

THE HISTORY OF TEACHERS' UNIONS IN ONTARIO:
GAINING THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

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Introduction to Our Topic and Why We Chose It

The current conflicting views with regards to the *Putting Students First Act*, Bill 115, have created a turbulent educational, political climate within Ontario. As teaching federations (such as the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation and the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario) launch court action and as teachers express



Image 1: Teachers rallying at Queen's Park, August 2012

outrage through various work-to-rule resistance techniques, the Ontario Legislature faces scrutiny from many in teaching. Numerous union leaders and their constituents agree that the Bill has surpassed teachers' union collective bargaining rights and one political leader in particular, Andrea Horwarth, has proclaimed that the Bill is

“unconstitutional.”¹ Bill 115 is one of many pieces of legislation the Ontario government has adopted in relation to the education system over the past few decades and it is currently regarded by many in the teaching profession as a seizure of their rights.² In 1975 with the adoption of the *School Boards and Teachers Collective Negotiation Act*, Bill 100, teachers gained more rights within their profession as they fought to win the right to legally strike. Bill 100 laid the foundation for the proper processes and protocol that were to be followed by teachers' unions and the Ontario government when negotiating teacher rights. In particular, with the establishment of possible legal strike action, teachers gained more leverage when sitting at the bargaining table. The adoption

¹ Matthew Reid, “Teachers launch court action over Bill 115,” *CP24 Toronto's Breaking News*, October 11, 2012, accessed October 27, 2012, <http://www.cp24.com/news/teachers-launch-court-action-over-bill-115-1.991017>.

² Ibid.

of Bill 100 was a significant moment for teachers and teaching unions across Ontario; and although adopted more than 35 years ago, it continues to guide teachers in their actions within the education system.

Given the current political climate in Ontario, we decided to research the formation of teachers' unions province-wide with a particular focus on the 1970s and the passing of the *School Boards and Teachers Collective Negotiation Act*. Bill 100 was a monumental occasion for teachers as it is understood as the "birth of bargaining legislation" within the teaching profession.³ We plan to trace the role teachers' unions played in negotiations with the provincial government and outline the causes and consequences of 1970s legislation that significantly impacted teachers. We centralize our research around why Bill 100 came into effect and how the adoption of this Bill affected teachers across Ontario.

Guiding Our Research: Questions to be Answered

Main Question

- What is the history of teachers' unions in Ontario, and more specifically, what led to the 1975 Bill 100? What was the historical context, and what were the consequences and impact of the 1970s strike and Bill 100?

Sub-Questions

- When did teachers' unions develop? What was the historical context?
- What are some of the main issues teachers in Ontario have faced throughout the century that have led to labour reform?

³ Rod Albert, "The Battles, the Wars, the Victories: A History of Perseverance, Determination, and Leadership," *Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation*, November 1, 2009, accessed October 27, 2012, <http://www.osstfd20.ca/pdfs/The%20Battles,%20The%20Wars%20and%20the%20Victories.pdf>.

- What was occurring in schools and education that led to the adoption of Bill 100 in 1975? What were the consequences and impact of Bill 100 and how does this Bill relate to issues in education in 2012?

Our Thinking/Hypothesis

As the field of education grew in Ontario and became more formalized, teachers began to reconceptualise their profession and believe that they deserved basic worker rights. This reconceptualization led to the growing strength of teachers' unions in Ontario, as well as collaboration amongst teachers' unions.

A Short History of the Formation of Teachers' Unions

The first teachers' labour union to be formed was the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) in 1918.⁴ While a large motivation for the unionization of female educators at the time was displeasure over pay discrepancy, many of the individuals involved with the formation of FWTAO were also supporters or activists in the suffragette movement.⁵ Indeed, evidence of the suffragette influence would also be seen in the early years of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF) when in 1920, less than a year after their formation, the union passed a motion supporting equal pay for equal work.⁶

⁴ Barbara Richter, *It's Elementary: A brief history of Ontario's public elementary teachers and their federations*, 2006, 4.

⁵ Ibid, 4.

⁶ Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, "Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation," accessed November 5, 2012. <http://www.osstf.on.ca/Default.aspx?DN=4b54772f-2451-41f4-88ac-ec4d9d86c04f>.

The Ontario Public School Male Teachers' Federation (OPSMTF) was formed in 1920. While the union's organizers originally attempted to form a universal teachers' union, there was little interest from OSSTF and FWTAO members, leaving male public school teachers to form a union of their own.⁷

Membership in these unions was not without a degree of risk, however. Most teachers' unions were formed in the wake of the Winnipeg General Strike and while the battle for increased workers' rights was drawing ever-greater support from workers, employers were beginning to view, and label, unionizing actions as bolshevism.⁸ Many teachers faced frozen or reduced wages, and even dismissal for joining their respective unions.⁹ Fear of these financial repercussions led to a



Image 2: Winnipeg General Strike, July 21, 1919.

degree of secrecy in the formation of these unions.¹⁰ This fear was exacerbated in rural schools where communication and connection between teachers was thin. Lack of union support outside of cities made it more difficult for rural teachers to take the risk of joining a union. This fact, coupled with union membership being on a volunteer basis, gave teachers' unions a fairly rocky start. In 1935, the Ontario Teachers' Council was formed

⁷ Richter, *It's Elementary*, 4.

⁸ Larry French, "The struggle continues: a brief history of OSSTF's first 85 tumultuous years," *Education Forum*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (2004): 18.

⁹ Richter, *It's Elementary*, 4.

¹⁰ French, "The struggle continues," 18.

by OPSMTF, FWTAO, and OSSTF in order to more easily pay their fees due to the Canadian Teachers' Federation, which had formed in 1920.¹¹

1944 was perhaps one of the most significant years for teachers' unions in Ontario. It was the year that Ontario Premier George Drew created the *Teaching Profession Act*.¹² The *Act* created the Ontario Teachers' Federation, replacing the Ontario Teachers' Council and including L'association des enseignants francontariens (AEFO) and the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association (OECTA) as affiliates, gave "statutory recognition to the federations as professional organizations" and made membership in the unions mandatory for all Ontario teachers.¹³

Main Issues Facing Unions in the Decades, 1920-1970

Teachers' unions began to take form in Ontario in the early part of the twentieth century. The conclusion of the Great War in 1918 reminded teachers of the success of the nation when people joined together in an organized and co-operative movement, and teachers began to apply these ideas to the workplace.¹⁴ Although each of the three unions (FWTAO, OSSTF and OPSMTF) represented a different group of teachers, all were mostly concerned with issues of salary, security of tenure, and contracts.¹⁵ The creation of these teachers' unions was primarily for economic reasons; nonetheless, the founding

¹¹ Richter, *It's Elementary*, 4.

