

Bargaining 2014: Report and Personal Reflection



It's Your Turn Now

After a summer of bargaining, your team has obtained the best deal possible at the table with the employer. Ultimately, you will decide if the deal works for you.

The vote on **September 23** is a ratification vote on the tentative settlement. You should have received a copy of the Memorandum of Settlement at your personal non-Fanshawe e-mail account. If you did not receive it, please contact us at union@opseu110.ca

Some Context

Originally, the team requested an August 28, 2014 strike vote date. This was to prevent the employer from unilaterally imposing terms and conditions as they did in 2009. The employer objected to the Ontario Labour Relations Board (OLRB). An agreement was reached to move the date to September 25 and the employer agreed not to impose terms of employment.

What is an imposition? Collective bargaining in the college system is controlled by a provincial law known as the *Colleges Collective Bargaining Act (CCBA)*. The CCBA allows the colleges to unilaterally impose terms and conditions of work if there is no collective agreement in place and 16 days after a conciliator has issued a "no board" report declaring that talks between the parties have not resulted in agreement.

If Talks Had Broken Down

Talks were very close to breaking down just prior to reaching the tentative agreement. No negotiation dates after August 31 were forthcoming from the employer.

It is very difficult to predict what would have happened if talks had broken down. The employer had various options including a "forced offer vote" as they used in 2010.

What is a forced offer vote? Collective bargaining in the college system is controlled by a provincial law known as the *Colleges Collective Bargaining Act (CCBA)*. The CCBA allows the colleges to put an offer directly to our members for a vote. This vote can take place any time after 15 days prior to the expiry of a Collective Agreement. The colleges can only do this once per round of bargaining. The problem with these votes, and we saw this in 2010, is that the employer includes provisions that members will vote for but also includes non-negotiated items that are harmful to the union and members. It's much better to have a negotiated agreement.

What Were the Initial Priorities and Demands?

The top five member demands were:

- Increase wages
- Protect against job losses due to contracting out and privatization
- Obtain faculty authority over academic decisions
- Reflect actual work in alternate delivery modes
- Improve preference language for hiring

Your bargaining team used those demands to craft some initial proposals. They included:

- **Job Security:** No outsourcing, qualified partial-load to have priority for all contracts, priority of full-time over partial-load or

part-time hiring, priority of partial-load over part-time hiring

- **Academic Freedom**
 - Faculty to determine teaching methodology and evaluation methods; counsellors to determine treatment
 - Teachers own created materials

- **Workload:** increased SWF time for preparation, student assistance, and administrative tasks.

The employer brought nearly the opposite proposals and pursued them aggressively:

- Part-time work excluded from the collective agreement altogether including any reference to them in any grievances to hire full-time.
- Sessionals not converted to full-time after twelve months of work
- SWFs assigned to full-time faculty, whether teaching or not, for up to 36 weeks
- Unlimited overtime not unreasonably withheld by the member, which would have taken work away from other members and nullified workload protections
- Attack on the Union's ability to protect the bargaining unit including exclusion from the Modified Workload Agreement process and restricted bargaining time

What is in the Tentative Settlement?

Refer to the back page of this edition for details on the tentative agreement.

So what does this deal mean for us as members?

Admittedly, this agreement is not 100% perfect. Negotiated settlements are not going to be perfect. Some important steps were made including referencing the words “contracting out” for the very first time and adding protection where there was none previously.

At Fanshawe, contracting out was imminent. TriOS College in Toronto was set to offer the Information Security Management (ISM) and International Business programs. We’ve seen the documents through freedom of information requests. The admission letters were ready. Lanyards and student cards reading “Fanshawe @ TriOS” were ready. The contract was negotiated and ready.

In an informal survey of ISM students, every student said he/she would go to Toronto if the program were offered there. The program was the only reason why the students, mostly international, came to London and there’s no doubt our faculty would have lost work to TriOS. Fortunately, the administration pulled the plug on the TriOS plan. You can be sure they are looking for similar opportunities.

Your bargaining team is confident that this is the best deal that could be reached at the

In closing, a personal message

It has been an honour to serve as part of this year’s bargaining team and represent you, the members. Not just members here at Fanshawe but at all 24 colleges.

I can’t say enough about the quality of the people with whom I served on the team. Your team used creative thinking to reach solutions where almost no solutions existed.

We weren’t sure a settlement was possible, but through the member survey you asked us to try. And try we did, throwing everything including the kitchen sink at it. Through it all, the team managed to reach an agreement that we were prepared to recommend to the membership.

Bargaining is never easy but this round presented its own unique challenges. It is difficult to bargain with an entity that has a very different agenda. They’re coming from perspective that doesn’t recognize the legitimacy of the union and the collective action of our faculty members. Trust me from my experience, simply asking or demanding something at the table won’t achieve it!

It’s barely impossible to reach agreement under those circumstances. We didn’t give up. We didn’t quit.

There has been some criticism of the settlement from well-informed, experienced activists. I ask you to read the Memorandum of Settlement and reach your own conclusions.

It’s up to you now. You have the final say.

And no matter the outcome, I’m proud to have participated in the process this year.

bargaining table. The team recommends that it be accepted.

This is a democratic process. You get the final say. When you vote on September 23, ask yourself: is this three-year, tentative agreement acceptable? If not, are you prepared to take action including a strike that may or may not result in a better contract?

What You Can Do Going Forward

The process doesn’t end here. To be successful, bargaining is a process that needs to be ongoing.

To be successful, the union must adopt new strategies and develop new tools. The tentative agreement will work for us if we adapt and apply the new provisions effectively.

Here’s where you can help:

- Help us build an awareness of key issues among faculty, students, and the public
- Reinforce the importance of faculty decision-making in the classroom
- Point out that quality education requires sufficient time to make it happen
- Help us organize part-time faculty
- Know your rights and your resources within the union

- Use the tools in the Collective Agreement to get credit on your SWF for the work you do
- Tell management (as well as your union) when things aren’t working

Should the agreement be ratified, we will face another set of challenges three years from now. We must be ready.

