## NS SOLUTIONS

COMMENTARY FROM THE CANADIAN CENTRE FOR POLICY ALTERNATIVESNS OFFICE | November 2022



Welcome to the second edition of the Nova Scotia Solutions magazine. As you can see, we have been busy, and this magazine is just blogs we posted in the last six months. We pride ourselves on being reactive as well as proactive, publishing in areas of policy that sometimes are not even on the public agenda or even the public's radar. The living wage work is a good example. Our initiative to calculate the Halifax living wage in 2015, and now to annually publish wage rates cross the province (indeed the region), has resulted in an evidence-based benchmark

wage that is often cited in discussions about the cost of living or the adequacy of wages. It is also being used by businesses to raise wage rates, unions in collective bargaining, and advocates fighting for a higher minimum wage. Given that the lowest living wage in Nova Scotia is \$20, the government increasing the minimum wage only by 25 cents to \$13.60 an hour was especially appalling. As I wrote in my blog about this increase—this paltry increase would be problematic in any year but is especially so in a year where we have not seen inflation this high since the 1980s.

The blog by Dr. Atkison was timely as it underlined the wage disparities between contract faculty and permanent faculty, which was a central component of the CUPE 3912 strike at Dalhousie University, which began the day after we published this blog. Part of their campaign was arguing for living wages. They have since settled with some significant increases, though many of the structural issues raised in her blog remain issues.

Our antipoverty work continues and is strengthened by new evidence like that provided in Laura Fisher et al.'s blog on how we can best ensure policy addresses the needs of those marginalized by multiple systems, like lone mothers in rural areas. These mothers, and all those struggling in poverty, would especially benefit if our government's approach to housing was to treat it as a human right, which Dr. Leviten-Reid and I explain. I hope you enjoy this recap of some of our work over the past few months.

In Solidarity,

#### IN THIS ISSUE \(\square\)

- 2 Nova Scotia's Minimum Wage Workers Deserve a Real Raise
- 3 Supporting Rural, Low-Income Mothers in Nova Scotia: Pandemic Lessons
- 4 No One Benefits from a Two-Tiered University Professoriate
- 6 The Nova Scotia Government Must Commit to Housing as a Human Right
- 8 CCPA-NS 2022 Gala, Nov 25th



1

## Nova Scotia's Minimum Wage Workers Deserve a Real Raise

BY CHRISTINE SAULNIER, published on MonitorMag.ca, October 3, 2022

For many Nova Scotians, life is a constant struggle; the challenge to make ends meet is even tougher this year because of the rising cost of living. If that and job and income losses due to COVID-19 were not enough--now people must deal with the aftermath of Fiona. Some have lost the contents of their fridge and freezer, and others, their entire homes. The financial assistance the Nova Scotia government announced is welcome news but likely insufficient for those in dire need. \$100 in grocery money does not go very far these days.

Dealing with cost increases and emergencies is possible if you have a decent and rising income. That is not the case for the average worker in Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia has the second-lowest average weekly earnings in the country—it has been the lowest or second-lowest for many years. And now, thanks to inflation and a lack of wage increases to make up for it, workers face an additional cut in real wages of nearly 5%.

The government can and should take action both within and outside the labour market to help Nova Scotians most in need. Three of the four Atlantic provinces saw their minimums increase on October 1st, resulting in Nova Scotia with the lowest minimum in the region. Nova Scotia's minimum wage went from \$13.35 to \$13.60. This minimum applies to those covered by the minimum wage order (there are many exceptions). Given current inflation levels, 25 cents – a toonie over an 8-hour shift – is barely a token. Even some business representatives have said these small increases are not worth the hassle of the paperwork required. This increase is part of the plan to reach \$15 by April 1st, 2024. This government has said it won't fast-track the rise to \$15. This goslow approach is bad, not just for workers. It is also bad for employers who struggle to attract and retain employees.

