

THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE NOVA SCOTIA TEACHERS' UNION
IN THE FIELDS OF
SALARIES, PENSIONS AND PROFESSIONAL GROWTH

A thesis written in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

Donald B. Hope
Saint Mary's University
School of Education
March 31st, 1961

© Copyright

Errata: Preface, p. ii, line 3, for " of the value"
read " on the value".

Preface p. iii, Table of Contents, for
"Accomplishments" read "Accomplishments"

p. 46, line 6, for "exist\$" read "exists".

p. 48, line 2, for "union" read "unions".

p. 58, line 5, for "legislative" read " legislature".

p. 61, line 13, for "utalization" read "utilization".

p. 63, line 4, for "▲ffectively" read "effectively".

p. 69, line 12, for " striking individually striking"
read " striking individually".

p. 81, line 10, for "in this manner" read "in this
matter".

In addition to the above, in some of the footnotes
ibid; and supra were not underlined.

On the whole, the thesis is a good piece of research
well presented. With minor corrections it will make
a definite addition to the literature on the field
of collective bargaining by teachers in Nova Scotia.

I would suggest that the Table of Contents be
corrected and inserted and a sheet containing the errata
be added, at the first opportunity.

W. C. Salton

PREFACE

Although the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union has been in existence since 1920, there seems to be a general vagueness among its members of the value of the Union. It is the author's opinion that the net worth of any union can only be measured by its accomplishments. Therefore, this work is undertaken to determine the accomplishments of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union in the fields of salaries, pensions and professional growth. The writer is fully aware that these fields will not cover all the work completed by the Union, but he feels that these are the major ones and the broadness of the topic has forced him to narrow this work to include only these items.

To introduce this study Chapter I will give a brief history of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union from 1920 to 1940. Chapters II, III and IV will deal with Salaries, Pensions and Professional Growth respectively. In the conclusion the author will summarize the main accomplishments of the Union in the above fields and through these attempt to measure the value of our Union to teachers in Nova Scotia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	v
Chapter	
I. THE HISTORY OF THE NOVA SCOTIA TEACHERS' UNION FROM 1920 to 1940.....	1
II. SALARY ACCOMPLISHMENTS.....	5
III. PENSION ACCOMPLISHMENTS.....	48
IV. THE QUEST FOR PROFESSIONAL STATUS	60
CONCLUSIONS.....	83
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	89

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	The Distribution of Salaries (1943-1944) - Exclusive of Provincial Aid.....	9
2	Salary Increases Authorized in 1944.....	11
3	The Proposed Salary Scale of the Union Salary Committee 1945 Council.....	12
4	The Recommended Provincial Minimum Salary Scale.....	15
5	The Provincial Minimum Salary Scale Introduced in 1947-1948.....	20
6	Average Salaries of Teachers 1945-1952.....	28
7	Average Salary by Licence 1952-1956.....	33
8	Salary Scale Submitted by Nova Scotia Teachers' Union 1954.....	40
9	Comparison of Foundation, Leonard and Leonard Revised Scales.....	46

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

In referring to certain source materials in the footnotes, the following abbreviations have been employed.

Bulletin - The Bulletin of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union.

Council Minutes - Minutes of the Annual Council of the
Nova Scotia Teachers' Union.

N.S.J.E. - Nova Scotia Journal of Education.

S.E. - Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education.

CHAPTER I

A HISTORY OF THE NOVA SCOTIA TEACHERS' UNION

FROM 1920 - 1940

Before 1920, the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union¹ met as an adjunct of the Nova Scotia Provincial Education Association.² This latter organization annually brought together teachers, normal college staff, officials of the Education office, school inspectors, trustees and others, under the sponsorship of provincial education authorities to listen to papers and to discuss matters of general educational interest. The limited time available to the teachers for consideration of their special problems and the inhibiting effect which the presence of supervisory personnel had upon free discussion convinced an increasing number of teachers that their occupational interests were being inadequately served by these arrangements. A meeting of representatives from the Halifax Teachers' Union and of interested teachers from other provincial centres, held in Truro in 1920, resolved upon the formation of a separate

¹ Hereafter referred to as the N.S.T.U.

² Bruce Fergusson, The Evolution of the N.S.T.U., N.S.J.E., 5th Series, 1V, (March 1955), pp. 67 - 75.

organization, and the N.S.T.U., as an independent association, drawing its members exclusively from the ranks of the teachers, was born.³

Partly because of the representation made by Halifax delegates to the Truro meeting, the new Union had aimed at remedying the major weakness of the old by establishing locals throughout the province. These were expected to permit a continuity not possible where an annual meeting offered the only opportunity for conducting business and, equally important, locals could serve to recruit members. In the place of an annual council, the provincial meeting of the Union consisted of delegates from the locals who would elect officers from among their members and, generally, decide upon policy. The coordination of provincial affairs between meetings of this Annual Council rested with the executive.

Union policy in this period was characterized by its almost exclusive reliance upon a provincial level approach. In part, this is to be attributed to the concentration of power at the provincial level of the education system.

The commitment to a provincial level approach also

³ M.M. Coady, Early History of the N.S.T.U., Bulletin, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, (June, 1953), p. 99.

reflected the parts taken by locals and provincial Union with respect to certain organizational problems, notably that of recruiting members. The principal difficulty encountered in attracting members derived from the fact that members and non-members necessarily benefited equally from any gains secured from the province. Some attempt was made by the Union to develop special services which, since under Union control, would discriminate between members and non-members and thereby provide a greater incentive to membership. This effort, however, met the serious difficulty that until membership was higher, the Union simply could not afford to provide special services. And, in the period before 1940, only one such service - a legal aid scheme - was made available. Even this was maintained only with the utmost difficulty, for a serious case could impose such financial burdens that routine activities were endangered.⁴

All locals at this time were based on urban centres although an attempt was made to attract neighbouring rural teachers into membership. Prior to the depression, however, the low licences, high mobility and high turnover characteristic of the rural staff severely limited the

⁴ Council Minutes, (1932), pp. 175 - 6, 179, 186 - 7.

number of rural teachers brought into the Union. The qualifications of rural teachers improved during the thirties, but the low salaries of these years continued to restrict membership. Consequently, there was a strong opinion that the Union would become effective only when its stronghold was shifted from the urban sections to the rural where a majority of teachers were employed.⁵

In conclusion, the existence of the N.S.T.U. as an autonomous organization dates from a meeting held in 1920 at which a group of teachers drawn from various provincial centres resolved to break away from the parent Education Association. For the next twenty years the Union's leaders struggled against such problems as the chronically small membership without much success. Failing to attract more members, the Union lacked the revenue to develop a full-time staff or to support more than a few services or other activities. The Union's influence on educational policy in this period is also open to doubt. Nevertheless, the period was a formative one with respect both to Union structure and to the type of policies it followed.

⁵

Paul J. Collins, The N.S.T.U., Bulletin, Vol. Xll, No. 4, (April, 1936), p. 17.

CHAPTER II

SALARY ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Any union is necessarily concerned with improving the economic status of its members. This chapter will deal with the salary accomplishments of the N.S.T.U. from the years 1940 - 60.

In 1940, the annual council refrained from making any salary demands, but the continued deterioration of salaries and the failure of government to do anything to remedy this resulted in quite a different situation at the next council. Its members were angry. In contrast to the previous council's refusal to endorse salary demands, the 1941 council approved a salary resolution only after it had been redrafted in stronger language. Council then proceeded to demand that teachers should receive a cost-of-living bonus on the same basis as industrial workers.¹

The executive took steps following the 1941 council to press for a bonus. Its representatives together with those of other organizations, secured an increase which was announced early in 1942. This was in the form of

¹ Council Minutes, (1941), Resolutions.

a payment increase in the provincial aid payments of \$25.00 plus a bonus of the same amount.² The suggestion that the sections should match this increase from the province³ does not appear to have been followed to any extent, at least by the time of the 1942 council.⁴

Expression of dissatisfaction continued into the next year and, as the 1943 council approached, many locals prepared resolutions demanding further salary increases.⁵ Nevertheless, the militant mood of the preceding years seems to have evaporated by the time council assembled. One resolution which would have required sections not yet under the larger unit to pay an additional \$50.00 to their teachers was voted down. To one delegate this resolution "sounded mean because teachers are so scarce".⁶

What appears to have happened by 1943 was that the individuals who supported the stronger demands in 1941 and 1942 had become disillusioned with the Union when the strong resolutions passed by these councils had not

² N.S.J.E., Vol. XLV, (January, 1943), p. 32.

³ Ibid., p. 34.

⁴ Council Minutes, (1942).

⁵ Bulletin, Vol. XLX, No. 4, (October, 1942).

⁶ Council Minutes, (1943), p. 24.

issued into any more militant action. Having lost their faith in the Union as an instrument for the teachers' salary struggle, the militants remained away in 1943, giving undisputed control of the council to the non-militant wing. But, as subsequent events proved, the change in the mood of the 1943 council did not represent any sudden lessening of the dissatisfaction felt by a large group within the Union. The teachers' sense of grievance continued though it found less expression in that council's discussions.

The executive proposed in the 1944 council that a delegation should be sent to the Premier to demand doubling of provincial aid payments.⁷ This proposal, introduced by the executive and given precedence over all other business, appears to have been calculated to insure that the members of the executive would retain control over the council. So effective had the criticism of past leadership been, however, that almost at once initiative was seized from the executive by the militant delegates. An amendment calling for a straight increase of \$300.00, proposed by John Masters was carried. This was followed immediately by a motion that the members of the delegation should be named by the floor, which was also carried.⁸

⁷ Council Minutes, (1944), p. 32.

⁸ Ibid., p. 32.

Two further resolutions, one providing full publicity to the delegations efforts and the other demanding salary increases should be made retroactive, were also passed.⁹

The Union's delegation secured a brief interview with the Premier. Its results were inconclusive as far as salary adjustments were concerned, though a further meeting, this time with the full Council of Public Instruction, was arranged for the following week. The most notable feature of this first interview, however, was its disagreeable tone. The Premier denied that the salary figures produced by the delegation were correct and he refused to accept comparisons with other provinces. Clearly the delegation and its attendant publicity had not been kindly received. Nevertheless, the fact that the Premier consented to meet the teachers' representatives, was evidence of the effectiveness of their appeal to public opinion. The delegation sent from the 1944 council thus marked the beginning of a new type of approach to the authorities. How effective this would be in securing salary concessions was yet to be proven but, in any event, the old policy of avoiding open conflict had been completely shattered.

A survey by the general-secretary in the winter of

⁹

Ibid., p. 32.

1943 - 44 showed that only six per cent of the rural teachers were receiving salaries above \$700.00 per annum from their boards.¹⁰ C.B. LeGrow complained that the minimum salary under the larger unit was, in practice, its maximum.¹¹

TABLE 1

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SALARIES 1943-44
(EXCLUSIVE OF PROVINCIAL AID)¹²

Salary	No.	Per Cent
Rural and Village Teachers		
Less than \$300	20	1.1
300 - 350	175	9.6
351 - 400	338	18.5
401 - 500	629	38.0
501 - 600	340	18.7
601 - 700	144	7.9
701 and over	109	6.0
Urban Teachers		
Less than \$700	100	11.8
700 - 800	107	12.6
801 - 1000	139	16.4
1001 - 1200	169	19.9
1201 - 1400	154	18.1
1401 - 1600	57	6.7
1601 - 1800	44	5.1
1801 - 2000	23	2.7
2001 and over	55	6.4

Immediately after the Union's representatives had met the full Council of Public Instruction in April of 1944, newspapers using material supplied by the Union's

¹⁰

See Table 1.

¹¹

Bulletin, Vol. XX, No. 4, (March, 1944), p. 121.