As long as the colleges have the option of exploiting part-time and sessional faculty, we are all at risk. Full-time and partial-load faculty can bargain until they are blue in the face, but as long colleges have a less costly option available to them, the colleges won’t feel compelled to negotiate as seriously as they should. All faculty need to be organized by OPSEU so that we can all work together, as opposed to being pitted against each other. Only with union representation will part-time and sessional faculty achieve decent work conditions.

In Solidarity,

Darryl

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IN THIS ISSUE

Darryl has provided us his report and personal reflections on the bargaining process this year. At minimum, every faculty member at our college owes Darryl and his bargaining team colleagues a debt of thanks for the work they did on our behalf. At the best of times, bargaining is a grueling business rife with tensions and frustration, and these are not the best of times for academic unions. Standing up under pressure and keeping your cool while doing it is something Darryl does well. We are fortunate he was at the table. Some of our colleagues are disappointed in the settlement results, understandably. This is a settlement not a celebration. Darryl says this is the best deal the team could get, and I believe him. That does not mean I am happy about the settlement. I am not. The most I can muster is relief that we are not likely to have a punishing strike with no better, and quite possibly a worse, result. Making the best of a bad hand is harder work than winning with high cards. The union has been playing at a growing disadvantage for decades against an opponent committed to de-professionalizing college teaching by weakening unions, chiefly by hiring contingent workers. I will be voting to ratify, hoping that three years from now something will change. I recommend ratification, but I advocate a wake-up call for our colleagues if they care about the integrity of their profession as well as their job security. Teaching as a full-time career, as a public service calling, is being done to death by self-styled efficiency experts who know nothing about it and have no wish to learn. It may last our time, and this current settlement works toward that, but the full-time teacher in colleges is heading the way of the dodo unless there's renewed and resolute resistance. Where might that come from? Organizing part-time would be one step, and building solidarity between them and their full-time colleagues another. The long riot of social destruction turning protected professional workers into just-in-time disposable labor has to stop somewhere. This settlement is a tactical victory in the midst of a strategic crisis. Vote 'yes,' but start steeling yourself for challenges ahead.

We have a collective statement in this issue concerning the cancelled merger with TRIOS College and the college's recently approved downtown expansion to Kingsmill's. The TRIOS merger had nothing to recommend it, and we revisit it here only to reinforce condemnation of such ventures. Kingsmill's is more complicated. It may be a worthy project. We believe it might be, but it is funded in part by money drawn out of school operating budgets, and that is a serious concern. We invite President Devlin to build on his positive start at Fanshawe by including the union as a stakeholder in future college-wide decisions. The union stayed away from the political controversy surrounding Kingsmill's expansion as a gesture of good faith, but with the vote behind us, it's time to open the issue of re-directed funding and the damage it does to education and morale at the college.

Directly related to this issue of pulling funds out of operation budgets is Darryl's analysis of this year's Contribution to Overhead (CTO) report. The Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities (MTCU) expects schools to achieve an average return of 30% CTO to maintain operations. Many schools at the college wildly exceed this, but they are still pressed to contribute even more. Why? What is driving this resource drain? Notable this year is the shift of expenditure from academic functions to service areas. We have finally arrived at a point where we spend more on ancillary functions than we do on education.

Michael Boisvert, who recently won a national award for one of his articles in *The Educator*, writes in this issue about the International Workers of the World (IWW), also known as Wobblies. Those of you who are watching the excellent new Ken Burns PBS documentary about the Roosevelt family might find Boisvert's look at labor history especially interesting. The struggles and accomplishments of labor organizing, and the courage and endurance demonstrated in these efforts, is 'missing history' for many of us.

We also include my own reflections on the recent provincial election. Voter apathy and disengagement have reached levels that undermine the majoritarian foundations of legitimacy for democracy. We see it here at the college as well. The union is the only democratic voice we have, but too many of us neglect it. Professionals shoulder the responsibility of democratic participation in their workplace. Failing to do so means surrendering professional status, which is not only demeaning but dangerous. A sign among the picketers in the British Columbia teachers' strike said it perfectly, "A society of sheep creates a government of wolves."

Finally, Paul Evans has provided his traditional bios of new union officers introducing them to the membership and providing some human background.

Whitney

TRIOS, Kingsmill's, and the Function of *The Educator*

One function of *The Educator* is to explain the actions of the union to its membership. As a democratic organization, the union is obliged to serve its members' interests and communicate the reasons for its actions. Universities have faculty senates which have a role in institutional governance, but at Fanshawe, governance is a monopoly of administration. Administration has no obligation to consult faculty, and the faculty has no formal voice in the management or operation of the college. The union is the only democratic body at the college and cannot act unilaterally; administration can and does.

Unions must report to their members, but administration can communicate whatever and whenever it pleases unless compelled by the legal authority of a Freedom of Information (FOI) request, and even then it sometimes chooses to suppress or withhold information, as it has recently done in the case of college documents outlining the proposal to outsource our jobs and curriculum to TRIOS College. The documents have been provided, but many of them have been 'redacted,' a technical term meaning censored or altered. We now have the evidence of an ambitious 'contracting out' plan, but the persons who promoted it are unknown.

Our union is democratic; our administration is authoritarian. As a result, the union often operates in the dark. Union leadership seldom knows anything about administrative decisions in advance, and is placed in a reactive position when decisions are announced. For instance, the union was not included in the decision-making process for the proposed downtown Kingsmill's expansion until the day immediately prior to its presentation at city council. The union was included only at the last minute and asked to either support the plan or keep silent.

The union did not and does not oppose the Kingsmill's expansion. We recognize that it may be beneficial to the interests of our membership and the college community. We see exciting possibilities in the proposal, but the union also has the responsibility to consider the project in terms of its impact on institutional resources and educational operations overall.

The union agreed to keep silent about the proposal and made no public statement, despite having very serious concerns about how the

project was funded. Because the union could not determine the balance of its members' interests on such short notice, and out of respect for the college president, the union expressed no position.