¹² Ibid, 7-8.

¹³ Ibid, 8.

¹⁴ John H. Hardy, *Teachers' Organizations in Ontario: an historical account of their past in Ontario educational development, and their influence on the teacher and teaching, 1840-1938* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1939), 43.

¹⁵ Ibid, 57-60.

members also desired the raising of teachers' status as a profession and the betterment of education throughout Ontario.¹⁶

As the twenties "roared" on, many fields of work saw an increase in salaries, often by as much as 100 to 300 percent. This increase paralleled that of the cost of living; however, it was not matched by teachers' salaries, which remained stationary.¹⁷ In addition, while the FWTAO fought for higher pay for their female members, to the OPSMTF, "the value of the influence of men over boys in the senior classes of Public Schools and the justification of additional remuneration for men in view of their additional financial responsibilities were used as arguments to advance the claims of the men."¹⁸ As a result, salaries not only differed between teachers and other professions, but within the teaching field, based on divisions between elementary and secondary schools, as well as gender.

The advancement that the teachers' unions made in the 1920s came to a halt with the Stock Market Crash in October 1929. The economic downfall and period of Depression throughout the nation led to widespread unemployment and salary reductions. Throughout the 1930s teachers were seen as easy targets, some losing one-third or more of their annual income.¹⁹ Teachers' organizations faced criticism from citizens who were doubtful of the publicly-funded teachers' salaries. In addition, married, female teachers were encouraged to return to the household, and make room for other unemployed, qualified individuals. At the same time, jobless high school graduates went back to school to avoid the widespread unemployment, leading to an overcrowding in the school

¹⁶ Hardy, *Teachers' Organizations in Ontario*, 44.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁹ *A Submission to The Commission to Review the Collective Negotiation Process Between Teachers and School Boards* (Toronto: Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1980), 93.

system.²⁰ Similarly, unemployed individuals with a university degree turned to the teaching profession by completing one additional year at the Ontario College of Teachers or Normal School to get their teaching certificate.²¹ This led to a saturation of eligible teachers in the field, with no new jobs opening up during this tight economic time.

As the Second World War broke out in 1939, the unemployed found jobs in the war effort. Many men and women left the teaching profession to be a part of the armed forces or to fill the voids in the factories. As a result, a demand for teachers rose from this displacement, and married women were called back to the teaching field. Nonetheless, most women tended to seek work elsewhere because the salaries of teachers still remained low. As a result of the war, “[p]atriotism prevented teacher rebellion, but it would be many years before the profession recovered from the damage done by grossly inadequate salaries, the resulting teacher shortage, and the drastic lowering of standards in order to staff the schools.”²²



Image 3: Females in the Armed Forces during WWII.

After a change in government in 1943, George Drew recognized the teachers' organizations' need for a unified provincial body to represent teachers at a national level.²³ In addition, the teachers' unions had previously experienced difficulty in making a substantial impact when membership to the three Federations was voluntary; thus, a

²⁰ *Dear Teacher* (Toronto: Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, 1978), 22.

²¹ Hardy, *Teachers' Organizations in Ontario*, 134-135.

²² *Dear Teacher*, 24.

²³ Rosemarie Stasios, *The Ontario Teacher's Federation at Forty* (Toronto: Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1984), 6.

large majority of teachers in the province were not a part of any of the unions. In 1944, after much deliberation and discussion between Drew's government and the teachers' unions, the *Teaching Profession Act* was passed. Membership in the OTF and respective sub-Federations would be mandatory, and these five Federations would maintain their own autonomy.²⁴

Although the OTF approved the policy of equal pay for equal work in 1946, it was not until 1951, when the *Equal Pay Act* was passed by the government, that men and women were paid the same salary for equal qualifications and responsibilities. Nonetheless, even with this Act, teachers' salaries remained an issue for the unions. According to the FWTAO, the average weekly salary for teachers in 1946 was \$23.25; meanwhile, the average weekly salaries for truck drivers was \$26.40, brewery bottlers was \$30.58, bricklayers was \$40.80, and plasterers was \$46.64.²⁵

The low salaries did not appeal to the masses, and as a result, the teaching profession had a major personnel shortage. Furthermore, the post-war baby boom led to an overcrowding of students in schools in the 1950s. This, combined with an insufficient supply of teachers, resulted in lower standards and the employment of unqualified teachers. The experienced teachers and their unions protested against the low hiring standards, yet their cries were largely unheard by the government. It was not until 1957, following the Russian's launch of Sputnik, that the western world began to look towards and blame their education system for what they perceived as 'falling behind' the Eastern Bloc. "The crowded classrooms, the inadequately prepared teachers, the shameful

²⁴ *We The Teachers of Ontario* (Toronto: Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1980), 39.

²⁵ *Dear Teacher*, 27.

salaries, the tired curriculum – all the matters which teachers had complained about for years – were suddenly the focus of national attention.”²⁶

Although a new decade began, the same issues continued to exist in the 1960s – teachers’ unions were still battling for “higher salaries, higher standards, and higher

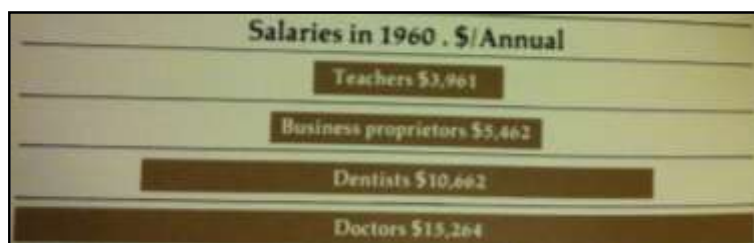


Image 4: Teachers’ annual salaries still remained significantly below other professionals in 1960.

status.”²⁷ The increased student enrollment that resulted from the baby boom continued, and the government finally began to

spend money on schools by building larger institutions to house the students. In addition, the curriculum became a topic of discussion, and the OTF played an influential role in its reformation, by generating and promoting new ideas within related government committees, projects, and meetings.²⁸ One of the major catalysts to change curricula and the approach to teaching was the Hall-Dennis report (published as *Living and Learning*), which steered schools in a new direction. The approach presented in this report was described as a “child-centred continuous program of learning by discovery, which would bring the child to realization of his full potential.”²⁹ Concurrently, at the forefront of the teachers’ unions’ concerns was superannuation and the creation of the Canadian Pension Plan (CPP). The unions wondered how the CPP would affect their current teachers’ fund.