It is time to level up and rebalance that playing field. Businesses have had labour market conditions in their favour for decades. Even when dealing with low inflation, businesses certainly did not share more with their workers; Between 2001 to 2019, the median real wage increased just 11.3% (\$18.75 to \$20.87 expressed in 2021 dollars). Our recent living wage report calculated the lowest living wage in Nova Scotia to be \$20 in Cape Breton and the highest in Halifax (\$23.50). It is well past time for workers to get a substantive raise. A recent study examining the impact of substantial increases to the minimum wage in Ontario (from \$11.60 to \$14 per hour) concluded that not only did wages grow, but total employment also increased (including in low-wage sectors), and the racialized wage gap was reduced, especially for women.

Governments in Nova Scotia have consistently sacrificed workers' rights in favour of increased profits for employers. On balance, this leaves the province struggling with high rates of food insecurity, poverty, health disparities, and a structurally low-waged economy.

Low-wage work represents a significant portion of the labour market in Nova Scotia; 8.1% earn the minimum wage, and just over 10% earn under \$15 an hour, 56% of whom are women, 55% are 25 or older, and 55% have post-secondary education. Nearly 50% of workers in our province earn less than the living wage.

Beyond wages, Nova Scotia has some of the weakest labour standards in Canada. For example: sick leave (only three unpaid days are required), overtime only after 48 hours (the longest regular work week in the country), and scant statutory holidays (only six, and even then, many still won't get paid). 54% of Nova Scotia workers have no access to paid sick leave (and only 20% of workers in accommodation and food services, and 31% of workers who earn less than \$25,000). Many workers have no choice but to go to work sick. Surely we have learned that this is bad for business and all of us.

Nova Scotia has also made it difficult for workers to unionize. Unionization is a proven tool to address income inequality and ensure those with the least power in that employer/employee relationship have a voice. Making unionization easier contributes to a healthier democracy inside and outside the workplace.

The government can help Nova Scotians narrow the gap between their income and costs outside of labor market regulation. It can increase income support like the affordable living tax credit. It can address costs by regulating the prices of essentials or expanding what is covered by public services outside the forprofit market, whether for housing, health care, or other critical need. It is time to address the inadequate protections in Nova Scotia's minimum standards and time for that \$15 minimum wage. The failure to do so sends a message that these essential workers, who are once again stepping up during a crisis, are just not worth it.

Christine Saulnier is the Director of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Nova Scotia Office.

## Supporting Rural, Low-Income Mothers in Nova Scotia: Pandemic Lessons

BY LAURA FISHER, MEGAN FORTUNE, DR. JACKIE ONCESCU & DR. MARY SWEATMAN, published on MonitorMag.ca, October 17, 2022

The COVID-19 pandemic affected the lives of all Canadians, but it disproportionally affected rural, low-income mothers and their families. An increase in the burden of care, job loss, and closure of school and childcare added extra strain for families that rely on community organizations and institutions for financial and social support. These challenges were compounded further for families living in rural communities where the norm was inadequate internet access, sparse or non-existent public transportation, and needing to travel longer distances to reach essential services.

These pre-existing inequities that complicated rural low-income mothers' capacity to support their families during the pandemic were central to a recent research project over the fall and winter of 2020-2021. A research team from Acadia University and UNB interviewed 29 mothers who identify as low-income and rural within Kings County, Nova Scotia. Researchers asked them about their experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic and their access to support, including recreation provisions. This blog is a summary of some of the key findings.

Rather than showing new areas of inequality, COVID-19 served to highlight and amplify existing inequalities. As one staff of a community organization shared, "It made us realize that a lot of these barriers that became more apparent during the pandemic actually existed without the pandemic too." These existing inequities ranged from internet inequities and digital divides to food insecurity to experiences of racism and lack of support for children with disabilities and their parents. These inequities were often exacerbated for those living in rural areas with already limited access to transportation, internet, and community support. "Because I'm low-income, I can't afford the internet, so I don't have it," says Pauline, a single mother of one. Ultimately, the COVID-19 pandemic unduly affected rural low-income mothers and their families.