However, the union does have a concern about the proposal, and now that the political storm is over, we are obliged to state it.

We know that a portion of the funding for the Kingsmill's project, 7.2 million dollars, derives from a 'capital reserve fund' created from 'surplus operational funding'. It may sound strange to those who are familiar with the college's budgetary culture to hear that management now has an operational surplus running into the millions. For decades, senior administrators have proclaimed an ongoing operational funding crisis as a justification for a number of draconian cuts to educational deliveries including hiring part-time instead of partial-load, partial-load instead of full-time, increasing class sizes, laying off support staff, and other damaging austerities. Budgeting at Fanshawe College is a process conducted in an atmosphere of inflamed anxiety around a narrative of impending disaster. Everyone knows this. The sky is always falling, and everyone is supposed to live in fear of cuts, layoffs, program withdrawals, and sundry intimidations. Now, after decades of this alarmist management-by-crisis, we emerge with a multi-million-dollar surplus!

Building projects are important, but funding these high-profile projects by squeezing operational resources damages the quality of educational deliveries, which are the ultimate justification for buildings in the first place. Budgeting that generates multi-million-dollar surpluses while pressing individual schools to squeeze blood from turnips is a serious concern, and the union questions and deplores this practice.

Finally, there are questions anyone would ask about the Kingsmill's project, and in a cooperative decision-making process, they would have been aired and answered as part of the process. Clearly, it is more expensive to restore a downtown heritage building than it is build a new facility onsite, and a new on-campus facility would be a shared benefit for all schools

and employees. What is the compelling justification for building downtown at greater cost? Does possible economic benefit for the downtown core contribute directly to the benefit of the college, its students and employees? What are the long range effects of this decentralization of campus? How will support services and service courses be delivered? These are questions any employee of the college might ask. The union would certainly have asked them as a stakeholder in the decision-making process.

In future, we invite administration to include the union as a representative stakeholder in its deliberations concerning projects affecting the college community. So far, this has not happened. Misperceptions to the contrary, the union does not wish to be reactive. The union, in seeking to serve its members' interests, welcomes opportunities to support administration in making Fanshawe College a reputable and successful enterprise. Union and administration necessarily represent sometimes opposed interests, but this opposition can sometimes be minimized, and in some areas, we have manifest common cause. Peter Devlin and Gary Lima have introduced a more positive tone to administration at the college. The union recognizes and welcomes this. We invite them to take the next step and include the union as an active stakeholder in deliberations concerning projects of scale involving the college community. The union demonstrated its good faith by avoiding the public controversy surrounding the Kingsmill's project. Now that the project is underway, we hope the president recognizes our restraint as an opening for a more cooperative and consultative relationship.

A new relationship is possible. The union represents democracy at the college and is proud to serve its membership. Professionals should always have some democratic participation in the management of their work and the development of their workplace. We hope management will also begin to democratize decision-making where it can. If it does, it will repair a damaged relationship with faculty and build a stronger college. The secretiveness and authoritarianism of the past weakened us. We look to the president to chart a new course.

CTO's Greatest Hits - Darryl Bedford

March 31 2014 has just passed, marking the end of Fanshawe Colleges's fiscal year. And the numbers are in.

An important measure when considering the fiscal performance of a non-profit institution is Contribution to Overhead (CTO). The formula for calculating CTO is:

$$(\text{revenue} - \text{cost}) / \text{revenue} = \text{CTO}$$

Overhead includes things such as the President's office, the Ombuds office, student awards, financial services, the residences, marketing, communications, facilities, security, human resources, IT services, athletics, and more. Fanshawe has buried some administrative costs (Deans, Chairs, Program Managers, et al) inside the academic costs so that in some cases it is difficult to determine the true overhead.

The CTO for London Campus is 39.3% What that means is that out of every student (or government) dollar, just over 39 cents goes into overhead. For the entire college, all

campuses and all operations, the CTO is 37.3%.

You'll notice that some programs have CTO numbers much higher than that. For example, Human Services Foundation is 70%. All schools have positive CTO, that is, no academic school in the college loses money. Not one.

To put this in comparison, other government ministries such as social services expect 20% CTO. The Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities expects 30%. In the early 90's, Fanshawe had about 18% CTO.

What can we take away from this? *Fanshawe's academic departments have strong, if not outstanding, fiscal performance.*

This strong performance has allowed Fanshawe to transfer operating surpluses to a capital reserve fund. From 2006 to 2008, Fanshawe transferred \$6 million from the

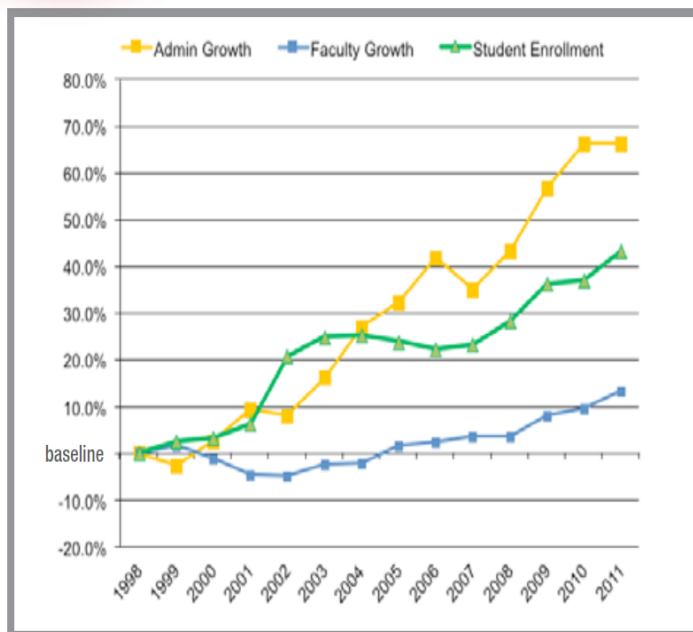
operating budget to capital. After further transfers and expenditures, the capital reserve fund sits at \$6.2 million (as of March 31). To complete the Kingsmill's project, Fanshawe will need to transfer at least \$1 million from operating to capital.