¹²

Bulletin, Vol. XX, No. 3, (January, 1944), p. 61.

publicity committee began to comment upon the teachers' salary position.¹³ Before the end of the month, a number of organizations had been approached for support, supplied with a draft resolution and advised as to when the release of this resolution to the press would best serve to emphasize the teachers' needs to the public.¹⁴ Of the fifteen formal organizations which passed resolutions endorsing the teachers' claims, eleven were labour organizations.¹⁵

On May 25th, 1944 the government announced its decision concerning the salary proposals presented by the Union delegates. Instead of the uniform increases which had been requested, a sliding scale of increases based to some degree on experience and licence was instituted with the maximum of \$300.00 going only to the teachers with ('B') or higher licence and twenty years teaching. Furthermore, instead of the increase being paid to the teachers directly they were to be added to the salaries scheduled for each teaching position and the boards were to be reimbursed from the provincial treasury. The resulting salaries for teachers employed under the larger unit is given in Table 2.

13

See for example, Halifax Herald, (April 20th and May 5th, 1944).

14

See Appendix A.

15

Bulletin, Vol. XXI, No. 1, (September, 1944), p. 14.

TABLE 2

SALARY INCREASES AUTHORIZED IN 1944¹⁶

1. For teachers with permanent or interim licences of Class ('B') or higher and permanent Second and Third Class licences:	
a) after completion of twenty years teaching	\$300
b) after ten and up to the end of twenty years ...	250
c) after five and up to the end of ten years	200
d) after one and up to the end of five years	150
e) in the first year of teaching	100
2. Graduates of the Normal College Summer School holding temporary Second Class Licences, after the first year	100
3. Teachers with Permissive Licences, regardless of experience and graduates of the Normal College Summer School with temporary Second Class Licences in the first year of teaching	50

The scale of increases granted by the government appears to have been nicely calculated to undermine the support within the Union for militant action. The better licenced and more experienced teachers who formed the core of Union strength and who provided leadership at both local and provincial levels would receive the larger increases. Teachers were reported to be generally well satisfied with the increases they had received.

In its report to the 1945 council, the Salary Committee proposed a minimum salary scale which was based on teaching

position, rather than teachers' qualifications as its basic determinant.¹⁷

TABLE 3

THE PROPOSED SALARY SCALE OF THE UNION
SALARY COMMITTEE 1945 COUNCIL¹⁸

	Increment	Starting Salary	Rising To
a) Rural Schools			
Increments for eight years ..	\$50 ...	\$1000	\$1400
b) Towns (Grades 1-6			
Increments for eight years ..	50 ...	1200	1600
Grades 7,8,9			
Increments for eight years ..	50 ...	1300	1700
High School			
Increments for eight years ..	62.50 .	1600	2100
c) Cities			
Grades 1-6		1200	1600
Grades 7,8,9		1400	1800
High School		1800	2300
(With Increments as in towns)			
d) Principals			
City		3000	
Town		2500	
Village		2000	

This matter of principles, which should form the basis of a salary scale, proved to be a contentious one with the result that the proposed scale was referred back to the committee for further study.¹⁹ Council was able

¹⁷

See Table 3.

¹⁸

Council Minutes, (1945), p. 27.

¹⁹

Ibid., p. 28.

to agree only that the figure of \$1,000.00 as suggested by the committee should be the basic minimum for a duly licenced teacher.²⁰ The new executive was directed to name a committee to seek the implementation of this basic minimum.²¹

In November, 1945, a joint committee was appointed consisting of two representatives from the education office, the Union of Nova Scotia Municipalities and the N.S.T.U. This joint salary committee was "to investigate, consider and report on all matters relating to teachers salaries in the province of Nova Scotia".²²

The scale which emerged as the joint salary committee's recommendation represented a radical new approach to the matter of salaries. Five principles formed the basis of the recommended scale

1) the establishment of a basic minimum salary below which no qualified teachers should be allowed to fall. The figure recommended by the committee was \$1,000.00 per annum.

2) a series of annual increments to be based on years of service. The committee recommended increments in the amount of \$50.00 after each of the first ten years

20

Ibid., p. 30.

21

Ibid., p. 31.

22

Council Minutes, (1946).

of service and at the end of the fifteenth and of the twentieth year, but the last three increments were to be conditional upon a teacher's attendance at "at least one Summer School session, or an equivalent refresher course, during each of the previous five year periods."

3) recognition should be given to training as this was represented by class of licence. The committee recommended that the training differential should be calculated upon the basis of the number of years spent in preparation beyond junior matriculation, that is, beyond Grade XI. It recommended also that the training differential should be double the amount of the service increment.

4) reimbursement for supervisory duties should vary with the number of academic classrooms, though not directly so.

5) recognition of special qualifications resulting from study in such fields as pedagogy, vocational guidance, art and music, should be based on the time spent in obtaining these qualifications.²³

The schedule of minimum salaries which resulted from the application of the committee's principles is given in Table 4. Clearly it was designed to encourage higher qualifications of teachers. The system of service increments

23

Report of the "Special Committee on Teachers' Salaries," p. 7.

TABLE 4

THE RECOMMENDED PROVINCIAL MINIMUM SALARY SCALE²⁴

Years of Service	Licence						
	D	C	B-	B--	A	H.S.	Acad.
1st	\$1000	\$1000	\$1000	\$1000	\$1100	\$1400	\$1500
2nd	1050	1050	1050	1050	1150	1450	1550
3rd	1100	1100	1100	1100	1200	1500	1600
4th	----	1150	1150	1150	1250	1550	1650
5th		1200	1200	1200	1300	1600	1700
6th		----	1250	1250	1350	1650	1750
7th			1300	1300	1400	1700	1800
8th			1350	1350	1450	1750	1850
9th			1400	1400	1500	1800	1900
10th			----	1450	1550	1850	1950
11-15th				1500	1600	1900	2000
16-20th				1550	1650	1950	2050
21st on				1600	1700	2000	2100

B- issued in 1947 and thereafter B-- issued prior to 1947
 ---- no further increments

Temporary "C" - \$775

- a) Grade XI without training ----- \$700
 - b) Without Grade XI Summer School Training ---- 700
 - c) Without either Grade XI or Summer School --- 650
- (No Increments)

Teachers of Industrial Arts and Household Science:

a) with either 'B' or 'A' licence will receive \$100 over the corresponding amount for an academic teacher with the same licence.

b) with either High School or Academic licence will receive the same salary as teachers with these licences teaching academic subjects.

Teachers of Physical Education:

a) with 'A' licence will receive \$100 above the corresponding amount for an academic teacher with the same licence.

b) all others will be paid the same salary as teachers of academic subjects.

Reimbursement for Supervision:

School of:		Principals	Vice-Principals
		2 Depts.	\$100
3 Depts.	150	\$150 with \$12.50 added	
4 or 5 Depts.	200	for each academic	
6 or 7 Depts.	250	classroom over and	
8 Depts.	300	above eight.	

with \$25.00 added for each academic classroom over eight.

was calculated to produce greater stability in the occupation and, by means of the conditions which were attached to later service increments, older teachers would be induced to attend refresher courses and, thereby, to remain aware of the newer methods and thinking in the profession.

These various recommendations were accepted by the provincial government and the first provincial minimum salary scale came into operation in 1946-47. However, the scale was actually implemented at a figure of a \$100.00 below that recommended by the committee.²⁵

The 1946 council's reaction to the news, released just the day before the annual council assembled, that the government had accepted the joint salary committee's recommendations was received with enthusiasm. The joint salary committee's report was enthusiastically received and the council proceeded to accept the government's offer by a unanimous vote.²⁶ A great emphasis was placed upon the fact that Nova Scotia was the first province to institute a scale for all its teachers.²⁷

The single salary schedule which was recommended by the joint committee and accepted by the government

²⁵ Council Minutes, (1946), p. 32.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 23.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

placed a floor under the salary of every teacher in the province, but, in doing so, it ignored both positions in the school system and place of payment as basis of remuneration. It was true that a partial exception was made in the case of principals on the ground of their administrative function but no distinction was made between common, junior high or senior high school teachers. Nor did the scale distinguish between rural and urban teachers, though it was undoubtedly assumed that urban boards would continue to pay their staffs above corresponding rural salaries. However, the terms by which adjustment grants were made available to local boards discriminated against those boards which tried to exceed the provincial salary scale so that, in practice, differentiation between rural and urban teachers tended also to be discouraged.²⁸

Finally, as has been seen, the scale was based on the principle of equal pay for equal work. Thus the provincial minimum salary scale denied three of the major basis of status differentiation within the occupation; namely, position, location and sex. At the same time, the principles which were incorporated in the salary scale represented, in one sense, a nice accommodation to the 'facts' of the Union's composition. The preponderance of women in the

²⁸

Ibid., pp. 22 - 23.

occupation certainly favoured acceptance of the principle of 'equal pay for equal work.' Similarly, the larger number of teachers employed in the lower grades made a single salary schedule more acceptable. Finally, the need to attract rural teachers into the Union prevented discrimination between rural and urban teachers.²⁹

Another of the basic principles incorporated in the provincial salary scale appeared to be challenged in the 1947 council. The issue concerned the failure of the scale to distinguish between rural and urban teachers.³⁰ Although the provincial minimum salary scale was designed to protect all the provinces' teachers against substandard salaries, it was never intended that salaries should be kept uniform throughout the occupation. On the contrary, it was expected that the higher minimum established for rural teachers would compel urban boards to pay more for their staff. The Union's policy committee proposed to establish a separate salary scale for urban areas.³¹ Nevertheless, council was unwilling to sanction differentiation between rural teachers and urban teachers. The great majority of the delegates to the council at this time came from urban locals or from smaller urban centres

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 23, 60 - 62.

³⁰ Council Minutes, (1947), p. 11.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 11 - 12.

which had no tradition of direct negotiation with their boards.

Meanwhile efforts were made to secure the full implementation of the scale which had been recommended by the joint salary committee but, at the time of the 1947 council, little hope was held of early success.³² The government's decision to institute the full scale in the fall of 1947, therefore, was quite unexpected.³³ The new scale did not increase the salaries of the 'C' and 'D' licenced teachers but the yearly increments and training differentials were each increased to the great benefit of better qualified teachers. Consequently, the initial reaction of the Union's leaders to the new scale was most favourable.³⁴ In spite of the new scale, however, urban teachers were becoming more and more dissatisfied with their position throughout 1947-48. The effect of the provincial minimum was quite contrary to what had been expected and it was obvious to the Union salary committee that some revision more favourable to urban teachers would have to be secured.³⁵

³² Ibid., p. 21.

³³ See Table 5.

³⁴ Council Minutes, (1948), p. 12.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 12 - 13.

TABLE 5

THE PROVINCIAL MINIMUM SALARY SCALE
INTRODUCED IN 1947 - 1948³⁶

Years of Service	D	C	B-	B--	A	H.S.	Acad.
1st	\$900	\$900	\$1020	\$1020	\$1200	\$1740	\$1920
2nd	960	960	1080	1080	1260	1800	1980
3rd	1020	1020	1140	1140	1320	1860	2040
4th	----	1080	1200	1200	1380	1920	2100
5th		1140	1260	1260	1440	1980	2160
6th		----	1320	1320	1500	2040	2220
7th			1380	1380	1560	2100	2280
8th			1440	1440	1620	2160	2340
9th			1500	1500	1680	2220	2400
10th			----	1560	1740	2280	2460
11-15th				1620	1800	2340	2520
16-20th				1680	1860	2400	2580
21st on				1740	1920	2460	2640

B- issued in 1946 and thereafter B-- issued prior to 1946
 ---- no further increments

Union requests were, once again, discussed by a joint committee composed of representatives of the Education Office, Union of Municipalities and N.S.T.U. and agreement was reached upon a new basis for calculating the grants to urban boards. Briefly, the new regulations allowed an urban board to pay its teachers above the provincial minimum without sacrificing any of the adjustment grant to which it was entitled by virtue of its salaries before 1946-47.

