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Contract faculty appointments at Canadian universities

Chandra Pasma and Erika Shaker

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UNIFOR
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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Chandra Pasma is a senior research officer with the Canadian Union of Public Employees. Erika Shaker is a senior education researcher at the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

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5 **Executive summary**

7 **Introduction**

9 **The impact of precarity in the post-secondary sector**

12 **The challenge of obtaining good data**

14 **Methodology**

17 **National trends**

26 **Provincial comparisons and regional trends**

29 **The drivers of precarity**

33 **Conclusions**

35 **Recommendations**

38 **Appendix A: Methodology**

44 **Appendix B: Responses**

48 **Appendix C: Fees**

50 **Appendix D: Complaints and appeals**

51 **Appendix E**

53 **Notes**

Executive summary

THERE IS A growing body of literature documenting the rise of precarious work in Canada, including among university faculty—once among the most secure professions in the country. But little is known about just how prevalent precarious faculty jobs are in Canadian universities. This report offers the first-ever snapshot of how many university faculty appointments are precarious jobs, where they're located, what types of academic departments are more likely to offer precarious jobs instead of permanent, secure academic appointments, and how much precarious work among faculty has increased since 2006-07.

This information is not collected by Statistics Canada, so the authors used data obtained through Freedom of Information requests sent to 78 Canadian universities to examine the extent of their reliance on contract faculty appointments.

Among our key findings:

- Our data reveals that more than half of all faculty appointments in Canada are contract appointments. In 2016-17, 38,681 faculty appointments, or 53.60 per cent, were contract positions compared to 33,490 tenured and tenure-track appointments.
- Among contract faculty, part-time appointments predominate, accounting for nearly 80 per cent of all contract appointments in 2016-17.

- Universities' reliance on contract faculty varies significantly by discipline. Among nine of the 14 subject areas that we examined, contract appointments accounted for more than half of all faculty appointments. Within the three core areas of science, social sciences, and humanities, rates of contract faculty appointments ranged from 39 per cent in science to half in the social sciences and 56 per cent in the humanities.

- There are significant differences in universities' reliance on contract faculty by province. Quebec relies on contract faculty far more than any other province, with 61 per cent of contract faculty. Ontario (54 per cent) and B.C. (55 per cent) also have rates of contract appointments that are above the national average.

- Contract appointments also differ between universities within a single province, even when universities are similarly situated. Overall, there are 13 universities in Canada where contract appointments are more than two-thirds of all faculty appointments, and nine universities where they represent fewer than one-third of appointments.

Overall, our data suggests that while public funding cuts may have played a role in universities' reliance on contract faculty, austerity alone cannot explain this decision, since rates of contract appointments vary so much between universities in similar circumstances. The trend also does not appear to be a result of changing market demand for certain disciplines, nor, on the whole, the result of personal choices by tenured faculty or contract faculty.

Rather, reliance on contract faculty appears to be largely driven by choices made by university administrations, raising questions about the role of universities as employer and educator. Our findings lead us to the conclusion that the heavy reliance on contract faculty in Canadian universities is a structural issue, not a temporary approach to hiring.

The solutions to precarious faculty work in Canadian universities are multi-faceted. Universities need to take seriously their responsibility to their students, to their workers, and to the public that finances them. Governments have a role to play in ensuring adequate funding and in adopting stronger labour protections. We also need more and better data from Statistics Canada to adequately understand the roots of the problem and its solutions.

Introduction

PUBLIC AWARENESS ABOUT the problem of precarious work at Canadian universities and colleges is growing. Media reports, social media campaigns, public town halls, and academic conferences have highlighted the harmful effects of precarious employment on students; workers in the sector, including faculty; and in the broader community.[1]

Despite this growing awareness, there is still limited data on the actual extent and prevalence of precarious work across the post-secondary sector in Canada. In this paper, we attempt to address the information gap by looking at one element of precarity in the sector: the use of contract faculty positions in Canadian universities.

For more than two decades, academic workers, unions, and faculty associations have been raising concerns about a shift within universities from full-time, permanently employed faculty to faculty hired on contracts. Some of these contracts are limited in scope and very short in duration: a contract for a single course for a single semester (or a month to four months, depending on the terms). Some of these contracts are full-time and cover longer periods, such as two to three years. But all of them are characterized by long-term uncertainty for the people in these positions.[2]

Contract faculty are known by many different terms: sessional, adjunct, contingent, instructor, lecturer, or limited term appointment. In this paper, we use the term *contract* to cover all of these terms.

What is precarity?

Precarity is an issue that can be difficult to define precisely. It includes multiple types of paid employment: part-time, temporary, casual, contract, self-employed. It is generally characterized by low pay, few to no benefits, and little stability or security for the worker. However, whether a job is experienced as precarious also depends on the context of the worker and the resources that are available to them. Precarious work is not simply a term applied to every job that departs from the standard of full-time, permanent work. For instance, a contract worker who is well compensated and has a partner with a permanent job and benefits may not experience their position as precarious. But a contract worker who is paid low wages, who receives no benefits, and who has no idea whether they will still be employed in a few weeks may feel very precarious. Other factors can also contribute to the experience of precarity, including race, gender, disability, and immigration status.

While our stereotypical image of precarious workers is often young people in low-skilled, entry-level jobs, the reality, as highlighted by the recent CCPA report *No Safe Harbour: Precarious Work and Economic Insecurity Among Skilled Professionals in Canada*, is that a growing number of precarious workers are in highly skilled, professional positions. In this regard, the post-secondary sector can be seen as something of a bellwether sector, revealing trends that are taking place in the broader labour market.

The impact of precarity in the post-secondary sector

THERE IS SOME debate as to why universities are increasingly relying on precarious forms of employment for faculty. A variety of rationales are offered to explain this shift from permanent to contract faculty: that universities are responding to inadequate public funding; that universities are simply accommodating the personal choices of professors, whether it be tenured professors who are more interested in research or are unwilling to retire or contract professors who don't want traditional positions; or that the university has adopted the just-in-time production model and is therefore looking for flexible hiring in order to respond to the changing demands of consumers (employers and students).

However, regardless of the rationale for the proliferation of contract positions, it is clear the insecurity and prevalence of this type of employment is having an impact on workers and on the quality of education students receive.

For contract faculty, precarity frequently means poverty and economic insecurity. Per-course rates can be as low as $5,000, which means that an individual can teach a full course load at some universities and still be living in poverty.[3] A survey of contract faculty in Nova Scotia found that the insecurity of employment was the number one challenge and source of

Who are contract faculty?