Funding may not be at the level where it should be; however, the college does have money. The pressing question should be **how the money is spent**. This is not a new problem; it has existed since the Ontario government attempted to put operating funds back into the college system in response to the Rae Report (*Ontario: A Leader in Learning*). From 1998-2011 we saw rapid growth in student enrollment and the hiring of administrators.

I was asked, "We've seen this before but what can we do about it?" I can tell you having met with the current and previous Ministers, the government does seem to be interested in the CTO situation. We know the province's funding formula will change soon: will it help with this problem?



Changes in full-time college professors, full-time student enrollment, and administrative staff at Fanshawe College 1998-2011



Fanshawe College Figures

How did your School do?	FY 2012-13	FY 2013-14
Business	49.9%	47.1%
Tourism and Hospitality	39.3%	37.1%
Information Technology	50.3%	51.0%
Contemporary Media	45%	44.6%
Design	31.2%	27.0%
Language and Liberal Studies	39% (53.2% excluding Service/Gen Ed)	37.0% (52.7% excluding Service/Gen Ed)
Health Sciences	47.8%	47%
Human Services	55.7%	58.2%
Nursing	43.8%	47.3%
Building Technology	45.8%	46.2%
Applied Science	34%	33.0%
Transportation Technology	21.3%	29.1%
Continuing Education	28.7%	25.8%
Regional Campuses	20.8%	16.6%

The Industrial Workers of the World – Michael Boisvert



On Sunday November 5, 1916 two steamers holding a total of about 300 passengers arrived at the port of Everett, Washington. Two hundred armed, hastily deputized citizens stood at the dock, determined to prevent them from landing. The town's sheriff shouted to the first ship to reach port, "Who is your leader?" Someone shouted back, "We are all leaders!" The Sheriff told them they were forbidden from landing and a gunshot was fired from the dock. For the next several minutes, gunfire rang out from both sides. When it stopped, a dozen passengers were shot dead and several dozen more were wounded. Two deputies were killed and 20 injured.

Who were these passengers, and why were city officials so determined to stop them? They were "Wobblies" – members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) - and they had come to speak in the streets in support of striking shingle-weavers and to champion a new mode of industrial unionism, the "One Big Union". Often portrayed by media as a cast of violent union fanatics, the IWW offered workers an approach to organizing based on principles of inclusion, solidarity, and nonviolence, whose underlying philosophies were rooted in various strands of socialism, including communism and anarchism.

Genesis of the IWW

In the early 20th century, a confluence of factors made life difficult for workers,

whether unionized or not: the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the dominant umbrella group for trade unions at the time, were conservative in their approach, and were uninterested in organizing immigrant workers of diverse nationalities. Despite the massive influx of workers from other countries, unions were organized as trade (or "craft") outfits, with workers organized according to their skill, and employers often pitted one craft union against another in disputes. Power was increasingly being concentrated in state and private bureaucracies, who often worked in cahoots, and the expansion of technology in production weakened the position of workers with specialized skills, with the result that skilled workers were becoming expendable, replaced increasingly by unskilled, usually foreign workers.

In June, 1905 delegates from 43 labor organizations (including some from Canada) representing 150,000 workers met in Chicago to form a new workers' organization that would unite all workers, regardless of craft, gender, race, or nationality into a single industrial union. This union would be named the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) or 'Wobblies'.

The Wobblies saw the division of working people into unions based on craft as a fundamental flaw of the AFL system of organizing labor. This approach was seen as fostering divisions among working people, as employers pitted one group against another, and as reducing solidarity across workers, as unions often worked competitively against each other. Better, thought the IWW founders, "to organize workers in such a way that all the members of the organization in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making the injury to one the injury to all". Thus, the 'general strike' was to be a central tactic for the organization. But the general strike was not simply envisioned as a tool to force concessions from employers in this or that dispute. General strikes were, in essence,

training exercises en route to a bigger prize. William "Big Bill" Haywood, the chair of the IWW, explain this at a founding conference:

"We are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working class movement that shall have for its purpose the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism...The aims and objects of this organization should be to put the working class In control of the machinery of production and distribution, without regard to capitalist masters." The abolition of the wage system, worker control over the instruments of production and an equitable share in profits was not to be won by storming the factories or the logging camps in a violent rebellion, but rather by bringing the economic system to its knees in a massive, potentially global, action wherein workers simply stopped working.

The historian Howard Zinn notes that during this period there was an appetite among many poor working people for a new system, a new set of rules as it were, that would see the country's resources shared cooperatively among the people, rather than concentrated in the hands of powerful corporations. The Wobblies' ideas thus had resonance with many workers in the U.S. and elsewhere.

This new system of social organization was not really new, of course. The founders borrowed heavily from the ideas of anarchism, particularly *anarcho-syndicalism*. The IWW aspired to this new system, offered a tactic to achieve it, but offered no plan to manage or maintain it. Unsurprisingly, this provided a convenient point of attack for those threatened by the possibility of a new socio-economic order. With no state or corporate authority to control workers, the result would be, well, anarchy! Surely known to the IWW founders, however, were the writings of several European anarchists (notably, James Guillaume who in 1876 published a surprisingly detailed blueprint for the initiation and management of syndicalism). Moreover, some communities practiced

forms of syndicalism during the Spanish Revolution of the 1930s. So, examples were available for how such a system might be run by workers.

Early History of the IWW

Over its first 10 years, the IWW undertook a number of direct actions across a range of sectors, including textiles, mining, logging, agriculture, hospitality, automotive, and construction. In Canada, the IWW led a strike to shut down construction of the Canadian Northern Railway in British Columbia; forced Vancouver to repeal a ban of public street meetings; and established the Edmonton Unemployed League that sought, and won, work opportunities and meal vouchers for homeless citizens.