²⁶ *Dear Teacher*, 32.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 40.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 30.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 39.

In the end, the percentage of salaries being contributed to the pensions remained the same, and teachers received better pensions in the long run.³⁰

The teacher shortage finally came to an end in 1969 when, for the first time in thirty years, some graduates of teacher's colleges were not able to find work. In the decade that followed, the previous shortage of teachers developed into a teacher surplus: "The economic upheaval caused by the oil crisis of the mid 70's had its effect on Canada at a time when the population "bulge" of the baby boom era was about to reach the work force. One of the professions most affected by these two conditions was teaching."³¹ These conditions contributed to the shrinking of the job market and disproportionate number of graduates, forcing the OTF to create new policies to protect its existing members from unfair hiring and firing procedures. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Education played a minimal role in reacting to the large pool of qualified teacher candidates.³²

In the midst of the multitude of societal issues that characterized the 1970s, the public began to look at schools critically and expect them to solve all of society's

problems. To deal with the surplus of teachers, married female teachers were once again pressured

to leave their jobs,

hoping to resolve the issue of too many unemployed teachers. It was at this point that the teachers' unions adopted a more militant approach to bargaining. This change was "an

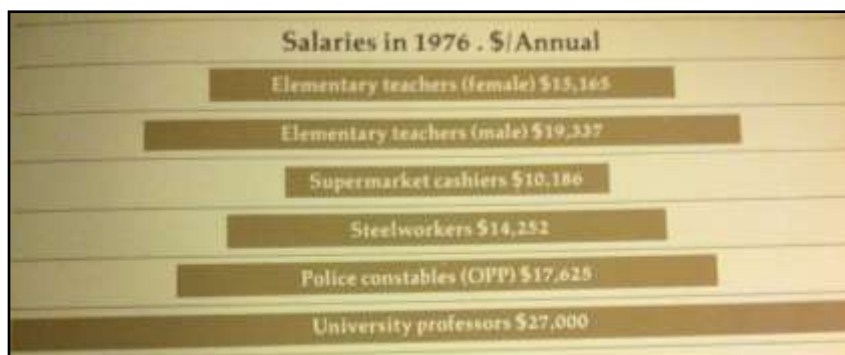


Image 5: Teachers' annual salaries varied depending on gender; nonetheless, salaries saw a natural increase in 1976.

³⁰ Stasios, *The Ontario Teacher's Federation at Forty*, 40.

³¹ Ibid, 42.

³² Ibid, 36.

expression of teacher frustration about lack of consultation even on matters in which they were experts.”³³ A lot of change had occurred in the field of education over the past few decades; nonetheless, decisions on these issues had been made with little input from the teachers and their unions. It was at this stage where the turning point in the ways that teachers’ unions engaged in educational politics emerged.

Turning Point in Teachers’ Unions (the 1970s)

Before 1975: Leading Up to Bill 100

The 1960s and early 1970s were a period of social unrest and protest. Across the globe, and especially in Canada, concerns about the environment, the war in Vietnam, and women’s rights (characterized by second-wave feminism) brought men and women to the streets.³⁴ Though burgeoning culture of dissent existed, the same could not be said for the teachers’ unions and federations in Canada. Canada was the first country to insist that every teacher become part of a teachers’ association as an integral part of their right to teach in the public sector.³⁵ As late as 1964, the popular image of a schoolteacher as a moral authority in a one-room schoolhouse meant that unaggressive strikes – such as moral pressure on key authorities and mid-year resignations – were the only avenues for

³³ *Dear Teacher*, 47.

³⁴ Don Sellar, ed., *In Our Opinion: More than 100 Years of Canadian Newspaper Editorials* (Markham: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 2006), 200-202; Barbara Richter, *It’s Elementary: A Brief History of Ontario’s Public Elementary Teachers and their Federations: Part 2: Early 1800s to 1944*. Pamphlet. From *etfo voice*, December 2006, <http://www.etfo.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments/About%20ETFO%20Documents/ETFO%20History%20Documents/history-pt3.pdf>, 5-6.

³⁵ Anthony Burton, *The Horn and the Beanstalk: Problems and Possibilities in Canadian Education*, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehard and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1972), 25.

teachers to assert their rights.³⁶ Newspaper editorials from the time confirm that labour upsets, especially among teachers, were extremely uncommon before the 1980s.³⁷

Teachers' unions before 1973 were characterized, therefore, by non-militancy and steady increases in membership. Essayist and critical thinker in education, J.M. Paton, pointed out in an OSSTF newsletter in 1942 that despite a growth in numbers since its inception, for the union to best fight for teachers' rights, a reorganization of the society and a strengthening of the core was necessary.³⁸ This became increasingly pertinent as educational reform became a hot-ticket issue in the late 1960s; looking towards radical models such as communist China, the last one-room schoolhouse in Ontario closed in 1969, and Ontario amalgamated administration into regional school boards, severely reducing the number of employers teachers had to report to. This meant that bargaining could occur on a much larger scale and union organization was that much more possible and increasingly important.³⁹

The generally favourable economic climate of the 1960s, combined with the enormous influx of youth after the Second World War, led to an explosion in school populations.⁴⁰ In 1951, 66% of Canadian children of school age were in school; this number had approached 90% by the 1970s. Canada spent 7.5 billion dollars on education in the 1970-1971 school year, five times as much as in 1961.⁴¹ As the new 'factory'

³⁶ J.M. Paton, "The Quest for Corporate Status," in *Concern and Competence in Canadian Education: Essays by J.M. Paton*, ed. D.A. MacIver (Toronto: The Governing Council of the University of Toronto, 1973): 111; Andy Hanson, "Achieving the Right to Strike: Ontario Teachers' Unions and Professionalist Ideology," *Just Labour: A Canadian Journal of Work and Society* Vol. 14 (Autumn 2009): 117.

³⁷ The first general strike by schoolteachers in New Brunswick was not until 1981. Sellar, *In Our Opinion*, 162-163.

³⁸ J.M. Paton, "The Future Begins Today," in *Concern and Competence in Canadian Education: Essays by J.M. Paton*, ed. D.A. MacIver (Toronto: The Governing Council of the University of Toronto, 1973): 100-102.

³⁹ Burton, *The Horn and the Beanstalk*, 11; Richter, *It's Elementary (Part 2)*, 5-6.

⁴⁰ Sellar, *In Our Opinion*, 7-10.