Surveys of contract faculty suggest that a majority of contract faculty are women. They tend to be younger but for the most part are no longer students themselves. Between one-half to two-thirds of contract faculty have a Ph.D. The majority have been teaching on contracts for five years or more.

Some contract faculty are professionals working in their field who teach one or two courses on the side and have no wish for full-time employment. Others are retired professors coming back to teach a course. But there are also many who are teaching part-time or on contract solely because they can't find permanent, full-time academic employment. According to a recent national survey by the Canadian Association of University Teachers, more than half of contract faculty want a tenure-track or permanent appointment.[4]

stress for contract faculty.[5] Similarly, a survey of contract faculty in Ontario revealed that two-thirds experienced "considerable personal strain" due to the short-term nature of their employment.[6] A national survey of contract faculty found that more than half say their ability to make long-term plans such as having children or purchasing a home is impacted by the contract nature of their employment.[7]

Without job security, contract workers can have difficulty obtaining a bank loan, signing a rental agreement, or getting a mortgage.[8] Precariously employed workers are more likely to experience mental and physical health challenges, including anxiety and depression.[9] Contract faculty are frequently excluded from professional development, collegial opportunities, and institutional support for research, which can leave them feeling isolated and unsupported.[10]

When instructors are only informed a few weeks — and in some cases, only a day or two — before the semester begins that they will be teaching a course, it is difficult for them to ensure that course material is up-to-date and that all necessary resources, such as textbooks, are in place for students. And when research is something that contract faculty have to pursue on their own, with limited time and little to no institutional support or funding, it can require many hours of uncompensated labour for them to remain current in their field.[11]

For students, precarity means less access to faculty. Studies have shown that students do better when they are able to build relationships with their professors,[12] but building relationships with contract faculty can be difficult.[13] Sometimes contract staff are not given access to an office on campus, requiring them to hold meetings with students in borrowed or public spaces.

Cutting off contract faculty email addresses the moment the semester ends or not being able to track down a contract professor whose contract was not renewed also makes it more difficult for students to get reference letters.[14]

The increase in the number of contract positions also has an impact on permanent faculty. Reducing the number of faculty who are involved in committee work or administration means that the burden of service work is disproportionately higher on the remaining faculty members.[15] For permanent faculty and other academic workers, such as lab instructors and teaching assistants, the lack of presence by contract faculty (who may have no office space on campus or who have to leave for another job immediately after class)[16] can also mean increased workloads responding to student questions and concerns.

This is not to suggest that contract faculty are poor teachers — in fact, evidence suggests that they are excellent teachers[17] — but the conditions in which they are forced to work has an impact on their ability to deliver the highest quality education.

The challenge of obtaining good data

THERE IS A LACK of good, hard data documenting the number of faculty contract appointments at universities in Canada, which has made it difficult to understand the scale of the issue and how trends might differ regionally across the country.

Statistics Canada has an annual, mandatory survey of academic staff at universities, but the University and College Academic Staff System (UCASS) only includes full-time academic workers. The survey also fails to include the employment status of full-time academic workers, focusing instead on academic rank. However, although the data available from the UCASS is limited, it is clear that the ranks of non-tenured, full-time faculty are growing. In 1996-97, full-time faculty without the rank of professor (full, associate, or assistant) represented only 4 per cent of full-time faculty. By 2016-17, this category had more than doubled to 10 per cent.[18]

In 2016, Statistics Canada announced its intention to extend the UCASS survey to part-time workers.[19] However, the plan includes a four-year period of consulting with universities and other stakeholders before any data is even collected.

Statistics Canada's Labour Force Survey also shows a decline in the proportion of full-time, permanent faculty between 1998 and 2014. Over that same time period, the proportion of temporary part-time positions increased.[20] However, the Labour Force Survey is based on a very small sample size each

month, limiting what can be learned and how the data can be broken down into sub-categories of instructors or different regions of the country.[21]

There has also been some limited disclosure of administrative data by universities. According to a report released in January 2018 by the Council of Ontario Universities, data from 17 participating Ontario universities showed that the proportion of contract faculty was 58 per cent, compared to 42 per cent full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty. The report also revealed that contract faculty now teach 50 per cent of all undergraduate university courses in Ontario.[22] However, not enough universities release this kind of information to be able to create a comprehensive picture of contract faculty across the country.

This leaves the option of Freedom of Information (FOI) laws to try and get the data directly from the universities themselves. In 2010, Jamie Brownlee[23] used FOI requests to determine that contract faculty appointments at Ontario universities made up more than half of faculty appointments in humanities and social sciences in 2009-10.[24]

Methodology

TO COLLECT DATA on contract faculty for this study, we submitted Freedom of Information requests to all 78 publicly funded universities across the country, asking for statistics on full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty, full-time contract faculty, and part-time contract faculty, broken down by department, for the academic years 2006-07 through 2016-17.

