the broadest and most difficult to define. One of the measures commonly taken by the groups was to publish a guide for persons affected by the problem. The ACQC and CPB did so for pyrite and pyrrhotite respectively, whereas COLCO centralized on its Web site the various resources useful to the homeowners (ACQC, 2003; Boivin, 2014; COLCO, 2005). CASH and CHOA also answered the homeowners' questions, while the RCVP members helped one another. The CPB's

representations before the Insurance Bureau of Canada (IBC) on behalf of homeowners experiencing problems with their home insurance also relied on expertise, since the organization used its experience of similar situations to assist persons struggling with pyrrhotite (Trahan, 2013g). Those actions on behalf of the homeowners raised the credibility and legitimacy of the organizations among their target public, thus reinforcing their position in other aspects of their mission. The groups also developed their technical knowledge of the problems confronting them. After a few months of mobilization, most of the groups had acquired in-depth knowledge of the various dimensions of the problem by poring over the literature on the subject and gleaning the available information, such as the results of analyses performed on their homes (Maretic, 2014; Boivin, 2014). This even enabled them, in the pyrite case for example, to inform their interlocutors about the existence of certain regulatory or technical points, thus reinforcing their credibility (RCVP, 1999a). With regard to RCVP, the ACQC brought its mobilization expertise, providing concrete tools for facilitating the group's organization and the formulation of its claims. So expertise assisted the homeowners, but also proved an important tool in ensuring the groups' credibility in the eyes of their interlocutors, and thus made them stand out as legitimate actors among the persons affected as well as other stakeholders. All the participants in the different mobilizations understood the importance of expertise and rapidly relied on it during their representations.

Most of the groups adopted the new information technologies as a favoured means of communication with their members and the public. Indeed, those tools offer many possibilities for organizations without a substantial budget and infrastructure. The costs of maintaining a Web site are much lower than for renting premises, and e-mail makes it possible both to be reached at any time and to contact any interlocutor instantly. The use of these technologies was still embryonic in the pyrite case, but was more developed among the leaky condo owners; the two mobilizations emerged in the late 1990s. However the RCVP members communicated by e-mail and the group had a dedicated space on the ACQC's Web site. CASH, CHOA and COLCO each had a Web site; COLCO's Web site provided a great deal of information, such as a list of affected condominiums and the minutes of COLCO meetings (COLCO, 2003). CPB, assisted by computer experts in its ranks, rapidly acquired a Web site and a related forum for homeowners to exchange information. That forum was gradually abandoned in favour of a Facebook page after it was observed that this medium was even more effective in reaching the public and members (Boivin, 2014). The Web site, a victim of many cyber attacks, is still active and is an ideal tool for centralizing information relevant to the homeowners and the public. Despite the near-systematic use of e-mail for communications between members, Yvon Boivin told us that members were also contacted by telephone to convene them to meetings and ensure their attendance (Boivin, 2014). CPB used e-mail even more extensively – that tool was key to one of its actions, which it named *“le supplice du courriel”* (“e-mail torture”). It consisted of sending one question each day to the GMN director, while putting in copy the minister responsible, the RBQ and all other stakeholders (Boivin, 2014). That action lasted over a year and demonstrated CPB's perseverance as well as the relevance of its questions to the messages' multiple recipients. So both practical and economical considerations led the homeowner groups to use digital technology successfully, as the latter offered new possibilities of action at lower cost.

It is interesting to note that during our discussions with various stakeholders, we observed that except for the pyrite case, no group used as a model any other mobilization in the construction sector. Although aware of one another's existence, the leaky condo owners and those affected by pyrite did not exchange information. Rather, they awaited answers from the federal government (RCVP, 1999b). Moreover, the leaky condo owners considered that those affected by pyrite were favoured by the federal government (Yaffe, 2001; O'Neil, 2001a). In the pyrite case, references to the 1994 mobilization regarding homes damaged by cracks were numerous

and explicit (Gagnon, 1998). The means of action were the same, so as to adopt a strategy that had been successful. In the pyrrhotite case, CPB was aware of the pyrite problem that had occurred in the past, but it had no knowledge of the mobilization details, and was unaware of the existence and magnitude of the leaky condos crisis (Boivin, 2014). Despite that mutual ignorance, the three mobilizations we studied had numerous means of action in common. Nevertheless, the homeowners affected by pyrrhotite are certainly those who demonstrated the most imagination and diversity in their means of action. They also obtained the best outcomes, notably through the reform regarding the management of new home warranty plans, while RCVP failed in its attempt to amend the legal definition of hidden defects. In addition to other factors, the diversity and originality of CPB's actions contributed to their success, which still remains partial.

5.2. The Weight of Discourse in the Homeowner Groups' Strategy

Beyond the groups' organization and resource mobilization capacity, the success or failure of the homeowners' action depends a lot on the discursive strategies of the various stakeholders. We will present here the two main components of those strategies: the efforts to publicize the problem, and the nature of claims made by the homeowner groups.

5.2.1. Publicizing and Framing the Issues

Construction problems are publicized through the framing efforts of the stakeholders to the mobilizations. The various actors speak in public arenas to express their interpretation of the situation and promote their agenda for managing it. During that process, the phenomena encountered by homeowners acquire the status of a public problem. After describing the dynamics of the publicization of the three cases under study, we will examine the determining factors of those dynamics, the impact of a mobilization's conflict intensity on its success, and the importance of defining the condition of the affected homeowners.

The kick off for the publicization and problematization of the issue of pyrite in backfills under floor slabs was a report on the TV program "La Facture" in fall 1998 (Cormier, 2000: 2). Although the sector's various actors were aware of the phenomenon's existence before that date, as illustrated by AEG Montreal's symposium on pyrite in 1997 and CTQ's subsequent creation, that information remained largely restricted to a small circle of specialists. The "La Facture" report, favourable to consumers, helped define the presence of pyrite as a construction problem. The homeowners' rapid mobilization following that broadcast, and their active presence in the media, reinforced that interpretation among the public. Moreover, our quantitative analysis of media content noted the very weak presence of those opposing the consumer groups in the public discourse. That near-absence left the field open to the homeowners to define the problem in their own terms and impose their agenda for resolving it. Incidentally, our findings regarding the framing of disputes suggest that the mobilization against pyrite was much less antagonistic than the two others.²⁸ This is largely due to the strategy of RCVP and the ACQC, which did not seek to attack the construction industry, but immediately requested financial compensation from the government while identifying the lack of standards as the main cause of the problem (RCVP, 1999c). The government did not contradict the homeowners' interpretation and quickly admitted the existence of a problem, thus leading the way to developing an aid program negotiated between the two parties (RCVP, 1999b).

²⁸ Our data indicate in fact that the mobilization against pyrite featured the lowest level of disagreement and the highest level of concertation (see section 4.2.1.2).

Inversely, opposition between APCHQ and the CPB was at the heart of the mobilization of homeowners affected by pyrrhotite. Very quickly, the nature and amount of the GMN's payments, managed by APCHQ, fuelled the mobilization (Boivin, 2014). Although our quantitative content analysis does not reveal a particularly high level of disagreement, this is due to the form of the newspaper articles selected. Often, a single actor intervenes in a given article, and the other side's response is the object of a second article. As soon as CPB was created, the homeowners were very active, both in describing their situation and in developing a program to remedy it. In their view, they were underestimated by the GMN, and this enabled them to have a head start in asserting their discourse before their adversary realized its error and fired back (Boivin, 2014). The GMN's counter-discourse did not succeed in supplanting the homeowners'. The homeowner groups also held companies such as SNC-Lavalin liable for the problem, and based their argument on the importance of compensating people affected by pyrrhotite. CPB also addressed itself to the different levels of government, by criticizing the inadequacy of concrete quality standards (Trahan, 2013h). The media coverage, relatively favourable to the homeowners, enabled them to impose their definition of the problem and their agenda on the other actors.

The leaky condos case was long publicized by the other stakeholders before the homeowners started mobilizing more actively in the late 1990s. As opposed to the pyrrhotite case, the media coverage was rather unfavourable to the homeowners from the start of the publicization to the appearance of several new homeowner groups (Gutstein, Hackett & Newswatch Canada, 1998). As our quantitative content analysis shows, the journalistic treatment was balanced in the following years.²⁹ However, while the relative absence of consumer groups from the public arena at the start of the publicization did not prevent the problem from being framed, that framing did not take the homeowners' viewpoint into account. Instead, reassuring messages directed against the Building Code by construction industry representatives shaped the interpretations and discourse regarding the problem, to the point of convincing the homeowners themselves (Maretic, 2014). Once the magnitude of the crisis was better understood and new homeowner groups appeared, the latter attempted to assert new frameworks of interpretation. They blamed the construction industry and tried to convince the public about the common benefits of compensating the leaky condo owners. However, their efforts did not succeed in significantly changing the perception of the problem. In this case, the homeowner groups were the ones that asserted a counter discourse to that of the industry. Although the two Barrett commissions' conclusions favoured the homeowners, the construction industry's interpretations continue being repeated most often (Cope, 2008 or Penner, 2009 for example).

Open conflict between different categories of actors makes it possible to define the mobilizations' conflict intensity. Those conflicts manifest themselves in the public arena, but their impact on a mobilization's success is more difficult to measure. While they may reinforce a group's cohesion against a common adversary, they also contribute to dispersing the groups' efforts and are thus a double-edged sword. In a context where the groups have very few resources, the open opposition of better organized and funded opponents may pose an insurmountable obstacle. Given the diametrically opposed results of the two conflict-ridden mobilizations, pyrrhotite and the leaky condos, open conflict with other actors does not appear to be a determining factor in the success or failure of mobilizations.

²⁹ With over 70% of neutral articles, 12% unfavourable articles and 17% favourable articles to the homeowners' cause, this is the most balanced coverage of the three mobilizations; the two others are somewhat more favourable to the homeowners, although the majority of articles maintain a neutral tone (see section 4.2).

The use of the term “victim” is an important aspect of the discursive strategy of homeowner groups. By asserting their condition as victims – the term is in RCVP’s name itself – the homeowners affected by pyrite attempted to emphasize the injustice of their situation and their absence of responsibility for the problem they were grappling with. No counter-discourse opposed that interpretation asserted by the groups. The homeowners affected by pyrrhotite also described themselves as victims of the construction industry and of the GMN’s management (Trahan, 2013i). That interpretation was largely reproduced by the media covering the mobilization, as demonstrated by the results of our quantitative content analysis.³⁰ The homeowner groups’ opponents did not dispute the status of the “pyrrhotite victims” but focused on refuting the accusations against the GMN (Trahan, 2013i). The status of victims no doubt contributed to the wave of local solidarity that benefited the homeowners. In those two cases, it should be noted that the homeowners were very rarely qualified as “victims” by government representatives, but slightly more often by members of the Opposition. The leaky condo owners adopted a radically different approach from the other two mobilizations, since they very rarely described themselves as victims and the various groups’ representatives never used that term, although they considered themselves no more responsible and just as arbitrarily affected as the homeowners in the two other cases. Whether or not this was a deliberate choice, they have suffered from their lack of control over the publicization and problematization of the leaky condos case. Indeed, after the industry and the media presented that phenomenon as a private problem for which the homeowners were responsible, that interpretation was repeated for years by most of the actors, including some homeowners, as attested by the frequent reference to the concept of *caveat emptor*³¹ in articles discussing the subject (Paterson, 1998; Vernon, 2000; Gilbert, 2000 and McMartin, 1998). In that context, where the homeowners are considered responsible for their own possessions, it’s difficult for consumer groups to impose the contrary idea that the homeowners are in fact victims. The victimhood framework of interpretation did not correspond to the beliefs and values defended in most of the articles written on the subject, and was therefore not adopted by the public. This is most clearly illustrated by the groups and commentators not repeating the term “victim” even after Dave Barrett described the homeowners as such in his first report (Paterson, 1998). Barrett’s visibility and influence might have changed public perception, but his initiative remained a dead letter. Given the contrasting success between the mobilizations presenting the homeowners as victims and the mobilization of the leaky condo owners, it appears that the groups’ definition of their condition is a factor of success or failure. Generally, these different examples clearly demonstrate the importance of homeowners actively participating in the framing processes leading to the problematization and publicization of their cause among the public.

5.2.2. *Claims and Scope of the Mobilization*

The homeowner groups’ formulation of claims is one of the central aspects of their strategy. Satisfying those claims is the measurement for determining the mobilizations’ success or failure. The nature of the claims also reveals the ambition of the homeowners’ collective action.

As we explained in our review of the literature, the desire to redefine the social structures in place is the mark of a social movement, whose mobilization has a broader scope than just a collective action (see section 2). This change of status is detectable in the nature of claims

³⁰ With a rate of occurrence of almost 65%, the term “victim” is repeated much more often in the pyrite case, particularly by journalists (see section 4.2).

³¹ Or “let the buyer beware,” meaning that the buyer must be vigilant and is solely responsible for any problem that arises.

formulated by certain homeowner groups. In our three cases, the mobilizations gradually passed from a collective action aimed at resolving the immediate problem of a well-identified population to a social movement demanding reforms in order to reconstitute social structures durably.

That development was most rapid and radical in the pyrrhotite case. Unhappy with the treatment given them by APCHQ as manager of their homes' warranty plan, the homeowners grouped in CPB exposed the contractor association and asked the provincial government for a reform of new home warranty plans so as to better take consumers' viewpoint into account. While their demand grew more visible in the public arena, ACQC and the Regroupement des gestionnaires de copropriétés du Québec (RGCCQ) joined CPB to demand and obtain a reform of the management of those plans (Ducas, 2013). Those three groups defended common positions on the subject and became allies to win their case. Their success reconstituted in effect the power structure endured by consumers, since the latter would henceforth have a more important voice in the management of warranty plans (Trahan, 2014c). Moreover, CPB requested that the new headquarters of new home warranty plans be located in Trois-Rivières, in recognition of the homeowners' mobilization in the region, but also to stimulate the local economy (Trahan, 2014e). This additional demand clearly demonstrates that CPB exceeded the narrower framework of collective action responding to a specific problem and asserted itself increasingly as a social movement. The coalition has not yet sustained a major failure in its action; the reaction of other actors to its new demands remains to be seen, as well as the mobilization's future once all its initial claims are satisfied or rejected.

In the pyrite case, RCVP and the ACQC failed in their attempt to exceed the defence of homeowners affected by pyrite and tackle the problem of serial lawsuits between homeowners on the basis of the concept of "hidden defect." This aspect of the mobilization developed because of CVJP, which grouped numerous homeowners sued after selling their house. That committee demanded a reform of the definition of "hidden defect" to prevent the homeowners from being bound indefinitely to the fate of their house. That strategy raised debates within RCVP, as not all the participants were in favour of it (Edwards, 2014). Indeed, that demand ran counter to the interests of homeowners who themselves had initiated lawsuits for hidden defects against the previous occupants, in the hope of recovering part of the cost of repair work. However, that position is consistent with the messages disseminated by the ACQC and RCVP, which attempted to discourage lawsuits between homeowners, and advocated concerted action before the government (Gagnon, 1998). After a bill was tabled exceeding their initial demands, their attempt at a reform of the definition of hidden defects failed, whereas most of their other demands were met. That failure coincided with the mobilization's loss of steam once the homeowners' other demands were met.

The desire to reconstitute social structures was less manifest in the leaky condos case. That mobilization was marked by divergences between homeowner groups, and this reduced their chances to obtain major gains. On one hand, COLCO claimed 100% compensation for the homeowners and defended above all the interests of homeowners affected at the time of the mobilization (Boei, 2002c). The group still welcomed the warranty plan reforms, but never considered them useful in resolving the problem for people already affected. That firm position somewhat marginalized COLCO's discourse, perceived as too extremist and radical. On the other hand, CASH eventually represented not only the leaky condo owners, but also came to focus on the problem of construction quality in general. That development is illustrated by the organization's change of name from Compensation and Accountability for Soaked Homeowners Society to the Consumer Advocacy and Support for Homeowners Society. Although it continued working toward financial compensation for the homeowners, CASH did not claim full

compensation, but adopted a position more open to negotiation with its interlocutors. That attitude gave it access to public policy meetings where it presented the viewpoint of consumers to the sector's other actors (Boei, 2001a). The integration of CASH within Canadians for Properly Built Homes, a group promoting construction quality across the country, was the last step in adopting an overall vision of the problem, as advocated by CASH's founder, Carmen Maretic. Lastly, CHOA mainly demanded warranty improvements for new homebuyers, and better protection for homeowners in the future. While the group would have preferred that the homeowners be compensated, it expressed satisfaction with the government's responses and was no longer very active after the establishment of new rules favourable to future homeowners (Sankar, 1998). This attitude enabled CHOA to obtain limited gains, such as the interest-free loan program, but the latter was cancelled a few years later, and many homeowners had not been able to benefit from it, thereby severely limiting the group's success. This also illustrates the mobilization's overall failure in durably changing mentalities in favour of consumers. The diversity of agendas and claims among the leaky condo homeowner groups doubtless hindered their effectiveness. None of the three main groups was truly representative of the affected homeowners, given the latter's low level of mobilization, so it was difficult for the groups to assert clear and inclusive demands. Moreover, the profound differences between the groups' demands discouraged any inclination toward compensation by the government, since the latter could not determine if establishing a limited compensation program would encourage the formulation of other demands or would end the mobilization (Boei, 2001b).