⁴¹ Burton, *The Horn and the Beanstalk*, 2; Burton, *The Horn and the Beanstalk*, 24-25.

schools in Ontario (named for their general size and shape, rather than their attitudes towards learning) swelled in size, a worry emerged that teachers should be reconceptualised as workers – workers who should follow some sort of company policy and, more importantly, be subject to the same legal protections and regulations as those under the *Ontario Labour Relations Act*.⁴²

The reconfiguring of conventional schooling, turning the old schoolhouses into massive buildings where the teacher became a parent surrogate (and attendance became compulsory), was incredibly costly, despite the strong economy. New curricula integrating social changes (such as environmentalism and women's rights) were brought in without sufficient training; positions were cut, and class sizes increased.⁴³ Though the original reaction had been to increase in-service training and professionalism, Ontario teachers began drawing on the model of Britain and the US, whose battles for teacher unionism had been won by the end of the 1940s.⁴⁴ Faced with increased pressure from teachers, school boards rejected their claims, believing it was the job of school administrators to handle labour disputes; after a period of intense inflation, a provincial inquiry commenced, leading to a 1972 report by the Reville Committee, called the “Revised Report” by teachers for its callous attitudes towards teachers’ salaries and benefits. The passing of power to school boards, coupled with the freezing of wages of government employees (including teachers) pushed the traditionally anti-strike OSSTF to change its attitude, and teacher militancy threatened to boil over.⁴⁵

⁴² Burton, *The Horn and the Beanstalk*, 2-3; Hanson, “Achieving the Right to Strike,” 121-122.

⁴³ Burton, *The Horn and the Beanstalk*, 29; Richter, *It's Elementary (Part 2)*, 6-7.

⁴⁴ Richter, *It's Elementary (Part 2)*, 2; Hanson, “Achieving the Right to Strike,” 120.

⁴⁵ Richter, *It's Elementary (Part 2)*, 7; Hanson, “Achieving the Right to Strike,” 122

In the fall of 1973, having reached an impasse in negotiations, teachers from OECTA and OSSTF – still lacking the right to strike – submitted letters of resignation effective for December, exercising their right to mid-year resignations as a form of protest.⁴⁶ In response, the Davis Administration through Education Minister Tom Wells introduced Bill 274, which changed the effective date of mid-year resignations to August,



Image 6: Teachers across Ontario walked-out on October 18, 1973 to protest Bill 274 and Bill 275.

and Bill 275, which mandated compulsory arbitration without the right to strike.⁴⁷ No longer non-militant, on the 18th of December teachers all over Ontario walked out in a massive one-day strike that included not only schoolteachers, but nuns and

service staff as well. It was this and a general shift in popular thought with regards to teachers' rights that ultimately led to the government passing Bill 100, the *School Boards' and Teachers' Collective Negotiations Act*, which became law in July 1975. Teachers could now enforce their demands, and had won the right to legally strike.⁴⁸

Bill 100 was therefore the end result of over fifty years of social, political and economic changes to both the general climate of Canada and the teaching profession in particular. Finding their old methods of protest failing in the face of radical shifts in how education was conceptualized and unfolding, teachers turned initially to increased

⁴⁶ Richter, *It's Elementary (Part 2)*, 8

⁴⁷ Richter, *It's Elementary (Part 2)*, 7-8; Hanson, "Achieving the Right to Strike," 123.

⁴⁸ Hanson, "Achieving the Right to Strike," 124-125.

professionalism, and eventually to militancy, as a way of enunciating their demands. This would ultimately lead to them to obtaining the right to strike; this also explains why they have been so eager to hold on to it.

The Bill – 1975

Prior to 1975, teachers in Ontario did not have the right to legally strike. The passing of the *School Boards and Teachers Collective Negotiation Act*, Bill 100, in 1975 was a turning point for the teaching profession in Ontario. Bill 100 addressed many controversial issues related to teacher negotiations and collective bargaining and it also gave teachers the right to legally strike. However, the passing of Bill 100 was not an easy path for the teachers' unions; it was the mobilization of Ontario teachers and strong union leadership that paved the way for the passing of the Bill and future negotiations between teachers, teaching unions, school boards, and the Ministry of Education.

The preconditions for the passing of Bill 100, namely the conflicts that arose from



Bill 274 and Bill 275, set the stage for the growing strength of teachers' unions as teachers mobilized across the province. Ontario teachers assembled to fight the legislation through rallies and protests and union leaders led the way in mobilizing teachers in hopes of favourable outcomes. Edna Parker, past

Image 7: Teachers rallying at Queen's Park in the 1970s

President of the Federation of Women Teachers'

Association of Ontario and a union branch leader at the time of Bill 274 and Bill 275, reflects on the Queen's Park teacher rally claiming:

We were all called to take the day off school and attend a rally at Queen's Park. I was petrified! I was president of our area at the time and I did not feel comfortable leaving school in a show of rebellion. But, [my husband] reminded me that as president I had a duty to lead the way... we were bussed to Toronto and attended a rally at Maple Leaf Gardens before marching on Queen's Park. It was quite a show!⁴⁹

According to Australian writer Andrew Spaul, union leadership is central to developing union strength.⁵⁰ Hanson claims that, “the struggles that led to the passage of Bill 100 were achieved as a result of pressure brought to bear by the mobilizing efforts of teachers’ union leaders.”⁵¹

Once Bill 274 died as a result of a massive teacher walkout in 1973, Bill Davis, Premier of Ontario at the time, agreed that a collective bargaining process should be created through negotiations with the Ontario Teachers Federation.⁵² The Davis government agreed to a new set of principles that were fundamental to bargaining:

- “That there would be no restrictions on the scope of bargaining;
- That the parties would be required to bargain in good faith;
- That there would be a right to strike by teachers and a right to lockout by school boards.”⁵³

For the next two years, the terms of Bill 100 would be negotiated with involvement from the Ministry, teachers’ unions, and school boards. When the Bill came to pass in July of 1975, it gave teachers the right to strike and it also allowed for the inclusion of working conditions in their collective agreements.⁵⁴ Teachers won “agreement on provisions covering such issues as class size, preparation and supervision time, length of the school

⁴⁹ Edna Parker, interviewed by Jennifer Parker, Midland, ON., (October 17, 2012).

⁵⁰ Hanson, “Achieving the Right to Strike,” 124.

⁵¹ Ibid, 124.

⁵² Ibid, 124.

⁵³ Albert, “The Battles, the Wars, the Victories.”