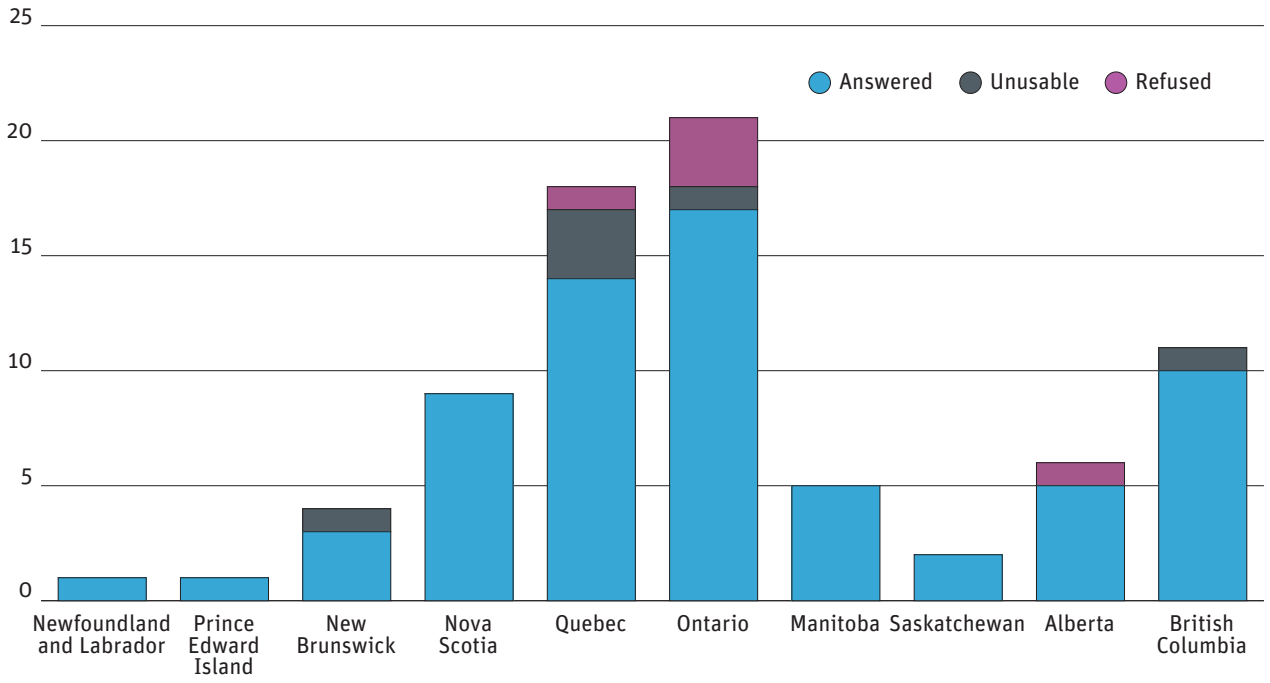
Of the 73 universities that responded, four sent only partial information that could not be used, and two sent information with data issues that could not be resolved (see *Figure 1* for responses by province). As a result, our final dataset is composed of 67 universities, or 86 per cent of all publicly funded universities in Canada. (For more on the universities that are not included in our report and whether their inclusion would have changed the trend analysis, see Appendix E.)

Among the 67 responses that comprise our final dataset:

- 53 include the full time period requested;
- 55 provide at least a partial breakdown by faculty and department; and
- 49 provide a breakdown of contract faculty by full- or part-time status.

We requested statistics on full-time tenured and tenure-track faculty because this is the traditional model of job security for academic staff. However, rather than a system of tenure, some schools have permanent or regular faculty who have the same status as tenured faculty at other universities. We counted these faculty as tenure and tenure-track. Additionally, a small

FIGURE 1 Responses by Province



Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

number of schools with tenure also have non-tenured faculty with permanent contracts. Since our primary concern for this research was job security, we grouped these faculty with the tenured and tenure-track faculty in our analysis. In this paper, then, the terms *tenured and tenure-track* are used to refer to all faculty on permanent contracts or on a pathway to permanency.

It is also important to note that, for the most part, the numbers we received represent *appointments* rather than *individuals*. Three schools indicated that they removed individuals with appointments in multiple departments so that they only appeared once.[25] Because the information is about appointments, there are some limitations as to what the data reveals. We don't know to what extent differences between provinces or schools represent different approaches to contract appointments—such as relying on per-course appointments compared to multi-course appointments. We don't know anything about the individual make-up of contract faculty (including breakdowns by gender, race, education, and other employment), and we don't know what conditions they work in (including remuneration, benefits, working hours, or institutional support).

For more information on the requests submitted, the data received from each school, fees paid, and complaints to provincial information commissioners, and how we constructed a single dataset out of 67 separate responses, see the Appendices.

The full dataset is available at www.contractu.ca. It will be updated if any additional information is received from outstanding appeals.

National trends

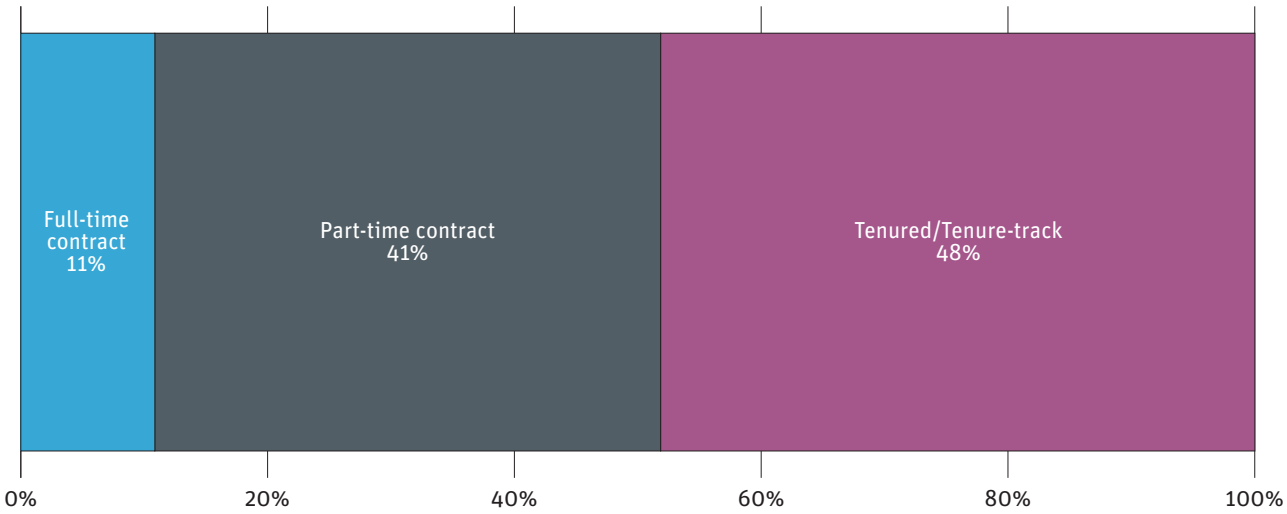
OUR DATA REVEALS that more than half of faculty appointments in Canada are contract appointments. In 2016-17, 38,681 faculty appointments, or 53.60 per cent, were contract appointments, compared to 33,490 tenured and tenure-track appointments.

Our findings also show that part-time contract appointments predominate. Among the institutions that were able to break down contract faculty appointments into part-time and full-time categories, part-time appointments accounted for nearly 80 per cent of all contract appointments in 2016-17 (see *Figure 2*).

The reliance on contract faculty also appears to be structural, rather than a temporary response to changing circumstances. Our data show that the reliance on contract appointments in Canadian universities has not really changed throughout the past decade, beyond a slight increase in the proportion of contract faculty and a slight decline in the proportion of tenured and tenure-track faculty. The balance shifted from a majority of tenured and tenure-track faculty to a majority of contract faculty some time prior to 2006-07.