One of the common claims among the pyrite and leaky condos cases was that the government qualify the problem encountered by the homeowners as a "natural catastrophe," whereas the homeowners affected by pyrrhotite often called themselves victims of such a disaster (Boei, 2001c; Cloutier, 1999; Trahan, 2011f). The logic behind this claim is clear: this qualification gives access to provincial and federal funding to the homeowners. The provincial government concerned must declare the situation as a natural catastrophe and begin compensating the homeowners, and federal subsidies complete the effort agreed to by the province (Public Safety Canada, 2014). While this strategy forces the federal government's hand to a certain extent, it is perilous for several reasons. First, nothing indicates that the provincial government is willing to compensate the homeowners. The reticence of government members to designate the homeowners as victims demonstrates the chasm between that claim and the perception of political decision-makers. Second, as Dave Barrett declared during the hearings of the first commission of inquiry into leaky condos: "I don't think God was in the business of building condos" (Mulgrew, 1998). That sentence, which could apply to the two other cases we studied, illustrates one of the weaknesses of the strategy: construction problems are not of natural origin and the persons responsible can be identified. While the magnitude of the damage is comparable to that caused by the ice storm of winter 1998, to which the leaky condo owners often refer, the causes of the construction problems under study are different and result from a series of errors committed by numerous actors. The homeowner groups' claim of being victims of a natural disaster never bore fruit and, despite its potential benefits, that strategic choice had little chance of success.

Thus, the homeowner groups' formulation of claims is an important aspect of the strategy, because it influences the mobilization's perception by the public and its interlocutors and makes it possible to evaluate the collective action's success. Excessively ambitious claims risk repeated refusals, whereas excessively modest ones run the risk that their success will not significantly improve the situation of the people mobilized. The best way for homeowner groups to formulate effective claims is to conduct a fine analysis of the context of their mobilization.

5.3. The Influence of Contextual Factors on a Mobilization's Success

Contextual factors are among the main determinants of mobilization success, but it is extremely difficult to assess their influence precisely. They may be political, social, economic or media. In our research, we focused on the political and media aspects of the context in relation to the mobilizations.

5.3.1. Media Context

The role of media is dominant in publicizing the homeowners' problems and in building the image of the mobilization's various stakeholders. The homeowner groups and the other mobilization actors can influence media coverage. Our quantitative analysis of media content revealed a bias generally favourable toward the homeowners. However, during the leaky condos mobilization, the homeowners faced a more unfavourable media context.

The Vancouver case stands out by the homeowner groups' opponents being more visible in the media. In addition, those opponents were represented not only by "classic" contractor associations, but also by the Urban Development Institute (UDI), a think tank whose declared objective is to promote better communication between industry, government and the public (UDI, 2014). That particular actor, as well as the hiring of public relations firms to define the communication strategy of industry representatives, greatly helped disseminate the industry's arguments among the public (Maretic, 2014). The pre-existence of these groups to the leaky condos crisis gave them a head start on the homeowners, whose later organization, except for CHOA, prevented them from mastering the media context.

In addition, some researchers criticized the bias against the homeowners that prevailed in the major British Columbia dailies, particularly the Vancouver Sun (Gutstein, Hackett & Newswatch Canada, 1998). The regular publication of columns, editorials and letters from readers hostile to the homeowners' cause in the three dailies we examined, as well as the low number of articles addressing the subject before the first Barrett Commission held its hearings, illustrate that editorial choice. The only newspaper whose coverage was deemed positive and satisfactory by COLCO is the Georgia Straight, an independent weekly, and COLCO even encouraged its members to cancel their subscriptions to The Province or the Vancouver Sun, Vancouver's two major dailies, controlled by the same press group (COLCO, 2000). One of the Georgia Straight's journalists, Ben Parfitt, formerly of the Vancouver Sun, denounced the coverage of his former employers in the leaky condos crisis; he attributed their reluctance in reporting the magnitude of the damage to the substantial advertising revenues paid by real estate developers (Gutstein, Hackett & Newswatch Canada, 1998: 13). When still at the Vancouver Sun, he published a series on the leaky condos in 1993, which was progressively relegated to the daily's second section, despite the many positive reactions to his articles. It wasn't until 1998 that coverage of the subject increased significantly. During the years of neglect, the texts of Elizabeth Aird on the issue, a Vancouver Sun columnist who owned a leaky condo, eventually helped raise awareness of the magnitude of the crisis, but hers was an isolated effort (Smith, 2006a).

In the two other cases, the media coverage was rather favourable to the homeowner groups, particularly in the case of the pyrrhotite victims. In fact, the latter benefited from a wave of local solidarity that saw numerous contractors and individuals donate to them without prior solicitations (Boivin, 2014). The substantial media coverage of the cause no doubt contributed to the emergence of that feeling of solidarity.

While we cannot attribute a mobilization's success or failure mainly to its media coverage, the media play a dominant role in publicizing and explaining the homeowners' problems. The two mobilizations that benefited from favourable media coverage won major gains, whereas the leaky condo owners had trouble having their claims recognized in a more unfavourable environment. However, the homeowners' fate does not depend above all on journalists. The political actors are the main ones deciding how to respond to the groups' demands.

5.3.2. *Political Context*

Elected politicians at all levels of government are the main interlocutors of homeowner groups. The elected officials receive the latter's claims and decide on the responses to give. In that sense, they are the most important actors addressed by mobilizations. Their decisions are motivated by many factors, both dependent and independent of the groups' strategies. We will discuss here the relations between the elected officials and the other mobilization actors, and between the various levels of government among each other, and we will describe the influence of those relations on the mobilizations' outcomes.

The various levels of government are usually reticent to compensate homeowners when the claims are initially made. Several factors contribute to this attitude. First in a general context of budgetary prudence, they cannot always allocate the funds demanded by the groups. Second, the elected officials are used to receiving claims from groups experiencing a financial and/or social situation more precarious than that of homeowners, who by definition have an estate, even if it is damaged, so that the situation of more-vulnerable groups has priority. Third, the problems encountered by homeowners are often caused by well-identified persons responsible who can be sued before governments consider it necessary to intervene. This list of factors is not exhaustive; others may apply in the decisions of politicians, but our list illustrates the obstacles facing homeowners in convincing political leaders of the soundness of their demands.

The homeowner groups used several strategies to reverse the tide and obtain satisfaction from the various levels of government. For example, particularly in the leaky condos case, they took advantage of pre-electoral periods to express their ideas to political candidates and ask them to make commitments on specific points (Mulgrew, 2000). The groups thus took advantage of the political calendar and used opportunities to favour the election of candidates sensitive to their ideas. If those candidates are elected, the homeowner groups can then remind them of their commitments and support their champions. However, in practice this strategy did not meet with the expected success (Smith, 2007). In the case of the mobilization related to pyrite, the political candidates were approached by affected individuals residing in the candidates' ridings, rather than by the homeowner groups' leaders. This enabled the groups to raise their interlocutor's awareness of the problem's proximity and thus of its possible repercussions on the local life – and the votes – of the fellow residents for whom he was responsible (RCVP, 1999d). The groups' sustained media presence is also considered a way of exerting pressure on governments (RCVP, 1999a). In the pyrrhotite case, the presence of affected homeowners in the immediate community of local MNAs also contributed to the latter's support to the mobilization (Brousseau, 2013).

In the leaky condos case, the homeowner groups denounced not only the Vancouver Sun's relationship with real estate promoters, but also the construction sector's substantial funding of political parties, as well as the conflicts of interest of certain elected politicians directly linked with companies in that sector. Given the sector's economic weight, it is, not surprisingly, one of the main contributors to the budgets of the various political parties, but we did not find data leading us to determine the influence of those relations on the government response to the

homeowner groups' demands. Despite a similar situation in Quebec, the homeowner groups concerned with pyrite and pyrrhotite did not make such criticisms, as the politicians did not provoke any, given the provincial government's attitude toward APCHQ regarding the management of warranty plans. The influence of homeowner groups in criticizing and reconfiguring the relations between the construction industry's various actors and governments remains limited.

The importance of relations between the different levels of government in the responses made to the homeowners' demands should not be underestimated. Generally, the federal government does not want to make financial commitments to homeowners, and often asserts the exclusive provincial jurisdiction in this area (Plante, 2014). However, if the provincial government concerned establishes an aid program, Ottawa tends to participate in it, as occurred in the cases of pyrite and leaky condos. On those two occasions, the federal response matched the provincial involvement: compensation for pyrite and interest-free loans for repairing leaky condos. In both cases, the negotiations between the two levels of government were long and featured several delays (Penven, 2002; O'Neil, 2001b). In this regard, the pyrrhotite case was an exception since the federal government did not contribute at all to the special fund established by the Quebec government (Trahan, 2014f). Ideological differences between the Liberal government in the early 2000s – which granted assistance both to the leaky condo owners and to those affected by pyrite – and the current Conservative government may partly explain that exception. And yet, Conservative MPs such as John Cummins and James Moore were among the main spokespersons in Parliament for the claims of leaky condo owners, whereas the British Columbia Liberal MPs were more distant on this issue (Smith, 2006b). We don't have sufficient data to offer conclusions in this regard, but it appears that the current framework of political opportunities is less welcoming federally than in the past, by limiting the chances for homeowner groups to obtain positive responses to their claims.

The homeowner groups encountered many difficulties in influencing the decisions of the various levels of government they approached, and the federal government was systematically the least inclined to provide financial assistance. The homeowners' ability to influence government decisions being limited, their best approach is to define their interlocutors' degree of openness to their cause, and then to set action priorities while determining claims adapted to the situation.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has demonstrated the importance of consumer groups' strategic choices in the success of their mobilizations. The main objectives of our research were met. The results enable us to better understand the groups' strategic choices and their interactions with other stakeholders. In comparing three mobilizations, we identified factors reinforcing the effectiveness of those groups' actions, as well as other factors that were counter-productive. As intended at the start of our research, this will enable us to better assist homeowner groups grappling with a construction problem.

Thus, the homeowners' sustained media presence, as soon as their problem is publicized, enables them to effectively assert their interpretation of the situation and their demands. Often opposed to better organized and wealthier actors than themselves, consumer groups must compensate for this disadvantage by optimizing their resources. The growing recourse to digital tools in the internal organization of movements and in communications with their interlocutors is part of this dynamic. That recourse harmonizes well with more-traditional actions, such as public meetings, to broaden their audience. Discourse is key to mobilizations, and homeowner groups must master its codes to improve the chances of their claims being satisfied. The presence of organizations supporting *ad hoc* groups gives the latter access to a network of contacts and expertise helping them to organize and act effectively. The formulation of claims adapted to the interlocutors' expectations and in line with the most prevalent proposals in the public arena increases the mobilization's chances of success. In that sense, it is important for homeowner groups to analyse well the context of their action.

Inversely, certain strategic directions taken by consumer groups do not seem effective. For example, homeowners' repeated demands that the government consider their situation as a natural catastrophe are not successful. Similarly, excessively ambitious claims tend to remain a dead letter and decrease the influence of homeowner groups. In addition, internal dissensions within the groups can fragilize the position of all their members and imperil their action. Mobilizations that manage those tensions well have a better chance of meeting their objective.

The mobilization of homeowners faced to a problem is not automatic. The emergence of collective action depends on many factors. We identified several ones throughout this report and emphasized consumers' difficulty in banding together to defend a cause. We also observed that homeowner groups rarely refer to other mobilizations in their field, although such prior experience could guide their strategic choices. The exception occurs when an already established group assists the homeowner groups in their action, as the ACQC did with RCVP. That partnership between *ad hoc* groups and well-established organizations improves the mobilization's chances of success.

One of the main lessons of this research is that contextual factors play a major role in the success or failure of mobilizations. Thus, the framework of political opportunities remains largely independent of the actions of homeowner groups. A highly effective mobilization locally and regionally, like that of the homeowners affected by pyrrhotite, doesn't necessarily succeed in transferring that dynamic to the federal level, where the government remains impervious to their demands. When homeowner groups face such a situation, the nature of their strategic choices doesn't matter much and their chances of obtaining satisfaction are very low.

Many other aspects of mobilizations deserve to be further explored for a better understanding of mechanisms leading to the mobilization and grouping of individuals affected by a construction

problem, despite the many obstacles they face. For example, the long-term social, economic and sanitary consequences of construction problems could not be addressed here, but merit additional research.

- Whereas the role of consumer protection and defence organizations in the construction sector is important for supporting mobilization groups after a construction problem occurs;

The ACQC asks the various levels of government to recognize that role and support the action of those organizations so that they may provide material, technical, human and organizational support to consumers wanting to work together in defence of their cause.

- Whereas this study has demonstrated the importance of good organization for the success of consumer movements;
- Whereas we have also pointed out the central role of communication and of analysing the context of such mobilizations;
- Whereas those skills are better mastered by organizations already established than by groups newly created;

The ACQC recommends that individuals and groups affected by a construction problem contact a consumer protection and defence organization in the construction sector to improve their chances of success in their action.

- Whereas the problems examined in this study could have been prevented by better construction quality;
- Whereas the homeowners' mobilizations result from their inability to obtain redress from those responsible;

The ACQC asks the various levels of government to establish mechanisms for improving construction quality and preventing major defects. Those mechanisms include mandatory inspections during construction, as well as more rigour in drafting and applying standards and codes.

- Whereas the social and public health consequences of the construction problems examined in this study are still not well known and that we could not address them as part of this study;
- Whereas the data collected in the quantitative content analysis could be used in different ways;

The ACQC encourages interested persons and organizations to use the data and results of our research to study the impact of construction problems on the health of persons affected.

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ANNEX 1 : LIST OF PERSONS AND AGENCIES CONTACTED FOR INTERVIEWS

- Association des propriétaires de Saint-Bruno
- Robert Aubin, député fédéral de Trois-Rivières
- James Balderson, co-fondateur et ancien porte-parole de COLCO
- Yvon Boivin, porte-parole de la CPB
- Noëlla Champagne, ancienne députée de Champlain
- CHOA
- Me Jeffrey Edwards, avocat
- Ruth Ellen Brosseau, députée fédérale de Berthier-Maskinongé
- John Grasty, co-fondateur de COLCO et ancien président de CASH
- Fatima Houda-Pépin, ancienne députée provinciale de La Pinière
- Carmen Maretic, fondatrice et ancienne présidente de CASH
- Ben Parfitt, ancien journaliste au Vancouver Sun
- Jacques Rheault, fondateur et président de SOS-Pyrrhotite
- Malka Roy, organisatrice communautaire à la Corporation de développement économique communautaire de Trois-Rivières
- Danielle Saint-Amand, ancienne députée provinciale de Trois-Rivières
- Charles Tanguay, ancien directeur général de l'ACQC
- Brigitte Trahan, journaliste au Nouvelliste, chargée de la couverture de la pyrrhotite
- Luc Trudel, ancien député de Saint-Maurice
- Ville de Trois-Rivières

ANNEX 2 : QUESTIONNAIRES BY TYPE OF ACTOR

Questionnaire pour des membres d'un groupe de consommateurs

- Pouvez-vous nous expliquer ce qui a mené à votre engagement en faveur des propriétaires de (*leaky condos/pyrite/pyrrhotite*)?
- Comment avez-vous pris conscience de l'existence d'autres propriétaires affectés par le même problème et que vous n'étiez pas un cas isolé?
- Comment êtes-vous rentré en contact avec d'autres propriétaires touchés?
- Combien de personnes composaient le groupe et sous-groupe dont vous faisiez partie?
- À quel type d'actions avez-vous personnellement pris part?
- À votre connaissance, quel autre type d'action a été employé par l'organisation à laquelle vous apparteniez?
- Comment étaient prises les décisions au sein de votre groupe et du sous-groupe dont vous faisiez partie?
- Quels étaient les liens de votre groupe avec d'autres groupes de consommateurs/propriétaires (dans la même cause et dans d'autres causes)?
- Comment votre groupe faisait-il pour avoir accès à et interpréter les données les plus techniques et complexes du problème rencontré?
- Quel est votre point de vue sur les autres groupes de propriétaires de (*leaky condos/pyrite/pyrrhotite*) et leur rôle dans le mouvement?
- De quelles ressources financières et matérielles disposait votre groupe et d'où venaient-elles?
- Comment s'est conclue votre mobilisation (groupe et individu)?
- Avez-vous des informations additionnelles que vous souhaiteriez nous communiquer sur le sujet?