As the period ended, the average real income for the occupation as a whole reached its alltime high. It must be

noted, however, that while the great improvement in the real incomes of urban teachers in 1948-49 resulted immediately from negotiations undertaken by their locals, the way had been cleared for these negotiations by the provincial Union. Thus, in urban areas as in rural, the experience of the period tended to reinforce commitment to the provincial level approach.

The Union's salary committee met only once during the year 1949-50 and while it made a number of recommendations to the 1950 council, including a request for a higher minimum salary, the committee's report was temperate in tone and fully cognizant of the financial problems which its recommendations entailed.³⁷ The locals for their part seemed to have reflected the committee's mood. Of the resolutions relating to salaries which were considered by the council in 1950, only two originated in a local.³⁸ On the whole, locals were content to leave salary matters to the provincial committee and the committee, for its part, was at least as concerned with long range problems involving the reconstruction of educational finance as with securing immediate salary increases.

³⁷ Council Minutes, (1950), p. 25.

³⁸ Bridgewater Local, see resolutions 13 and 14, Ibid., p. 35.

By the fall of 1950, the effects of a rapid upturn in the price level were beginning to be felt.³⁹ The salary committee prepared a number of recommendations which were designed to meet the rapidly deteriorating salary situation. Basically the Union requested that the minimum salary should be raised to \$1,200.00. In order to provide for the special needs of married men, it also asked that as a temporary measure teachers with family responsibilities should receive an immediate advance of \$300.00 which was to be absorbed as the individual teacher became entitled to additional salary increments.⁴⁰ The Union requests were taken to the government early in December. They were rejected outright. The government pointed out that its expenditures for education would rise even without assuming any additional obligation and, in view of an anticipated budgetary deficit, it extended no hope whatsoever of any increase in the province's contributions to teachers' salaries.⁴¹

The salary issue dominated the deliberations of the 1951 council. The extreme importance which members attached

³⁹

Bulletin, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, (October, 1950), p. 5.

⁴⁰

Salary Congress, (January 6th, 1951), p. 3.

⁴¹

Council Minutes, (1951), pp. 28 - 29.

to it is suggested by the fact that, in addition to the consideration given to reports on the campaign and to numerous local resolutions, council took the unusual action on three separate occasions of resolving itself into "a Committee of the Whole House" in order to discuss the issue freely and in camera.⁴² By the time this council assembled it was quite apparent that, in spite of the leaders' claim that the salary campaign had succeeded in mobilizing public support "to a far larger degree than the government had anticipated",⁴³ it had nevertheless failed. Council had to decide, therefore, whether alternative and still stronger means should be adopted to force acceptance of the Union's demands upon the province.

In line with its decision to persist in a provincial level approach, yet another delegation was sent from the council to the Premier. It asked that a joint salary committee should be formed paralleling in its composition that established in 1946. Once again the Union's demands were rejected;⁴⁴ but one piece of information brought back to the council by its delegation rekindled the hope that

⁴² Council Minutes, (1951), pp. 35, 42 and 43.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 44 - 52.

the provincial level approach might yet prove successful. This was the news that the whole subject of provincial-municipal financial relations was under review and that a meeting between these two levels of government was planned for the coming August.⁴⁵ The Union hoped to secure the assistance of the municipalities in resolving the deadlock which had been reached in its direct approach to the government.⁴⁶

Before the 1951 council adjourned, a resolution was passed urging the cooperation of municipal authorities with the provincial government in an effort to find some formula, satisfactory to each, which would permit the implementation of the Union's revised salary scale.⁴⁷ A brief prepared by the Union on this subject was presented to the executive of the Union of Municipalities early in August.⁴⁸ At this time, it was learned with considerable disappointment that the expected conference between provincial and municipal authorities was nothing more than a routine meeting of the executive of the Union of Municipalities with certain

⁴⁵

Ibid., p. 52.

⁴⁶

Ibid., p. 53; cf. Bulletin, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, (October, 1951), pp. 5 and 8.

⁴⁷

Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁸

Council Minutes, (1952), p. 26.

provincial officials.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the N.S.T.U. still planned to take its case to the full convention of the Union of Municipalities in September.⁵⁰

At this latter meeting, the teachers' representatives were most gratified by the sympathetic hearing they received and they believed that an effective ally had been gained in the N.S.T.U.'s conflict with the provincial authorities.⁵¹ The expectation that the municipalities would succeed where the Union had failed, however, was short lived. The government refused to compromise even with the municipalities.⁵²

With the failure of the municipalities' approach to the government, it became obvious that the Union's salary goals could not be realized by negotiation with the provincial authorities. If a provincial level approach was to be persisted in, then more drastic measures would be required.

This change in the leaders' viewpoint grew out of the realization that any increase which was to be of appreciable benefit to individual teachers must appear very large if all funds were drawn from a single source. If, on the other

⁴⁹ Bulletin, Vol. XXVlll, No. 1, (October, 1951), p. 8.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 8; and Council Minutes, (1952), p. 26.

⁵² Ibid., p. 27; cf. Bulletin, Vol. XXVlll, No. 1, (October, 1951), p. 9.

hand, the increase in salaries could be obtained from the many boards employing teachers, this difficulty would be avoided. The possibility that the provincial scale might be acting as "a millstone around the teachers' necks" in their salary campaign was first suggested to the Union leadership by the general-secretary of the Canadian Teachers' Federation.⁵³ He pointed out that, because of the large sum which any significant increase in the provincial scale would necessarily involve, an adequate salary increase would be most difficult to secure. Union leaders agreed with his diagnosis of the situation. However, the 1951 council had carried the commitment to a provincial level approach further than ever before and the provincial executive had no authority to change the policy.⁵⁴ The executive was thus prevented by the rigidities of the Union's structure from setting the Union's course firmly in a new direction even after the provincial approach had completely failed. The provincial salary committee did advise locals to accept any increase offered by their boards but only as a means of securing "immediate relief."⁵⁵ Significantly, the committee did not dare to suggest that the locals should actively

⁵³ Hereafter referred to as the C.T.F.

⁵⁴ Bulletin, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, (December, 1951 - January, 1952), p. 71.

⁵⁵ Bulletin, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, (October, 1951), p. 19.

initiate local level negotiations. Thus, by the fall of 1951, the Unions' salary campaign seemed to have been brought to a standstill and the teachers found themselves caught between province and municipalities, each of which appeared to be trying to shift the burden of salary increases to the other. But while the leadership of the provincial Union seemed paralyzed, the economic position of the teachers continued its precipitous decline and the threat to the status of individual teachers was becoming ever more acute.⁵⁶

The campaign for salaries was not a complete failure, however. Some locals acted on the suggestion that increases might be sought from their boards and gained concessions. For the province as a whole, however, local increases had been spotty and far below the teachers' demands. Furthermore, rural teachers shared in the increases to an extent so limited that their average real income continued to decline.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the fact that the only increases granted during the year came from local employers helped to confirm the Union leaders in their opinion that at a shift of official policy from its commitment to the provincial level approach was imperative.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Council Minutes, (1952), p. 71.

⁵⁷ See Table 6.

⁵⁸ Council Minutes, (1952), pp. 7 - 8.

TABLE 6

AVERAGE SALARIES OF TEACHERS
1945 - 1952⁵⁹

Year Ending July 31	Teachers				
	All	Urban	Rural	Men	Women
	CURRENT DOLLARS				
1945	\$1193	\$1637	\$872	\$1744	\$1103
1946	1151	1655	868	1696	1117
1947	1316	1721	1045	1797	1253
1948	1497	1936	1207	1950	1432
1949	1625	2177	1264	2136	1545
1950	1674	2153	1302	2144	1586
1951	1717	2222	1384	2244	1626
1952	1782	2336	1406	2324	1677
	CONSTANT DOLLARS (1949 = 100)				
1945	\$1590	\$2182	\$1163	\$2325	\$1470
1946	1523	2135	1120	2188	1441
1947	1551	2029	1235	2119	1477
1948	1543	1995	1244	2010	1476
1949	1625	2177	1264	2136	1545
1950	1627	2092	1265	2054	1541
1951	1510	1954	1217	1974	1430
1952	1530	2005	1207	1995	1439

Before the function of economic bargaining could be transferred to the locals, three major obstacles had to be overcome. The first was ideological. As has been seen, a strong identification had been established in the minds of Union members between a provincial level approach and 'Union' action. A second barrier lay in the natural reluctance of local officers, particularly in the rural areas, to assume a task for which most were inexperienced.

The ties of friendship and other social relations which were likely to exist between local leaders and board members, especially in smaller centres, also made the prospect of assuming a bargaining function a particularly unpleasant one. Finally, the Union lacked the organizational means by which local salary efforts could be strengthened and co-ordinated. Resistance to a local level approach on ideological grounds, like that stemming from the fear of local leaders that they were to be abandoned to fend for themselves,⁶⁰ could only be overcome by the development of a new role for the provincial Union.

A start at the redefinition of the provincial Union's function with respect to bargaining was made in 1952 when the council set salary goals for the guidance of the locals.⁶¹ However, it was clear that if local efforts to secure these goals were to be effective then leaders would have to be trained for their task and provided with relevant information. This could not be done by the voluntary, part-time leadership which the provincial Union had previously relied upon. It required the establishment of a central office. The importance of establishing a central office, which was repeatedly

⁶⁰
Council Minutes, (1953), p. 36.

⁶¹
Council Minutes, (1952), pp. 32,39,40,41 and 47.

affirmed to the council by the Union leaders,⁶² found a ready recognition. Council authorized its establishment and ordered a special levy on the members for the purpose. In addition, to prepare for the more active role which the locals were about to assume, the executive was directed to prepare a 'workshop' on salary negotiation for the fall of 1952.⁶³

The decision which was taken by the 1952 council to proceed on a local level in salary bargaining, did not remove the economic function of the provincial Union entirely, however. For one thing, it had still to be proved that genuine negotiation could take place with local employers without legislation which provided for collective bargaining and for arbitration in the event of unresolved disputes. An earlier request for such legislation had not been granted and it was now repeated.⁶⁴ The marked inequalities in financial resources which existed among local authorities was more serious still for the success of local bargaining. Unless the provincial government could be persuaded to correct this condition, there was every reason to fear that certain areas would fall far behind in the salaries which they could pay

⁶²

Ibid., pp. 24, 29, 35, 36, 38, 39 and 41.

⁶³

Ibid., p. 4.

⁶⁴

Ibid., pp. 29 and 34.

their teachers and, hence, in the quality of education which they could provide their children. The delegation from the congress in February asked that a commission be named to study the structure of educational finance. This request was also repeated by the council.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the Union sought to enlist the support of the municipalities for this request.

Lacking a core of permanent officials - the first steps toward establishing the physical facilities of the central office were not taken until the fall of 1952 - the preparation of the locals for their new responsibilities necessarily fell to voluntary leaders. In this task, however, the advice and help of the C.T.F. proved invaluable. The C.T.F. provided the financial backing and organizing ability which assured the success of the first of what were to become the annual 'workshops'.⁶⁶ The one held in the early fall of 1952 and, to a lesser degree, succeeding workshops were training institutions. Through the workshops, local leaders were able to draw upon the accumulated experience of each other and of expert informants in preparing themselves for their new role as negotiators. The device of the workshop was thus a first step in the accommodation of the Union to its

⁶⁵

Ibid., p. 45.