Several historic actions, often involving brutal violence directed at strikers, occurred in the U.S. during the early history of the IWW. Workers in the textile mills of Lawrence, Massachusetts launched a strike that would gain national attention for the brutality directed at workers. At the time, textile workers were comprised largely of immigrants and teenaged girls; they worked 56 hour weeks, earning an average weekly wage of \$8.76. The work was dangerous: roughly a third of all mill workers did not live past 25. Workers lived in crowded, dilapidated apartments subsisting mainly on bread. A new law would come into effect in 1912 that reduced the workweek to 54 hours, but many workers feared that employers would respond with a proportional reduction in wages. Their fears were realized. Upon discovering the drop in pay, workers at one mill stopped their looms and walked out. The next day, workers at another mill quit work. The IWW quickly moved in to organize a strike that grew in scale until within one week 25,000 mill workers had been mobilized. Workers demanded a 15% wage increase, extra pay for overtime, and no reprisals against striking workers. State and corporate authorities responded by bringing in local militia and state police to patrol the streets. Riots ensued, a striker was shot and killed by police, another was bayoneted to death, martial law was

declared. As the strike dragged on, supplies dwindled and children of striking families were starving. It was decided to send the children of the striking workers to live with supporters in other cities. Some went to New York, others to Vermont. With the children cared for, strikers could stay out on picket lines longer. City officials responded by having police detain children and arrest parents for child neglect. A melee resulted when police detained a group of children leaving for Philadelphia, during which witnesses observed police dragging women and children through the streets, clubbing them as they went. This sparked both local and national outcries and resulted in a federal investigation. One week later, mill owners raised wages and agreed to most other demands.

In the Everett massacre described earlier, hordes of armed deputies unloaded a storm of gunfire upon Wobblies. These men and women had come to Everett to stand in the streets and promote the cause of striking shingle weavers. The city of Everett had earlier made it illegal to hold street meetings. The IWW devised a cunning strategy to end the ban: they sent one Wobbly up to speak, and when he was pulled down and arrested another Wobbly popped up, only to be replaced by another after that, and so on, as if some proselytizing hydra had occupied a street corner. Jails were filled beyond capacity, and as it became too expensive to keep them there, the ban was struck down.

The IWW under Attack and in Decline

The IWW threatened state and corporate power, and the consequences were often brutal. Hundreds of IWW members were arrested for involvement in strikes or other actions; several prominent Wobblies, including Big Bill Haywood were charged with murder or attempted murder, almost always, according to historians, on dubious evidence, or in contradiction to eyewitness accounts; Joe Hill, the Wobblies leading graphic illustrator and song writer was charged and executed for the murder of a former policeman in Utah (with no direct evidence connecting him to the crime).

The most serious challenge to the IWW, however, was triggered by the IWW response to World War I. In 1916, the organization passed a resolution against the war arguing that it was nothing more than a conflict among capitalists for increased wealth, one that was being fought with the bodies of the working poor. Using the Espionage Act of 1917, the U.S. Department of Justice took these statements as a chance to crush the IWW; they raided many IWW meeting halls across the country, seizing publications, meeting minutes, and mailing lists. Based on these seizures more than 150 Wobblies were indicted for espionage. Haywood, facing a prison sentence fled to Russia where he remained until his death. The IWW had managed to garner public support during several labor actions, but now were easily cast as traitors to their country who sought to undermine the war effort. Several prominent Wobblies were killed during this period, often at the hands of lynch mobs. Though the Canadian government's response was less aggressive than that of the U.S., they did pass a law in 1918 declaring the IWW an unlawful organization, with a penalty for membership set at maximum 5 years in prison.

Further raids occurred during the postwar period, causing a decline in membership and further strain on the organization. Then in 1924, a rift occurred among members along ideological lines. Some members, inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, proposed that the organization align itself with the U.S. Communist Party (USCP). A central tenet of the IWW has been direct action over political action, however, and when it was clear the organization would not officially pledge allegiance with the USCP, many members left the organization. The members that remained were largely those with anarchist leanings. In the years that followed, the IWW continued to launch actions, champion the cause of free speech, and sign up new members (including a campaign during the 1930s to organize unemployed workers). Though weakened considerably, they remained on the radar of the U.S. government, and in 1949 the IWW

was placed on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. The organization itself describes its condition during the 1950s as "near extinction".

The IWW Today

The IWW never was fully exterminated and continues to operate in Africa, Asia, Europe, North and South America. In Canada, it has branches in Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Windsor, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Sherbrooke, and Fredericton. The direct actions the IWW are involved in now are of far smaller scale than in its heyday and the union remains largely unknown to the general public. Nevertheless, the organization does have well-known targets in its crosshairs. In 2004, the IWW organized a barista union at a Manhattan Starbucks demanding improvements in wages and consistency in work schedules. Since then, despite interventions of various sorts by the corporation, the IWW has organized

additional Starbucks in 10 North American cities (including Quebec City in 2009) as well as in South America. The website for the Windsor branch of the IWW is currently seeking Walmart workers interested in forming a union.

The IWW also surfaced recently in American electoral politics. Last month, the Washington Free Beacon ran a headline: "Montana Dems Replace Plagiarist with Socialist in Senate Race". The story describes Amanda Curtis, a member of the House of Representatives since 2012 and a current Democrat candidate for senate. Rep. Curtis it turns out is the wife of an IWW member, who has herself contributed pieces for the IWWs communiqué, *The Industrial Worker*.