Similarly, the proportion of contract appointments that are part-time has barely budged, staying close to 80 per cent over the last decade.

FIGURE 2 Total Faculty Appointments by Employment Status, Full-Time and Part-Time Contract, 2016-17



Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

Trends by discipline

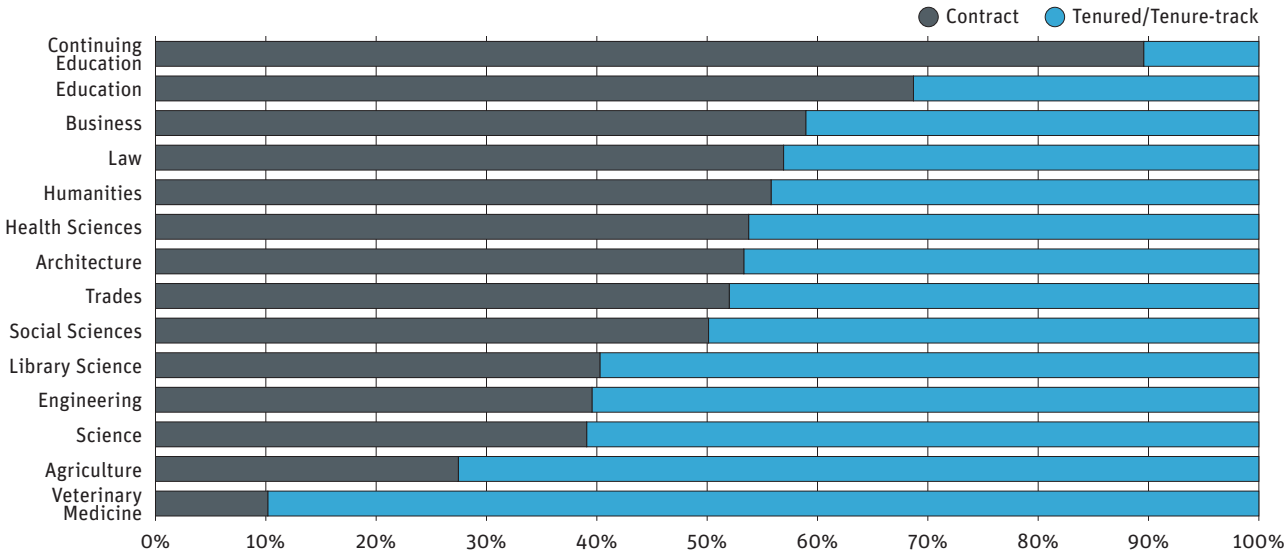
There is significant variation in the use of contract faculty by discipline (see *Figure 3*). At one end of the spectrum, 90 per cent of the faculty appointments in continuing education are contract, compared to veterinary medicine, where only 10 per cent of faculty appointments are contract.

In nine subject areas, contract appointments make up half or more of all appointments: continuing education, education, business, law, humanities, health sciences, architecture, trades, and social sciences. However, heavy reliance on contract appointments pervades the entire university system: only in agriculture and veterinary medicine do contract appointments represent less than one-third of appointments.

However, because the total number of people working within each discipline also varies significantly, the greatest total number of contract faculty appointments are found in fields aimed at a particular profession (agriculture, architecture, business, education, engineering, law, library science, and veterinary medicine), followed by the health sciences and the humanities.[26] The smallest number of contract faculty appointments are in the social sciences and science (see *Figure 4*).

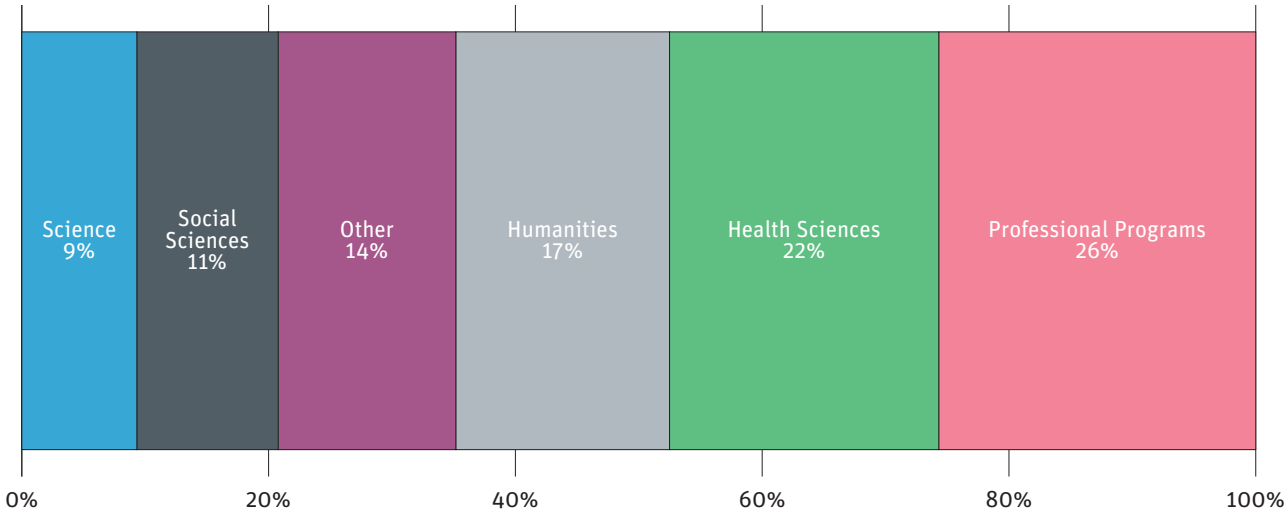
A common defense of universities' reliance on contract faculty is that contract faculty largely represent professionals working in their fields who

FIGURE 3 Proportion of Faculty Appointments by Employment Status and Subject Area, 2016-17