While these findings are important, so was the research design. Through a Feminist Community Action Research approach (FCAR), the research team involved a diverse Community Advisory Committee (CAC). The committee included representatives from the town, community organizations, and low-income mothers to refine project objectives. FCAR provides an avenue for mothers to participate and voice their experiences of the impact the pandemic has had and continues to have on them and their families. They defined the supports that are important to them and were a part of addressing the recreation and leisure services that support their family's wellbeing.

Limited research has been conducted on the effect of COVD-19 on rural populations. If this gap is left unaddressed, policies and programs for recovery could be ill-informed, thus, leaving rural communities to suffer the consequences. As a result, our research filled a vital gap in research and community practice. Importantly, our research found that low-income mothers were forced into a balancing act concerning paid and unpaid work. Many mothers in this study were challenged by insecure employment, the shift to online schooling, and facilitating entertainment at home.

Furthermore, low-income mothers faced many constraints in facilitating leisure as they lacked the resources necessary. As a result, they struggled to have access to leisure activities, which could help to cope with the stress of the pandemic. As Analyn, a Filipino mother of two, stated, "I think recreation actually would be the last one on the budget. If I don't get free access to it, I mean with no resources, I think we just stay at home and just use what we have." In Nova Scotia, Canada, where this study took place, all parks and trails were closed to reduce the spread of COVID-19. These closures impacted mothers' ability to facilitate leisure for their families. As a result, many mothers felt stuck or trapped in their houses as they did not have private outdoor leisure spaces, such as a backyard.

Governments must implement policies responsive to gender and geographic differences to best support rural low-income mothers and their recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic. Policies and provisions could include the redistribution of resources and funds to support equitable access to recreation for rural low-income mothers. Further, governments need to ensure rural communities have access to adequate and accessible childcare to support mothers' capacity to remain employed. Finally, digital infrastructure needs to be implemented by governments to address the digital divide that exists.

Laura Fisher is a CCPA-NS Research Associate and a PhD student in the Department of Sociology, Dalhousie University. Megan Fortune is a recent MA graduate in Recreation and Sport Studies from the University of New Brunswick. Dr. Jackie Oncescu is an Associate Professor in the Department of Kinesiology, University of New Brunswick. Dr. Mary Sweatman is an Associate Professor in the Department of Community Development, Acadia University. This research was funded through the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

# No One Benefits from a Two-Tiered University Professoriate

BY LARISSA ATKISON, published on MonitorMag.ca, October 18, 2022

For many Canadians, a professor is a professor. The truth is that the professional and economic conditions of full-time tenure (track) faculty and contracted instructors are drastically different. Contracted academics, variously referred to as sessional instructors, adjuncts, and "part-time" academics, are estimated to perform the majority of undergraduate teaching in Canada (and up to 70% in the US). These contract workers, much like their counterparts in other precarious sectors, are severely undercompensated, with few or no benefits, limited opportunity for advancement, and very little job security. They are the "just-intime" workforce of universities - hired to deliver core undergraduate offerings, often just months, sometimes weeks, and occasionally days, before classes begin.

A recent posting for an uncompensated part-time lecturer at UCLA has brought international attention to the absurdity of the academic job market. More importantly, it points to the entrenchment of a two-tiered class system wherein part-time instructors in Canada also regularly do unpaid research, service, and, yes, even teaching long after the early apprenticeship stage of their career.

To put this in perspective, entry-level full-time faculty at the three universities in my community (Halifax, NS) start their careers at around \$75,000, with benefits, pensions, annual pay increases, opportunities for promotion, and significant salary jumps. Universities pay entry-level contract instructors on a course-by-course basis, usually starting at \$5000 a course and maxing out at \$7,000 a course, with little job security, benefits, paid leave, pension, or meaningful opportunities for promotion or advancement. An entry-level contract faculty member would need to teach approximately nine courses a year - double what an entrylevel full-time professor teaches - to make a living wage in the Halifax region. Beyond modest pay increases, the only benefit seasoned contract faculty receive for years of service in Halifax is seniority in the application process. These instructors, many of whom have been teaching for over fifteen years, still must apply to teach their courses every year and have little if any input or recourse on practical matters that directly affect their livelihoods, including when and if a course will be offered or cancelled.