Influence of the IWW

The IWW promoted a radical form of unionism, one that sought the end of capitalism and authoritative power

structures. They argued that a massive general strike of One Big Union would be the final lever to achieve these ends. From the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, in which One Big Union was formed that united women, minorities and immigrants from all industries in the fight for bargaining rights and improved working conditions, to the anti-capitalist, anti-authority philosophy of the Occupy Movement, in which a massive, global general strike was seen as the mechanism to bring capitalist economies to their knees and force an end to economic inequality, the IWW influence has reached farther than the specific actions it undertook. Crushed under the weight of state suppression and brutal violence directed at its members, the IWW has defied its opponents and survived for 110 years. The British writer Alfred Hayes seems to have described it aptly in his poem, "Joe Hill":

*I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night
Alive as you or me
Says I, "But Joe, you're ten years dead,"
"I never died", says he.*

Executive Profile: Mark Feltham: Chief Steward — Paul Evans

Mark decided to become Chief Steward of Local 110 because he thought it would be the best way to help Local 110 members. He wants to familiarize members with the collective agreement and SWFs and help them if they have any questions and concerns regarding them. Also, he wants to build up the position of steward around the college and make sure that each part of the college is represented. Finally, as a long term goal he would like to get younger members more involved with the union. Mark has had a history of involvement. At Western when he was a Graduate student he was the President of the Society of Graduate Students (SOGS). In 2012, he got involved with the union as a steward. Then, he joined the Workload Monitoring Group and eventually became the co-chair. This year he decided to take the further step of putting up his name for Chief Steward.

As Chief Steward, Mark is responsible for all the activities of the stewards and calls regular meetings with them. Also, he is the person to see if members have concerns about the collective agreement or their workload. In addition to this, he handles all grievances that members of Local 110 have. Finally, he has regular union executive meetings to attend and does other administrative duties such as looking after union recruitment forms and signing checks.

Mark was hired by the College in 2005. From 2007-2012 Mark was coordinator of the Writ program. In 2012 he returned to full-time teaching duties.

Mark says that one of the biggest challenges the union faces is supporting and providing advocacy for non-full time

Partial Load members. He points out that Fanshawe is a public institution which has to cope with less funding from the provincial government. Mark notes that we are living in a climate of austerity and the college has to do more with less. As a result, Local 110 members have heightened workloads. Finally, Mark says that the union has to work on member renewal. We have had a lot of retirements lately and many of those members were quite active in the union. The union needs to engage new members and get them interested in the union and its activities.

In his spare time Mark likes to build model ships. His particular interest is World War 2 battleships. We wish Mark the best of luck in his new duties as Chief Steward.

Failing Democracy — Whitney Hoth

Democracy is ailing in Ontario. Only 52 percent of the 9.2 million eligible voters bothered to cast a ballot in the last provincial election. Some commentators celebrated this modest increase over a record low of 49 percent in 2011, but given the stark choices in this recent election, 52 percent seems a woefully low turnout.

Voter participation rates have been falling steadily in Ontario since 1990 when 64 percent of the electorate swept the NDP into power for the first and (so far) last time. Since then, increasing numbers of citizens have opted out of the democratic process, at least in its most fundamental form, the right to vote. It's a predictable ritual now for academic and press pundits to lament and deplore the ongoing evidence of voter apathy and fatigue, but after all, does it really matter very much?

Look at it this way: the Liberals won 1.8 million of the 4.8 million ballots cast, or 38% of the popular vote. Add in the 4.5 million potential ballots of the 48% non-voters, and the Liberals won their four-year parliamentary majority with the active support of only 20% of eligible voters. Put another way, 80% of the people of Ontario either voted against the Liberals or expressed no preference. Throw in that Liberal support is overwhelmingly concentrated in just two urban areas in the province (Toronto and Ottawa), and you have a very narrow base for establishing democratic representation.

Majoritarianism, however attenuated or constrained, is a core principle of democracies, and we are nowhere near majority representation in Ontario. The winner-take-all or first-past-the-post system in Ontario has representation problems to begin with. Combined with massive and growing voter non-participation, our current process confronts fundamental legitimacy questions. Doubtless an electorate so disaffected as to neglect a right as fundamental as the franchise is not engaged enough to see how far we are drifting from viable democracy.

Did I say democracy is ailing in Ontario? At this point, it may be dying.

That's a big claim. After all, provincial and federal elections are not the only form of democratic participation. "All politics is local," as Tip O'Neil famously said, and people are directly involved in democratic action whenever they take part in community organizations, churches, unions, civil society associations, or municipal governments. The problem, alas, is that people are much less involved in these organizations now than they used to be.

Jefferson put it that men by their constitution were naturally divided into two parts – those who fear and distrust the people versus those who identify with the people and have confidence in them.

– John Ralston Saul

The American sociologist Robert D. Putnam achieved brief fame chronicling this collapse of local community participation in his book *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital* (2000). If anything, the trends he identified are more pronounced 15 years later. It was in local democratic organizations that people learned about the challenges and responsibilities of democracy, and they learned by active participation. Learning by doing helped reinforce their understanding of the importance of supporting democratic representation at higher levels through active voting and informed monitoring of political action and politicians.

We don't have to look far to find confirmation of Putnam's thesis. Every faculty member at Fanshawe College is a

member of the local union, and our local is small enough to allow direct participation at general meetings, but we often see very limited turnout. The union is a democratic organization answerable to its members, and its officers are obliged to consult and consider membership preferences, but members need to show up and participate to ensure that happens. Some do, but many do not. More do not than in any union of which I have been a member before. But that is not peculiar to Fanshawe College. It's a general phenomenon.

I lived once in a part of the world (South Texas) where church members were actively involved in both local and national government. Agree or disagree with their involvement, there was no doubt they took their democratic rights seriously and exercised them. One could see in their actions that they were motivated by a coherent faith. They lived it. This showed up in the workplace as well as in the general community. It may seem strange to some that we had confessed Christians active in the labor movement there, but we did. Labor organizing in Texas is not only difficult but dangerous. One evangelical member enjoyed telling us at difficult moments, "blessed are those who are persecuted for my sake." Well, that is probably too high a standard now and should be modified to "blessed are those who are *inconvenienced* for my sake." Even that might be asking too much. Democracy does require resilience and moral courage whatever their source. There has never been an overabundance of either, but the stocks of both are at record lows.

The roots of democracy are various and complicated. They took a long time to grow. They grew in secular ideas of reason and among parishioners in religious communities. They grew in small town cooperatives and big city unions. They were all grounded in an ideal of fundamental equality and the absolute value of each individual. Democratic

processes can be dull and boring: meetings, debates, more meetings, bargaining, voting, policy discussion.