⁵⁴ Hanson, “Achieving the Right to Strike,” 124.

day, grievance procedures, just cause and human rights clauses, leave plans, and much more.”⁵⁵ According to Edna Parker:

We began to receive training in Collective Bargaining. We were being taught how to negotiate Collective Agreements. Our FWTAO hired staff to train us in the art of negotiating. We attended conferences and workshops. “FW” sent staff into the field to assist us right in our own backyard. These wonderful women would attend our planning meetings and help us draft our agreements as we prepared to meet with the Board. It was a whole new world. I must say I didn’t see this new thrust in collective bargaining as a threat to our professional development of past years, but rather viewed it as an extension of our empowerment.⁵⁶

For most teachers across Ontario the passing of Bill 100 was seen as a monumental historical occasion that resulted in success for teachers of the present and future; however, it is important to note that not all teachers believed that strike action was key to success in negotiations but that it was in taking away this right that left teachers feeling disempowered. This feeling ultimately led to conflict and disagreement that resulted in the teacher walkouts of the 1970s. Edna Parker comments:

I never felt strike action for a teacher was a good or viable way to carry on collective bargaining. But, to take away the right to strike seemed to be the wrong way to go. It created feelings of oppression among the teachers. It implied teachers could not be trusted to bargain in good faith. It gave unlimited power to some and no power to others. In collective bargaining the balance of power is between the employer (who holds the purse strings) and the employee (who holds the right to strike). When this balance is taken away the employee feels disenfranchised.

Until the passing of Bill 100, teachers’ futures and working conditions lay in the hands of the Ontario government as Ontario Premiers and the Ministry of Education attempted to control teachers’ rights within the teaching profession. According to Hanson, “After Bill 100, teachers had the right to name and enforce a variety of demands and no longer had to rely on moral suasion to convince recalcitrant boards of education of the rightness of their position.”⁵⁷

⁵⁵ B. Richter, “It’s Elementary: A brief history of Ontario’s public elementary teachers and their federation (Part 3: Early 1945 to 1980),” *Elementary Teachers’ Federation of Ontario*, February 2007, accessed October 28, 2012, <http://www.etfo.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments/About%20ETFO%20Documents/ETFO%20History%20Documents/history-pt3.pdf>.

⁵⁶ E. Parker, interviewed by Jennifer Parker, Midland, ON., (October 17, 2012).

⁵⁷ Hanson, “Achieving the Right to Strike,” 124.

The Immediate Aftermath: Consequences and Impacts of Bill 100

First and foremost, Bill 100 radically changed how teachers and teachers' unions bargained with their respective school boards. The four essential features of Bill 100 are:

- The bargaining structure and scope of bargaining;
- The formation of the Education Relations Commission (ERC);
- The negotiating process; and
- Jeopardy.⁵⁸

Bill 100 broadened the scope of bargaining by recognizing the relationships of issues such as class size, pupil-teacher ratios, cost of living, etc. with compensation. It also statutorily recognized teachers' unions making them legal entities, that allowed the agreements that unions had with school boards regarding salaries to possess legal status.⁵⁹

The Education Relations Commission was a governing body formed under Bill 100, and had five main duties:

- "Monitoring teacher-board negotiations;
- Appointing third party neutrals (e.g. factfinders and mediators);
- Conducting and supervising last-offer and strike votes;
- Advising the government whether work stoppages jeopardize students' education; and maintaining a comprehensive data bank on teacher-board collective agreements."⁶⁰

The major change to the negotiation process granted by Bill 100 was the teachers' legal right to strike. Jeopardy referred to the ERC's opinion on the status of a bargaining

⁵⁸ Joseph B. Rose, "The Assault on School Teacher Bargaining in Ontario," *Relations industrielles/Industrial Relations*, Vol. 57 No. 1 (2002): 102-103.

⁵⁹ "Bill 100," *OSSTF District 20*, November 1, 2009, accessed November 1, 2012. <http://www.osstfd20.ca/pdfs/Bill%20100.pdf>, 1.

⁶⁰ Rose, "The Assault," 103.

dispute. In order for teachers to be ordered back to work by the government, the ERC must determine that jeopardy exists (students' education at risk), and that the prognosis for a settlement is bleak. In this way, the ERC "acts as a buffer between the government and the collective bargaining process."⁶¹

The efficacy of Bill 100 is best assessed using two different measures: (1) looking at changes in base wages; and (2) the proportion of settlements achieved without strikes. During the period of time that Bill 100 was in effect (1975-1997),⁶² the base wage of a teacher saw marked improvement. This can be attributed to the changes made to collective bargaining and an increase in the GDP of Ontario in the late 1980s. Prior to Bill 100, increases in Ontario teachers' salaries lagged behind the growth of teachers' salaries in other provinces. After Bill 100 was instituted, salaries – especially at the low end of the grid – caught up and succeeded those of their national peers. Although collective bargaining was an instrumental part in wage increase during the late 1980s, the rise of the provincial GDP cannot be downplayed. It is also important to note that teacher wage increases were still below that of other public sector employees.⁶³

Although teachers gained the right to strike with Bill 100, very few negotiations proceeded to that point of bargaining. In fact, the percentage of negotiations that required a strike was lower than those of other education employees and private sector employees. This was even the case for other public sector employees who did not possess the legal right to strike. Furthermore, a much larger proportion of settlements reached an

⁶¹ Rose, "The Assault," 103.

⁶² Ibid, 108.

⁶³ Ibid, 109-111.

agreement in early bargaining stages, often preventing the need for a third-party in the negotiations. This low strike rate can be attributed the actions of the ERC.⁶⁴

Overall, Bill 100 was a success. During its implementation teachers in Ontario saw higher wages and better wage increases, and settlements were often reached before strike action was necessary. In hindsight, the most critical feature of the Bill was to provide teachers and their unions the legal right to strike. This right empowered them with a concrete legal footing during their collective bargaining negotiations, which helped to create the wage increases observed under the Bill. The right to strike was also a deterrent to radical propositions from the school board, leading to negotiations that reached agreements in early stages, resulting in a low strike rate.⁶⁵

In 1997, Bill 100 was repealed by the Harris government in favour of Bill 160. This was made in an effort to reduce public spending and cut education costs. Bill 160 restricted teacher bargaining, creating an increase in strikes and “protracted guerilla warfare at the school board level.”⁶⁶

Modern Connections: Relating to Contemporary Issues in 2012

Since 1975, teachers have had the right to protect themselves through collective action and if necessary, strike action. With the passing of the *Putting Students First Act*, Bill 115, in September 2012, the political climate has intensified and those rights have been restricted by tight government control. This control creates a very interesting parallel to pre-1975 when collective action was not an option for protesting teachers.