⁶⁶

Council Minutes, (1953), p. 13.

new setting. At the same time, the provincial salary committee was transformed from a negotiating to an advisory body. The knowledge that its members had built up from past bargaining was made available to the locals in the form of a 'Salary Kit' which contained meticulous instructions for the preparation and presentation of salary demands.⁶⁷ Finally, through special newsletters prepared by the central salary committee, locals were supplied with up-to-date data useful in supporting their demands.

A comparison of teachers' average incomes for 1951-52 with those of 1952-53⁶⁸ indicates that the first experience under a co-ordinated local level approach was most encouraging. The average real income for the occupation as a whole reached a new high. Of course, not all the success can be attributed to the Union's efforts. Local leaders were still inexperienced and, as will be shown, the legal and organizational framework within which they had to operate hardly permitted collective bargaining.

The increases which were secured during 1952-53 extended to all groups in the occupation. In view of this, the general-secretary seems to have been in error when he suggested in his report to the 1953 council, that only slight gains

⁶⁷

Bulletin, Vol. XXIX, No. 2, (January, 1953), p. 32.

⁶⁸

See Table 7.

had been made.⁶⁹ He appears to have been referring to the fact that most local boards chose to grant bonuses to their staffs rather than to make a permanent revision of salary scales. Furthermore, even with these bonuses, salaries continued to be well below the Union endorsed scale.

TABLE 7

AVERAGE SALARY BY LICENCE
1952 - 1956⁷⁰

Year Ending July 31	Licence				
	Acad.	H.S.	'A'	'B'	'C'
	CURRENT DOLLARS				
1952	\$3503	\$2621	\$1833	\$1546	\$1186
1953	3655	2790	1970	1680	1382
1954	3658	2862	1978	1747	1426
1955	3794	2990	2038	1794	1445
1956	4545	3631	2424	2181	1559
	CONSTANT DOLLARS (1949 = 100)				
1952	\$3007	\$2250	\$1573	\$1327	\$1018
1953	3165	2416	1706	1455	1197
1954	3148	2463	1702	1503	1227
1955	3259	2569	1751	1541	1241
1956	3848	3074	2138	1847	1320

The same procedure was followed in 1953-54 to prepare the locals for another round of wage talks. However, by this time, the local approach seems to have gained much wider acceptance on the part of Union members. The provincial salary committee stressed the greater flexibility

69

Council Minutes, (1953), p. 13.

70

Annual Reports of the Department of Education.

which local bargaining allowed and locals were urged to exploit the rivalries among the employing boards.⁷¹ As late as the 1954 council, however, there were still locals which looked upon a provincial level approach as the only satisfactory one for the realization of long-term goals.⁷² Nevertheless, the decentralization of the bargaining function had proved so successful by this time that what had been initiated in 1952 as a temporary expedient could be affirmed as a policy. It was on this basis that resolutions critical of the local approach were rejected.⁷³

The shift to a local level approach did not at once produce much change in the definition of the council's function. Of course, the salary objectives set by council were now to be pursued through local level negotiations,⁷⁴ but a uniform scale for the province as a whole was still regarded as the ideal. Not until the 1953 workshop was there any significant change in this respect. At that time, it was recognized that the ability of one local to secure high salaries would inevitably force other employers to follow suit. Locals were urged, therefore, to "aim high and not necessarily be limited to the figures in any Union scale

⁷¹ Council Minutes, (1954), p. 1.

⁷² Ibid., Local Resolutions, 7 and 8.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ For proposed scale, see Council Minutes, (1953), p. 70.

which might be approved at council."⁷⁵ The 1954 council accepted this position with respect to its function and, while it approved the provisions of a Union salary scale, it was agreed that locals able to secure more should be commended for doing so.⁷⁶ It was also recognized that local circumstances might make it unwise for some locals to aim even as high as the council scale. What salaries the locals might decide to demand, therefore, was in no way to be determined by council. The scale which the council approved was to serve as a guide to the locals, nothing more.

With the decentralization of the bargaining function, the provincial Union lost one function only to assume a new one, that of co-ordinating and supporting the locals. In one vital respect, however, the provincial Union's function was little disturbed. The provincial Union continued to be the appropriate agency through which representations could be made to the province on matters affecting all teachers. Since the success of local negotiations necessarily depended basically upon the general framework of educational finance, through which the cost of providing public education was shared between province and municipalities, the N.S.T.U.

⁷⁵ Report of the Second Annual Workshop to 1954 Council, p. 1.

⁷⁶ Report of the Salary Committee to 1954 Council, p. 3.

had still a most important role to play.

In the summer of 1952 the Nova Scotia Union of Municipalities joined with the N.S.T.U. to press for a Royal Commission on Public School Finance.⁷⁷ Originally the Union had asked for a commission modelled upon the joint salary committee of 1946 with representatives from Union, municipalities and government. The announcement in March, 1953, that Judge V.J. Pottier had been named as sole commissioner was received, therefore, with considerable disappointment. One of the charges brought against the executive, was that they had submitted meekly when the royal commission "degenerated into a one-man Liberal commission."⁷⁸ The official reaction of the council scarcely conceded the general disappointment felt at the appointment. But, however reluctantly, the delegates had to admit that "the N.S.T.U. is not in a position to tell the Government whom it may appoint or how many, and that it is useless to try to bulldoze the Government into action which it does not want to take."⁷⁹ The council, therefore, limited itself to a mild expression of regret at the government's decision and it assured the authorities of the Union's willingness

⁷⁷

Bulletin, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, (October, 1952), p. 3.

⁷⁸

Council Minutes, (1953), p. 36.

⁷⁹

Ibid., p. 38.

to co-operate freely in the investigation.⁸⁰

Through the summer and fall of 1953, the work of preparing the Union's submission to the Commission proceeded. With C.T.F. assistance, a great deal of information was assembled to make it possible to compare the financing of education in Nova Scotia with that in other provinces.⁸¹ The general conclusion was reached that a considerably higher level of educational expenditures could be supported in Nova Scotia but that most of this increase would have to come from the municipalities.⁸² At the same time, the Union was critical of the failure of the existing arrangements to base provincial assistance to the municipalities on some accurate measure of their resources. To remedy this, the Union proposed that an entirely new system of grants should be established to replace the old. The new system should be based upon a provincially uniform assessment and should be designed to make a minimum educational program, defined in terms of a minimum salary schedule and standard maintenance costs, available in all parts of the province.⁸³

⁸⁰

Ibid., p. 60.

⁸¹

Report of the President to the 1954 Council, p. 72.

⁸²

The Submission of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union to the Royal Commission on Education Finance in Nova Scotia, (March, 1954), pp. 8 - 9; cf. Pottier Report, pp. 20 - 23.

⁸³

Ibid., pp. 11 - 12.

The commissioner accepted the Union's recommendations with respect to the system of grants and to the basis of their calculation.⁸⁴ The Union therefore achieved a considerable measure of success despite its initial misgivings at the appointment of Judge Pottier. This very success, however, involved the leadership in some difficulties with the general membership. The point at issue concerned the recommended schedule of minimum salaries which was to be used as one factor in calculating provincial help to the municipalities.

As has been noted, decentralization of the bargaining function necessitated freeing the locals from council control in order to allow each local to reach the board. Council was not willing, however, to free the executive from control. The executive had no formal authority to initiate policy and, for this reason, the Union's submission to the commission as sanctioned by the executive should have incorporated the salary recommendations approved as a Union scale by the 1953 council.⁸⁵ In actual fact, while the salary schedule submitted by the executive was based on that approved by the council, it differed in certain crucial respects. The

⁸⁴ Pottier Report, pp. 24 - 25, 71 - 76.

⁸⁵ Council Minutes, (1953), p. 70.

council scale did not discriminate between teachers who were university graduates and those who were not. The scale incorporated in the Union's brief, however, did do this with respect to the number of service increments a teacher could receive. In the latter scale, 'B', 'A', and 'Intermediate' licenced teachers would be limited to three, six and eight annual increments respectively.⁸⁶ The reasons for this change were at no time presented to the membership of the Union, but they are not difficult to infer. By discriminating between those teachers whose licences were based on a minimum academic qualification of university graduation, and those whose licences represented less training, the submitted scale was made consistent with the C.T.F. aim of securing university training as the minimum standard for all teachers. This was part of the whole program of professionalisation followed by the national teachers' body. Its incorporation in the Union's submission represented the great influence of the C.T.F. in the preparation of the brief.

Curiously, the changes made in the Union scale did not attract attention at the 1954 council. In all probability, too little time had elapsed between the presentation of the brief and the council meeting to permit local study of the

86

See Table 8.

TABLE 8

SALARY SCALE SUBMITTED BY N.S.T.U.
1954⁸⁷

Years of Service	Licence				
	'B'	'A'	Intr.	H.S.	Acad.
0	\$1,500	\$1,750	\$2,000	\$2,500	\$2,750
1	1,650	1,900	2,150	2,650	2,900
2	1,800	2,050	2,300	2,800	3,050
3	1,950	2,200	2,450	2,950	3,200
4		2,350	2,600	3,100	3,350
5		2,500	2,750	3,250	3,500
6		2,650	2,900	3,400	3,650
7			3,050	3,550	3,800
8			3,200	3,700	3,950
9				3,850	4,100
10				4,000	4,250
16				4,150	4,400
21				4,300	4,550

For teachers with less than 'B' Licence:

Permanent 'C' and 'C' Licences - \$1,200 flat.

All others - \$1,000 flat.

proposal.⁸⁸ The recommendations of the provincial salary committee which called for a substantial increase in the Union scale may have tended, also, to deflect attention from the scale contained in the brief.⁸⁹ In any event, it was not until the commission's report was published in November, 1954 and the Union's submitted scale had been accepted with

⁸⁷

Submission of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union to the Royal Commission on Educational Finance in Nova Scotia, Appendix "F", p. 2.

⁸⁸

Approximately one month.

⁸⁹

Report of the Salary Committee to the 1954 Council, p. 2.

only minor changes⁹⁰ that a reaction to Union's proposal began. Then it was too late. The belated effort of the executive to secure the incorporation of the 1954 council's scale in the legislation based on the commissioner's report failed⁹¹ and it was a scale discriminating between university graduates and non-graduates which became law.

It is difficult to assess the strength of the dissatisfaction which non-graduates among the Union's membership felt at the executive's action because such teachers were underrepresented at council. Certainly, the issue provoked the most heated discussion at the 1955 council.⁹² And one local proposed a resolution which would have required that:

..... all future important matters affecting the major portion of Union members be referred to each Local for study and ratification before being presented as a policy recommended by the N.S.T.U.⁹³

This motion suggests that the distrust felt by less qualified teachers may have extended beyond the executive of the Union to include even the council.

⁹⁰

Pottier Report, p. 39.

⁹¹

Council Minutes, (1955), p. 39.

⁹²

Ibid., p. 40.

⁹³

Ibid., p. 40.

In its own defence, the executive could point to a memorandum through which the attention of the commissioner had been drawn to changes made in the Union scale by the 1954 council. Executive efforts to replace the scale recommended in the commissioner's report by the council-endorsed scale when legislation was before the House were also noted.⁹⁴

It is unnecessary to consider the provisions of the new legislation in detail.⁹⁵ It is sufficient to note that an equitable formula seemed to have been reached whereby the province would share with municipalities in providing a 'foundation program' in the schools of the province. The provincial share in each case was to be calculated on the basis of a full and equalized assessment but, with the proviso, that in no case would the provincial contribution fall below twenty-five per cent. The scale of minimum salaries which formed part of the 'foundation program' assured teachers of salary increases when the new arrangements came into effect on January 1st, 1956. Thus, even though only

⁹⁴

Ibid., p. 40.