Questionnaire pour des élus

- Quand et comment avez-vous entendu parler du problème de (*leaky condos/pyrite/pyrrhotite*) et de la mobilisation des propriétaires pour la première fois?
- Quels sont les raisons de votre soutien aux groupes de victimes (*leaky condos/pyrite/pyrrhotite*) et comment avez-vous cheminé vers cette décision?
- Connaissez-vous personnellement des victimes de (*leaky condos/pyrite/pyrrhotite*)?
- Comment votre engagement en faveur des victimes se manifeste-t-il (participation à des réunions publiques ou autres manifestations, appui financier à des groupes, interventions à la Chambre des communes/Assemblée nationale, etc.)?
- Quels sont les groupes de victimes avec lesquels vous êtes en contact?
- Quelle est la fréquence de vos contacts avec ces groupes? Est-ce que ces contacts sont toujours initiés par les groupes?
- Rencontrez-vous beaucoup de victimes de (*leaky condos/pyrite/pyrrhotite*) qui ne sont pas membres des groupes existants ? Si oui, connaissez-vous les raisons de ce choix?
- Avez-vous des informations additionnelles que vous souhaiteriez nous communiquer sur le sujet?

Questionnaire pour des journalistes

- Comment avez-vous été amené à couvrir le problème de (*leaky condos/pyrite/pyrrhotite*) et la mobilisation des propriétaires?
- Comment communiquez-vous avec les groupes de consommateurs et les autres acteurs de ce dossier?
- Quelle est la fréquence de vos échanges avec les différents acteurs et la fréquence de parution de nouveaux articles sur le sujet?
- Comment évaluez-vous les rapports entre les différents acteurs de ce dossier?
- Avez-vous des informations additionnelles que vous souhaiteriez nous communiquer sur le sujet?

ANNEX 3 : PRESS-RELEASE FOR HOMEOWNERS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE MOBILIZATION ABOUT THE PYRITE

Appel aux anciennes victimes de pyrite

6 février 2014 – L'Association des consommateurs pour la qualité dans la construction (ACQC) recherche des propriétaires qui étaient impliqués dans des comités de victimes de la pyrite entre 1999 et 2006. Dans le cadre d'une recherche sur les mouvements de consommateurs, nous cherchons à identifier les moyens d'action les plus efficaces utilisés par les victimes de problèmes collectifs du monde de la construction résidentielle. Pour atteindre cet objectif, nous souhaitons rencontrer les propriétaires qui se sont mobilisés entre autres dans le mouvement des victimes de la pyrite (comités locaux, Regroupement des comités de victimes de la pyrite, Comité des victimes judiciaires de la pyrite, etc.). Ces rencontres visent à échanger et partager les expériences, ainsi que le fonctionnement de ces groupes. Ces renseignements serviront à nourrir la réussite de ce projet et vise à faciliter l'organisation et mieux venir en aide à de futurs groupes de victimes. Si vous avez participé à ce mouvement, ou si vous avez besoin de plus amples informations, contactez-nous : 514-384-2013 poste 26 ou 1-877-maisons – info@acqc.ca

ANNEX 4 : ANALYTICAL GRID FOR THREE CASES STUDIED

Afin de pouvoir présenter les grilles remplies au même format que les autres pages de ce rapport, nous en avons abrégé le contenu en suivant les règles ci-dessous.

- *Forme de l'article (form. art.) :*
 - nouv. : article de nouvelles
 - comm. : communiqué
 - ana. : analyse de fond
 - édito. : éditorial ou chronique
 - lettre : lettre ouverte
- *Thématique (thém.) et Thématique secondaire (thém. 2) :*
 - init. : initiative gouvernementale
 - act. gpe : action ou événement attribuable aux groupes de consommateurs
 - act. ind. : action individuelle spontanée
 - act. opp. : action ou événement attribuable à un opposant à la mobilisation
 - act. aut. : action ou événement attribuable à un autre acteur
 - tém. : témoignages de propriétaires
 - desc. pro. : description de la problématique
- *Ton de l'article (ton art.) :*
 - fav : favorable
 - déf : défavorable
 - neu. : neutre
- *Types d'acteurs (type act.) et Autre types d'acteurs (act. 2) :*
 - exp. : experts
 - pol : acteurs politiques
 - prop : propriétaires
 - gpe : groupes de consommateurs
 - aut. : autres acteurs concernés
 - opp. : opposants à la mobilisation
- *Ton des intervenants (ton interv.) :*
 - fav : favorable
 - déf : défavorable
 - neu. : neutre
 - mul. : multiple
- *Cadre de conflit :*
 - plural. : pluralité de point de vue
 - conflit : conflit ou désaccord
 - concert. : effort de concertation

- *Cadre de responsabilité :*
 - crit. : critique/reproche/dénonciation
 - resp. : responsabilité/mise en cause
- *Cadre stratégique :*
 - vict. : utilisation du terme « victime » :
 - gpe : groupe de consommateurs
 - jour. : journaliste
 - opp. : opposant
 - pol. : acteur politique
 - gouv. : représentant gouvernemental
 - aut. : autre acteur
 - moy. act. : moyens d'action
 - manif. : manifestation
 - chgt : proposition de changement à destination des décideurs
 - attq : attaque à l'image ou à la réputation d'un acteur
 - exp. : expertise
 - jud. : judiciaire
 - réu. : réunion publique
 - pét. : pétition
 - auc. : aucune mention

Les grilles sont présentées à partir de la page suivante.

Le cas des leaky condos																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Province	01/09/1996	lettre	init.		déf.	pol.	aut.	David Thompson (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, auteur)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	06/07/1997	lettre	init.		fav.	aut.	opp.	Ken Georgetti (président, BC Federation of Labour, auteur), Polygon Homes (Michel Audain), Independent Contractors and Businesses Association (ICBA)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Province	27/12/1998	nouv.	desc. pro.	init.	neu.	aut.		Dean Drysdale, Greater Vancouver Homebuilders Association (GVHBA, Peter Simpson), Neil Ziola,	déf.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	auc.
Province	20/12/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	aut.	gpe	CHOA (Nona Saunders), CMHC (Jim Lynch),	fav.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	29/10/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	aut.		HPO (Shayne Ramsay), CMHC	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	01/10/1998	nouv.	init.		fav.	aut.	gpe	HPO (Shayne Ramsay), Jenny Kwan, CHOA (Nona Saunders)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	23/07/1998	comm.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe	pol.	CHOA, Jenny Kwan, Carmen Maretic, Alfonso Gagliano, CMHC	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	pét.
Province	28/06/1998	nouv.	act. opp.	init.	déf.	opp.	pol.	UDI (Maureen Enser), Jenny Kwan	déf.	non	non	oui	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	19/06/1998	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		Dave Barrett	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

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IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Province	08/06/1998	nouv.	tém.		fav.	prop.	aut.	Sam Kingston, Ray McLellan (Remax)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Province	17/05/1998	nouv.	act. aut.	init.	neu.	pol.	opp.	Dave Barrett, Linda Reid (libérale), Gordon Campbell, Brian Gardiner, Peter Leask, Robin Allen	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Province	15/05/1998	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		Rupert Shore, Imasco Minerals (David Sacks)	neu.	non	non	non	non	oui	non	auc.
Province	11/05/1998	lettre	act. aut.		déf.	aut.		Caroline Pearcey (auteure)	déf.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	10/05/1998	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		NHW(Jim Morris), New Home Warranty Provincegram (David Verge)	déf.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	08/05/1998	nouv.	init.	act. opp.	déf.	pol.	opp.	CHBA (Jim Thomson), UDI (Maureen Enser), Jenny Kwan, BC Federation of Labour (Bill Tieleman)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Province	08/05/1998	édito.	init.		déf.	pol.		Dave Barrett, Dan Barrett, Joe Barrett, Glen Clark, Rick Thorpe	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Province	06/05/1998	nouv.	act. aut.	init.	neu.	exp.	aut.	Architectural Institute of BC (John Davidson), Tom Timm, Dave Barrett, Peter Norris	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Province	06/05/1998	comm.	act. opp.		déf.	opp.		UDI (Maureen Enser)	déf.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.

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Province	04/05/1998	nouv.	desc.	pro.	neu.	prop.	aut.	Jim Morris (de Mortgage Investors Association), CMHC, CHOA, Nona Saunders, Vancouver Condominium Services Ltd.		oui	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Province	03/05/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Jenny Kwan, Dave Barrett, Gary Farrell-Collins, Glen Clark, Gordon Campbell	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Province	23/04/1998	édito.	init.		déf.	pol.		Dave Barrett, Dan Barrett, Dale Lovick	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	19/04/1998	nouv.	tém.	init.	neu.	prop.	opp.	Gavin Harrington, Glen Clark, Dave Barrett, Jenny Kwan, Canadian Home Builders Association (CHBA Keith Sashaw), UDI (Maureen Enser),	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Province	19/04/1998	édito.	init.		déf.	pol.		Glen Clark, Dave Barrett, Gordon Campbell, Jenny Kwan	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Province	19/04/1998	nouv.	init.	tém.	neu.	pol.	prop.	Jenny Kwan, Dave Barrett, Georgia Doerksen, Condo Community and Residential Services (Cathie Koll)	mul.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	17/04/1998	édito.	init.	act.	aut.	neu.	pol.	aut.	Gordon Campbell, BC Federation of Labour, Jenny Kwan,	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	auc.
Province	16/04/1998	nouv.	act.	opp.		déf.	opp.	BC Federation of Labour, UDI (Maureen Enser), Jenny Kwan	déf.	non	oui	non	oui	oui	non	réu.

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Province	08/12/1999	nouv.	tém.	desc. pro.	neu.	exp.	prop.	Chris van Netten, Sandra Roth, Dave Barrett, HPO (Shayne Ramsay)	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Province	02/12/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		David Verge, Dave Barrett, Peter Leask, Bill Smart, Robyn Allan	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	06/10/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.			neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	31/08/1999	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.	prop.	gpe	John Grasty, CHOA (Nona Saunders)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	gpe	réu.
Province	29/08/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	prop.		KPMG (Bob Rusko), Jamie Nickerson	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	20/08/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	prop.		KPMG (Bob Rusko), Keith Clark, Cindy Desrosiers	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	29/06/1999	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Jenny Kwan, HPO	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	08/06/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	exp.		HPO, Architectural Institute of BC (John Davidson)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	02/05/1999	nouv.	tém.	desc. pro.	neu.	prop.		Denise Della Mattia, Dave Barrett, HPO (Jan Calkins), Carmen Maretic, CMHC, CHOA (Nona Saunders)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	16/04/1999	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Jenny Kwan, National Home Warranty, New Home Warranty (NHW), KPMG	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	12/04/1999	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.	aut.		Carmen Maretic	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	pét.

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Province	31/03/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	pol.	Jenny Kwan, New Home Warranty (NHW), John Williamson, Heather Ferris, KPMG (Bob Rusko), UDI (Maureen Enser)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	12/01/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	prop.	Redekop Properties Guildford (Brian Alexander), John Logan, Maria Ferreira	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	attq.
Province	12/12/2000	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.	prop.		Darrell Roberts, James Yardley, Celine Leonard, Lionel Houle	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Province	24/11/2000	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	pol.		Lou Sekora, Mike Farnworth	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	auc.
Province	19/11/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Jean Chrétien, Joe Clark, Alexa McDonough	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	manif.
Province	17/09/2000	édito.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Adera Development Corporation	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	30/06/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.	opp.	New Home Warranty (NHW), Canadian Home Builders Association of BC (CHBA)	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Province	16/06/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Lou Sekora	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	16/04/2000	comm.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		COLCO	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.
Province	25/02/2000	édito.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Gordon Campbell, Glen Clark, Dave Barrett	neu.	non	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	12/01/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		COLCO	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.
Province	06/12/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Geoff Plant, William Grist	déf.	non	non	non	non	non	non	jud.
Province	24/09/2001	édito.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Union of BC Municipalities, Gordon Campbell	déf.	non	non	non	non	non	non	jud.

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Province	30/08/2001	lettre	act. aut.		fav.	pol.	aut.	Jamie McIntrye (auteur), CMHC	déf.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	jud.
Province	28/08/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	pol.	George Abbott, Lois Jackson, Gordon Campbell, CHOA, Ann Claggett	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	non	non	jud.
Province	07/03/2001	édito.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Paul Martin, Brian Tobin, Robert Nault	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	10/01/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	exp.	aut.	Dave Ricketts, Darrell Roberts, William Grist	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Province	29/11/2002	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.	aut.	prop.	Malcolm Macaulay, Mary Kimpton, CMHC	neu.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	jud.
Province	25/10/2002	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		HPO (Bob Maling)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	04/09/2002	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.	aut.	prop.	Mary Kimpton, Patrick Guy	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Province	27/06/2002	lettre	tém.		neu.	prop.		Suzanne Ranson (auteure)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	14/05/2002	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		CASH (Carmen Maretic)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	chgt
Province	11/01/2002	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	opp.	Gordon Campbell, BC Federation of Labour, Canadian Home Builders Association (CHBA), Richard Stewart	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Province	25/09/2003	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	gpe	Union of BC Municipalities, CASH (Carmen Maretic)	mul.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	24/09/2003	nouv.	act. opp.		neu.	opp.	aut.	BC Construction Association (Michael Geoghegan), Geoff Plant, Union of BC Municipalities, Municipal Insurance Association of BC	déf.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	30/03/2003	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		BC Housing Corp, George Abbott	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.

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Province	21/09/2004	nouv.	tém.	desc. pro.	neu.	gpe	prop.	CHOA (Tony Gioventu), James Balderson, BC Building Envelope Council (Kim Tompkins), Lauraine Minosky	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	07/06/2004	lettre	tém.		fav.	prop.		Leath Kennedy (auteur)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	05/03/2004	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe	aut.	CASH (Carmen Maretic), Edward Wong, COLCO (James Balderson)	fav.	non	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Province	03/03/2004	lettre	act. aut.		déf.	aut.		Marie Boisvert (auteure)	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	07/12/2005	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.	prop.	aut.	CMHC, Linda Hepner, Alan McMillan	neu.	non	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Province	23/10/2005	édito.	init.		déf.	pol.		Dave Barrett, Rich Coleman, Geof Plant	neu.	non	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	11/06/2006	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Simma Holt, Ada van Leeuwen, Victor Curtis, CHOA (Tony Gioventu)	fav.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Province	23/04/2006	lettre	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe	prop.	CHOA (Tony Gioventu)	fav.	non	oui	oui	oui	non	non	jud.
Province	09/02/2006	lettre	act. aut.		fav.	prop.		Trevor Wilson (auteur)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Province	03/10/2007	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.	prop.	aut.	CMHC, BC Supreme Court, John Singleton, Linda Hepner, Alan McMillan, Mary Kimpton	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Province	25/03/2007	édito.	act. gpe.	tém.	fav.	gpe	prop.	CHOA (Tony Gioventu), HPO	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

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Province	05/10/2008	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	gpe	pol.	CASH (John Grasty), Ujjal Dosanjh, John Cummins, Jean Chrétien, Dawn Black, Stephen Harper, COLCO (James Balderson),	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	10/08/2008	lettre	tém.		fav.	prop.			fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Province	08/06/2008	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.				neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Province	15/07/2009	lettre	act. aut.		fav.	aut.		Les Loftus, Eric Bohne (auteur)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Province	23/06/2009	nouv.	tém.	init.	fav.	gpe	prop.	Mary Kagami, James Balderson, Rich Coleman, HPO, John Grasty	mul.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	03/02/1996	nouv.	act. opp.		neu.	opp.	pol.	Canadian Home Builders Association (CHBA Barry Slagboom, Sue Hammell	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	19/09/1997	nouv.	act. opp.		neu.	opp.		Canadian Home Builders Association (CHBA Dave Metcalfe), New Home Warranty (NHW)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	16/10/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Jenny Kwan, HPO (Shayne Ramsay)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	10/09/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	HPO (Shayne Ramsay), Canadian Home Builders Association (CHBA)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	05/09/1998	édito.	tém.		neu.	prop.			neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	29/08/1998	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		HPO (Shayne Ramsay)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	06/06/1998	édito.	desc. pro.		déf.	pol.		Gordon Campbell, Glen Clark, Dave Barrett	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	23/05/1998	comm.	act. aut.		neu.	exp.		Rick Couvelier	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

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Times-Colonist	26/04/1998	édito.	init.		fav.	pol.		Glen Clark, Gordon Campbell, Dave Barrett	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Times-Colonist	18/04/1998	édito.	init.		déf.	pol.		Dave Barrett, Glen Clark, Jenny Kwan	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	24/12/1999	nouv.	act.	aut.	neu.	aut.	opp.	Ray Rice (maire Esquimalt), Capital Regional District (CRD), CHBA, UDI, Victoria Harbour Residents Association, Architectural Institute of BC	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	13/11/1999	édito.	init.		neu.	pol.		Dave Barrett, Nanaimo Commonwealth Holding Society Inquiry	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	13/11/1999	lettre	act.	aut.	déf.	exp.	aut.	Hallmark Society (John Edwards), Street Architecture Studio (Jan Zak, auteur)	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	30/10/1999	lettre	act.	aut.	déf.	aut.		Hennie Stibbe (auteure), Bob Wheaton	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	27/10/1999	lettre	act.	aut.	déf.	aut.		Pete Machek (auteur)	déf.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	auc.
Times-Colonist	22/10/1999	lettre	tém.		fav.	pol.	prop.	C. Longden (auteure), Adrienne Clarkson	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	21/10/1999	édito.	act.	aut.	init.	fav.	pol.	Dave Barrett	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	01/10/1999	nouv.	act.	aut.	neu.	aut.	opp.	James Currie, CHBA (Wayne Davis), Dave Barrett, Robyn Allan, National Research Council (NRC)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	10/09/1999	édito.	act.	aut.	neu.	aut.		CRD	déf.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.