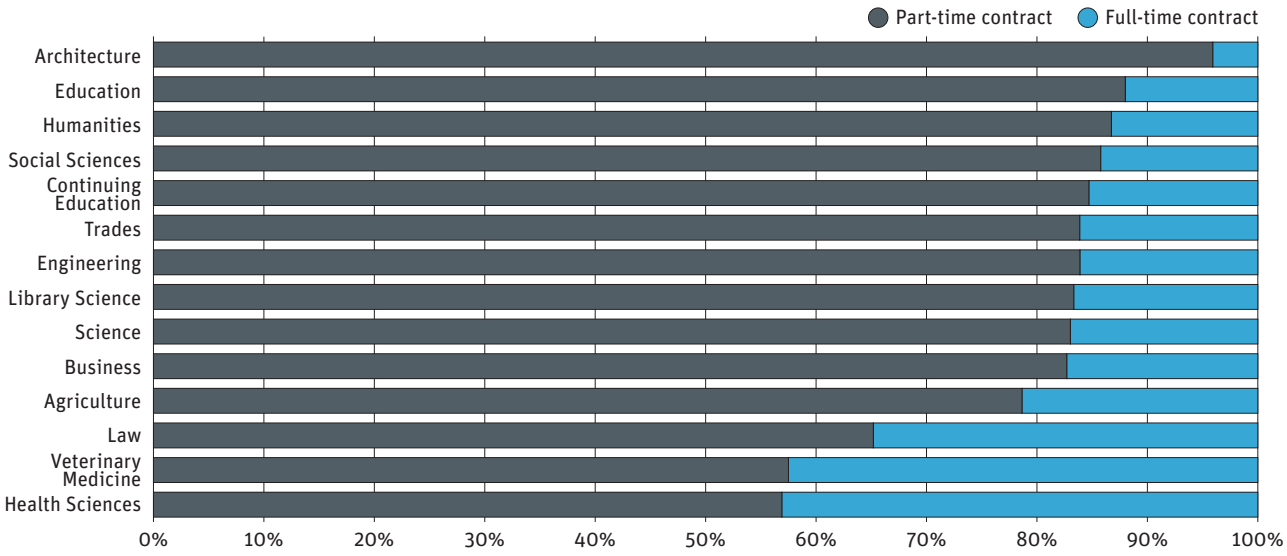
Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

FIGURE 4 Contract Faculty by Subject Area, 2016-17



Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

FIGURE 5 Proportion of Contract Appointments by Full-Time/Part-Time Status and Subject Area, 2016-17



Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

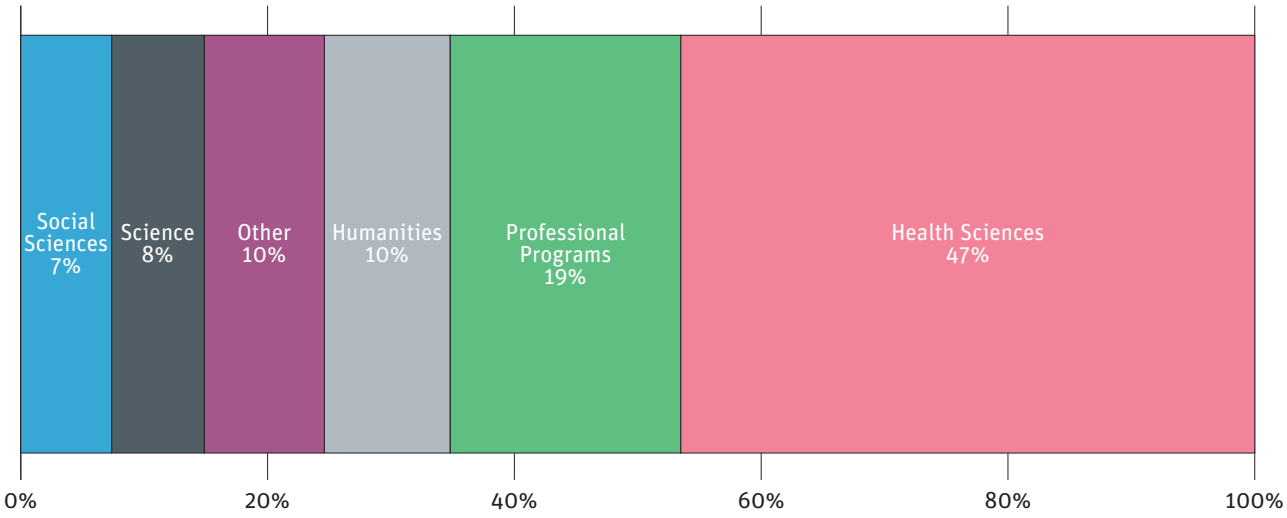
come in to teach one course or provide clinical oversight for students in health professions. However, when we remove all the professional fields where such a practice might be common (architecture, business, dentistry, engineering, law, medicine, midwifery, and nursing), the proportion of contract appointments compared to tenured and tenure-track faculty changes by less than one percentage point.

The use of full-time versus part-time contracts also varies quite significantly by discipline. Veterinary medicine only has a small number of contract appointments, but a higher than average proportion are full-time. In education, which has the second highest proportion of contract appointments of all the subject areas, nearly 90 per cent of them are part-time appointments. The highest rate of part-time appointments is in architecture, where 96 per cent of contract faculty appointments are part-time (see *Figure 5*).

Overall, the greatest number of full-time contract appointments can be found in the health sciences and professional programs. The social sciences and science have the smallest total number of full-time contract faculty (see *Figure 6*).

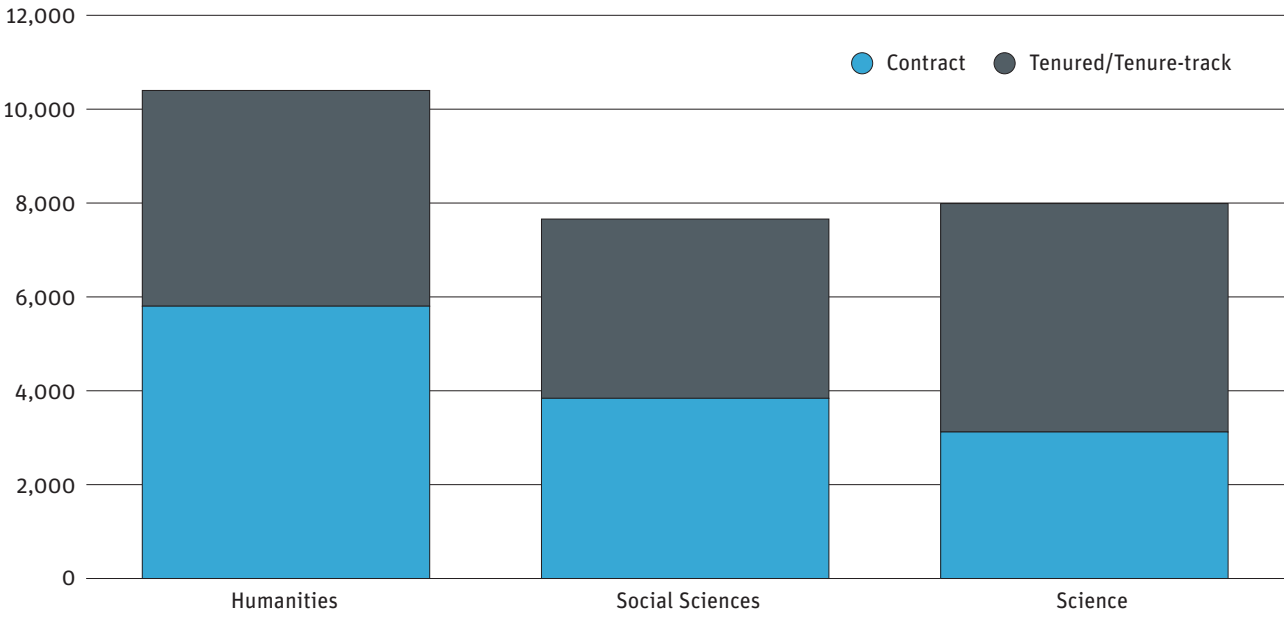
The core fields at almost any university are the humanities, social sciences, and science (*Figure 7*). Looking more closely at these three fields, we