⁶⁴ Rose, “The Assault,” 111-113.

⁶⁵ Hanson, “Achieving the Right to Strike,” 125.

⁶⁶ Rose, “The Assault,” 100.

While we have an understanding of what has changed since 1975, it is important to understand recent events in collective bargaining that lead teachers' unions to where they are now.

All public teaching contracts were set to expire on August 31, 2012. The OSSTF's 2012 Annual Report emphasized communication and collective bargaining as being the keys to success in what were, at the time of publication, upcoming contract negotiations. Ken Coran, President of the OSSTF, stated even then that they would be bargaining in a "politically charged environment... of economic doom and gloom."⁶⁷ The current economic situation is of one of massive fiscal insecurity. Calls for financial restraint are everywhere and are intensified by the publication of a report in early 2012 by the Commission on the Reform of Ontario's Public Services entitled *Public Services for Ontarians: A Path to Sustainability and Excellence*. This report was known publicly as the Drummond Report. The general theme of the report was that the government needed to drastically reduce spending in order to prevent further recession and promote economic growth in Ontario. Some of the OSSTF's main concerns with the recommendations of the Drummond Report were as follows:

1. Raising class sizes not only makes classes bigger but also decreases the number of teaching positions needed, causing job loss and lack of jobs for new teachers.
2. Removal of seniority provisions allows administration to make employment decisions without considering seniority, making job loss for experienced teachers a very real concern, as they are also the most expensive teachers to employ.
3. The removal of the power of the Federation to determine a teacher's qualifications and experience also removes control of the salary grid from the Federation and

⁶⁷ OSSTF. *Annual Report 2012*. Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation. Toronto, 2012.

gives it to an outside body, making salary no longer a negotiable part of collective agreements.

4. The removal of retirement gratuities strips the collective agreements of many bargaining units across Ontario and opens the door for sick leave provisions to also be gotten rid of.⁶⁸

As a result of the Report, various teachers' unions went to bargain with the government directly at the Provincial Discussion Table (PDT), as opposed to with their individual school boards, in an effort by the government to ensure that "all local collective agreements are within the fiscal parameters set out in the budget."⁶⁹ When ETFO and OSSTF left the PDT in February of 2012, negotiations continued with local school boards, which the provincial government insisted went against their "strong preference."⁷⁰ As the government, unions, and school boards drew closer to the contract expiry date of August 31, 2012, Bill 115 was brought into legislature in late August.

Similar to the events of 1973, when Education Minister Tom Wells introduced Bills 274 and 275, Bill 115 gives the Education Minister the exclusive authority to prevent or end any strike and legislate new teacher contracts, effectively putting an end to teachers' unions' rights to collective bargaining. What had previously been issues involving contracts, negotiation had become one concerning primarily the right to negotiate and strike. By disallowing the right to strike, the government in both cases removed arguably the most effective collective bargaining tool that unions have. Bills 274 and 275 were not successful, and as aforementioned, ultimately lost out to Bill 100,

⁶⁸ OSSTF. "De-bunking Drummond: an Overview." *Ontario Secondary Schools Teachers' Federation*. February 24, 2012, accessed October 26, 2012.

⁶⁹ George Zegarac, "Letter from the Deputy Minister of Education to Directors of Boards of Education." *OSSTF*. April 11, 2012, accessed October 26, 2012. <http://www.osstf.on.ca/DMOE-letter-11-apr-2012>.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

which allowed teachers to strike. Much like Bill 160 did in 1997, Bill 115 has effectively further undone progress made by teachers' unions by legislating the teachers' contracts and allowing a single person, the Minister of Education, to have the ability to end a strike at any point, whether or not the Ontario legislature is in session. According to one union activist for the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario (ETFO):

This is no longer about contract negotiations. It's about the democratic right to negotiate our own contracts and take strike action if necessary. One person should not be allowed to single-handedly end any collective action with the added comfort that no one can legally challenge the legislation.⁷¹

The absence of the ability to legally challenge the legislation is in reference to Sections 14 and 15 of Bill 115. These sections disallow anybody to challenge the Act before any court of law or review, with specific reference to the Ontario Labour Relations Board, stating explicitly, "The Ontario Labour Relations Board shall not inquire into or make a decision on whether a provision of this Act... is constitutionally valid or is in conflict with the Human Rights Code."⁷²

In summary, teachers in 1975 were fighting for the right to use all of their collective bargaining tools to achieve suitable working conditions; the teachers in 2012 are now fighting for the same thing: the right to negotiate. The outcome of their struggle is yet to be known, but as Doug Little (MEd, OISE) states in a political panel interview on TVO's *The Agenda with Steve Paikin*, "No government that takes on the teachers this way survives."⁷³ Teachers are notoriously politically active, and in the last 20 years they have taken action to help remove power on the provincial level including: the NDP government (Premier Bob Rae), the Conservative government (Premier Mike Harris), and

⁷¹ Leslie Jolliffe, interviewed by Emilie Gauthier, Kingston, ON., (October 24, 2012).

⁷² Broten, Hon. Laurel C. "Bill 115, An Act to implement restraint measures in the education sector ." *Chapter 11 Statutes of Ontario, 2012*. Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 2012.

⁷³ Doug Little, interviewed by Steve Paikin. "Austerity and Ontario's Teachers." *The Agenda with Steve Paikin, TV Ontario*, (March 12, 2012).

now, they are currently attacking the Liberal government, from which Dalton McGuinty resigned as Leader and Premier of Ontario in October 2012. It is undeniable that in recent years teachers' unions have been extremely active and engaged, and only time will tell if they will continue on their path of success in the world of collective action.

Conclusion

As the teaching profession became more formalized, teachers began to see themselves as workers who deserved basic worker rights. Through persistent effort and unifying actions congruent with social, economic, and political changes, Ontario teachers became a unified political force unto themselves. This was demonstrated through job action in the 1970s which ultimately gave teachers the right to strike and forced the Ontario government to recognize teachers as a legitimate working profession entitled to its own rights and bargaining abilities. In light of recent political debates regarding the teaching profession in Ontario (i.e. Bill 115), it is necessary that those in positions to effect change recognize the strong history of worker mentality of teachers throughout. It is teachers' connections with the past that will ultimately allow them to inspire their future.