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Times-Colonist	19/08/1999	édito.	init.		déf.	pol.	opp.	Dave Barrett, New Home Warranty (NHW)	fav.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	24/07/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	opp.	Council of Construction Trade Associations (Bill McEwen), CHBA (Herman Rebneris), HPO (Shayne Ramsay), BC Wall and Ceiling Association (Gregg Lowes)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	10/07/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		John Murphy, Dave Barrett, Jack Basey, Chris Coleman	mul.	non	non	non	non	non	non	chgt
Times-Colonist	18/05/1999	lettre	act. aut.		déf.	aut.		Dave Farough (auteur), Jody Paterson	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	14/05/1999	édito.	desc. pro.		fav.	prop.	aut.	Tino di Bella, Bob Coutts,	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	03/03/1999	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	opp.	aut.	CRD, CHBA (Marilyn Lee), Herman Rebneris,	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	04/02/1999	comm.	act. opp.		neu.	opp.		CHBA	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	09/11/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	pol.	David Anderson, Paul Martin, CMHC, Conduits (John Murphy, Eric Simmons), CASH (Carmen Maretic)	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	non	manif.
Times-Colonist	27/10/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	aut.		HPO, James Balderson, Cameron Speedie, Apartment Owners and Provinceproperty Managers Association, Strata Provinceproperty Agents of BC	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	26/08/2000	lettre	act. aut.		déf.	aut.		Randy Stagg (auteur)	déf.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.

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IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Times-Colonist	15/08/2000	lettre	desc. pro.		neu.	prop.	aut.	Rick Cooper, Bob Sochowski (auteur),	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	15/08/2000	lettre	desc. pro.		neu.	prop.	aut.	Rick Cooper, James Paterson (auteur), Island Muffler	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	01/08/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.	opp.	UDI, CHBA, CRD (Brian Anderson), NRC	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	18/07/2000	lettre	act. aut.		déf.	pol.	opp.	Dave Barrett, Jan Pullinger, CHBA, Gordon Campbell, Paul Sullivan (auteur)	neu.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	12/04/2000	lettre	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Ron Neal (auteur)	neu.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	04/03/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.		déf.	exp.		Paul Merrick	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	04/03/2000	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.			neu.	non	oui	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	02/03/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		Conduits, COLCO (Sandra La Couvee, Carmen Maretic)	fav.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	réu.
Times-Colonist	28/02/2000	lettre	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		John Case (auteur)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	14/02/2000	lettre	act. aut.		déf.	aut.		NRC, Dave Barrett, Natalie Smith (auteure), Stuart Plets (auteur)	déf.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	13/02/2000	édito.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		CMHC, Rick Couvelier,	neu.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	09/02/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	aut.		Glen Crawford	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	09/02/2000	lettre	init.		fav.	aut.		Alan Cassels, A. Vernon (auteur)	neu.	oui	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	06/02/2000	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Harry Whitfield, John Newton, Shiv Garayali (architecte)	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	04/02/2000	édito.	init.		fav.	pol.			neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.

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Times-Colonist	26/01/2000	lettre	act. opp.		neu.	opp.	prop.	CHBA (Herman Rebneris, auteur)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	15/01/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		Read Jones Christoffersen, Deedrie Ballard	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	11/09/2001	lettre	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		NRC, John Chamberlin (auteur)	neu.	non	non	non	non	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	07/09/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	prop.	Daniel Jarvis, Jeff Bray, Jenny Kwan, Cameron Speedie, Gordon Campbell	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	non	jud.
Times-Colonist	29/08/2001	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	pol.		Will Clark, Union of BC Municipalities, Mark Johnson	neu.	non	oui	non	non	non	non	jud.
Times-Colonist	17/08/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		George Abbott, Alfonso Gagliano, Ujjal Dosanjh	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	14/07/2001	édito.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.			neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	23/06/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		City of Victoria	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	27/05/2001	lettre	act. aut.		déf.	aut.		Barbara Yaffe, Alan Randell (auteur)	déf.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	11/05/2001	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	pol.	gpe	Gordon Campbell, Ujjal Dosanjh, Gail Gordon, Conduit (John Murphy),	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	manif.
Times-Colonist	07/05/2001	lettre	act. aut.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Patricia Bagnall (auteure)	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	03/05/2001	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		CMHC, Marc Owen-Flood	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	24/02/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	opp.	New Home Warranty (NHW), CHBA (Pat Caporale), KPMG, Mike Farnworth	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	06/01/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Joe Peschisolido	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.

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Times-Colonist	22/11/2002	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	opp.	KPMG (Bob Rusko), Richard Stewart, NHW, CHBA	neu.	oui	oui	non	non	oui	non	jud.
Times-Colonist	16/02/2002	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.	gpe	BERC (Don Hazleden), Carmen Maretic, Dave Ricketts,	mul.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	22/01/2002	nouv.	tém.		neu.	prop.	aut.	Jean Ruttan, Mark Lawless, Grant McNeill, Lloyd Duhaime	neu.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	09/09/2003	lettre	tém.		fav.	prop.		Joie Novak (auteure)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Times-Colonist	09/07/2003	nouv.	init.		fav.	aut.		CMHC (Steven Mahoney), Co-op Housing Federation of BC (Thom Armstrong)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	11/05/2003	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		Frank Leonard (maire Saanich), Alan Lowe (maire Victoria), CRD	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	08/12/2004	lettre	act. aut.		déf.	aut.		Bruce Davenport (auteur)	déf.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	29/11/2004	édito.	tém.		fav.	prop.		Paul Nicholson (auteur)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	27/11/2004	lettre	act. aut.		fav.	aut.		Elaine Rush (auteure)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	06/08/2004	lettre	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Claudia Butler (auteure)	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	15/02/2004	nouv.	desc. pro.	tém.	neu.	prop.	aut.	Margaret McLynn, Bob Macquisten, Dave Barrett, HPO (Jan Calkins), Murray Sluggett,	mul.	oui	oui	non	non	non	non	jud.
Times-Colonist	08/12/2005	édito.	act. aut.		fav.	gpe	pol.	Gordon Campbell, Conduit, Christy Clark, Dan Jarvis, Paul Nicholson (auteur)	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	chgt

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Times-Colonist	16/11/2005	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Peter Milliken, John Cummins, David Emerson, Joe Fontana	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Times-Colonist	29/09/2005	nouv.	act. aut.	init.	neu.	pol.	aut.	John Cummins, Ujjal Dosanjh, CMHC, James Currie, David Emerson	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	23/12/2006	lettre	act. aut.		fav.	aut.		Connie Nicholson (auteure)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	14/09/2006	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Stephen Harper, John Cummins, CMHC, David Emerson, Joe Fontana, Carmen Maretic (CASH), Diane Finley,	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	gpe	jud.
Times-Colonist	29/05/2006	lettre	act. aut.		fav.	aut.		David Buchwald (auteur)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	19/04/2006	édito.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe	prop.	CHOA (Tony Gioventu)	fav.	non	oui	oui	oui	non	non	jud.
Times-Colonist	09/10/2007	édito.	act. aut.	init.	fav.	aut.	pol.	CMHC, BC Supreme Court, Stephen Harper	déf.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Times-Colonist	11/07/2007	édito.	act. gpe.	tém.	fav.	gpe	prop.	CHOA (Tony Gioventu), Jennifer Brown	neu.	non	oui	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	06/06/2007	édito.	act. gpe.	tém.	fav.	gpe	prop.	CHOA (Tony Gioventu)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	28/03/2007	édito.	act. gpe.	tém.	fav.	gpe	prop.	CHOA (Tony Gioventu), HPO	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	22/11/2008	édito.	init.		fav.	pol.	prop.	Shirley Bond,	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Times-Colonist	09/07/2008	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.	gpe	HPO, COLCO (James Balderson), Rich Coleman,	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	15/10/2009	édito.	init.		fav.	pol.	aut.	Gordon Campbell, HPO,	déf.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Times-Colonist	25/08/2009	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	prop.	Gordon Campbell, Carole James, Joan Marr	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	manif.
Times-Colonist	20/08/2009	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Colin Hansen, LiveSmart BC	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

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Times-Colonist	05/08/2009	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	Vancouver Island Strata Owners Association (Harvey Williams), HPO, Rich Coleman	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	01/08/2009	nouv.	init.	tém.	fav.	pol.	prop.	Joan Marr, Rich Coleman, Shane Simpson	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	manif.
Times-Colonist	25/06/2009	lettre	init.		fav.	pol.	aut.	Gordon Campbell, Al Czap (auteur)	mul.	non	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	20/06/2009	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Rich Coleman, HPO, Randy Barnes	mul.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Times-Colonist	19/01/2009	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	Rich Coleman, Gordon Campbell, CASH (John Grasty),	mul.	oui	oui	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	10/02/1996	nouv.	desc. pro.	init.	neu.	pol.	opp.	Sue Hammell, NHW (David Verge), Greater Vancouver HBA (GVHBA Gary St Arnaud), Polygon, CHOA	mul.	oui	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	03/12/1997	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		CMHC (Nelson Merizzi), Gordon Spratt & Associates	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	05/07/1997	lettre	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Glen Clark, Construction and Allied Workers' Union (John Kamphof, auteur), Carpenters Union (Marty Smith)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	03/07/1997	lettre	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Coalition of BC Businesses, Carpenters Union (Marty Smith, auteur)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	22/12/1998	lettre	act. aut.		fav.	aut.		HPO (Shayne Ramsay, auteur)	fav.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

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Vancouver Sun	28/09/1998	nouv.	init.	act. aut.	neu.	pol.	aut.	Glen Clark,	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	19/09/1998	nouv.	desc. pro.	act. aut.	neu.	aut.		CMHC, John McLean, Gerry Nakoneshny, BC Business Council (Jock Finlayson),	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	09/09/1998	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Pitt Meadows councillors	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	03/09/1998	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		North Vancouver district council	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	29/07/1998	lettre	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Henry Ho (auteur)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	28/07/1998	lettre	init.	tém.	déf.	prop.	opp.	Gerry Fanaken (auteur, président Vancouver Condominium Services Ltd.), UDI (Maureen Enser),	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	20/07/1998	nouv.	act. ind.	init.	neu.	prop.	pol.	James Balderson, Alfonso Gagliano, Jenny Kwan, CMHC, Dave Barrett, CHOA (Alvin Myhre, président), CHBA (Keith Sashaw)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	attq.
Vancouver Sun	18/07/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Alfonso Gagliano, Jenny Kwan, Dave Barrett, CMHC	mul.	oui	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	17/07/1998	nouv.	act. opp.	init.	déf.	opp.	pol.	CHBA (Keith Sashaw), Paul Ramsey, UDI (Maureen Enser)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	20/06/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	CMHC, Alfonso Gagliano, Jenny Kwan, Dave Barrett, Glen Clark	mul.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	20/06/1998	édito.	init.		fav.	pol.	aut.	Dave Barrett, CMHC, Glen Clark,	fav.	non	non	oui	oui	oui	non	auc.

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Vancouver Sun	19/06/1998	ana	desc. pro.	init.	neu.	pol.	prop.	Dave Barrett, Glen Clark, Gordon Campbell, Lou Sekora, CHBA (Keith Sashaw), Nona Saunders, CHOA, James Balderson	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	gouv.	auc.
Vancouver Sun	19/06/1998	nouv.	tém.	init.	neu.	aut.	prop.	Dave Barrett, Bob Buzza, Jim Johnston	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	gouv.	auc.
Vancouver Sun	18/06/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	prop.	Dave Barrett, Jenny Kwan, Nona Saunders, CHOA, BC Federation of Labour (Ken Georgetti)		oui	oui	oui	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	11/06/1998	édito.	tém.	act. aut.	fav.	aut.	prop.	Diane Martin, Circo Landcaping, Remdal Painting and Decorating	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	29/05/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	aut.	pol.	Jenny Kwan, Dave Barrett,	neu.	non	non	oui	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	28/05/1998	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		New Home Warranty (NHW Molnar Capitals, Noel Developments, Great West Development, Concorde Pacific), Anne Drennan	neu.	non	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	27/05/1998	nouv.	act. aut.		déf.	aut.	pol.	Jenny Kwan, Sty McNish, Eric Kaye, BC Federation of Labour, CMHC	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	26/05/1998	nouv.	act. aut.	init.	déf.	aut.		Dave Barrett, Jenny Kwan, Peter Chinneck,	neu.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	25/05/1998	lettre	act. aut.		fav.	aut.		Jiti Khanna (auteur)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	23/05/1998	édito.	act. aut.		neu.	opp.		Polygon (Michel Audain)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	15/05/1998	édito.	desc. pro.		fav.	aut.		Ujjal Dosanjh	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	jud.

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Vancouver Sun	08/05/1998	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.	aut.	RDH Building Engineering (David Ricketts), Barry Komar, CMHC, CHOA, Dave Barrett, John Lovatt, Mark Salerno, Alvin Myrhe,	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	auc.
Vancouver Sun	07/05/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	aut.	opp.	Dave Barrett, Peter Leask, NHW (Brian Tweed), CMHC	mul.	oui	non	oui	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	04/05/1998	édito.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		David Chesney (auteur)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	02/05/1998	lettre	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Elizabeth Aird, John Gray, Brian Buchanan (auteur)	mul.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	29/04/1998	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.	exp.	CMHC, Frank Schliewinsky	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	25/04/1998	édito.	init.	desc. pro.	fav.	pol.	opp.	Glen Clark, UDI (Maureen Enser), Gordon Campbell, Ben Parfitt, BC Federation of Labour, Dave Barrett,	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Vancouver Sun	21/04/1998	lettre	init.		neu.	opp.	aut.	Dave Barrett, Jim Cowan (auteur)	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	auc.
Vancouver Sun	21/04/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	CHOA, Jenny Kwan, Dave Barrett, Gordon Campbell,	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Vancouver Sun	13/04/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	Jenny Kwan, Peter Chinneck, CHOA (Alvin Myhre), Brad Watson, BC Federation of Labour (Ken Georgetti), CHBA (Peter Simpson),	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
Vancouver Sun	19/02/1998	édito.	init.		neu.	pol.		Jenny Kwan, Mike Farnworth, Glen Clark,	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

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Vancouver Sun	03/01/1998	lettre	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.	aut.	Jennifer O'Connor and Gordon Shymko (auteurs), NRC,	neu.	non	non	non	non	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	02/12/1999	nouv.	init.		neu.	aut.	pol.	Dave Barrett, Robyn Allan, Peter Leask, David Verge, Bill Smart, COLCO (James Balderson)	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	24/11/1999	nouv.	init.	desc. pro.	neu.	aut.	pol.	Dave Barrett, KPMG (Bob Rusko), David Verge, Robyn Allan, Peter Leask,	mul.	oui	oui	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	15/11/1999	édito.	init.		déf.	pol.	aut.	Dave Barrett, Peter Leask, Robyn Allen, CMHC (Jim Lynch),	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	09/11/1999	nouv.	init.	act. aut.	déf.	opp.	aut.	New Home Warranty, Dave Barrett, Moe Sihota, UDI (Maureen Enser), HPO	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	04/10/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		New Westminster City Council	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	22/09/1999	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Vancouver Condominium Services (Gerry Faneke), Peter Leask, Dave Barrett, Jim Thompson (NHW)	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	14/09/1999	nouv.	init.		neu.	gpe	opp.	CHOA (Nona Saunders), Dave Barrett, Rudy Eylmann, Fred Randall, GVHBA (Peter Simpson), HPO, New Home Warranty	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	30/08/1999	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	gpe	aut.	CHOA (Jim Jordan), James Balderson	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	24/08/1999	lettre	init.		déf.	pol.	aut.	Dave Barrett, Al Riede (auteur)	déf.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.