⁹⁵

For details see The Education Act, (1953), being Chapter 23 of the Statutes of 1955; also Council Minutes, (1953), pp. 61 - 63 and the "Brief Explanation of the Booklet containing 1955 Amendments to the Education Act, Regulation under the Education Act concerning the Foundation Programme, and Extracts from the Municipal Act, (1955)." (mimeo'd - published by the Department of Education.

a few locals were able to secure increases from their boards in 1954-55, nearly all were assured of higher salaries in the new year under the new legislation.⁹⁶ Furthermore, with the financial arrangements between province and municipalities clarified, there was every possibility that local negotiations in 1955-56 would be more successful. The general mood of council was consequently most optimistic. The immediate economic position of the teachers had once more been restored.

The Foundation Scale represented a considerable improvement in the reward given to the teachers of Nova Scotia even though it did fall short of what they desired and would like to get. Bearing in mind that the Foundation Scale itself implied the acceptance of certain salary principles and that the scale, as its name indicates, may be regarded as a base on which improved scales can be built, the 1956 Salary Committee considered that its main work was to outline salary principles which, if accepted by the council, could and should serve to form the pattern for future salary scales negotiated by the N.S.T.U. or its local unions.⁹⁷

Accordingly the committee spent a large portion of its meetings in debating and formulating the following salary

⁹⁶

Council Minutes, (1955), p. 33.

⁹⁷

Report of the Salary Committee to the 1956 Council, Appendix "M".

principles:

- 1) There should be a basic salary for the lowest permanent licence of \$2,000 a year.
- 2) There should be equal pay for teachers irrespective of grade taught or sex of the teacher.
- 3) Differences in salaries should be based on qualification and experience.
- 4) There should be further differences for administrative responsibility.
- 5) Salary scales should reflect the application of the "ladder principle" to all classes of licences and not just to some.
- 6) As far as possible bargaining should be conducted by locals of the N.S.T.U. but the principles adopted by the N.S.T.U. should be followed as much as negotiations permit.
- 7) Salaries may vary with geographical location as much as bargaining permits but the results of bargaining should be a uniform scale for all the teachers represented, and one of which the local union approves.
- 8) Bargaining should be done at the provincial level by the N.S.T.U. and at the local level by committees approved by the local union. There should be no bargaining by individuals or unauthorized groups of teachers.
- 9) If as a result of negotiations the N.S.T.U. or its locals find it necessary to accept settlement not based on

the approved salary principles a statement of the reasons for dissatisfaction should be forwarded to the boards concerned.⁹⁸ These principles were adopted by the 1956 council without any revisions.⁹⁹

At the winter session of the 1957 Nova Scotia Legislature the N.S.T.U. was able to secure approval of a Bill amending Section 6A of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union Act.¹⁰⁰ As a result of this amendment a procedure was established which both school boards and teachers would be required to follow in resolving any salary disputes which may arise between them. It was expected that this legislation would be of value to both boards and the Union in providing an orderly settlement of salary disputes.

During the month of December, 1958, the minister of Education announced the willingness of his Department to participate in paying its share of amounts above the Foundation Scale when these were paid to all teachers by a Municipality. These amounts were: PC1 (\$420), PC2 (\$360), PC3 (\$300), TL1 (\$240), TL2 (\$180), TL3 (\$120).¹⁰¹

The following year the minister of Education announced

⁹⁸

Ibid., Appendix "M".

⁹⁹

Council Minutes, (1956), p. 4.

¹⁰⁰

Bulletin, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, (June, 1957), p. 37.

¹⁰¹

Council Minutes, (1958), pp. 92 - 93.

a proposal for government participation in salary increases above the Foundation Scale up to a sum of four hundred dollars for a PC3, PC2, or PC1 who is teaching fifty per cent or more of his time in Grades VII to XII inclusive.¹⁰² This proposal was an attempt to increase the number of university-trained teachers in the secondary schools. Although this proposal violated Union principles,¹⁰³ the Union executive overcame this by urging that this new offer be implemented in current salary campaigns in such a manner that the uniform differential for years of training be kept.¹⁰⁴

TABLE 9

COMPARISON OF FOUNDATION, LEONARD,
AND LEONARD REVISED SCALES¹⁰⁵

Licence or Certificate	Foundation Scale	Leonard Scale	Leonard Revised	Total
PC1	\$3,360	\$420	\$400	\$4,120
PC2	2,700	360	400	3,460
PC3	2,400	300	400	3,100
TL1	2,100	240		2,340
TL2	1,800	180		1,980
TL3	1,500	120		1,620

In conclusion, throughout this chapter we have seen a steady growth in the economic status of teachers in Nova Scotia

102

Council Minutes, (1959), p. 10.

103

Supra, p. 44.

104

Council Minutes, (1959), p. 11.

105

Bulletin, Vol. XXXV, No. 3, (February, 1959), p. 8.

This has been directly attributable to negotiations carried on by the N.S.T.U. at the provincial and local levels. By the end of the period covered, the average real incomes for the occupation as a whole reached its alltime high, but we must progress even further. As long as a shortage of teachers exist, the N.S.T.U. must continue to press for salaries. Through education, publicity and effective negotiations the Union must convince school boards and councils that the problem of staff is a joint problem which can only be overcome if boards and teachers combine their forces.

CHAPTER 111

PENSION ACCOMPLISHMENTS

United with salaries a second problem existed among union, that of ensuring adequate pension protection for the members of the occupation. The first pension plan, applying to teachers in Nova Scotia was instituted in 1928. It was prepared by the Superintendent of Education in consultation with individual teachers.¹ In conformity with the general policy, the Union had not claimed a share in the administration of the new pension fund even though teachers contributed equally with the province,² and had a vital stake in its successful operation. The Union was content in this matter as in other things to leave administration to the authorities. Its only role, in response to the wishes of the Superintendent, was to protect the plan from demands for higher benefits until such time that the pension fund should become securely established.³

Unfortunately the pension scheme was not actuarially sound and, by 1935-36, it had begun to incur large annual

¹ Council Minutes, (1928), pp. 63, 69.

² S.R., (1928), Vol. XL.

³ S.R., (1937), Vol. XVllll - XIX.

deficits.⁴ Initially, neither the Superintendent nor the Union seems to have appreciated the ominous significance of these deficits.⁵ For a time, the provincial treasury prevented the liquidation of capital and, while this continued, the Union remained blindly indifferent to the crisis. Not until the meeting of the 1939 council when the Superintendent was reported to be contemplating increased rates of contribution did the Union take any interest.⁶ A fact-finding committee named that year thoroughly alarmed the following council when it described the fund as in danger of imminent collapse. Out of the discussion of its report the demand was made that the Union should have direct representation on any official committee named to examine the plan.⁷ Thus a dozen years had elapsed from the inauguration of the pension system before any demand was made for a voice in its administration.

The 1940 council made certain recommendations designed to meet the immediate crisis in the pension fund. As an emergency measure, it proposed that the teachers' contributions should be increased along with the matching grant from the

⁴ S.R., (1936), Vol. XV.

⁵ Report of the Resolutions Committee to 1937 Council, pp. 2 - 3.

⁶ Council Minutes, (1939), pp. 10, 14 - 15.

⁷ Council Minutes, (1940), pp. 15 - 16, 24 - 26.

province. It also requested that an actuary should be appointed to examine the scheme and that the Union should participate in any committee which might be named to consider the actuary's findings or to formulate new regulations.⁸

Finally, the locals were asked to solicit the support of their M.L.A.'s in order to ensure that the pension crisis would be dealt with speedily.

Considerable delay occurred in presenting the Union's views to the government because of the change in premiers - A.S. MacMillan replacing A.L. MacDonald - which occurred in the summer of 1940. Not until February 18th, 1941, did a delegation with two representatives each from the Union and the Headmasters' Association have an opportunity to present the teachers' case. They proposed that, as a temporary measure, the teachers' contribution should be raised from eight to sixteen per cent of his provincial aid, this would be matched by the province. In addition, they demanded that an actuary be employed to analyze the condition of the pension fund and that a joint committee of Education Office and N.S.T.U. representatives should be established to work with the actuary and to make recommendations to the government. All these requests were accepted by the Premier.⁹

⁸

Ibid., p. 25.

⁹

Council Minutes, (1941), p. 13.

Neither the Union nor the provincial authorities were prepared for the situation which the actuary revealed. The pension fund had accumulated an actuarial deficit of close to five and one-quarter million dollars. This deficit derived from two sources. In the first place, no provision had been made in 1928 to retire the debt created by claims for benefits based on service completed before that date. Secondly, even had no claim been entered for services before 1928, the rate of contribution was insufficient to support the benefits promised by the scheme.¹⁰

At the 1944 council, a special time was allotted to discuss the pension crisis, but little more could be accomplished than to inform delegates of the situation. Consequently, the council was unable to give any clear directive to its representatives on the joint pension committee.¹¹

With the 1945 council, agreement was reached upon certain principles which were recommended by the Union's pension committee. This committee was also authorized to take such action, political or otherwise, as it might find necessary to secure a satisfactory solution to the pension problem.¹² However, the discussion with the council clearly

¹⁰

Report of the Actuary, (February 1st, 1943).

¹¹

Council Minutes, (1944), pp. 11 - 15.

¹²

Council Minutes, (1945), pp. 44 - 45, 56.

indicated that certain basic misunderstandings with respect to the financing of any pension plan still persisted among Union members. The plan under consideration, was based on principles quite different from those underlying the 1928 plan, it therefore seemed to be even more necessary to inform teachers of its provisions. To this end, the Union's pension committee undertook a speaking campaign to the various locals during the spring and fall of 1945.¹³ In November, 1945, a request was circulated to the locals asking them to report their members' attitudes toward the proposed scheme.¹⁴

As in the case of the salary negotiations undertaken after 1944, the course of the pension negotiations was materially altered by the return of Angus L. MacDonald to Nova Scotia. In the case of the pension scheme, however, progress was less rapid, partly because of the difficulty experienced in the Union defining the teachers' aims. Two meetings were held with Mr. MacDonald in December, 1945. Results of these meetings were most encouraging. Whereas the large actuarial deficit had proven to be a major obstacle up to this time, Mr. MacDonald "didn't seem very greatly worried about it and he didn't say a word against it being

¹³ Council Minutes, (1946), p. 42.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 43.

a responsibility of the government."¹⁵

By March, 1947, a new draft bill had been prepared and accepted by the government. Under its provisions the old pension scheme was to be put on a sound actuarial basis and continued for teachers already employed, and a new pension plan based on salaries was to be established for those who subsequently entered the occupation. Under this bill, the government undertook to guarantee a return of four per cent on the pension fund and to amortize the deficit of the 1928 plan over a twenty-five year period. Altogether the governments' contribution to teachers' pension was expected to rise to \$435,000 annually.¹⁶ Sacrifices were also to be required from the teachers. Those who continued under the old scheme would be called upon to meet part of the actuarial deficit through a system of rising payments.

The government's readiness to accept the new bill made it urgent for the Union to reach a decision. To facilitate this, the Union's committee prepared an analysis of the features of the plan which it had distributed to the locals together with copies of the draft act. The 1947 council refused to be hurried into a decision, however. Locals had scarcely a month in which to study the various documents

¹⁵

Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁶

Minutes of the Joint Pension Committee, (March 1, 1947).

and, despite the work of the Union's committees, there continued to be considerable misunderstanding of the central issue involved, particularly with respect to the nature of the actuarial deficit.¹⁷ Furthermore, the Union committee itself suggested certain reservations with respect to the proposal and indicated the number of changes which it thought desirable.¹⁸ The final result was that the council refused to make a decision and the pension committee had to inform the government that its offer was not acceptable to the council. The authorities for their part agreed to defer legislative action for the time being. What was more important, they also agreed that a sum of money, equal to that which was involved in the plan which had been refused, would be available for any new pension scheme. The Union council instructed its committee to draft such a plan to apply to all teachers.¹⁹

At a meeting held soon after the 1947 council, the pension committee resolved upon a fresh reproach. Arguing that teachers were entitled to a pension every bit as generous as that provided by the government for its "bar tenders" - a reference to the employees of the provincial Liquor Commission - the Union committee took the superannuation

¹⁷ Council Minutes, (1947), p. 26.