The common justification for this inequity is that contracted instructors only teach one to two courses a year to supplement full-time careers and are not burdened by the research and service commitments expected of their full-time colleagues. This is the case in many professional disciplines, such as business, nursing, dentistry, and social work. For the majority of part-time academics, however, and especially those who teach within the Faculties of Arts and Sciences, part-time teaching is a full-time job. To make ends meet, contract academics frequently teach more per term than any full-time faculty association would accept for their members, often spread across multiple institutions, while juggling the unpaid research and service that are implicitly required of university-level instruction.

Cuts to tenure-track positions are partly to blame. In a climate where provincial funding is scarce and often tied to narrow performance-based metrics, it is not unusual for universities to cut Humanities, Arts, and Sciences programs and replace retiring full-time faculty members with cheap precarious labour.

It's also a supply issue. Between 2002 and 2017, the number of students admitted to PhD programs in Canada more than doubled, yet the number of academic jobs has remained constant since 2009. Moreover, only one-third of those who complete their PhDs typically find full-time academic positions. As is often the case, these numbers are worse for women, who earn approximately 19 percent less than men five years post PhD and are more likely to be under-employed or in contracted academic positions.

Precarious faculty could protest with their feet and leave academe. Plenty do. Those who stay often describe academic research and teaching as a passion or calling that they are unwilling or able to give up. There is also the practical matter of sunk costs. By the time they graduate, the typical Canadian PhD has invested seven to ten years in graduate school, in addition to increasingly common postdoctoral fellowships. Many cling to the hope that precarious teaching will eventually lead to a full-time position and many have simply invested too much of their lives into training and working as academics to give it up. But the demands and insecurity of precarious labour are incompatible with the



regular scholarly output required for tenure-track jobs. When full-time positions turn up, the local contract faculty rarely fill them.

No one benefits from a two-tiered professoriate – certainly not students, who are consistently asked to pay more for less service. University instruction is inevitably compromised when a large percentage of faculty lack institutional support for research, student mentorship, and professional development. Students suffer when their instructors are over-stretched and precarious; these conditions lead to inconsistent curriculum, reduced contact hours, and fewer letters of reference and thesis supervision options. Universities' reliance on faculty not paid for service also means that full time-instructors sit on more committees and take on more supervision. Universities lose, too: precarious faculty are more likely to contribute to grade-inflation and less likely to report plagiarism due to an over-reliance on favourable student evaluations for future employment.

Canadian universities claim to be devoted to the public good, but that claim is becoming increasingly hollow. A post-secondary system that relies on a precarious underclass cannot reliably meet its core mandate to provide quality higher education.

The moment is ripe for change. Dalhousie now faces an imminent part-time faculty and Teaching-Assistant strike (these groups form a CUPE bargaining unit), threatening to derail the semester for thousands of students and faculty. At issue are compensation rates, which remain among the lowest in the country for both Teaching Assistants and contract faculty – when the cost of living in Halifax continues to skyrocket. These conditions reflect poorly on the state of post-secondary education in this province and the country writ large. It is time to have a frank national conversation about the integrity and future of our post-secondary system. Both federal and provincial governments must be held to account for the state of this system. We all deserve better and should demand better.

Larissa Atkison is a CCPA-NS Research Associate. She is a member of CUPE 3912, though currently working at Dalhousie University as a full-time assistant professor, on a limited-term appointment.

## Living Wages in Nova Scotia 2022; Working for a Living, Not Living to Work

This September we released the 2022 updated Living Wage rates for Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia's living wages are calculated annually to reflect changing living expenses.