Democracy is not about heroes and heroics. It's not about glamour and rock-stars, although politicians increasingly try to offer us this.

It's about each individual using his or her head to decide what is best among available options. People who complain that candidates don't excite or interest them are confused about what democracy is. Democracy is work not entertainment, and if democracy is failing it may be because we are failing democracy.

Thomas Jefferson said there were basically two fundamental attitudes toward democracy, and John Ralston Saul, our eloquent Canadian champion of democracy, has summarized Jefferson's view admirably: "Jefferson put it that men by their constitution were naturally divided into two parts – those who fear and distrust the people versus those who identify with the people and have confidence in them."

For years, I have forced myself to embrace the second attitude no matter what evidence supported the first. If it's an illusion, it's a generous one, and if the first is a truth, it's a mean-spirited truth beneath one's dignity. I hold out for democracy and

democratic participation. I recommend them to you.

The tendency to a solipsistic individualism encouraged by a pandering media has carried us a long way from the work of democracy. If we want to have a better community for ourselves and for everyone, we need to start working together and re-learning democracy. We can start by participating in the organizations to which we all belong, and we can vote, even if our vote is only a sober choice among unattractive alternatives. If need be, we will work with the choices we have until we can get better ones.

Executive Profile: Whitney Hoth: Secretary – Paul Evans

Whitney is the new secretary of Local 110. He is generally in charge of communications. He records minutes at all meetings of the local. Also, Whitney ensures that there is regular and timely communication with Local 110 members regarding union activities. Furthermore, he is responsible for writing and editing the union newsletter, *The Educator*. He participates in internal and external communications and meets with external labour and professional organizations such as the London Labour Council

Whitney decided to join the union executive and become secretary because he has faith in unions and would like to make a contribution to the union. According to Whitney, the union is in a good position to protect education in community colleges such as Fanshawe that are under threat in this age of austerity. He

emphasizes that the union is a democratic organization that belongs to all its members.

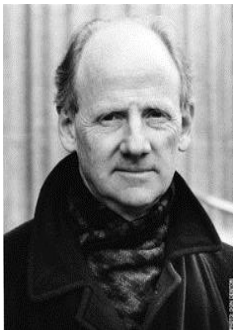
Whitney started at Fanshawe as a Partial Load teacher in 2003. He became full-time faculty in 2004. Then, he was General Education coordinator for two years. After that, he became Acting Chair of the School of Language and Liberal Studies in 2005 and then Chair of SLLS until 2010. During that time, he was the Chair of the Head of Languages for all the Community Colleges for three years. In 2010, Whitney returned to full-time faculty.

According to Whitney, the biggest challenge for Local 110 is to mobilize greater participation in the union. The union belongs to all members and fits and suits their needs. It is necessary and important for all members. He would like to encourage members to get involved with the

union by attending meetings, becoming active and submitting articles to the *Educator*. He would like to see more broad based participation in the union. He notes that there is a generation shift occurring in the union. A lot of older members who have been involved with the union are at or near retirement. His aim is to persuade younger members to get more involved with union activities and exercise their rights as members. The union is there to help and assist all members.

Whitney has been involved in union activities before. He was a union organizer in Texas, hardly the most union friendly environment. He was the organizer and founding president of the American Federation of Teachers local in Corpus Christi in the late 90s. Whitney is a dedicated father whose daughter is currently studying at the University of Dalhousie.

John Ralston Saul on Education – from *Voltaire's Bastards* (1992)



Our elites no longer believe it is possible to offer a general, universal education. Perhaps in Britain they never believed it, except in the most abstract way and in small idealist circles. In the United States,

this lumpen proletariat with each passing year. Everywhere one hears the elites saying to each other, in private: 'Well, of course, they are not educable.' There are endless statistics to confirm the already educated in their pessimism. Seventy-two million Americans are illiterate, the majority of them white. This doesn't include the functionally illiterate. Forty percent of children in public schools are from racial minorities. The whites who can afford to are slipping away into the private school system.

It is harder and harder to raise money to pay for public education, because more and more of those who pay the necessary taxes educate their children elsewhere. And the more expensive private education becomes, the more the middle classes resent being taxed for public education. They, after all, cannot really afford the private system. But they sense that education is becoming increasingly elitist. And to deprive their children of that kind of training is to deprive them of future opportunities as adults. To pay for schools and universities they must make enormous

large sections of the population were happily abandoned to illiteracy from the very beginning. Now new sections are added to

financial sacrifices. Thus the middle class, who were the heart and soul of the democratic, broadly based nation-state, are being converted into its enemies.

The decline of our school system reflects perfectly our general problems. The elites preach power, not participation. They preach control, not contribution. They preach gratification of the ego, not the unglamorous duty of service to a larger whole. In countries where most of the middle and upper classes send their children to private schools, the situation is even worse. Those who hold the bulk of the powerful places in government and industry, and who are responsible for the central administration of the education, know that whatever happens, it will not affect their

children. The education they create for other people's children – the children of less important people – cannot possibly be the same education they would insist upon for their own.

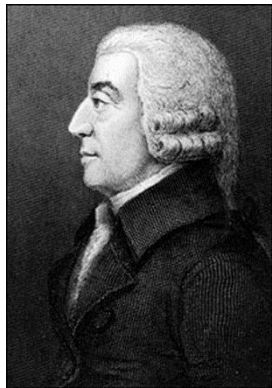
The elite technocrat has been actively – indeed, intensely – trained. But by any standard comprehensible within the tradition of Western civilization, he is virtually illiterate. One of the reasons that he is unable to recognize the necessary relationship between power and morality is that moral traditions are the product of civilization and he has little knowledge of his own civilization.

None of this is illiteracy as we normally understand it. Nor is it functional illiteracy.

Perhaps the term is *willful illiteracy*. It isn't surprising that the modern manager has difficulty leading steadily in a specific direction over a long period of time. He has no idea where we are or where we come from. What's more, he doesn't want to know, because that kind of knowledge hampers his kind of action.