FIGURE 6 Full-Time Contract Faculty, Broken Down by Subject Area, 2016-17



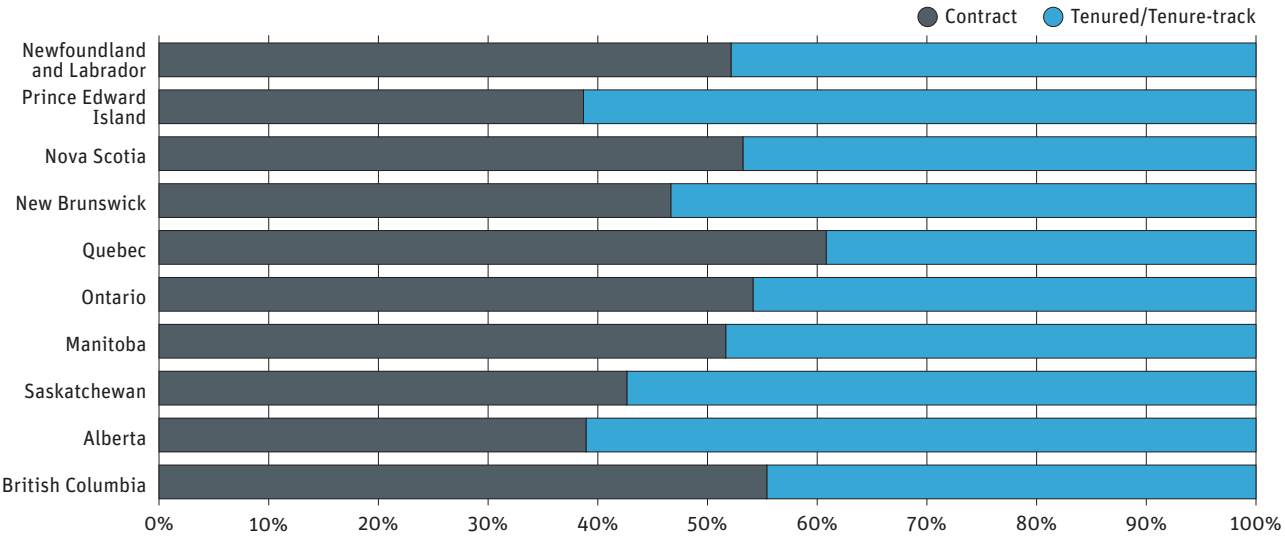
Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

FIGURE 7 Humanities, Social Sciences, and Science Faculty by Employment Status, 2016-17



Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

FIGURE 8 Proportion of Contract and Tenured Faculty by Province, 2016-17



Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

see variations in the use of contract appointments. Only 39 per cent of faculty appointments in science are contract. In the social sciences, half are contract, while in the humanities 56 per cent of positions are contract. Within each field, however, there is significant variation. For example, in some science departments, more than half of faculty appointments are contract. Similarly, in some humanities departments, more than half of faculty appointments are tenured and tenure-track.

Trends by province

There are significant differences in the use of contract appointments by province. At 61 per cent, Quebec relies much more on contract faculty than other provinces.[27] Ontario and B.C. are also above the national average, at 54 per cent and 55 per cent respectively. In the middle stands Manitoba (52 per cent), Nova Scotia (53 per cent), and Newfoundland and Labrador (52 per cent). New Brunswick (47 per cent) and Saskatchewan (43 per cent) are significantly below the national average. P.E.I. and Alberta (39 per cent) have the lowest rates of contract faculty appointments (see *Figure 8*).

TABLE 1 Universities Where Contracts are More Than Two-Thirds or Less Than One-Third of Faculty Appointments, 2016-17

MORE THAN TWO-THIRDS		LESS THAN ONE-THIRD	
University	**Proportion**	**University**	**Proportion**
Simon Fraser University	77.79%	Institut national de la recherche scientifique	0%
École nationale d'administration publique	74.58%	Royal Roads University	2.94%
Emily Carr University	74.48%	University of Lethbridge	14.40%
Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières	73.78%	University College of the North	23.21%
Nipissing University	73.49%	Kwantlen Polytechnic University	26.54%
Université du Québec à Rimouski	72.21%	Vancouver Island University	27.37%
OCAD University	71.67%	University of Alberta	31.02%
Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue	71.47%	University of King's College	31.58%
École des Hautes Études Commerciales	70.60%	University of Guelph	31.84%
Algoma University	70.10%		
Capilano University	69.75%		
École Polytechnique de Montréal	67.71%		
Grant MacEwan University	67.40%		

Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

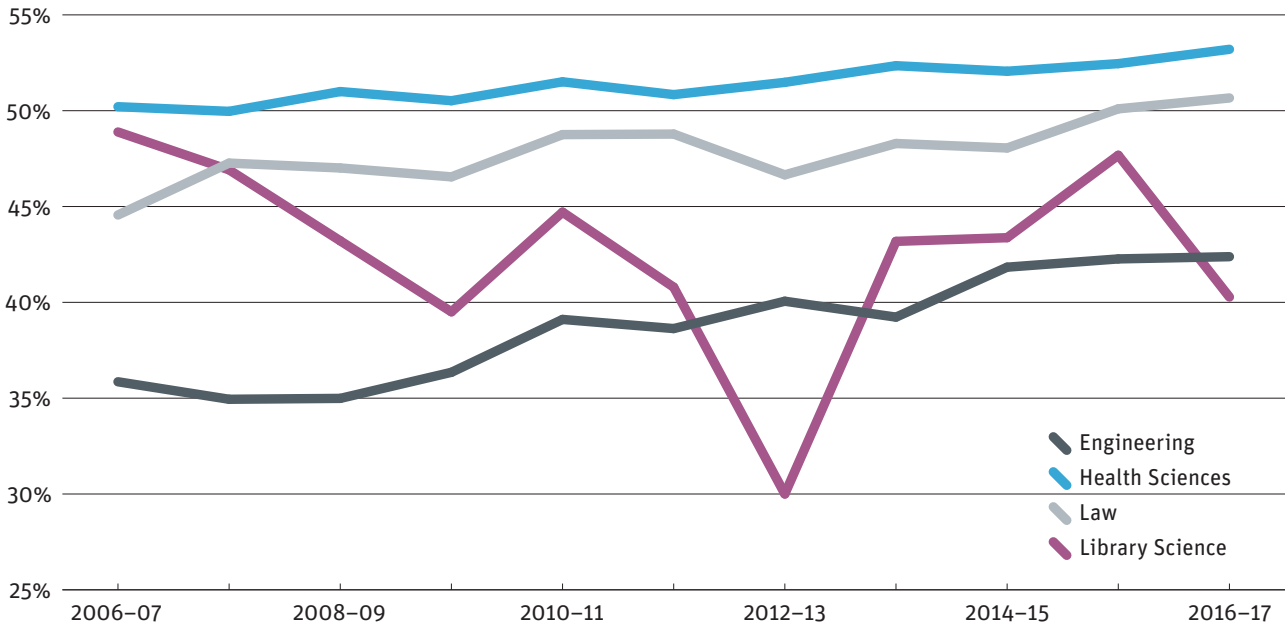
Trends by institution

Overall, there are 13 universities in Canada where contract appointments are more than two-thirds of all faculty appointments (and six of them are in Quebec). On the flip side, there are nine universities where fewer than one-third of faculty appointments are contract. That includes one university that has *no* contract faculty appointments: the Institut national de la recherche scientifique (see *Table 1*).

While the overall proportion of contract, tenured, and tenure-track appointments has remained steady, there have been changes among the various disciplines over time. The big disciplines of the humanities, science, and social sciences have remained stable, with a slight increase in contract faculty in science and a very slight decline in contract faculty in the humanities.

Some of the smaller fields, such as agriculture, architecture, and trades, have shown some volatility over time, but have nevertheless ended up with proportions relatively similar to those at the beginning of the dataset. Education has seen a slight increase in tenured and tenure-track appointments, while business has seen a slight increase in contract appointments. Three

FIGURE 9 Proportion of Contract Appointments by Selected Subject Area, 2006-07–2016-17



Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

fields have seen a more significant increase in the proportion of contract faculty appointments: engineering, health sciences, and law.

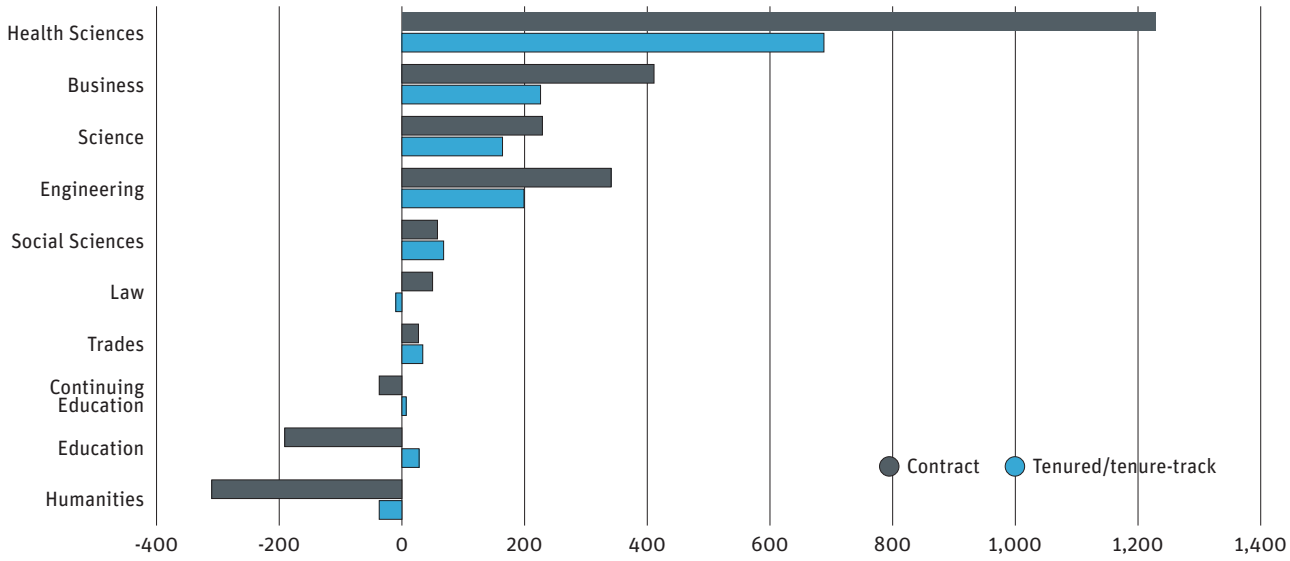
In contrast, the proportion of contract faculty appointments in library science has shown significant volatility but has, nevertheless, declined considerably (see *Figure 9*).

Change in overall numbers

We also looked at each type of faculty appointment within each subject area, to see where growth and decline is happening in total numbers (see *Figure 10*).

The humanities have experienced a decline in both tenured and tenure-track appointments and in contract appointments, with a much greater decrease in the number of contract appointments. Education and continuing education have both seen a decline in contract appointments and an increase in tenured and tenure-track appointments. Trades and social sciences have experienced growth in both tenured and tenure-track appointments as well as in contract appointments, with higher growth in the number of tenured and tenure-track appointments.