Le cas des leaky condos																
IDENTIFICATION						GENERALITES			CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Vancouver Sun	28/07/1999	nouv.	init.		neu.	aut.	opp.	HPO (Shayne Ramsay), Polygon, Bosa Development, Parklane Ventures, Cressey Development (Scott Cressey), John Logan	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	16/07/1999	nouv.	act.	aut.		neu.	pol.	Dave Barrett, Ujjal Dosanjh, Moe Sihota, Glen Clark	mul.	oui	oui	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	09/07/1999	lettre	act.	opp.		neu.	opp.	aut.	GVHBA (Pete Simpson, auteur), Ross Rettie (Association of Provincefessional Engineers and Geoscientists of BC), HPO, CHOA	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	02/07/1999	lettre	act.	aut.		fav.	pol.	aut.	Glen Clark, Denis Mason (auteur)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	29/06/1999	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.	opp.	Glen Clark, Jenny Kwan, Alfonso Gagliano, GVHBA (Peter Simpson),	mul.	non	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	26/06/1999	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	HPO (Shayne Ramsay), Jenny Kwan, CHOA (Jim Jordan), Alfonso Gagliano,	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	25/06/1999	nouv.	act.	aut.		fav.	aut.	Coquitlam City Council	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	22/06/1999	nouv.	act.	gpe.		neu.	gpe	The Friends of Leaky Condo Owners	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	manif.

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Vancouver Sun	17/06/1999	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	prop.	pol.	HPO (Shayne Ramsay), Ideal Source Publishing (Shelley Calhoun), UDI (Maureen Enser)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	18/05/1999	édito.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Glen Clark, David Anderson, Jean Chretien, Gordon Campbell, Brian Tobin	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	18/05/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	aut.		Coquitlam City Council, Carmen Maretic	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	chgt
Vancouver Sun	17/04/1999	lettre	act. opp.		déf.	opp.	aut.	Surrey Developments (Gordon Estrada, auteur), Dave Barrett	déf.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	16/04/1999	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	Jenny Kwan, NHW, CHBA (Doris Penner), GVHBA (Peter Simpson), CHOA (Nona Saunders),	neu.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	06/03/1999	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		UBC (Darcelle Cottons), Dave Barrett	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	21/01/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, HPO, Burnaby City council	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	28/12/2000	édito.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.	pol.	Jean Chretien, Stéphane Dion, David Duchovny	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	28/11/2000	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Lou Sekora, James Moore	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.

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Vancouver Sun	23/11/2000	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Association of Professional Engineers and Geoscientists (John Bremner), Joint Building Envelope Qualification Committee, BC Supreme Court, Architectural Institute of BC,	neu.	oui	oui	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	18/11/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.	act. gpe.	neu.	gpe	pol.	CASH (Carmen Maretic), Lou Sekora, COLCO (James Balderson), Hedy Fry, Dave Barrett, Federation of Co-Ops, Marijuana Party (Marc Emery)	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	attq.
Vancouver Sun	18/11/2000	édito.	act. aut.		neu.	opp.	aut.	CMHC, UDI,	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	09/11/2000	édito.	act. gpe.		neu.	pol.	prop.	Paul Martin, David Anderson, Joan Russow, Pat Bagnall	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	manif.
Vancouver Sun	18/10/2000	lettre	act. aut.		fav.	aut.		Dawn Black (auteure)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	10/07/2000	lettre	act. aut.		déf.	prop.	aut.	Chris Roine (auteur)	déf.	non	non	non	oui	non	gpe	manif.
Vancouver Sun	08/07/2000	nouv.	init.		fav.	gpe	pol.	Jan Pullinger, COLCO (James Balderson), CHOA (Nona Saunders), GVHBA (Peter Simpson), RCMP	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	30/06/2000	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		RCMP, Peter Leask, Dave Barrett, CHOA (Nona Saunders)	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	pét.
Vancouver Sun	20/06/2000	édito.	init.		neu.	pol.		Jean Chrétien,	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.

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Vancouver Sun	16/06/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	COLCO (James Balderson), Glen Clark, HPO, David Anderson, Alfonso Gagliano, Ujjal Dosanjh, Lou Sekora, Jan Pullinger, Dave Barrett, RCMP	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	14/03/2000	lettre	act. opp.		neu.	opp.	aut.	CHBA (Doris Penner), Bobby O'Kane (auteur)	mul.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	21/02/2000	lettre	tém.		déf.	prop.	opp.	Marilyn Kennedy (auteure)	déf.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	03/02/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Dave Barrett, NHW, Paul Ramsey, Alfonso Gagliano, CMHC, Eric Tetrault, GVHBA, CHOA (Nona Saunders), Lou Sekora	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	12/01/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.	exp.	BC Assessment Authority (Reg Zotzman), Coquitlam Town Centre Community Association (Claudette Friesen)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	12/01/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.	exp.	BC Assessment Authority (Reg Zotzman), Coquitlam Town Centre Community Association (Claudette Friesen)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	06/01/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.	tém.	neu.	gpe	aut.	COLCO (John Grasty), CHOA, Vancouver Island Strata Corporation, BC Assessment Authority	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	20/12/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	prop.	Geoff Plant, Karen Halun, Darrell Roberts,	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	jud.

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Vancouver Sun	12/12/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	pol.	Municipal Insurance Association (MIA Ken Olive), Helen Sparkes, Union of BC Municipality, Bruce Gleig, Gordon Campbell, Geoff Plant, George Abbott, CASH (Carmen Maretic), UDI (Maureen Enser),	mul.	oui	non	oui	non	non	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	27/10/2001	lettre	act. opp.		neu.	opp.		UDI (Bob Ransford, auteur),	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	06/10/2001	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.	aut.	David Miller, Health Canada, Erin Brockovich, Chris van Netten,	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	29/09/2001	édito.	act. gpe.		déf.	gpe	pol.	Ujjal Dosanjh, Gordon Campbell, COLCO (John Grasty), CMHC, Alfonso Gagliano, George Abbott, Joe Trasolini, Simma Holt	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	manif.
Vancouver Sun	19/09/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Pete Steblin, Johnny Carline,	déf.	oui	non	oui	non	non	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	01/09/2001	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	pol.	James Moore, Loyola Hearn, COLCO (Kathy Kelln), Lois Jackson, Union of BC Municipality (Jim Abrams), MIA (Ken Olive), Simma Holt	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	manif.

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Vancouver Sun	28/08/2001	nouv.	desc. pro.	act. aut.	neu.	gpe	pol.	COLCO (James Balderson), Lois Jackson, Gordon Campbell, Union of BC Municipality (Jim Abrams), George Abbott, Bruce Gleig, Doug Drummond,	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	28/08/2001	édito.	act. aut.	desc. pro.	neu.	prop.	aut.	Betty Prior, Ken Burt, Jack Boyd, Jean Chernenko, Willam Grist, Canadian Bar Association (Kieran Bridge)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	28/08/2001	édito.	act. aut.	act. ind.	fav.	aut.	pol.	William Grist, Ujjal Dosanjh, Gordon Campbell, George Abbott, Alfonso Gagliano, Stephen Owen, Hedy Fry, Loyola Hearn, COLCO (John Grasty),	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	14/08/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	gpe	pol.	Carmen Maretic, HPO, CHOA, Nona Saunders, CASH, George Abbott, Alfonso Gagliano, COLCO (James Balderson), CMHC, GVHBA (Peter Simpson),	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	chgt
Vancouver Sun	13/07/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	George Abbott, CASH (Carmen Maretic), David Anderson, Gordon Campbell,	mul.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

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Vancouver Sun	13/07/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	George Abbott, CASH (Carmen Maretic), David Anderson, Gordon Campbell,	mul.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	30/06/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Alfonso Gagliano, George Abbott	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	06/06/2001	édito.	init.		neu.	pol.			neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	15/05/2001	édito.	act. opp.		déf.	opp.	aut.	Patrick Guy, CMHC, Mary Louise Kimpton, CASH (Carmen Maretic)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	30/04/2001	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	pol.	CASH, Gordon Campbell, Ujjal Dosanjh, Adriane Carr	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	manif.
Vancouver Sun	28/04/2001	édito.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Vancouver Magazine	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	31/03/2001	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.	prop.	aut.	Patrick Guy, Mary Louise Kimpton, Dave Barrett, CMHC, Jim Currie, Richard Kadulski,	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	26/03/2001	édito.	desc. pro.		déf.	gpe	aut.	COLCO (Sandra La Couvee), HPO, Tony Mastrangelo,	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	22/02/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Lois Jackson	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	19/02/2001	lettre	init.		déf.	pol.		Suzanne Kilfoyle (auteure)	fav.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	29/01/2001	édito.	init.		neu.	pol.		Jean Chrétien, Herb Dhaliwal,	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	05/01/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	prop.	aut.	Steve Ellis, Darrell Roberts, Delta, Canlan Investment, Van Maren Construction, James Yardley, BC Assessment Authority, Betty Prior	mul.	non	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.

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nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Vancouver Sun	23/12/2002	édito.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		MIA of BC,	déf.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	16/11/2002	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Chuck Puchmayr	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	09/08/2002	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	pol.	Cooperative Housing Federation of BC (Thom Armstrong), CMHC, John Manley	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	attq.
Vancouver Sun	30/04/2002	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	opp.	CHOA (Nona Saunders), CHBA, NHW, BERC, CASH (Carmen Maretic)	fav.	non	oui	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	18/04/2002	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	exp.		BERC (Don Hazleden), RDH Building Engineering (Mike Wilson)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	27/03/2002	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Bill Bell, Borden Ladner Gervais, A.M. Fifteen Holdings, Cressey Development, MIA	mul.	oui	oui	non	non	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	06/03/2002	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	gpe	aut.	COLCO (James Balderson), CASH (Carmen Maretic), CHOA (Nona Saunders), HPO (Dan Maxwell)	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	20/02/2002	lettre	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Ivan Druker (auteur)	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	16/02/2002	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	gpe	exp.	BERC (Don Hazleden), CASH (Carmen Maretic), Dave Ricketts, CMHC, RDH Building Engineering, HPO (Dan Maxwell),	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	chgt
Vancouver Sun	05/02/2002	nouv.	act. aut.	desc. pro.	neu.	exp.		Bruce Gleig	neu.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	jud.

Le cas des leaky condos																	
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Vancouver Sun	10/01/2002	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	opp.	CHBA, KPMG (Robert Rusko), Richard Stewart, Polygon Homes, United Provincepteries, Molnar Construction, Parklane Ventures, David Verge, Daniel Jarvis, George Abbott, Gary Senst, , RCMP, COLCO (James Balderson),	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.	
Vancouver Sun	04/01/2002	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	opp.	BC Law Institute (Arthur Close), Mary Anne Waldron, HPO (Dan Maxwell)	mul.	oui	oui	non	non	non	non	jud.	
Vancouver Sun	30/12/2003	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Surrey City Council	déf.	non	non	non	non	non	non	jud.	
Vancouver Sun	25/10/2003	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	pol.	Canadian Federation of Independent Business (Laura Jones), Gary Collins, Retail BC (Mark Startup), Insurance Bureau of Canada (Lindsay Olson),	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.	
Vancouver Sun	09/08/2003	édito.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Disaster Financial Assistance Provincegram	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.	
Vancouver Sun	07/08/2003	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	opp.	COLCO (James Balderson), David Surherland, Bill Dyck, Intrawest, Intracorp, Van Maren Construction,	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	non	jud.	
Vancouver Sun	29/07/2003	lettre	tém.		fav.	prop.		Hella Prante (auteure)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	gpe	manif.	
Vancouver Sun	19/06/2003	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	opp.	aut.	Jennifer Conkie, Bruce Cohen, Polygon Construction,	mul.	oui	oui	non	non	non	non	jud.	

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Vancouver Sun	22/03/2003	édito.	init.		déf.				neu.	oui	oui	non	non	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	22/12/2004	édito.	act.	aut.	neu.	exp.		Architectural Institute of BC	déf.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	02/10/2004	édito.	act.	opp.	neu.	opp.	aut.	UDI, Polygon Homes (Bob Switzer), Pierre Gallant, CMHC (Jim Robar)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	22/06/2004	lettre	act.	aut.	neu.	aut.		Ross Phillips (auteur)	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	gpe	auc.
Vancouver Sun	18/05/2004	nouv.	act.	aut.	neu.	aut.	gpe	UDI (Maureen Enser), COLCO (James Balderson), BC Housing, Aviva Canada, Murray Coell, Independent Contractors and Businesses Association of BC (Phil Hochstein),	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	19/12/2005	nouv.	act.	aut.	neu.	pol.	aut.	Stephen Harper, CMHC, John Cummins	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	10/11/2005	nouv.	act.	aut.	neu.	pol.	aut.	John Cummins, CMHC, Mickey Cohen, NRC, Ray Hession, Dave Barrett, David Emerson, Joe Fontana,	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	06/10/2005	nouv.	act.	aut.	neu.	pol.	aut.	CMHC, John Cummins, Douglas Tyler, Sandra Ballance, Alasdair Roberts,	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	20/09/2005	nouv.	act.	gpe.	desc.	pro.	neu.	gpe	CHOA (Tony Gioventu)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	14/05/2005	nouv.	act.	aut.	neu.	aut.		Lombard General Insurance (Ken Cameron), HPO, Dave Barrett	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	21/01/2005	lettre	init.		fav.	aut.		Frank Pelaschuk (auteur)	fav.	non	non	non	non	oui	non	auc.

Le cas des leaky condos																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Vancouver Sun	19/12/2006	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	gpe	aut.	Nona Saunders, CHOA (Tony Gioventu), Carmen Maretic, Dave Barrett, HPO	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	chgt
Vancouver Sun	19/09/2006	nouv.	act. gpe.	act. aut.	neu.	gpe	pol.	CASH (Carmen Maretic), Stephen Harper, Colleen Cameron, Diane Finley, John Cummins, CMHC	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	non	gpe	attq.
Vancouver Sun	14/09/2006	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	pol.	CASH (Carmen Maretic), John Cummins, David Emerson, Diane Finley, Stephen Harper	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	non	gpe	attq.
Vancouver Sun	11/05/2006	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.	opp.	John Cummins, Stephen Harper, GVHBA (Peter Simpson), CMHC, Dave Barrett, Diane Finley, James Currie, Pierre Gallant	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	10/05/2006	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.	gpe	CMHC (Nancy Bain), COLCO (James Balderson), HPO (Ken Cameron), Pierre Gallant, GVHBA (Peter Simpson), Carmen Maretic, bccondos.ca (Louise Murray)	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	non	non	jud.
Vancouver Sun	09/11/2007	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Kevin Gillett, Patrick Dohm, Residential Warranty Insurance Services (Gordon Garrity), Richard Peck, Kingsway General Insurance, Eric Dolden	neu.	oui	oui	non	non	non	non	auc.

Le cas des leaky condos																
IDENTIFICATION						GENERALITES			CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Vancouver Sun	24/10/2007	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Insurance Bureau of Canada (Serge Corbeil), Vancouver Condominium Services (Vory Pettersen),	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	05/01/2007	nouv.	act. aut.	init.	neu.	opp.		GVHBA (Peter Simpson), Doug Kerr, Nick Marach	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	05/12/2008	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Shirley Bond, Eric Dolden, Dave Stephen	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	27/08/2008	lettre	desc. pro.		neu.				neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	19/07/2008	lettre	tém.		fav.	pol.	prop.	Rich Coleman, Gloria Cope (Auteure)	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	17/07/2008	lettre	tém.		fav.	aut.	prop.	John McCrossan (auteur), HPO	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	09/07/2008	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.	gpe	HPO, COLCO (James Balderson), Rich Coleman, Ken Cameron,	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	20/08/2009	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Colin Hansen, Bruce Ralston,	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	24/06/2009	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Rich Coleman, HPO,	déf.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Vancouver Sun	20/06/2009	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Rich Coleman, HPO, Randy Barnes, Linda Soloshy, Shane Simpson	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.