Annotated Bibliography

**Albert, Rod. "The Battles, the Wars, the Victories: A History of Perseverance, Determination, and Leadership." *Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation*, November 1, 2009. Accessed October 27, 2012.
<http://www.osstfd20.ca/pdfs/The%20Battles,%20The%20Wars%20and%20the%20Victories.pdf>.**

This OSSTF document, written by the former President of the OSSTF/FEESO from 1985-1988, outlines a brief history of the major strike events in Ontario education history. The article begins by mentioning details of the 1997 strike and relates the strike of 1997 to the birth of collective bargaining in education, which occurred throughout the 1970s. This article provides a perspective from a former member of the OSSTF and maintains the importance of the OSSTF as a centralizing federation during the 1970s negotiations.

A Submission to The Commission to Review the Collective Negotiation Process Between Teachers and School Boards. Toronto: Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1980.

This book is a detailed submission from the Ontario Teachers' Federation to the Review Commission, following the passing of Bill 100. Consisting of seven main sections, this submission includes an introduction to the climate of negotiations, experiences since the passing of the Bill, and recommendations for revision. This book represents the collective bargaining that the OTF engaged in, and acts as a primary source for the negotiation process that existed leading up to, and following, the Bill.

**"Bill 100." *OSSTF District 20*. November 1, 2009. Accessed November 1, 2012.
<http://www.osstfd20.ca/pdfs/Bill%20100.pdf>.**

This paper details events relevant to teachers' unions and negotiations with the government in the decades leading up to the passing of Bill 100. In addition, it outlines the components of Bill 100, including the process of collective bargaining and the new negotiation initiatives that the Bill set in place. Overall, this paper puts Bill 100 in context, outlining the factors that lead to the passing of this legislation, and the processes that were carried out following it.

Broten, Hon. Laurel C. "Bill 115, An Act to implement restraint measures in the education sector ." *Chapter 11 Statutes of Ontario, 2012*. Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 2012.

This Bill, passed in September of 2012 legislates teachers' contracts in order to ensure contracts adhere to the strict financial restrictions recommended by the Drummond Report. In actuality, it restricts the bargaining rights of teachers unions who had not signed new contracts as of August 31, 2012. It furthermore protects itself by including sections banning outside organizations from judging the constitutionality of the bill.

Reading the bill in its entirety provided a clear vision of what teachers are currently attempting to counteract in their negotiations.

Burton, Anthony. *The Horn and the Beanstalk: Problems and Possibilities in Canadian Education*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehard and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1972.

This book, written by a Faculty of Education member at the University of Manitoba, looks first outward and then inward to tackle the issue of education reform in Canada. It exemplifies the spirit of reform found in education in the early 1970s, by drawing a multitude of economic and social issues into the fold. Burton's revolutionary spirit, however, deals mainly with the institutional level, and not with the attitudes of teachers themselves.

***Dear Teacher*. Toronto: Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, 1978.**

This book provides a decadal discussion of education and society in Ontario from the 1900s to the 1970s. Published by the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, the book records what the world was like and how teachers fit into it. The issues that faced the teachers (particularly female) in the early years are compared and contrasted to the later decades. This book provides an interesting perspective on the issues that faced teachers and their unions within the ever-changing Ontario education system and society.

**"De-bunking Drummond: an Overview." *Ontario Secondary Schools Teachers' Federation*. October 24, 2012. Accessed October 26, 2012.
<http://www.osstf.on.ca/debunking-drummond>.**

This document, available online to the public through the OSSTF website, outlined the Federation's position on many of the recommendations made by the Drummond Report. It outlines the major economic points of the Report and offers counterpoints and arguments as to why the OSSTF believes many of the recommendations to be detrimental to the students and teachers of Ontario.

French, Larry, "The struggle continues: a brief history of OSSTF's first 85 tumultuous years." *Education Forum*. Vol. 30, No. 3 (2004): 18-21.

French provides a summative account of the early years of OSSTF highlighting key figures, dates, and events in the union's history. It should be noted that there is a slight bias to his writing as the publishing body for *Education Forum* is OSSTF itself.

Hanson, Andy. "Achieving the Right to Strike: Ontario Teachers' Unions and Professionalist Ideology." *Just Labour: A Canadian Journal of Work and Society*. Vol. 14 (Autumn 2009): 117 - 128.

Hanson, at the time of writing the paper was a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Canadian Studies at Trent University. He argues mainly that the rise of teachers' unions was less about class consciousness, and more about an increased desire for professionalism among Ontario teachers. His focus on Ontario allows him to consider specific examples, such as the impact of the Davis Conservative government on the OSSTF.

Hardy, John H. *Teachers' Organizations in Ontario: an historical account of their past in Ontario educational development, and their influence on the teacher and teaching, 1840-1938*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1939.

This book, written for John H. Hardy's Ph.D. thesis, outlines the complete history of educational developments in Ontario between 1840 and 1939. Hardy divides his book into key periods, separating moments in Ontario's educational history. This book also provides accounts of teachers and their unions, highlighting their formations in the early twentieth century, and the issues they faced within the profession of teaching.

Jolliffe, Leslie. Interviewed by Emilie Gauthier. Kingston, ON. October 24, 2012.

Leslie Jolliffe is an Ontario teacher and member of the Kingston local collective bargaining committee for the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario, as well as a member of the political action committee. She recently attended ETFO's "Union School" for which she was selected from a pool of hundreds of applicants for her leadership within the local union. In the interview, she was able to provide insight into the inner workings of ETFO and personal as well as Union opinions on the current political climate for teachers.

Little, Doug. Interviewed by Steve Paikin. "Austerity and Ontario's Teachers." *The Agenda with Steve Paikin*. TV Ontario. March 12, 2012.

In a TV panel interview with Steve Paikin, Doug Little, an education researcher from OISE, explains the austerity measures related to the current teacher negotiations in Ontario.

OSSTF. "Annual Report 2012." Toronto: Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, 2012.

The OSSTF's annual report, released in early 2012 contains a message from Ken Coran. As the report was released early in the year, it does not offer much information regarding collective or provincial bargaining, however, it does provide information regarding the early stages of the provincial bargaining process and makes unsurprisingly accurate

predictions about the harsh political climate the OSSTF was about to face in their efforts to negotiate their contracts.

**Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation. "Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation." Accessed November 5, 2012.
<http://www.osstf.on.ca/Default.aspx?DN=4b54772f-2451-41f4-88ac-ec4d9d86c04f>.**

The “History and Fast Facts” section of the OSSTF website provides the union’s perspective on their official history. Using the dates, events, and individuals that OSSTF believes are important to their formation and history helps foster a deeper understanding of the union’s values.