Editor's Note: A telling instance of this willful illiteracy is any invocation of the word 'change' as if it were an argument in favor of an action. That 'change' is anything other than neutral in itself, and possibly negative in any given context, is knowledge within reach of even very ordinary understandings. If you hear it used this way, you know what to expect.

Adam Smith on Education from *The Wealth of Nations* (1776)



In the progress of the division of labour, the employment of the far greater part of those who live by labour, that is, of the great body of the people, comes to be confined to a few very simple

operations; frequently to one or two. But the understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations, of which the effects, too, are perhaps always the same, or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention, in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of such exertion, and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any rational conversation, but of conceiving any

generous, noble, or tender sentiment, and consequently of forming any just judgment concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the great and extensive interests of his country he is altogether incapable of judging; and [t]he uniformity of his stationary life naturally corrupts the courage of his mind. His dexterity at his own particular trade seems, in this manner, to be acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues. But in every improved and civilized society, this is the state into which the labouring poor, that is, the great body of the people, must necessarily fall, unless government takes some pains to prevent it.

The education of the common people requires, perhaps, in a civilized and commercial society, the attention of the public, more than that of people of some rank and fortune. They have, full time to acquire, or at least to fit themselves for afterwards acquiring, every accomplishment which can recommend them to the public esteem, or render them worthy of it. Their parents or guardians are generally sufficiently anxious that they should be so accomplished, and are in most cases, willing enough to lay out the expense which is necessary for that

purpose. The employments, too, in which people of some rank or fortune spend the greater part of their lives, are not, like those of the common people, simple and uniform. They are almost all of them extremely complicated, and such as exercise the head more than the hands. The understandings of those who are engaged in such employments, can seldom grow torpid for want of exercise. The employments of people of some rank and fortune, besides, are seldom such as harass them from morning to night. It is otherwise with the common people. They have little time to spare for education. Their parents can scarce afford to maintain them, even in infancy. As soon as they are able to work, they must apply to some trade, by which they can earn their subsistence. That trade, too, is generally so simple and uniform, as to give little exercise to the understanding; while, at the same time, their labour is both so constant and so severe, that it leaves them little leisure and less inclination to apply to, or even to think of anything else.

Editor's Note: Noam Chomsky has said that one of the most subversive acts anyone can commit is to read Adam Smith.

THE TENTATIVE AGREEMENT

What is in the Tentative Settlement?

There are salary increases effective September 1 for all faculty (Full-Time and Partial-Load):

- 2014: 1.2%
- 2015: 1.5%
- 2016: 1.8%

This is at or above comparable settlements since the election, with the “net-zero” budget position from the Liberal government.

There is also \$900 one-time pensionable payment applicable to all full-time faculty frozen at their max step on September 1, 2013.

Job Security

Partial-Load faculty will be eligible for priority in hiring faster. There is a reduction from 10 months to 8 months of service over past 4 years (1 month service = 2 months of 30 teaching contact hours or more).

Partial-Load faculty will be eligible as internal candidates for full-time positions for 4 months after the end of their contract (increased from 1 month).

Probation for new full-time faculty reduced from two years to **one** year active employment excluding leaves. The probationary period may be extended to one additional year provided college management provides a performance improvement plan including and notification to the Union Local. This is better than the current system where a faculty member can be let go just months before then two year probationary period is over with no warning at all. This new probation process also respects concerns from the membership survey about maintaining quality in hiring.

The employer added the concept of “economic viability” to Articles 2.02 and 2.03 A Staffing. The legal advice was that this did not add any disadvantage, given that these words already exist in Article 27 allowing the employer to layoff faculty for that reason.

For the length of the contract, no full-time faculty (past probation) can be laid off due to contracting out of work. This protects existing members from contracting out to private colleges

Also for the length of the contract, the union cannot file grievances to be filed Articles 2.02

and 2.03 A. Although the creation of new full-time positions cannot be argued through the grievance process, it does not affect existing staffing grievances. It continues to allow for grievances on the abuse of sessional positions or “failure to replace” vacated positions.

Academic Freedom

Commitment to commence discussions regarding intellectual property issues at the provincial Employee/Employer Relations Committee (EERC) within the year

Workload

The 6-section maximum which previously permission could not be unreasonably withheld has been removed. The number of course preps remain at 4 maximum with permission not being unreasonably withheld.

The Workload Monitoring Group (WMG) may now consider:

- Type of program including apprenticeship and degree
- Availability of technical support
- Requirements for alternate delivery (including online and hybrid)
- Changes to the length of the course

The 8-hour contact day **may** be exceeded only by voluntary **written** agreement on the part of the faculty member and notification of the Union Local

Modified Workload Agreements (MWA) are limited to one academic year, unless expressly renewed with faculty/union. Must be amended to reflect new any new collective agreement if it crosses over to a new contract.

Labour Relations

Five days to review SWF instead of three

SWF and **timetables** available to WMG

Member contact information updated with Local twice a year instead of once

In-Service Teacher Training Program to be discontinued after August 31, 2019. Faculty enrolled by this date will be able to complete the program. Names of those eligible to benefit from this program will be provided to the ISTTCP Committee and the Union Locals

The grievance process is streamlined with a single local “Grievance Meeting” instead of a

two-step process. Grievance arbitration hears will be with a single arbitrator by default unless a panel of three is requested.

Benefits

Comprehensive out-of-country travel insurance has been added with 100% coverage and a \$2M lifetime limit. This matches the benefits in the Support and Administration plans.

Private duty nursing capped at \$25,000 per year/per family member from unlimited coverage. This also matches the benefits in the Support and Administration plans.

Bereavement Leave: Brother-in-law and sister-in-law added to the list of family members where bereavement leave of absence (3 days) is given

Short Term Disability

Although there are no changes to sick leave, management called for a joint task force to study the sick leave plan and make joint recommendations by September 30, 2015. Any recommendations are non-binding, but may be considered next round by either party.