¹⁸ Report of the Pension Committee to the 1947 Council.

¹⁹ Council Minutes, (1947), pp. 27, 50 - 51.

scheme of the civil servants as a model.²⁰ A new plan was drafted by the committee and material comparing its benefits to those of the scheme which the 1947 council had rejected was circulated to the locals. The locals were explicitly warned that the committee's plan had not been submitted to the actuary and that it was intended only as a basis of discussion. The committee's draft provided the lead for which members had been waiting and their response was most favourable.²¹ After some minor amendments, the draft was submitted to the actuary for study.

By the time the 1948 council assembled, only an interim report had been received but the report was most encouraging in that the cost of the scheme was estimated at little more than that of the plan to which the government gave its consent in 1947.²² Most significant, however, was the fact that for the first time the Union had agreed on a pension plan. It was true that some points of contention remained, for example, women objected that a woman's disability pension would cease upon her marriage. However, council carried the plan by an overwhelming vote.²³ There remained only one

²⁰ Report of the Pension Committee to the 1948 Council, p. 33.

²¹ Ibid., p. 33.

²² Council Minutes, (1948), p. 34.

²³ 53 to 1.

problem, that of the discretion to be allowed Union negotiators in seeking the government's acceptance of the scheme but this was anticipated by the Union committee and a resolution providing for flexibility carried.²⁴

This pension plan fashioned by the Union's committee commended itself to the teachers for a number of reasons. It was based on salary and would provide a pension after thirty-five years' service, equal to seventy per cent of the individual's average earnings during the last five years of his employment. However, disability pensions would be available following fifteen years' service. These were to be calculated on the basis of two per cent of the average salary of the final five years of employment for each completed year of service. The actuary objected strongly to the short period of only five years which was to be used to calculate pensions but, in view of the low salaries of the immediate past, teachers were insistent on this point. Finally a compromise was arrived at whereby the plan would begin operation with a five year average but the period used in calculating pensions was to increase by one year for each year of the plan's operation until a total of fifteen years was reached. The pension scheme provided protection for the widows and dependent children of deceased teachers and,

²⁴ Council Minutes, (1948), p. 34.

in the event of the death or of the withdrawal of a teacher from the occupation before becoming entitled to these benefits, all contributions except those paid during the first five years of his employment would be refunded. The plan was to be financed by deductions from salary of five per cent for women and six per cent for men, these to be matched by the province. However, the whole scheme depended upon the province agreeing, in addition, to assume full responsibilities for the pensioners under the 1928 Act, to retire the actuarial deficit created by claims established by earlier service, to guarantee a four per cent return on the fund established by the plan and, finally, to transfer to the new plan all money remaining in the 1928 pension fund.²⁵

On June 1st, 1948 the chairman of the pension committee and the Union president attended a meeting with the Premier, the actuary and education office representatives. At this meeting certain changes were proposed, the most important of which was a plan by which older teachers would be made to share in meeting the actuarial deficit created by their prior service. This plan involved counting each year's service before 1928 as a one-half year for pension purposes, and those from 1928 to 1949 as three-quarter years.²⁶ The

²⁵

Report of the Pension Committee to the 1948 Council.

²⁶

Suggested Changes and Revisions in the Pension Act, (June 1, 1948).

meeting ended, however, without the Premier committing himself on the new pension scheme. Not until February 26th, 1949 did the Union finally secure a meeting with him at which it was learned that a Bill based upon the Union committee's draft would be presented to the legislative. However, it included a provision implementing the proposal made the preceding June whereby older teachers would be called upon to share in the plan's actuarial deficit. The Union's representatives protested against the inclusion of this provision most strongly but they were not prepared to attempt to block the measure. The government refused to make any further concessions and the Bill, as originally drafted, was passed. Nothing remained for the 1949 Union council, therefore, but to approve the action taken.²⁷

The Union pension committee could fairly claim to have fully and faithfully discharged their duty. As in the case of the salary negotiations, not only had the Union succeeded in advancing the economic positions of the teachers but, in the process, it had gained recognition for itself as the teachers' representative. Furthermore, the administration of the new plan was to be vested in a five man pension commission, two members of which were to be named by the Union. A grateful council elected Mr. John Oliver, chairman

²⁷

Report of the Salary Committee to the 1949 Council.

of the pension committee, as one of its representatives.²⁸

The 1949 pension scheme remains essentially intact today with only minor revisions. Over the past eleven years, both salaries and pension contributions have been steadily rising whereas benefits have remained stationary. It is evident that some changes are necessary and N.S.T.U. efforts are now being directed towards these ends.²⁹

²⁸

Council Minutes, (1949), p. 36.

²⁹

Council Minutes, (1959), pp. 85 - 86 and Council Minutes, (1960), p. 69.

CHAPTER 1V

THE QUEST FOR PROFESSIONAL STATUS

For the first two decades following reorganization of the N.S.T.U., its leaders had confidently assumed that, in some way, their efforts in the Union would help to transform teaching into a profession. It was true that no one seemed to be very clear as to just how the goal of professionalization might best be reached but the appropriateness of this goal for the occupation was not questioned. In the years from 1940 - 1960, this assumption was twice challenged and the labour union rather than the professional association was proposed as the more suitable model for the Union. Each of these occasions followed a period during which the Union had been unable to protect the status of its members by means of a program which was considered to be consistent with 'professional' status. The first such status crisis occurred during the war period 1940 - 1944.

Affiliation with labour was first proposed through The Bulletin in March, 1942. Tom Parker, editor of The Bulletin, urged teachers to "cast aside ... false professional dignity and assumed superiority and be glad to join the ranks of organized labour."¹ A motion dealing

¹ Bulletin, Vol. XVllll, No. 3, (March, 1942), p. 2.

with affiliation was ruled out of order at the 1942 council but the post-council issue of The Bulletin again returned to the subject, listing the benefits, notably in salary and working conditions, which could be expected to flow from it.² Under the prodding of Parker, the executive named a committee that fall to study the advantages and disadvantages of affiliation.³ As could be predicted, this action was bitterly attacked at the 1943 council but after considerable argument the committee was authorized to continue its work.⁴

Identification with labour had quite a different meaning to some teachers. Affiliation with labour or utalization of the weapon of labour, especially of the strike, appeared to them as a threat to their aspiration to professional standing. The report of the committee on affiliation was forced to recognize this. It minimized the extent of conflict in aims or methods between the Union and organized labour but it admitted that "... many teachers felt that a union is different from a profession and for that reason affiliation with labour would not be a wise move ..."⁵ The committee did not try to reconcile opinion

² Bulletin, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, (June, 1942), pp. 3 - 4.

³ Council Minutes, (1943), p. 24.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 24 - 25.

⁵ Council Minutes, (1944), p. 22.

on the issue, though it noted that precedents did exist for professions to affiliate with labour. It recommended that a referendum on the issue be held.⁶

The 1944 council did not attempt to decide policy with respect to affiliation and there is no way of knowing the strength of the opposing factions on this issue. It is perhaps significant that the key recommendation of the committee on affiliation was accepted only after prolonged discussion.⁷ Evidently the 'professional faction' were uneasy about the possible result! But the discussion in council also suggests that not all supporters of militant action believed this to be synonymous with the wholesale acceptance of trade unionism. In any case, the issue of the model to be followed by the N.S.T.U. was not settled by the 1944 council.

To the members of the Union at this time, affiliation with labour and professionalization appeared as alternatives between which the Union had to choose. As the chairman of the affiliation committee formulated the decision confronting the members:

..... we may do well to face the truth that the professions barely regard teaching as a profession and the stronger unions hardly consider our organ-

6

Ibid., p. 23.

7

Ibid., pp. 23 - 25.

ization a union. If we are to have a union we must consider in what respect we are now unlike a union and what union principles could affectively be adopted and used by us. If we wish to be known as members of a profession we must consider the factors that make a profession and how we must act to bring the full recognition of teaching as a profession.⁸

The issue of The Bulletin in January, 1945, was largely devoted to a discussion of the affiliation issue. Broadly speaking, those who approved of affiliation claimed that organized labour would support the teachers in their struggle to improve their economic position. As C.B. LeGrow wrote:

We need desparately the assistance of a strong, well-organized group which has always believed in progress in Education, and is willing to aid us in bringing home to all of the people in a vital way, the needs of the public school and its teachers Organized Labour is such a group.⁹

The opponents of affiliation, on the other hand, saw the issue confronting the teachers as one of status. The question was should teachers "wish to be a profession, a trade or a job?"¹⁰

Discussion of the affiliation issue continued in the rebuttals published in the next Bulletin¹¹ and at the 1945

⁸ Bulletin, Vol. XXI, No. 2, (October - November, 1944), p. 43.

⁹ Bulletin, Vol. XXI, No. 3, (January, 1945), p. 84.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 85.

¹¹ Bulletin, Vol. XXI, No. 4, (March, 1945), pp. 112 - 116.

council another attempt to defer the referendum was defeated.¹² The strong feelings generated by the issue, may be gauged by a little publicized incident in which a number of Halifax teachers who were firmly opposed to affiliation asked that the counting of ballots should be performed by some independent person, a judge or lawyer, to ensure fairness.¹³

It might have been expected that the experience of the first salary campaign would have strengthened the support for affiliation. Labour organizations played a leading part in the campaign.¹⁴ Nevertheless, when the vote was taken in the spring of 1945, eight hundred and ninety-three or 54.5 per cent were against affiliation and only seven hundred and forty-one or 45.2 per cent in favour.¹⁵

It is impossible to say what effect the improvement in salaries registered in 1944-45 had upon this result. There can be no doubt, however, that for the remainder of the decade and as long as the Union succeeded in maintaining the economic position of the teachers, affiliation remained a dead issue. It is true that the 1947 council passed a

¹²

Council Minutes, (1945), pp. 20 - 21, 40.

¹³

Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁴

Supra, p. 10.

¹⁵

Report of the Committee on Affiliation, (May 22, 1945).

resolution in support of striking coal miners, thus reciprocating the support which the Union had received earlier from the miners.¹⁶ But this action of the council stopped far short of involving the Union in any identification with labour. On the other side, the efforts by opponents to affiliation to support their position by changing the Union's name to an 'Association' failed to receive support.¹⁷ Members were unwilling to reawaken the controversy and while it remained quiet, the Union moved steadily in the direction of professionalization.

By the fall of 1950, the effects of a rapid upturn in the price level were beginning to be felt.¹⁸ Even as the salary campaign was failing completely¹⁹ in its primary objective of securing salary increases, it was making teachers even more conscious of their deteriorating economic position. This resulted in a growing sense of frustration. This mounting frustration of the teachers found expression in what might best be described as a disillusionment with professionalization as a goal. An increasing number of teachers adopted the position that as long as salaries

¹⁶ Council Minutes, (1947), p. 30.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 43; also Council Minutes, (1949), p. 14.

¹⁸ Bulletin, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, (October, 1950), p. 8.