Parker, Edna. Interviewed by Jennifer Parker. Midland, ON. October 17, 2012.

Edna Parker, past President of the FWTAO and former Vice-President of the OTF throughout the 1980s, provides a first-hand account of what it was like to be a teacher during the 1970s. As a union branch leader for ETFO throughout the early 1970s, she reflects upon the main issues that were facing teachers at the time. She also provides her own opinion related to the passing of Bills 274, 275, and 100.

Paton, J.M. “The Future Begins Today.” *Concern and Competence in Canadian Education: Essays by J.M. Paton*. Edited by D.A. MacIver. Toronto: The Governing Council of the University of Toronto, 1973: 99-105.

According to a Foreword by D. F. Dadson, Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto, Dr. Paton was a revolutionary theorist with regards to education and teachers’ rights, operating through the thirties and into the early years of the seventies. His essays cover a variety of topics and reflect an understanding of the spirit of the time. The essays used in this paper reflect a man who has spent over forty years thinking and writing about Canadian education. His major consideration was the professional development of teachers, and as such his position on teacher militancy tends to be very moderate and mainly concerns union organization.

Paton, J.M. “The Quest for Corporate Status.” in *Concern and Competence in Canadian Education: Essays by J.M. Paton*, edited by D.A. MacIver, 111 – 132. Toronto: The Governing Council of the University of Toronto, 1973.

See Paton, J.M. as written above.

Reid, Matthew. "Teachers launch court action over Bill 115." *CP24 Toronto's Breaking News*. October 11, 2012. Accessed October 27, 2012.
<http://www.cp24.com/news/teachers-launch-court-action-over-bill-115-1.991017>.

This news article, published by CP24, is written from a perspective that is supportive of the teachers of Ontario and critical of the Ontario government. It includes quotes from political leaders who are against Bill 115 and outlines the main reasons as to why teachers are against the passing of the Bill.

Richter, Barbara. "It's Elementary: A Brief History of Ontario's Public Elementary Teachers and their Federations (Part 2: Early 1800s to 1944)." *Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario Voice* [Pamphlet]. December 2006. Accessed October 28, 2012.
<http://www.etfo.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments/About%20ETFO%20Documents/ETFO%20History%20Documents/history-pt3.pdf>.

This pamphlet, released by the ETFO in 2006, outlines how teachers' unions supported the growth of teachers' rights. It looks at the OSSTF and OECTA as the major forces behind changes in teachers' abilities to bargain on a major scale. The tone and content reflects its backing; it retains a militancy and anti-government stance that occasionally clouds the representation of history.

Richter, Barbara. "It's Elementary: A brief history of Ontario's public elementary teachers and their federation (Part 3: Early 1945 to 1980)." *Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario* [Pamphlet]. February 2007. Accessed October 28, 2012.
<http://www.etfo.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments/About%20ETFO%20Documents/ETFO%20History%20Documents/history-pt3.pdf>.

This pamphlet, released by ETFO in 2007, outlines some of the main issues that ETFO was facing throughout the mid-twentieth century. In particular, there is a focus on gender issues, salaries, and the rise in teacher militancy with the passing of Bills 274 and 275. The paper focuses on the 1970s and includes excerpts regarding Bills 274, 275, and 100.

Rose, Joseph B. "The Assault on School Teacher Bargaining in Ontario," *Relations industrielles/Industrial Relations*, Vol. 57 (1: 2002), 100-126.

This paper explores the period in Ontario education history following the passing of Bill 100 (1975-1997). Rose highlights the ways in which teachers and their unions benefited from the Bill, including a detailed study of the related successes for the unions in terms of wages and negotiations. In conducting this study, Rose argues that the Harris government's educational reforms in the late 1990s were counter-productive to Bill 100, and resulted in higher numbers of work stoppages and new levels of guerilla warfare.

Sellar, Don, ed. *In Our Opinion: More than 100 Years of Canadian Newspaper Editorials*. Markham: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 2006.

This book contains a collection of unedited editorials presented by Canadian newspapers on a broad variety of topics. As a collection of primary sources, it was invaluable for understanding popular opinions with regards to the social background around the 1973 strike and the passing of Bill 100 in 1975. Due to the genre, it lacked a deeper understanding of events, but it provides a crucial framework for one's own understanding of what occurred.

Stasios, Rosemarie. *The Ontario Teacher's Federation at Forty*. Toronto: Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1984.

This book was written to commemorate the first forty years of the Ontario Teachers' Federation (1944-1984). It outlines the formation, growth, and maturation of the OTF over these years. In addition, the book highlights the key issues that the Federation faced (professionalism, negotiating, superannuation, etc.), reflecting both on the past, and the future of the OTF.

***We The Teachers of Ontario*. Toronto: Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1980.**

This handbook was written to provide information to union members of the Ontario Teachers' Federation. It provides a great deal of information, varying from the structure of the Federation and member responsibilities, to regulations of Acts and By-Laws and the affiliated Federations and Associations. Although published in 1980, this handbook provides detailed information on the history of OTF and the responsibilities to and from its members.

Zegarac, George. "Letter from the Deputy Minister of Education to Directors of Boards of Education." *OSSTF*. April 11, 2012. Accessed October 26, 2012. <http://www.osstf.on.ca/DMOE-letter-11-apr-2012>.

This letter was written by the Deputy Minister of Education was addressed to the directors of education across Ontario in the spring of 2012. It was designed to defend the Ministry's budget and encourage educational administrators to support the provincial bargaining process as opposed to the local bargaining process. It even goes as far as to asking directors to inform the minister immediately should local unions attempt to bargain individually. The letter offers insight into the ministry's perspective on the bargaining process as well as shedding light on the administrative side of a bargaining process.

Image 1: Artuso, Antonella. "Ontario Teachers Urged to Take Action as Bill Passes." *Toronto Sun*, September 11, 2012. Accessed November 12, 2012. http://storage.canoe.ca/v1/dynamic_resize/sws_path/suns-prodimages/1297304979024_ORIGINAL.jpg?quality=80&size=650x.

Image 2: “Crowd gathered outside the Union Bank of Canada building on Main Street during the Winnipeg General Strike.” (Photograph). June 21, 1919. (From Library Archives Canada). Accessed November 12, 2012. http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/pam_archives/index.php?fuseaction=genitem.displayItem&lang=eng&rec_nbr=3192170.

Images 3-6: *Dear Teacher*. Toronto: Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, 1978.

Image 7: *Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation*. Accessed November 12, 2012. <http://www.osstfd20.ca/about.html>.