Le cas de la pyrite																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES					CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Journal St-Bruno	26/09/1998	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		lachapelle, directeur général de St bruno	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	03/10/1998	nouv.	tém.		neu.	prop.		Couple Hénaeault	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	03/10/1998	édito.	act. aut.		neu.			jour. Penven, a eu pyrite		non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	03/10/1998	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		Skulska de l'APSB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	exp
Journal St-Bruno	03/10/1998	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		service communication ville SB	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	10/10/1998	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		maire SB et resp des comm de la ville	neu.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	10/10/1998	nouv.	act. aut.	act. gpe.	neu.	aut.	gpe	APCHQ, ACQC	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	aut.	exp
Journal St-Bruno	10/10/1998	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.	pol.		Député de Chambly qui est ministre de la culture		non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	24/10/1998	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		APSB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	exp
Journal St-Bruno	21/11/1998	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		APSB et CCPP, Eric de Pauw	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	exp
Journal St-Bruno	21/11/1998	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	pol.		affaires municipales		non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	28/11/1998	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		asso Proprio saint basile, psdt Yves desjardins	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	exp
Journal St-Bruno	28/11/1998	nouv.	act. gpe.	desc. pro.	fav.	gpe		CCPP, APSB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	05/12/1998	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.			CCPP		non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	05/12/1998	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.			Edwige Skulska	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	12/12/1998	nouv.	act. gpe.	desc. pro.	fav.	gpe		CCPP		non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	12/12/1998	lettre	act. ind.		fav.	aut.		jour.	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.

Le cas de la pyrite																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
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Journal St-Bruno	12/12/1998	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.	gpe	mairie Varennes, Michel Pharand du regroupement de varennes et Pierre Boudreau	fav.	oui	non	oui	non	non	non	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	19/12/1998	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	prop.	CCPP, Diane Morissette	fav.	non	non	non	non	oui	non	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	19/12/1998	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	aut.	CCPP, Diane Morissette	mul.	oui	oui	oui	non	oui	non	exp
Journal St-Bruno	30/01/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.	desc. pro.	neu.	gpe	aut.	APSB (Edwige Skulska), ACQC, La Factice	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	13/02/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		ACAIQ	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	13/03/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	aut.	APSB (Ééric de Pauw), ACQC, BMO, CCPP (Diane Morissette)	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	exp
Journal St-Bruno	27/03/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	aut.	exp.	Norman Scully, LVM Tech, Regroupement Professionnel des Producteurs de granulats, Comité Provincial de recherche sur la pyrite	fav.	oui	non	oui	oui	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	01/05/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	aut.	APSB (Éric de Pauw), ACQC (Daniel Leblanc), CCPP (Diane Morissette), Re/Max (Pierre Cardinal),	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	15/05/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	aut.	APSB (Jean-Guy Gaudette), ACQC, CCPP (Diane Morissette)	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	15/05/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.	init.	neu.	gpe	pol.	ACQC, Louise Harel, Louise Beaudoin		non	non	oui	non	non	non	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	03/07/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		APSB (Edwige Skulska), CCPP (André Moisan)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.

Le cas de la pyrite																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Journal St-Bruno	14/08/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.	desc. pro.	fav.	gpe	pol.	CCPP (André Moisan), APSB (Éric de Pauw), ACQC, Louise Beaudoin, Pierrette Venne, RCVP, Louise Harel, SHQ	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	25/09/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		Association des Propriétaires de Saint-Basile (Michel Allard, Pierrette Godmaire), Alain Blanchette (SNC Lavalin et AEG), René Vincent (CIEBQ), Claude Coursol, ACQC (Charles Tanguay)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	09/10/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		CVJP (Conrad Bourgault, André Paradis), ACQC,	fav.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	jour.	jud.
Journal St-Bruno	16/10/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	exp.	Bernard Gagnon (maire), Association des Propriétaires de Saint-Basile (Yves Desjardins, Michel Allard), RCVP (André Moisan), Alain Blanchette, René Vincent, ACQC (Claude Coursol, Charles Tanguay), Jocelyn Gagné	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	exp
Journal St-Bruno	16/10/1999	nouv.	init.	act. gpe.	neu.	pol.	gpe	Louise Beaudoin, Bernard Landry, Louise Harel, RCVP (André Moisan)	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	30/10/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		Association des Provincepriétaires de Saint-Basile (Michel Allard), APCHQ, ACQC.	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	exp

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nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Journal St-Bruno	06/11/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	pol.	APSB (Éric de Pauw), Alfonso Gagliano, SCHL, Louise Harel, CCPP, ACQC,	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	gouv.	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	04/12/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Carrière Mont-Bruno (Norman Scully), ACQC	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	26/12/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	exp.	ACQC, CIEBQ, SHQ, APSB, SCHL	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	exp
Journal St-Bruno	02/01/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		APSB (Edwige Skulska, Éric de Pauw, Pierre Filion, Thérèse Hudon, Marcel Dulude)	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	04/03/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		RCVP (André Moisan)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	jud.
Journal St-Bruno	11/03/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.	tém.	neu.	gpe	pol.	Comité de la pyrite à Saint-Basile (Michel Allard), Harold Ellefsen,	mul.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	jud.
Journal St-Bruno	18/03/2000	nouv.	init.		déf.	gpe	pol.	RCVP (André Moisan), SCHL, Comité de la pyrite à Saint-Basile (Michel Allard), Louise Harel	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	gpe	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	18/03/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Thérèse Hudon, Bernard Gagnon, Bernard Landry, Louise Beaudoin, RCVP (André Moisan)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	01/04/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.	init.	neu.	gpe	pol.	RCVP, Comité de la pyrite à Saint-Basile (Michel Allard), Louise Harel	mul.	non	oui	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	15/04/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.	init.	neu.	gpe		APSB (Éric de Pauw),	fav.	non	oui	non	oui	non	jour.	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	15/04/2000	comm.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		APSB	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.

Le cas de la pyrite																
IDENTIFICATION					GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Journal St-Bruno	29/04/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.		CIEBQ (Patrick Gautreau)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	20/05/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	RCVP, APSB (Éric de Pauw)	fav.	non	oui	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	03/06/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	Ville de Saint-Bruno, RCVP	fav.	oui	non	oui	non	non	jour.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	03/06/2000	nouv.	init.	act. gpe.	neu.	pol.	gpe	RCVP (André Moisan), Louise Harel, SHQ, SCHL, Alfonso Gagliano, Bernard Landry,	fav.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	jour.	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	15/07/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	SHQ, agent immobilier royal lepage, maire de saint basile	neu.	oui	non	oui	oui	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	22/07/2000	nouv.	init.	act. aut.	neu.	pol.		Fatima Houda-Pépin	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	pol.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	22/07/2000	nouv.	init.	act. gpe.	neu.	gpe		Moisan pour le RCVP	fav.	non	non	oui	oui	non	non	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	29/07/2000	comm.	desc. pro.		neu.	gpe		APSB	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	gpe	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	26/08/2000	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	pol.	gpe	mairie de St Basile, moisan du RCVP	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	jour.	attq.
Journal St-Bruno	07/10/2000	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	gpe	mairie de St Bruno; moisan du RCVP	neu.	oui	non	oui	oui	oui	non	attq.
Journal St-Bruno	14/10/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		moisan, pharand et Jean Guy Gaudette	fav.	oui	non	oui	non	non	jour.	exp
Journal St-Bruno	11/11/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		RCVP, APSB, André moisan	fav.	non	non	oui	oui	oui	non	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	03/02/2001	lettre	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		APSB, Jean Gagnon	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	gpe	attq.
Journal St-Bruno	17/02/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		maire de st bruno, Dulude	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	24/02/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		député de St Bruno St Hubert, Pierette Venne	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	pol.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	10/03/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		candidat libéral déchu face à Venne	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	24/03/2001	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		Moisan pour le RCVP	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Journal St-Bruno	14/04/2001	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		Gagnon de l'APSB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.

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IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
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Journal St-Bruno	19/05/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		opposition Bloc libéral, Pierette Venne	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	pol.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	26/05/2001	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		Alexandre de Laryssa, nv psdt APSB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	16/06/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	Louise Beaudoin, porte parole de Gagliano, Tétrault de la SCHL, Moisan psdt CPP de la NARSB; Ottmane Brixi, psdt comité pyrite de l'APSB	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	07/07/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Louise Harel, Louise Beaudoin	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	28/07/2001	lettre	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		De Laryssa APSB	mul.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	attq.
Journal St-Bruno	04/08/2001	lettre	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		Brixi, comité pyrite de l'APSB	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	gpe	attq.
Journal St-Bruno	11/08/2001	lettre	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		Louis Mercier, psdt NARSB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	06/10/2001	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		APSB, Skulska	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	27/10/2001	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		NARSB	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	24/11/2001	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Dulude, maire Saint Bruno	mul.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	réu.
Journal St-Bruno	02/02/2002	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		arrondissement de Saint-Bruno, SHQ, PLURAM	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	09/02/2002	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.	aut.	Pluram, arrondissement de Saint-Bruno	neu.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	23/02/2002	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	pol.	CCPP (Gisèle Corneau), APSB (Edwige Skulska), Alfonso Gagliano	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	02/03/2002	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Louise Beaudoin	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	gouv.	auc.

Le cas de la pyrite																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
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Journal St-Bruno	06/04/2002	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	SHQ, SCHL, ville de Longueuil	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	gouv.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	04/05/2002	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	pol.	Alfonso Gagliano, APSB (Edwige Skulska),	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	11/05/2002	nouv.	init.	desc. pro.	neu.	aut.	gpe	NARSB (André Moisan), Pluram (Benoit Lapointe), Louise Beaudoin, SHQ,	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	auc.
Journal St-Bruno	06/07/2002	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	pol.	APSB (Edwige Skulska, Gisèle Comeau, Donald Deegan), Jean Chrétien		non	non	non	non	non	gpe	exp
Journal St-Bruno	16/11/2002	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	David Collenette, Marie-Hélène Lévesque, APSB (Edwige Skulska, Donald Deegan)	mul.	oui	oui	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	16/11/2002	nouv.	act. gpe.	init.	fav.	gpe	pol.	APSB (Edwige Skulska, Donald Deegan), Alfonso Gagliano, John Manley, Jean Chrétien	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	gpe	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	16/11/2002	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Louise Beaudoin	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	jour.	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	30/08/2003	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		APSB, Skulska	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Journal St-Bruno	10/01/2004	lettre	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		Moisan au nom de la NARSB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	gpe	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	24/04/2004	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		APSB	fav.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Journal St-Bruno	17/07/2004	comm.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		APSB -comité pyrite	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	exp
Journal St-Bruno	05/02/2005	comm.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		APSB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	jud.
Journal St-Bruno	16/04/2005	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		NARSB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	17/09/2005	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		APSB, de Laryssa	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	chgt
Journal St-Bruno	09/12/2006	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		direction Commission scolaire	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

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nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Journal St-Bruno	16/12/2006	lettre	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		APSB, de Laryssa et Plamandon	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	chgt
Journal Chambly	13/10/1998	comm.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	aut.	auc.
Journal Chambly	20/10/1998	édito.	act. ind.	desc. pro.	neu.	aut.		jour. penven	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	17/11/1998	comm.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		ACQC	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	gpe	chgt
Journal Chambly	24/11/1998	comm.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	24/11/1998	nouv.	init.		neu.	exp.		Groupe d'expert sur la pyrite	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	08/12/1998	comm.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	09/02/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		ACQC, APSB (Edwige Skulska)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.
Journal Chambly	16/02/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		ACAIQ	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	27/04/1999	comm.	desc. pro.	act. gpe.	neu.	gpe	aut.	Association des Propriétaires du quartier no 2, APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.
Journal Chambly	04/05/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	aut.	C3PC, APCHQ	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	réu.
Journal Chambly	25/05/1999	comm.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Louise Harel, SHQ (auteur?), Comité technique, ACQC, APCHQ,	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	08/06/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	aut.	L'Écluse, C3PC (Jean-Eudes Duguay), ACQC (Charles Tanguay)	fav.	oui	oui	non	non	non	jour.	attq.
Journal Chambly	15/06/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	pol.	gpe	C3PC (Jean-Eudes Duguay), conseil municipal Chambly, ACQC, RCVP	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	exp
Journal Chambly	22/06/1999	comm.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	aut.	ACQC, SHQ, RBQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	exp

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IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Journal Chambly	29/06/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	gpe	aut.	C3PC (Jean-Eudes Duguay), conseil municipal Chambly, ACQC, Alfonso Gagliano, Ghislain Lebel, SCHL	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
Journal Chambly	20/07/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	pol.	C3PC (Jean-Eudes Duguay, Pierre Turcotte), Louise Harel, ACQC, Louise Beaudoin, RCV	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	réu.
Journal Chambly	27/07/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	exp.		SHQ (Pierre Tremblay)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	27/07/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		SHQ, C3PC,	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	réu.
Journal Chambly	21/09/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	exp.	C3PC (Jean-Eudes Duguay, Francine Blais), RCV (André Moisan), René Vincent, Alain Blanchette, Claude Coursol, ACQC (Charles Tanguay)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	réu.
Journal Chambly	12/10/1999	comm.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		CVJP (André Paradis), ACQC, RCV	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
Journal Chambly	19/10/1999	nouv.	act. aut.	act. gpe.	fav.	gpe	aut.	C3PC (Jean-Eudes Duguay), RCV, SHQ, Louise Harel, Ville de Chambly, BACC, Alfonso Gagliano, SCHL	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	chgt
Journal Chambly	23/11/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.	init.	neu.	pol.	gpe	Fatima Houda-Pépin, Louise Harel, Pauline Marois, SCHL, C3PC, Bernard Landry, RCV (Jean-Eudes Dugay)	mul.	oui	non	oui	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
Journal Chambly	23/11/1999	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.	gpe	C3PC (Jean-Eudes Duguay), Alfonso gagliano, Ghislain Lebel, RCV (André Moisan), Louise Harel	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	gpe	chgt

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IDENTIFICATION					GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Journal Chambly	21/12/1999	comm.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe	aut.	ACQC, SHQ, SCHL	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	exp
Journal Chambly	04/01/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Député Chambly Louise Beaudoin	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	08/02/2000	comm.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		ACQC	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	exp
Journal Chambly	15/02/2000	comm.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		ACQC	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	chgt
Journal Chambly	07/03/2000	comm.	init.		neu.	pol.		SHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	14/03/2000	comm.	init.		neu.	pol.		SHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	21/03/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		rcvp, (C3PC)	fav.	non	non	oui	oui	non	jour.	chgt
Journal Chambly	21/03/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.	desc. pro.	neu.	gpe		C3PC	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	jud.
Journal Chambly	28/03/2000	édito.	act. ind.		neu.	aut.		David Penven	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	28/03/2000	comm.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	aut.	auc.
Journal Chambly	04/04/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		RCVP, C3PC	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	chgt
Journal Chambly	04/04/2000	comm.	act. gpe.	act. aut.	neu.	gpe	aut.	ASQC et ACQC	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	réu.
Journal Chambly	04/04/2000	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		représentante ville Chambly au C3PC	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	jour.	chgt
Journal Chambly	20/06/2000	nouv.	act. aut.	act. gpe.	neu.	aut.	gpe	Ville Chambly et C3PC	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	jour.	réu.
Journal Chambly	18/07/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	aut.	Louise Beaudoin, Louise Harel, SHQ	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	auc.
Journal Chambly	25/07/2000	nouv.	init.	act. gpe.	neu.	gpe	aut.	C3PC (Jean-Eudes Duguay), SHQ	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	chgt
Journal Chambly	31/10/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	gpe	aut.	SHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	20/03/2001	comm.	act. gpe.	init.	fav.	gpe	pol.	RCVP, ACQC, SCHL, Alfonso Gagliano,	mul.	non	non	non	oui	oui	gpe	attq.
Journal Chambly	12/06/2001	nouv.	init.	act. gpe.	neu.	pol.	gpe	C3PC (Jean-Eudes Duguay), Jean Chrétien, Alfonso Gagliano, RCVP	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	jour.	attq.