¹⁹ Supra, p. 25.

remained low, it was useless for teachers to identify themselves with the professions. Indeed, they believed that such an identification might well impede effective measures to restore salaries.²⁰

As Union president, Parker was fully aware that talk of a strike by the teachers might alienate much of the public's support for the Union in addition to endangering the unity of the Union itself. In his opening address to the 1951 council, therefore, he urged ".....patience where salary requests are not met as soon as we want or think they should be."²¹ But, as the salary discussions of the council progressed delegates became more agitated and their support for strong measures increased. Thus, at a later point in the council sessions, while continuing to oppose strike action, Parker based his opposition purely on practical considerations.

(He) pointed out that in his opinion teachers are entitled to the same rights as any other group, but that he was opposed to strike action at the present time (and) for practical reasons.²²

He was concerned with difficulties in the way of staging an effective strike, not with its legality nor with its implications for the status of the occupation.

²⁰

Council Minutes, (1951), pp. 2, 19 - 22.

²¹

Ibid., p. 2.

²²

Ibid., p. 43, emphasis as in the Minutes.

The council concurred with Parker's judgment respecting the feasibility of immediate strike action. Nevertheless, it ordered that a new referendum should be held on the closely related question of affiliation with labour. And, in the event that no progress in the salary negotiations had been made by the fall, the executive was instructed to consider the advisability of taking a strike vote.²³ The council was not yet committed irrevocably to the 'Union' model but it was definitely tending to move in that direction.

At this critical juncture, the weak control which the provincial executive could exercise over the constituent locals assumed significance for, with the paralysis of provincial leadership, initiative passed easily to local leaders. The Cape Breton County Rural and Village local voted on December 13th, 1951, to back up salary demands upon its board by strike action. One week later all locals on Cape Breton Island, with the exception of the Glace Bay Local, announced their intention of striking unless their salary demands were met by the start of the new school term.²⁴

By the time the provincial executive was able to meet during the Christmas vacation, the decision of the Cape Breton Island locals to strike appeared to be an accomplished fact. Unfortunately, the additional demands which the salary campaign

²³ Ibid., pp. 43 - 45.

²⁴ Council Minutes, (1952), p. 27.

had placed upon provincial leaders²⁵ had proved to be too much for the organization and there was a partial breakdown in communication between locals and the provincial executive. Information which the general-secretary had respecting the feeling of Union members in the Cape Breton area was not passed on to the executive, with the result that the executive learned of the decision to strike only when the locals had sent their telegram to the Premier and to the Union president.²⁶ More serious still, in deciding upon what its own role should be in relation to the local's action, the executive was without disinterested and objective information on the status of teacher opinion in the area concerned. The representatives of Cape Breton who reported to the Union executive were themselves ardent supporters of the projected strike.

Having only a distorted picture of the actual situation, the executive agreed to support the locals. Significantly, this decision was partly justified on the grounds that "It gave an opportunity to have executive representation on the strike control committee to give counsel and guidance."²⁷ The executive also decided to conduct a

²⁵ Council Minutes, (1951), p. 21, and Council Minutes, (1952), p. 6.

²⁶ Bulletin, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, (December, 1951 - January, 1952), p. 71.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 72.

provincial strike vote in order to learn the opinion of the general membership.²⁸

The provincial strike vote taken early in 1952 indicated a substantial majority - 1,658 or 63.5 per cent of those voting - in favour of a province-wide walk-out. Teacher opinion regarding strike action divided sharply, however, as between different sections of the province. At a special congress held in February, to consider strike action, the locals approved of striking on a provincial basis but by such a narrow margin - twenty-one to twenty - that the project had to be abandoned. The possibility of locals striking individually was rejected by a considerable margin. The strongest support for strike action came from teachers in the eastern areas, particularly Cape Breton.²⁹

In an attempt to restore some measure of unity, the executive called the congress for February 23rd. It was most fortunate for the executive that George Croskery, general-secretary of the C.T.F., was present at this meeting. While the vote on the original motion endorsing a provincial strike had done little more than underline the split in

²⁸

Ibid., p. 72.

²⁹

Council Minutes, (1952), p. 2.

Union ranks, a motion which had been formulated with Mr. Croskery's aid was ruled to have superceded it. This carefully avoided the strike issue and proposed instead a new approach to the government with the aim of securing the appointment of a salary commission.³⁰

The 1952 council was confronted with a major policy decision, that concerning affiliation with labour. Just as the salary crisis of 1951-52 produced a more violent reaction with respect to strike action, it produced strong support for the closely associated proposal of affiliation with labour. A referendum on the affiliation issue held in June, 1951, showed a slight majority in favour: 1,124 voted for affiliation and 918 against it. Significantly, members of the executive favoured affiliation much more strongly than did the general membership. They voted nine to one in favour.³¹

Broadly speaking, support for affiliation with labour was centered in those areas which also advocated the use of labour's principal weapon, the strike. Hence it was believed that affiliation would help to secure salary increases and that such increases were "more important than

³⁰

Ibid., p. 28.

³¹

Ibid., p. 1.

any loss of popular prestige" which affiliation might bring.³² The N.S.T.U., so it claimed, needed outside assistance and, as evidenced by the support which unions had already given the teachers, labour was "the only party willing to help."³³ The opponents of affiliation were highly critical of the fact that without any prior notification having been given to the locals the 1951 council ordered the affiliation referendum. They were dissatisfied at the way in which the referendum was conducted since a large portion of the membership seemed to have been disenfranchized;³⁴ but while critical of the holding of the referendum on procedural grounds, the opponents attacked affiliation itself as something which would reflect unfavourably upon the status of the occupation.³⁵

By the time council assembled, the disposition of the issue contained real threat to the unity of the organization.³⁶ In this respect, the affiliation issue resembled the closely associated issue of a provincial strike. But whereas, in

³² Bulletin, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, (December, 1951 - January, 1952), p. 35.

³³ Ibid., p. 35.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 37, cf. Council Minutes, (1952), pp. 1 - 2.

³⁵ Bulletin, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, (December, 1951 - January, 1952), p. 39.

³⁶ Bulletin, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, (March, 1952), pp. 72 - 74, 96 - 97.

the latter controversy, the executive was unable to disarm the most vehement individuals by refusing to order a provincial strike, no such compromise was available with respect to affiliation. Of course, the results of the referendum were not binding on the council but it could not avoid a decision one way or the other on this issue.

The long and heated debate which occurred in the council on the motion to affiliate "with one of the labour organizations" is a clear indication of the strong feelings which this question aroused. At the end, by secret ballot, the motion was carried by a vote of forty-three to thirty-nine.³⁷ But despite the narrow majority, the official Union policy had become that of entering into affiliation with labour. Probably in order to allow the emotions raised by the issue to cool, the council in 1952 postponed decisions on these matters until a special congress to be held the following January.³⁸ It would appear true that, had the affiliation policy been implemented at once, resignations would have occurred. Indeed, it is possible that affiliation would have split the Union in two.

The 1952 council made two important policy decisions.

³⁷ Council Minutes, (1952), pp. 30 - 31.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 42.

The one established affiliation with labour as the Union's official policy. The other endorsed the setting up of a central office. Partly as a result of C.T.F. advice, the Union leaders were more than ever convinced that the primary need of the organization was the establishment of a central office. In deciding to proceed at once to set up a central office, the executive acted contrary to the general understanding of the delegates to the 1952 council. It was, of course, perfectly true that in addition to making affiliation the official policy, the council had directed the executive to establish such an office. But the council had not realized that the financial position of the Union rendered the simultaneous realization of these two goals impossible. Had this been known, the 1952 council or, more accurately, the majority favouring affiliation would undoubtedly have insisted upon this goal as having primacy over the less controversial development of organizational machinery. In a very real sense, therefore, the executive, which was formally empowered only to carry out the will of council, made policy when it ordered an immediate start to the central office.

As in so many other ways at this crisis in the Union's existence, the C.T.F. once more came to the Union executive's aid. The funds which were used to set up the central office

came from the C.T.F.³⁹ This fact allowed the executive to phrase the issue in what amounted to moral terms. Locals were asked: "Can we pay from \$1,300 to \$3,600 to organize with labour and at the same time accept funds from the C.T.F?"⁴⁰ Perhaps the strongest argument for deferral of affiliation was that the executive motion which accepted the impossibility of proceeding at once with affiliation was moved and seconded by the two members of the executive who were more closely identified with militant unionism - Tom Parker who had first campaigned for affiliation back in 1944 and J. Frank Glasgow, the most active exponent and organizer of strike action during the early part of 1952. It was their motion which was to be considered at the special congress called to decide subsidiary issues growing out of the affiliation decision.

The debate at the congress was a heated one and, at one point, it was punctuated by a threat on the part of the delegates of two Cape Breton locals, those of Inverness North and Glace Bay, that their locals would withdraw from the Union if the executive's motion was approved. The feeling generated by the move to delay affiliation is suggested by the complaints which were voiced at the right of executive

³⁹
Council Minutes, (1953), p. 13.

⁴⁰
Ibid., p. 14.

members to vote on the motion. Even with the voluntary abstention of executive members, however, a sufficient number of locals were convinced of the merits of the executive's motion for it to carry.⁴¹

The leading spokesman for the extreme 'unionist' faction, Mr. Ron Tompkins, arrived at the following council armed with a want-of-confidence motion which accused the provincial executive of failure to obey the will of the majority. His statement in support of the motion is proof that the 'union' model was accepted by him as appropriate for the N.S.T.U. He repeatedly contrasted the executive's failure to furnish the Union with a clear "program of action" with the practice of labour organizations. As he said:

Organized labour has a complete set of principles, method and procedure. The policies of organized labour are clearly defined. In refusing to affiliate with organized labour, we teachers have deprived ourselves of a carefully formulated, closely integrated program of action. Yet this same executive has offered us no coherent, cohesive program to take the place of the program it has spurned

Our executive has disgraced us as a 'Union', - it has led us to a point where we should call ourselves by some such harmless, innocent term as 'Teachers' Club' or an 'Aide-de-Camp' to the government.⁴²

Tompkin's motion did not receive much support from the council. This was due, in part, to the character of the motion

⁴¹

Ibid., pp. 35 - 38.

⁴²

Ibid., p. 36.

itself. It charged the executive with too many failures including the inadequate circulation of information to the locals. But this was the weakness which the central office was specifically designed to overcome. Hence, the executive was able to reply that, in charging the executive both with a failure to affiliate and with a failure to provide information, Tompkins was neither consistent nor fair. Most delegates, as the results of the affiliation congress made clear, accepted the desirability of the central office and, even those disappointed at the delay in affiliation, accepted the reasons which had been given for the delay. Significantly, Tompkins himself was forced to admit that several of the criticisms which he levelled at the executive would not have been made had he been in possession of information which he had obtained since coming to the council. This admission was seized upon by executive spokesmen to support the priority which had been given to the central office.⁴³ Thus, the want-of-confidence motion, which was the most serious attempt by the extreme 'unionist' faction to force compliance with the majority will, ended by strengthening the leaders' hands. And once this motion was defeated, consideration of the date for affiliation was again deferred without any serious

⁴³

Ibid., p. 36.

challenge.⁴⁴

A decision with respect to the date of affiliation was deferred for a third time at the 1954 council. By this time, the effects of the measures taken in 1953-54 both upon the teachers' economic position and upon the unity and effectiveness of the Union had begun to be felt. In addition, the Union presidency over 1953-54 was held by J. Frank Glasgow. As a Cape Bretoner who had been most active in the strikes of 1952, he was largely immune from the suspicion and criticism which had been directed at his predecessor by members of the pro-Union faction and, while no steps were taken to implement affiliation, the members of the professional faction were content with his leadership.

Glasgow admitted to the council in 1954 that money might be found for affiliation by budgeting somewhat less to the repayment of certain loans which had been received earlier from the C.T.F. However, echoing the argument which had been produced at the affiliation congress for the first time, he went on to claim that,

the contribution we could make to labour at the present time would be small indeed in view of the fact that we must concentrate on the solution of our own problems.