Nova Scotia's living wage rates for 2022 are: Annapolis Valley (\$22.40), Cape Breton (\$20.00), Halifax (\$23.50), Northern (\$20.40), and Southern (\$22.55). The wages all increased from between 5% and 8%.

These increases are due to cost increases (for shelter, food, gas, in particular) and little improvement in tax credits or income transfers. The living wage is the hourly rate at which a household can meet its basic needs (the expenses in the living wage budget), once government transfers are added to the family's income (such as the Canada Child Benefit or GST credit), and deductions have been subtracted (such as income taxes and Employment Insurance premiums). This year's calculations underline the importance of ensuring government income transfers are adequate and that our tax system is progressive. Moreover, the calculations underscore the importance of providing non-income, non-market-based solutions for essentials. Read the report here.



# The Nova Scotia Government Must Commit to Housing as a Human Right

BY CATHERINE LEVITEN-REID, & CHRISTINE SAULNIER, published on MonitorMag.ca, November 2, 2022

On November 1st, 2022, the Nova Scotia government's Bill 222: Housing Supply and Services Act, went to Law Amendments Committee, where anyone can present to suggest changes. This blog is based on our submission to that Committee. As we outlined in our Housing for All report a year and a half ago, many Nova Scotians are currently without any place to call their own, living on the streets, in their cars, in stairwells, couch surfing, or staying in shelters. Things have only gotten worse; The numbers from recent homelessness counts are alarming – 727 in HRM, 483 in the Eastern Zone, and 40 reported in Amherst.

Many others are in housing or accommodations they cannot afford or are not safe, adequate, or properly maintained. Recently-released census data show that 35% of renters in the province are spending at least 30% of their before-tax income on housing costs (48,205 renter households), an underestimation given the temporary covid-related relief benefits people were receiving in 2020. The Census also shows that province-wide, only 11% of tenants are living in subsidized housing, such as public housing, or in receipt of rent supplements. For other Nova Scotians, there is a lack of accessible housing that accommodates their needs to live barrier-free in the community like everyone else. Instead, persons with disabilities continue to be confined in institutions.

As housing becomes even more unaffordable in areas close to employment, services, and amenities, it also pushes many out of their communities, isolating them. We know the impact homelessness and housing insecurity has--leading to increased stress, social exclusion, illness, and disease. It is also expensive, requiring emergency and patchwork responses for entirely preventable situations. These situations are primarily created by government design, whether because of inadequate income assistance, low minimum wage, housing allowances which are not universally available and which are capped at average market rent, or lack of control over the cost of housing, as well as decades of underinvestment in non-market housing and in tenant supports.

This Act must state that the current social housing units in the province are preserved, ensuring no loss of existing, deeply affordable public housing stock. An increase in overall supply is also needed, but the type of housing makes a difference. This government should ensure its investments produce as much public, non-profit, and co-op rental housing as possible.

Further, this housing must be affordable; 80% of market rent is not affordable for low-income or even moderate-income households, especially in our province, with some of the lowest incomes and increasingly high costs, including rent. Non-market housing is the only solution for ensuring affordability for those for whom the market will never serve because developers cannot make a profit off tenants whose incomes are so low. Subsidizing those profits is not the answer.

One of the critical causes of homelessness and the lack of affordable housing is government's lack of commitment to protecting and advancing housing as a human right. This Act should explicitly state that "Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing," that it commits to "further the progressive realization of the right to adequate housing," and that it will develop measures to:

- End and further prevent homelessness,
- Prohibit forced evictions,
- Address discrimination,
- Focus on the most vulnerable and marginalized groups,
- Ensure security of tenure for all,
- Guarantee that everyone's housing is adequate, meaning affordable, safe, accessible, located near services and not near polluted areas, and responds to cultural needs for building community.