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IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Journal Chambly	12/06/2001	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	Alfonso Gagliano, Éric Tétrault, Daniel de Brouwer, Louise Beaudoin, Louise Harel, Cécile Ouellet, C3PC	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	jour.	auc.
Journal Chambly	03/07/2001	lettre	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe	pol.	Alfonso Gagliano, RCVP (Majella Lafontaine, auteur),	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	gpe	attq.
Journal Chambly	03/07/2001	comm.	init.		fav.	pol.		Alfonso Gagliano	déf.	oui	oui	oui	non	non	gouv.	auc.
Journal Chambly	10/07/2001	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.		Louise Harel, Louise Beaudoin, SCHL, Alfonso Gagliano,	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	17/07/2001	lettre	act. gpe.	init.	fav.	pol.	gpe	RCVP, Alfonso Gagliano, Jean Chrétien, SCHL, Louise Harel, Bernard Landry, ACQC (Charles Tanguay, auteur), Claude Ryan	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	gpe	chgt
Journal Chambly	06/11/2001	comm.	init.	act. aut.	fav.	pol.	aut.	Alfonso Gagliano, Louise Harel, SCHL, SHQ,	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	06/11/2001	comm.	init.	act. gpe.	fav.	gpe		RCVP (Majella Lafontaine)	fav.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	gpe	chgt
Journal Chambly	12/02/2002	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	gpe	aut.	C3PC (Jean-Eudes Duguay), Cécile Ouellet, SHQ, ACQC (Charles Tanguay), RCVP	fav.	non	non	oui	oui	non	jour.	chgt
Journal Chambly	12/03/2002	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Louise Beaudoin	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	gouv.	auc.
Journal Chambly	03/12/2002	comm.	init.		neu.	aut.		SHQ (auteur?)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	24/12/2002	comm.	init.		neu.	aut.		SHQ (auteur?)	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Journal Chambly	24/05/2005	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		C3PC Dugay	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	exp
La Presse	07/10/1998	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.	aut.		ACQ, APCHQ, associations de Propriétaires	neu.	oui	non	oui	non	oui	non	auc.

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IDENTIFICATION			GENERALITES						CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
La Presse	10/10/1998	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	10/10/1998	comm.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		ACQC	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	exp
La Presse	05/11/1998	nouv.	act. aut.	act. gpe.	neu.	aut.	pol.	APCHQ, ACQC, SHQ	neu.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	10/11/1998	nouv.	act. aut.	desc. pro.	neu.	exp.		blanchette pour le comité d'expert	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	exp
La Presse	16/11/1998	nouv.	tém.	desc. pro.	fav.	prop.	gpe	ACQC, et prop.	fav.	oui	non	non	non	non	aut.	chgt
La Presse	19/11/1998	nouv.	init.	act. aut.	neu.	exp.	aut.	groupe d'exp. sur la pyrite, SHQ, ACQC,	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	exp
La Presse	03/12/1998	nouv.	act. aut.	desc. pro.	neu.	exp.	aut.	SHQ, Blanchette, APCHQ, gérant de carrière	neu.	oui	oui	oui	non	oui	non	exp
La Presse	16/01/1999	nouv.	act. aut.	desc. pro.	fav.	aut.	gpe	Asso des constructeurs de routes et grands travaux, ACQC, SHQ, ACQ, APCHQ	neu.	oui	oui	oui	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	30/01/1999	édito.	desc. pro.	act. gpe.	fav.	exp.	gpe	Yves Perrier, leblanc ACQC	fav.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	exp
La Presse	09/02/1999	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		ACAIQ, Nadeau	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	13/02/1999	édito.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.		Yves Perrier	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	18/02/1999	nouv.	act. aut.	desc. pro.	neu.	exp.	gpe	Tanguay pour ACQC, Blanchette pour labo LVM	neu.	oui	non	oui	non	non	non	réu.
La Presse	05/03/1999	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.	prop.	Me Coursol, conseiller ACQC	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	06/03/1999	édito.	desc. pro.	tém.	neu.	exp.	prop.	Yves Perrier	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
La Presse	09/03/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.	desc. pro.	fav.	gpe	prop.	Tremblay pour les regroupements sur l'île de montreal	fav.	oui	oui	oui	non	non	gpe	exp
La Presse	13/03/1999	édito.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.		Yves Perrier	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	20/03/1999	édito.	desc. pro.		neu.				neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

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IDENTIFICATION					GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
La Presse	04/05/1999	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.	gpe	pol.	Harel, ACQC, APSB De Pauw	neu.	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jour.	auc.
La Presse	17/05/1999	édito.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.		Yves Robillard	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	22/06/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		RCVP Moisan	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	exp
La Presse	18/09/1999	édito.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.		Jeffrey Edwards	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	05/10/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.	desc. pro.	fav.	gpe	prop.	ACQC Tanguay, CVJP Paradis	fav.	oui	non	oui	oui	oui	jour.	exp
La Presse	14/10/1999	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	pol.		Harel et Houda Pépin	neu.	oui	oui	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	13/11/1999	édito.	tém.	desc. pro.	neu.	prop.	exp.	architecte/jour. Yves Perrier	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	18/12/1999	nouv.	act. gpe.	desc. pro.	fav.	gpe		ACQC Tanguay, RCVF Moisan, CVJP Paradis	fav.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	gpe	chgt
La Presse	05/02/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.		Yves Perrier	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
La Presse	08/02/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe	aut.	ACQC Tanguay, ACAIQ Nadeau, RBQ	neu.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	chgt
La Presse	09/03/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.	gpe	prop.	RCVP Moisan, avocat Propriétaires	neu.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
La Presse	10/03/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		neu.	gpe		CVJP, Paradis, RCVF Moisan	fav.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	chgt
La Presse	15/03/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Budget de Landry	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	16/03/2000	nouv.	act. gpe.		fav.	gpe		RCVP Moisan, ACQC Tanguay	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	chgt
La Presse	15/06/2000	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.	gpe	Gagliano, SHQ, RCVF Moisan	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	attq.
La Presse	13/07/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	gpe	pol.	ACQC Tanguay, RCVF Moisan, fed, porte parole gagliano, houda pepin, SHQ, Louise beaudouin	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
La Presse	27/07/2000	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	gpe		RCVP Moisan	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	attq.

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IDENTIFICATION					GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
La Presse	03/03/2001	édito.	desc. pro.		neu.				neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	15/05/2001	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		commission scolaire	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	06/06/2001	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	pol.	gpe	Federal, RCVP Moisan, CVJP Fontaine	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
La Presse	06/07/2001	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	pol.		Louise Harel	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	22/09/2001	édito.	desc. pro.		neu.				neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	24/10/2001	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.				neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	01/11/2001	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		SCHL, SHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
La Presse	17/11/2001	nouv.	desc. pro.	act. gpe.	neu.	pol.	gpe	Gvnts fed et Prov, RCVP	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	chgt
La Presse	19/10/2002	édito.	desc. pro.		neu.				neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

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IDENTIFICATION					GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	24/11/2009	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	exp.		Me Soucy	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	02/12/2009	nouv.	act. ind.		fav.	prop.		M.Poirier	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	réu.
Le Nouvelliste	03/12/2009	nouv.	act. gpe	init.	fav.	gpe	pol.	pré-CPB, RBQ	neu.	oui	non	non	non	non	jour.	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	04/12/2009	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		CPB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	réu.
Le Nouvelliste	05/12/2009	nouv.	desc. pro.	act. aut.	neu.	aut.		chambre immobilière de la mauricie	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	21/01/2010	nouv.	tém.		fav.	prop.			neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	21/01/2010	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe	opp.	CPB, GMN (Nantel)	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	26/01/2010	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		député St Amand	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	04/02/2010	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		porte parole opposition Rebello	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	11/02/2010	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	opp.		GMN	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	12/02/2010	nouv.	init.	act. gpe	fav.	gpe	pol.	CPB, ministre Hamad	mul.	oui	oui	oui	non	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	12/02/2010	nouv.	act. opp.		neu.	opp.		APCHQ, un constructeur	neu.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	24/02/2010	nouv.	tém.	act. gpe	neu.	prop.	aut.	caisse populaire, BAC, CPB	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	25/02/2010	nouv.	desc. pro.	act. aut.	neu.	pol.		député Champagne et Robello	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	aut.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	18/03/2010	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		député Champagne	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	aut.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	22/03/2010	lettre	act. ind.	act. gpe	neu.	prop.			fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	aut.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	27/03/2010	nouv.	act. gpe	desc. pro.	fav.	gpe		CPB	fav.	non	non	non	non	oui	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	31/03/2010	nouv.	act. opp.		neu.	opp.		directeur GMN	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	24/04/2010	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	opp.		jour., APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	03/05/2010	nouv.	act. gpe	tém.	fav.	gpe	prop.	CPB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	pét.

Le cas de la pyrrhotite																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES					CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	27/05/2010	nouv.	act. aut.	tém.	déf.	prop.			mul.	oui	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	11/06/2010	nouv.	act. gpe			fav.	gpe	opp. CPB, APCHQ	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	05/07/2010	nouv.	tém.			fav.	prop.	gpe CPB, 1 victime	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	12/07/2010	nouv.	act. gpe			fav.	gpe	CPB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	gpe	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	14/07/2010	nouv.	act. gpe	act. opp.		fav.	gpe	opp. CPB, GMN	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	15/07/2010	nouv.	act. opp.			neu.	prop.	gpe CPB, 1 victime	neu.	oui	non	oui	non	non	non	exp
Le Nouvelliste	17/07/2010	nouv.	tém.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe	CPB	neu.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	03/08/2010	nouv.	act. gpe			fav.	gpe	CPB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	12/08/2010	nouv.	act. gpe			neu.	gpe	CPB	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	25/08/2010	nouv.	desc. pro.			neu.	gpe	opp. GMN, M. Ouimet, CPB	mul.	oui	non	non	non	non	gpe	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	21/09/2010	nouv.	tém.			neu.	prop.	opp. 1 victime, GMNOuimet	neu.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	27/09/2010	nouv.	act. gpe			fav.	gpe	CPB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	05/10/2010	lettre	act. ind.			neu.	prop.		neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	aut.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	16/10/2010	nouv.	init.	act. gpe		fav.	pol.	gpe	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	27/11/2010	nouv.	act. gpe	act. opp.		fav.	gpe	opp. GMN, M. Ouimet, CPB	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	07/12/2010	nouv.	act. opp.			neu.	opp.	GMN, Ouimet	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	18/12/2010	nouv.	desc. pro.			neu.	opp.	GMN, M. Ouimet	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	28/12/2010	nouv.	desc. pro.			fav.			neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	02/02/2011	nouv.	desc. pro.			fav.	gpe	aut. CPB, juge Richard	fav.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	11/02/2011	nouv.	act. opp.			neu.	opp.	APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	17/02/2011	nouv.	act. gpe			fav.	gpe	opp. CPB ? GMN Filion	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	22/02/2011	nouv.	act. opp.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe	opp. CPB, GMN	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	25/02/2011	nouv.	tém.			neu.	prop.	opp. victime, GMN Ouimet	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	03/03/2011	nouv.	act. opp.			neu.	opp.	GMN, M. Ouimet	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

Le cas de la pyrrhotite																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES					CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	11/03/2011	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe	prop.	CPB, prop.	neu.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	19/03/2011	nouv.	init.	act. opp.	neu.	opp.		APCHQ, Filion	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	18/04/2011	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		CPB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	manif.
Le Nouvelliste	22/04/2011	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.				neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	manif.
Le Nouvelliste	02/05/2011	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe	prop.	CPB, victime	fav.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	manif.
Le Nouvelliste	12/05/2011	lettre	tém.		neu.	prop.			fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	18/06/2011	nouv.	tém.		neu.	prop.			neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	20/06/2011	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.	exp.	gpe	CPB, expert en santé mentale	fav.	oui	non	non	non	non	aut.	exp
Le Nouvelliste	28/06/2011	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	pol.		Bureau ministre Thériault	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	05/07/2011	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		conseillers municipaux TR	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	09/07/2011	lettre	tém.		neu.	prop.		un Propriétaire	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	aut.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	20/07/2011	nouv.	act. opp.		neu.	opp.		GMN, APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	13/08/2011	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	aut.	gpe	ville TR	mul.	oui	oui	oui	non	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	20/08/2011	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.	gpe	ville TR, CPB	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	gpe	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	24/08/2011	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.	aut.		ville TR	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	08/09/2011	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe	aut.	CPB, ville TR	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	08/10/2011	nouv.	act. gpe	init.	fav.	gpe	pol.	CPB, RBQ	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	gpe	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	11/10/2011	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	opp.	pol.	MDDEP, RBQ, mairie TR, regroupement récupérateurs matériaux	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	26/10/2011	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Propriétaires avec autre pb	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	27/10/2011	nouv.	act. gpe	init.	fav.	gpe		CPB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	gpe	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	01/11/2011	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	aut.	pol.	Segma Recherches, conseillère municipale TR	fav.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	jour.	attq.

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nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	08/11/2011	nouv.	act. gpe	act. aut.	neu.	gpe	pol.	CPB, ville TR	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	19/11/2011	nouv.	act. opp.		fav.	opp.	gpe	GMN, CPB	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	23/11/2011	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		CPB, YB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	24/11/2011	nouv.	act. opp.		neu.	opp.		GMN, M. Ouimet	défav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	16/12/2011	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	pol.		ville TR	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	exp
Le Nouvelliste	16/12/2011	nouv.	act. gpe	act. aut.	fav.	gpe	pol.	CPB, Rhéault, ville TR	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	22/12/2011	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		BMR matériaux	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	exp
Le Nouvelliste	23/01/2012	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		NPD, Mulcair	fav.	non	non	non	non	oui	pol.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	28/01/2012	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		NPD	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	pol.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	08/02/2012	nouv.	act. opp.		neu.	opp.		APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	28/02/2012	comm.	act. gpe		neu.	gpe		SOS-Pyrrhotite	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	gpe	exp
Le Nouvelliste	29/03/2012	lettre	act. ind.		neu.	prop.			neu.	non	non	non	non	non	aut.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	17/04/2012	nouv.	act. gpe	desc. pro.	fav.	gpe	opp.	CPB, GMN Ouimet	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	23/04/2012	lettre	act. ind.		fav.	prop.			fav.	non	non	non	non	non	aut.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	20/06/2012	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	pol.	gpe	NPD (Robert Aubin, Thomas Mulcair, Ruth Ellen Brosseau), Denis Lebel, CPB (Yvon Boivin)	fav.	non	non	oui	non	oui	jour.	pét.
Le Nouvelliste	26/07/2012	nouv.	tém.		fav.	prop.	gpe	SOS-Pyrrhotite	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	11/08/2012	nouv.	desc. pro.	tém.	fav.	pol.	gpe	ville TR, SHQ, prop., CPB	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	gpe	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	01/09/2012	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	gpe	exp.	CPB, avocat Soucy	neu.	oui	non	oui	oui	oui	jour.	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	29/09/2012	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		ville TR	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	09/11/2012	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		CPB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	10/11/2012	nouv.	act. opp.	act. gpe	fav.	opp.		GMN	défav.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	14/11/2012	nouv.	tém.		neu.	prop.			neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.

Le cas de la pyrrhotite																
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nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	27/11/2012	lettre	act. opp.		neu.	opp.		GMN, M. Ouimet	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	09/06/2012	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.	gpe	Danielle St-Amand, CPB (Yvon Boivin), RBQ	fav.	oui	non	oui	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	29/05/2012	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.		Lise Thériault, Julie Boulet, Danielle St-Amand, Jean-Paul Diamond, CPB	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	19/03/2012	nouv.	act. gpe	act. aut.	fav.	gpe		SOS-Pyrrhotite (Jacques Rheault), CPB, ÉCOF-CDEC (Malka Roy), MultiBoulot,	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	exp
Le Nouvelliste	21/01/2012	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	pol.	gpe	NPD (Nycole Turmel, Robert Aubin), CPB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	aut.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	29/05/2012	nouv.	init.	act. gpe	fav.	gpe	pol.	CPB (Yvon Boivin), Lise Thériault,	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	05/05/2012	nouv.	act. gpe	tém.	fav.	gpe	aut.	CPB (Yvon Boivin), SOS-Pyrrhotite (Jacques Rheault), René Pinard, Yves Landry, Jean-Marc Bergeron, André Destrempes	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	exp
Le Nouvelliste	07/11/2012	nouv.	act. gpe	act. aut.	fav.	gpe	pol.	CPB (Yvon Boivin), Agnès Maltais	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	11/12/2012	nouv.	tém.	act. aut.	fav.	prop.	gpe	Raymonde Delisle, Liliane Fréchette, APCHQ, GMN, SOS-Pyrrhotite (Jacques Rheault), CPB	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	exp
Le Nouvelliste	04/12/2012	nouv.	tém.	act. aut.	fav.	prop.	opp.	Pierre Soucy, Marie-Josée Baril, GMN, APCHQ, Michel Richard,	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	jud.