⁴⁴

Ibid., p. 55.

Clearly, by this time, affiliation ranked low on his list of Union priorities. It was his opinion that the Union should work:

to consolidate its financial position, obtain the rights of collective bargaining and other necessary legislation and solve the problems which prevent us carrying on our own affairs in an efficient manner - then take the steps necessary for affiliation.⁴⁵

His statement went unchallenged and a motion for future deferral of the decision respecting a date for affiliation passed without a dissenting vote.⁴⁶ Thus, although affiliation remained the official Union policy, it had been down graded as an aim without the Union losing the support of any major group. The reasons for this must be sought in the improvement achieved in the teachers' economic standing and in the closely related growth of the confidence which members placed in their organization.

Meanwhile, a growing mutual confidence was coming to characterize the relations between the Union leaders and the minister and Department of Education. This development reflected a number of factors, some of which have already been mentioned. The increased contact between the minister and Union leaders concerning the Union's legislative programme, did much to foster that mutual confidence. The

⁴⁵

Council Minutes, (1954), pp. 9 - 10.

⁴⁶

Ibid., p. 13.

establishment of the central office in Halifax also facilitated informal consultation, especially between the executive-secretary and the Department. Growing mutual confidence was reflected further in the fact that, whereas past practice had been to present Union demands to the authorities without prior notice, it became customary in 1955 to acquaint the officials, informally, of the matters to be discussed later at more formal presentations. In turn, this practice helped to reduce suspicion on each side.⁴⁷ Finally, from 1952 onward, the Union executive sought not only to delay affiliation with labour but to re-emphasize the professional aspirations of the occupation.

Nevertheless, there were still times when the Union was overlooked in matters of vital 'professional' concern. In 1953-54, for example, the N.S.T.U. received an invitation to participate in a conference which was to be called to consider changes in teacher training only after it had protested most strongly against its exclusion. The importance which Union leaders attached to such marks of recognition is suggested by the president, J. Frank Glasgow's remarks to the 1954 council.

It is significant that the opinions and policies of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union on this question

⁴⁷

Council Minutes, (1955), pp. 48, 65.

of Teacher Training and Teacher Education were considered. I believe this request for our participation is another measure of the position we occupy.⁴⁸

An invitation to the Union during the same year to name representatives to the Nova Scotia Summer School Committee was characterized by Glasgow as "a milestone" in the Union's progress. And, he continued, ".... it indicates a change of attitude toward our professional organization which has become evident in many ways"⁴⁹

The co-operation between Union and Department was extended still further in 1954-55. As the executive-secretary duly noted in his report "on several occasions various divisions of the Department approached our office for advice or information"⁵⁰ The recognition received by the Union from other bodies interested in education also increased.⁵¹ The most notable development in this respect was the formation of the 'Council on Teacher Training' which was to act in an advisory capacity to the universities, and Department. It was to be composed of four representatives each from the Union and the Department, while each university

⁴⁸ President's Address to 1954 Council, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 5.

⁵⁰ Council Minutes, (1955), p. 3.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 3 - 4.

named one representative and the Association of Urban and Municipal School Boards named two.⁵² Through its membership in this council, the Union received for the first time a direct voice in the formulation of training and licencing requirements. Union leaders continued to be concerned, however, that their organization had no part in establishing the minimum standards for admission to the occupation. In their view, this perpetuated a situation in which "the quality and type of personnel is allowed to fluctuate with the needs of the moment in terms of numbers,"⁵³ but even in this manner there was cause for optimism. A union request for the establishment of a 'Licencing Board' had been approved in principle by the Department so that the Union had every reason to expect to share in the licencing of teachers in the near future.⁵⁴

Believing that the Union was moving rapidly toward securing recognition as a professional organization, the leaders give a definitely professional orientation to the proceedings of the 1955 council. From the panel discussion of 'professional problem' with which the council began,⁵⁵

⁵² Ibid., pp. 15, 30.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 30.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

to the Union's president's address emphasizing the progress being made toward professional standing,⁵⁶ the 1955 council program featured the growing recognition which the Union was receiving as a professional organization. Given the restructured provincial financial arrangements which seemed to assure the future economic standing of the occupation the mood of the council made the rescinding of the affiliation policy, if not inevitable, then at least a painless operation. Thus the danger of a possible disruption of the organization which had confronted the Union immediately after the 1952 council had been successfully avoided and in the process, the Union had become more firmly committed to a professional model than ever before.

⁵⁶

Ibid., pp. 27 - 34.

CONCLUSIONS

This present study set out to investigate the accomplishments of the N.S.T.U. in the fields of salaries, pensions and professional growth. For the period from 1920 to 1940, the N.S.T.U. had little influence and appealed to only a minority of the teachers. It is little exaggeration to say that the energies of its leaders were devoted solely to keeping the organization intact. During the depression, Union policy was directed less toward advancing the teachers' status than toward salvaging what was possible of the gains which had been made in the twenties. Nevertheless, this period is an important one.

There were two distinctive periods within the time span covered by the study during which the absolute economic position of the teachers declined seriously. The first occurred after 1939 when the increase in the cost-of-living which accompanied the outbreak of the war reversed the tendency which had become evident in the later thirties for salaries to recover from depression levels. By 1941-42, average real incomes for nearly every licence category were below those received during the worst of the depression. The expansion of alternative employment opportunities and the rapid recovery of incomes in other occupations reflected unfavourably upon the

relative standing of teaching. By 1943-44, however, salary concessions from both the provincial and local authorities had resulted in a recovery in the absolute economic position of the teachers. Nevertheless, it was at this point, rather than earlier when absolutely smaller real incomes were received, that Union members first revolted against the conservative, non-militant policies of their leaders. Members demanded a militant program in support of higher salaries and they looked to the labour unions as the model for an organization which would be capable of securing this goal.

Reaction against the old policy of the Union reached its peak at the 1944 council and in the salary campaign which was launched immediately thereafter. The Union set out to secure its economic goals by an appeal directed beyond the government to the general public. A notable feature of this first salary campaign was the support which was successfully solicited from organized labour. Salary concessions were secured from the province which raised the real income of all groups of teachers to new highs. And, with the economic position of teaching restored, the attractiveness of the labour model to members of the Union rapidly declined. A referendum which had been ordered by the 1944 council, but which was not held until over a

year later, by which time the results obtained by the salary campaign were known, led to the formal rejection of affiliation with labour. The salary campaign had not only won salary gains; it had generated a new confidence in the Union. For the remainder of the period nothing occurred to disturb that confidence. Indeed, the role of the Union in the establishment of the first provincial minimum salary schedule in 1946 and in the enactment of the Pension Act of 1949 seemed to afford conclusive proof of the effectiveness of the Union.

The experience of the period from the 1944 council to the passing of the 1949 Pension Act reinforced the earlier commitment of the Union to a provincial level approach. Unfortunately, the very success of Union negotiators in securing major economic gains from the province prepared the way for a drastic change in the Union's policies. This change occurred in 1950 when the occupation was passing through a second period of decline in its real earnings, a decline started by the inflation which accompanied the Korean War. Demands upon the province for salary concessions were repeatedly rejected. The provincial authorities, already alarmed at the expansion of their budget for education, refused to accept additional responsibility for teachers' salaries. Confident that the

techniques which had been used in 1944-45 would once more prove effective, however, the Union began a new salary campaign. This campaign failed to effect any change in the government's position, but it did make the teachers increasingly aware of and dissatisfied with their declining real earnings.

As during that earlier period when inability of the Union to protect the teachers' relative status produced a reaction against professionalism, the failure of the new salary campaign was associated with a growing demand for more militant action. By the time the 1951 council assembled, talk of strike action was becoming common and the Union model gaining increasing acceptance. It was clear, however, that many teachers, would not support strike action whatever the outcome of the salary campaign. To these teachers, acceptance of the Union model, whether by striking or by affiliation with labour, would have involved the sacrifice of their aspiration to full professional standing. This sacrifice they were not prepared to accept. To others, immediate economic rewards tended to be given precedence over long-term status goals.

The last hope of receiving salary adjustments from the province without resource to militant, trade union action had disappeared by the late fall of 1951 when the

Nova Scotia Union of Municipalities failed in its approach to the government on behalf of the teachers. Union leaders were too well aware of the divergent attitudes among the teachers on the issue of striking. Moreover, they were becoming progressively less convinced of the merits of the provincial level approach. But Union leaders were unable to provide any clear alternatives to this approach, in part, because they were prisoners of the policies which they had earlier initiated. The Union had been allowed to become committed to an exclusive reliance upon provincial level bargaining.

As the salary crisis deepened during the fall and winter of 1951, leadership was seized from provincial officers by local leaders and, early in 1952, local strikes erupted. At that year's council, reaction against the professional model again reached a peak and, although a provincial strike was never ordered, affiliation with labour became the official policy of the Union.

From the 1952 council to the 1960 council, a central office was established by the Union with a staff headed by the executive-secretary. At first the expenses incurred in setting up the office provided a plausible reason for delaying affiliation and, in this way, the final disruption of the organization which must have followed from affiliation

was avoided. Gradually, however, as the central office came into operation and a decentralization of the bargaining function was effected without the sacrifice either of the Union principle or of effectiveness in negotiation, the confidence of members in their Union was restored.

From the period 1953 to 1960 the Union progressed both from an economic and professional viewpoint. With the adoption of the Foundation and later both Leonard scales, the economic status of teachers reached a new high. Gradually the N.S.T.U. was adopted by government and private agencies as the recognized voice of the teachers, with this acceptance the professional status of the Union attained a new peak.

It is evident from the information collected in this thesis that the N.S.T.U. has accomplished much in salaries, pensions and professional growth. This writer believes that the leadership given by those in responsible positions in the N.S.T.U. has been adequate in the past and it can be depended upon in the future to provide the aggressive action required to cope with the increasing complexities of educational problems.

I believe that teaching organizations are the guiding stars in the charting of the course of education. In the N.S.T.U. lie tremendous potentialities for the welfare of education and young people of Nova Scotia and for the welfare of us who are in the teaching profession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES:

1. Nova Scotia Teachers' Union

- (a) The Minutes of the Annual Councils, 1935 - 1960.
- (b) The Bulletin of the N.S.T.U., Vols., VII, No. 9.
(October, 1929) - Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, (February, 1961).

2. Government of Nova Scotia

- (a) Nova Scotia, Department of Education, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia, Halifax, The King's Printer, 1925 - 1948.
- (b) Nova Scotia, Department of Education, Annual Report of the Department of Education, Halifax, The King's Printer, 1949 -1960.
- (c) Nova Scotia, Report of the Royal Commission on Public School Finance in Nova Scotia, (The Pottier Report), Halifax, The King's Printer, 1954.
- (d) Nova Scotia, The Education Act, 1955, being Chapter 23 of the Statutes of 1955, Halifax, The King's Printer, 1955.

APPENDIX A

Note -

The following letter, sent to an organization which had indicated its readiness to support the teachers will illustrate the publicity techniques employed during the 1944 salary campaign:

Dear

Enclosed find the draft resolution as I promised. If it is satisfactory use it: if not, cut it or change it as you think best.

Whatever you do I want a strong statement supporting the teachers' request for higher pay. The resolution is to come from you unsolicited by us. This is very important for obvious publicity reasons.

I want your endorsation released for the Canadian Press about the middle of the week. Would you hold it until Wednesday? I'm expecting other ones the first of the week and I don't want too many at once.

.... (A certain town's) Trades and Labour Council has already written our secretary giving support but I'm going to call (an official of the council) tonight as I want a press statement from them.

Thanks for all your help.

Yours fraternally,