Importantly, having an Act that enshrines this right in place would allow for accountability currently not present in the province. The Act would require regular reports to the legislature and a provincial Housing Council of Lived Experts and community housing providers. The reports would outline what measures and progress has been made to prevent and eliminate homelessness and ensure housing for all. The Province would have a Housing Advocate, who would also be a member of the Council, and who would be responsible for assessing and making concrete recommendations in response to systemic problems brought forward by people experiencing homelessness or marginalized tenants in Nova Scotia, as well as organizations in the sector. The Housing Advocate could also convene a review panel to hold hearings.

The Act must be accompanied by a Housing Strategy, which sets as its goal to prevent and eliminate homelessness and core housing need over a ten-year period.



In contrast, what is being planned in this Act further consolidates power, removing local decisionmaking, and includes no protections for low-income tenants. Indeed, as a matter of principle, housing policies must ensure that those most impacted are involved in its design and delivery. The involvement of tenants in rental housing is extremely limited in the province and should be addressed by supporting tenant associations. In addition, the government must prioritize the participation of community-based housing providers for their experience and expertise. Co-operative housing is also a model to be supported; they are democratic, providing voting and participation rights.

To summarize: to realize housing as a human right will require addressing the roots of the crisis before us, four of which are:

First, over the last twenty-five years plus, there has been very little non-market (public, social, co-operative) affordable housing built because of a lack of funding and leadership. This means the government must come to terms with the scale and scope of the crisis before us and the level of investment required to address it.

Second, the affordable housing that we have had has been neglected or lost to private for-profit developers and financiers. The housing crisis is marked by gentrification and displacement, fueled the financialization of the housing market. The financialization of housing "occurs when housing is allowed to be treated as a commodity - a vehicle for wealth and investment rather than a social good." Enacting policies to address this issue, including effective rent controls and support for tenants' rights, is required.

The third root of our housing and homelessness crises is the gaps in our social safety net that have left many Nova Scotians living in deep poverty, whether because the income supports provided to them by the government are intentionally below the poverty line or because labour laws including the regulated minimum wage leave people without sufficient income. On the other side of the equation, people are struggling because the cost of other essentials needed to live and work, including food, rent, utilities, child care, health care, transportation, is taking up more of household budgets, with little government action to address those costs.

Fourth, it is critical to understand how the housing crisis affects populations differently to develop responsive policy and ensure that access is universal. It is also vital to take urgent action to address the lack of housing options for people with disabilities. The government is violating rights every day that people with disabilities have no option but to live in institutions. What about addressing the legacy of colonialism, racism, and enslavement?

This Act is short-sighted and will do little to address the causes of the housing crisis because the approach remains rooted in one that privileges housing as a commodity, which is the approach that has gotten us here in the first place. This approach privileges those who have the resources to profit from housing at the expense of Nova Scotians' right to access affordable, accessible housing.

It is time for the government to show its commitment to this right by incorporating it into this legislation.

Catherine Leviten-Reid, PhD, and Christine Saulnier, PhD, Co-Chairs of the Housing for All Working Group. Dr. Leviten-Reid is a CCPA-NS Research Associate and Associate Professor, Community Economic Development, Cape Breton University as well as Lead of the Community-University Housing Research Lab at CBU. Christine Saulnier is Director of Director of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Nova Scotia Office.

### CCPA-NS 2022 Gala Dinner

November 25, 2022

The Anti-Black Racism **Moment and the Fight** for Economic, Racial and Climate Justice



MC Wendie Wilson



Guest Speaker Dr. Grace-Edward Galabuzi



 $\mathsf{CCPA}$ CANADIAN CENTRE

policyalternatives.ca/2022NSGala

#### The Anti-Black Racism Moment and the Fight for Economic, Racial, and Climate Justice

On November 25th, the CCPA-Nova Scotia Office held its 13th Annual Gala Dinner at Mount Saint Vincent University. We were thrilled to welcome Dr. Grace-Edward Galabuzi as guest speaker and Wendie Wilson as MC. Thank you for making this a successful gala event.

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