Le cas de la pyrrhotite																
IDENTIFICATION			GENERALITES					CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	27/11/2012	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		Re/Max (Michel Côté), Chambre immobilière de la Mauricie (Hugo Gaillardetz)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	01/08/2012	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe	pol.	CPB (Yvon Boivin), Denis Lebel, SCHL	mul.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	22/08/2012	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.	gpe	Lise Thériault, CPB (Yvon Boivin), SHQ,	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	exp
Le Nouvelliste	24/11/2012	nouv.	act. aut.	tém.	neu.	prop.	aut.	Stéphane Blais, Pierre Prévost, Michel Richard, Charles Trmblay, Pierre Soucy	mul.	oui	non	non	non	non	jour.	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	04/12/2012	nouv.	act. gpe		neu.	gpe	aut.	SOS-Pyrrhotite (Jacques Rheault), Claude Caron	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	17/11/2012	nouv.	tém.		neu.	prop.		Pierre Germain	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	08/01/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		SOS-Pyrrhotite	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	exp
Le Nouvelliste	16/01/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		DG du CSAD	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	19/01/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.	opp.	aut.	avocat de SNC, juge Richard	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	23/01/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		NPD, Aubin	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	09/02/2013	nouv.	tém.	act. gpe	fav.	gpe	opp.	ACQC ? Jean Dion; CPB, GMN Ouimet	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	19/02/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	opp.	aut.	avocats des accusés, juge Richard	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	20/02/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.		expert Blanchette	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	02/03/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	prop.		un fils et son père, coffreur	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	29/03/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		CSAD, maire TR	neu.	oui	non	oui	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	30/03/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.				neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.

Le cas de la pyrrhotite																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES					CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	06/04/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.	pol.		Député Trudel	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	08/04/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		CPB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	réu.
Le Nouvelliste	17/04/2013	nouv.	tém.		neu.	prop.		couple qui a entreprise de construction	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	23/04/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		SIQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	oui	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	24/04/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		commission scolaire, Mme Corneau	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	30/04/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		assureur d'un accusé Gestion Bellemare	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	01/05/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		assureur d'un accusé Gestion Bellemare	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	03/05/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.			neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	07/05/2013	comm.	act. gpe		neu.	gpe		SOS-Pyrrhotite	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	gpe	exp
Le Nouvelliste	15/05/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	pol.		Ministre Lebel au fédéral, député NPD Aubin	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	25/05/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.	act. aut.	neu.	exp.		Marchand, expert pour construction Boivert	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	25/05/2013	lettre	act. ind.		neu.	prop.		une victime	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	aut.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	29/05/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.	act. aut.	neu.	exp.		Bérubé contre Blanchette	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	06/06/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		porte parole ville TR	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	14/06/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.		Khayat et Trembaly	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	15/06/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.		Khayat	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	aut.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	21/06/2013	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.	gpe	RBQ, CPB	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	27/08/2013	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.		député Champagne	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	27/08/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	aut.		chambre immobilière de la mauricie	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	30/08/2013	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.		député Champagne	fav.	non	non	non	non	oui	non	auc.

Le cas de la pyrrhotite																
IDENTIFICATION			GENERALITES						CADRE DE CONFLIT			CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	31/08/2013	nouv.	act. ind.		fav.	aut.		une citoyenne	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	aut.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	31/08/2013	nouv.	act. ind.		fav.	aut.		une citoyenne	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	aut.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	13/09/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		déf.	gpe		SOS-Pyrrhotite	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	14/09/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		neu.	gpe	gpe	SOS-Pyrrhotite, CPB	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	gpe	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	19/09/2013	nouv.	act. gpe	init.	fav.	gpe		SOS-Pyrrhotite	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	19/09/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		NPD, Aubin	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	07/10/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.				neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	07/10/2013	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.	prop.		deux musiciens prop.	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	11/10/2013	nouv.	init.	act. aut.	neu.	pol.		député Champagne, CRÉ	neu.	oui	non	oui	non	oui	aut.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	11/10/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		CRE	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	18/10/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		candidat mairie TR St Germain	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	19/10/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		candidate Tardif mairie TR	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	22/10/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		candidat mairie TR Fortin	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	22/10/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.				neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	24/10/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	pol.	gpe	RBQ, CPB	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	26/10/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		candidate mairie TR	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	26/10/2013	lettre	act. ind.		neu.	aut.		un citoyen de TR	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	aut.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	29/10/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		candidat libéral dans Maskinongé	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	15/11/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		candidat défait mairie TR	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	20/12/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.	pol.		maire Shawinigan	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	chgt

Le cas de la pyrrhotite																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES					CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	25/01/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.	act. aut.	neu.	aut.		Guylain Roy, Béton Central, Béton Provincevinal, Béton Laurentide, Daniel Rheault, Béton Boisvert, Louise St-Amant	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	17/01/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Robert Aubin, Michel Morin	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	31/01/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	opp.	SNC-Lavalin (Jean-François Bienjonetti), Carrière B&B (Yvan Boisvert), Béton Laurentide, Lafarge,	neu.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	26/02/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe	aut.	CPB (Yvon Boivin), SNC-Lavalin,	mul.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	04/02/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	aut.		Carrière B&B, Béton Laurentide, Béton Boisvert, Carrière Maskimo, SCN-Lavalin, Terrratech (Alain Blanchette),	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	13/02/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	exp.	aut.	Carrière B&B, Alain Bérubé, APCHQ, Arezki Tagnit Hamou, Loïc Divet, Michel Richard, Kamal Henri Khayat, SNC-Lavalin, Jacques Marchand	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	30/03/2013	nouv.	act. aut.	desc. pro.	neu.	aut.		Ville de Trois-Rivières	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	jud.

Le cas de la pyrrhotite																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES					CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	25/03/2013	nouv.	tém.		neu.	aut.	gpe	Alex Leblanc, Karine Levasseur, Inspec-Sol, Bisson-Prétech, Yvan Toutant, CPB (Yvon Boivin), SHQ	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	jour.	exp
Le Nouvelliste	25/03/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	pol.	gpe	Ruth Ellen Brosseau, Robert Aubin, CPB (Yvon Boivin), Peter Van Loan, CNR (Patrick Bookhout), UMQ (Yves Lévesque), AIMQ (Steve Ponton)	mul.	oui	non	oui	oui	oui	non	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	20/03/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	gpe		CPB (Yvon Boivin)	fav.	non	oui	non	non	non	jour.	réu.
Le Nouvelliste	15/03/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.	act. aut.	neu.	opp.		APCHQ, GMN	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	11/03/2013	nouv.	act. gpe	act. opp.	fav.	opp.	gpe	APCHQ, GMN, CPB (Yvon Boivin)	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	08/04/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	gpe	SHQ (John MacKay), CPB (Yvon Boivin), Alex Leblanc	fav.	non	non	oui	oui	non	jour.	réu.
Le Nouvelliste	26/04/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Assurances Northbridge-Lombard, Carrière B&B, Carrière Maskimo	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	20/04/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		Construction G. Therrien (Paul Cusson), Bel-Rive, Carrière B&B (Yvan Boisvert), Carrière Maskimo,	neu.	oui	oui	non	non	non	jour.	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	12/04/2013	nouv.	act. opp.	init.	neu.	pol.	opp.	APCHQ, GMN, Agnès Maltais, Lise Thériault, CPB	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.

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IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	25/05/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	pol.		Thomas Mulcair, Robert Aubin, Ruth Ellen Brosseau, Denis Lebel, Diane Finley	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	22/05/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	exp.	Carrière B&B, Carrière Maskimo, CPB, Inspec-Sol (Denis Roy), , Terratech (Alain Blanchette),	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	03/05/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		neu.	gpe	aut.	CPB (Yvon Boivin), SNC-Lavalin,	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	04/05/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	exp.	aut.	Christopher Rogers, Terratech (Alain Blanchette), Béton Laurentide, Carrière B&B	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	29/06/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	aut.	gpe	Michel Richard, CPB	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	29/06/2013	nouv.	act. opp.	act. aut.	neu.	opp.	exp.	APCHQ, GMN, Daniel Raymond, Héneault et Gosselin, Bisson Pretech, Marie-Pier Germain	mul.	oui	non	non	non	non	non	jud.
Le Nouvelliste	06/06/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe	pol.	CPB (Yvon Boivin), Association Béton Québec, Robert Aubin, Luc Trudel, Michel Angers, Yves Lévesque, Yves-François Blanchet,	fav.	non	non	oui	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	01/06/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		neu.	gpe	aut.	CPB (Pierre Duguay), BAC	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	exp
Le Nouvelliste	18/06/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	gpe	aut.	CPB (Yvon Boivin), Alliance syndicale de l'industrie de la construction (Sylvain Paquin)	neu.	non	oui	oui	non	non	jour.	auc.

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IDENTIFICATION					GENERALITES			CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	13/07/2013	nouv.	act. opp.	act. aut.	neu.	opp.	aut.	APCHQ, GMN, Raymond Chabot Grant Thornton, RBQ	neu.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	05/07/2013	nouv.	init.		neu.	aut.	pol.	SHQ, Sylvain Gaudreault, CPB	fav.	non	non	oui	oui	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	17/07/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	opp.	GMN, APCHQ, Raymond Chabot Grant Thornton, CPB (Yvon Boivin)	fav.	non	oui	oui	oui	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	24/08/2013	nouv.	init.		fav.	aut.	gpe	René Duguay, SHQ, CPB (Yvon Boivin)	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	13/08/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	opp.	gpe	APCHQ, GMN, CPB (Yvon Boivin), Raymond Chabot Grant Thornton	fav.	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	21/08/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		CPB (Yvon Boivin),	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	réu.
Le Nouvelliste	24/08/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	aut.	gpe	CPB (Yvon Boivin), Yves Lévesque	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	17/09/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		CPB (Yvon Boivin)	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	réu.
Le Nouvelliste	28/09/2013	nouv.	act. ind.		neu.	aut.	gpe	Jacques Rheault, SOS-Pyrrhotite	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	10/09/2013	nouv.	act. ind.		fav.	aut.	gpe	Entrepôt du Pneu (Bruno Béland), CPB (Yvon Boivin), Chambre immobilière de la Mauricie (Lise Girardeau)	fav.	non	non	oui	non	non	jour.	réu.
Le Nouvelliste	06/09/2013	nouv.	act. aut.	init.	neu.	pol.		Danielle St-Amand, Yves-François Blanchette	mul.	oui	non	non	oui	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	04/09/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		neu.	gpe	pol.	SOS-Pyrrhotite (Jacques Rheault), Agnès Maltais,	neu.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	exp

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IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES				CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.		
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	30/10/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	gpe	pol.	Noëlla Champagne, CPB (Yvon Boivin), APCHQ, GMN, RBQ,	fav.	non	non	oui	oui	non	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	28/10/2013	nouv.	tém.		fav.	prop.	gpe	CPB, Yvon Boivin	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	17/10/2013	lettre	tém.		neu.	prop.		Sylvie Toussignant (auteure)	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	25/11/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	gpe	Pacini (Martin Harvey), CPB (Yvon Boivin),	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	26/11/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.	opp.	SNC-Lavalin, APCHQ, GMN, Carrière B&B, Carrière Maskimo, Alain Blanchette, Béton Laurentide, Lafarge, Marc-André Bérubé	neu.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	19/11/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		neu.	gpe		CPB (Yvon Boivin, Steve Guy)	fav.	non	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	06/11/2013	lettre	tém.		déf.	prop.	aut.	Louise Lafrenière (auteure), SHQ	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	aut.	auc.
Le Nouvelliste	28/11/2013	nouv.	act. aut.	act. gpe	neu.	gpe	aut.	CPB (Yvon Boivin), TD Meloche Monnex	mul.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	attq.
Le Nouvelliste	28/11/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		neu.	gpe		CPB (Yvon Boivin)	fav.	non	oui	non	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	14/12/2013	nouv.	act. opp.	act. aut.	neu.	opp.	aut.	Construction Yvan Boisvert, Carrière B&B, Carrière Maskimo, SNC-Lavalin (Alain Blanchette), Marc-André Bérubé, Michel Richard, Béton Boisvert, Béton Laurentide,	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	auc.

Le cas de la pyrrhotite																
IDENTIFICATION				GENERALITES					CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
Le Nouvelliste	05/12/2013	nouv.	init.		neu.	gpe	opp.	ACQ, APCHQ, ACQC (Jean Dion), RGCQ (Yves Joli-Cœur), GMN, CPB (Yvon Boivin), Agnès Maltais	mul.	oui	oui	oui	oui	non	non	chgt
Le Nouvelliste	28/12/2013	nouv.	tém.		fav.	prop.	gpe	CPB, Yvon Boivin, Steve Guy,	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	chgt
L'écho de T-R	02/05/2012	comm.	act. gpe		neu.	gpe		SOS-Pyrrhotite	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	gpe	auc.
L'écho de T-R	29/08/2012	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.	gpe	CPB, député, ministre	fav.	oui	non	non	non	non	jour.	réu.
L'écho de T-R	13/02/2013	nouv.	tém.	act. gpe	fav.	prop.	gpe	CPB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	réu.
L'écho de T-R	01/05/2013	nouv.	tém.		fav.	prop.			neu.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	auc.
L'écho de T-R	08/05/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe	opp.	CPB, SNC Lavalin	fav.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	non	manif.
L'écho de T-R	29/05/2013	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.		Mulcair	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
L'écho de T-R	19/06/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	aut.		commission scolaire	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
L'écho de T-R	26/06/2013	nouv.	init.		neu.	gpe	opp.	GMN, CPB	défav.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	non	attq.
L'écho de T-R	31/07/2013	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		SHQ, ville TR	fav.	oui	non	oui	non	non	jour.	auc.
L'écho de T-R	28/08/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		CPB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	jour.	manif.
L'écho de T-R	09/10/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.	pol.	gpe	CPB, ville de TR	fav.	oui	non	non	oui	non	non	auc.
L'écho de T-R	09/10/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		fav.	pol.	gpe	CPB, ville de TR	fav.	oui	non	non	oui		non	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	09/12/2009	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	pol.		ville de TR service de l'évaluation	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	17/02/2010	nouv.	act. opp.		neu.	opp.		APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	04/01/2012	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	gpe	pol.	CPB, maire de TR	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	non	jour.	chgt
L'Hebdo journal	25/04/2012	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	pol.	gpe	NPD, CPB	fav.	oui	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	chgt
L'Hebdo journal	26/09/2012	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	pol.		députés NPD	fav.	non	non	non	oui	non	non	chgt

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nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.
L'Hebdo journal	09/01/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		SOS-Pyrrhotite	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	gpe	exp
L'Hebdo journal	20/03/2013	comm.	act. opp.		neu.	opp.		APCHQ	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	27/03/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	pol.	gpe	maire TR, CPB	mul.	oui	oui	non	oui	oui	non	jud.
L'Hebdo journal	10/04/2013	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.	gpe	CPB, ACQC, Ministre Maltais	fav.	oui	non	oui	non	non	non	chgt
L'Hebdo journal	01/05/2013	nouv.	init.		neu.	pol.		Marois et maire TR	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	22/05/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Québec solidaire, NPD	neu.	oui	non	oui	oui	oui	aut.	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	05/06/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		CPB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	jour.	attq.
L'Hebdo journal	10/07/2013	nouv.	init.		fav.	pol.		SHQ	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	28/08/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		CPB	fav.	non	non	non	oui	oui	gpe	attq.
L'Hebdo journal	28/08/2013	nouv.	desc. pro.		neu.	exp.		géologue	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	11/09/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Dufresne	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	11/09/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	pol.	gpe	mairie TR, CPB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	11/09/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	pol.	gpe	mairie TR, CPB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	18/09/2013	nouv.	act. gpe		fav.	gpe		SOS pyrrhotite	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	jour.	exp
L'Hebdo journal	16/10/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		fav.	aut.	gpe	Chambre immobilière, CPB	fav.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.
L'Hebdo journal	23/10/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		Force 3R	neu.	non	non	non	oui	oui	non	auc.

Le cas de la pyrrhotite																	
IDENTIFICATION					GENERALITES					CADRE DE CONFLIT				CADRE RESP.		CADRE STRAT.	
nom du journal	date pub.	form. art.	thém.	thém. 2	ton art.	type act.	act. 2	nom des acteurs	ton interv.	plural.	conflit	concert.	crit.	resp.	vict.	moy. act.	
L'Hebdo journal	27/11/2013	nouv.	act. aut.		neu.	pol.		maire TR	neu.	non	non	non	non	non	non	auc.	