FIGURE 10 The Difference Between Tenured/Tenure-Track and Contract Appointments, Total Numbers, 2006-07 and 2016-17



Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

But in the areas that have seen the greatest growth over the past 10 years—health sciences, business, and engineering—contract appointments have significantly outpaced new tenured and tenure-track appointments. Science has seen a similar trend but on a smaller scale.

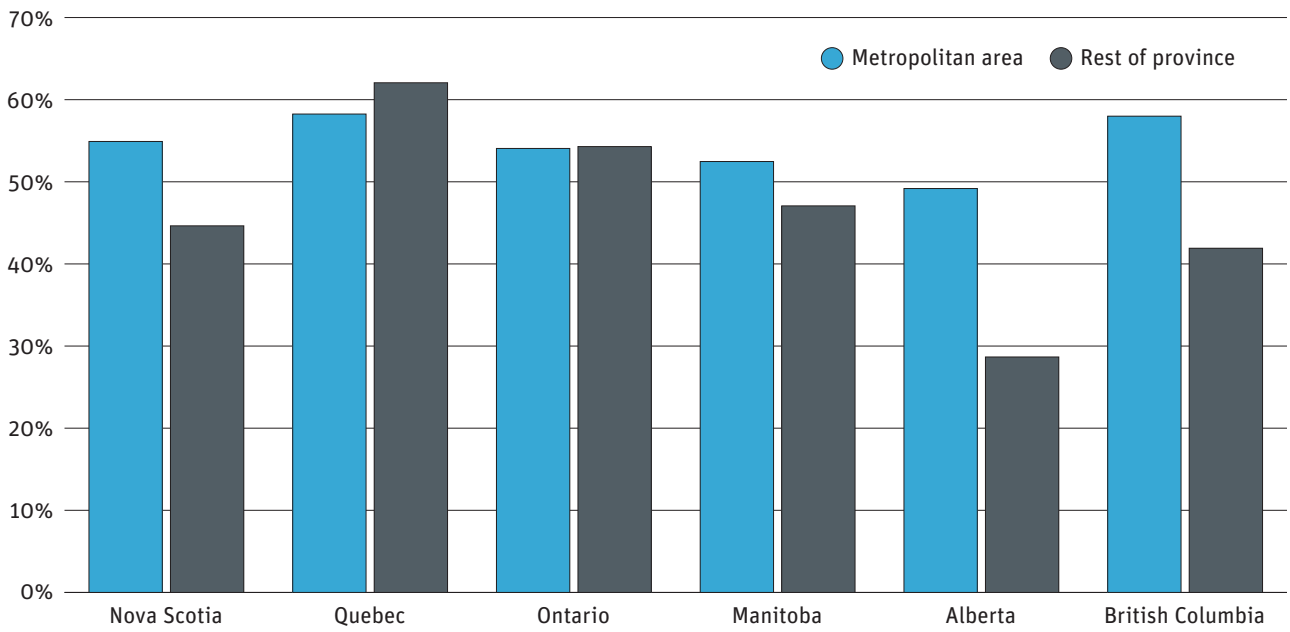
Provincial comparisons and regional trends

THERE IS NO consistent pattern to be drawn based on provincial trends. On the one hand, some provinces with sparser populations and fewer schools—such as Alberta, Saskatchewan, P.E.I., and New Brunswick—have the lowest rates of contract faculty. But Manitoba and Newfoundland and Labrador, which also fit that profile, have rates of contract appointments much closer to the national average.

We also looked at the question of whether multiple universities grouped within a more densely populated metropolitan region have higher rates of contract faculty appointments, on the grounds that they constitute a single market that can draw upon a larger pool of contract faculty. We wondered if universities located further apart or in more remote locations might have to offer tenure to attract faculty from major metropolitan centres. Indeed, this seems to be the case across the country, with the significant exceptions of Ontario and Quebec (see *Figure 11*).

In Halifax (including Acadia University, which is an hour's drive from Halifax), contract appointments make up nearly 55 per cent of faculty appointments, compared to 45 per cent in the rest of Nova Scotia. In Manitoba, contract appointments in Winnipeg account for 52 per cent of faculty appointments, compared to 47 per cent in the rest of the province. In Alberta, contract appointments in Calgary represent 49 per cent of faculty appointments, compared to 29 per cent in the rest of the province. And in

FIGURE 11 Rates of Contract Appointments in Metropolitan Centre Versus the Rest of the Province, Selected Provinces, 2016-17



Source FOI requests and authors' calculations.

the Greater Vancouver area, contract appointments make up 58 per cent of faculty appointments, compared to 42 per cent in the rest of British Columbia.

In Ontario, however, contract appointments in the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA), including universities within a 90-minute drive from Toronto (Brock University, Trent University, University of Guelph, University of Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University, and Western University), comprise 54 per cent of faculty appointments—identical to the rate of contract appointments in the rest of the province. In Quebec, contract appointments are actually lower in Montreal (58 per cent) than in the rest of the province, where they represent 62 per cent of all faculty appointments.

There are also very different rates of reliance on contract faculty between universities in the same province, even when other characteristics appear quite similar. In British Columbia, the two largest universities—the University of British Columbia (UBC) and Simon Fraser University (SFU)—are both located in the same metropolitan region and therefore presumably face the same labour market conditions, and receive funding based on the same provincial formula. Yet at UBC, contract appointments account for 44 per

cent of faculty appointments, while at SFU, contract appointments comprise 78 per cent of faculty appointments.

In Alberta, the University of Lethbridge and Mount Royal University are both small universities with fewer than 10,000 students. Yet at the University of Lethbridge, 14 per cent of faculty appointments are contract compared to 59 per cent at Mount Royal University.

In Ontario, Queen's University and Western University are both medium-sized institutions located in medium-sized cities. But at Queen's, contract faculty account for 44 per cent of appointments while at Western they represent 65 per cent.

In New Brunswick, both Mount Allison University and St. Thomas University are small universities, with just over 2,000 students. But at Mount Allison University, contracts account for 38 per cent of faculty appointments, compared to 56 per cent at St. Thomas University.

The drivers of precarity

What we can learn

THE TRENDS REVEALED in our dataset shed some light on the common explanations given for the post-secondary sector's reliance on contract faculty.

Decline in public funding?

Over the past two decades, federal and provincial governments have cut funding for post-secondary education, with the most significant cuts taking place in the latter half of the 1990s. Our data suggests the shift from a majority of tenured appointments to a majority of contract appointments occurred prior to 2006. It is possible that the shift took place following the major funding cuts in the late-1990s; unfortunately, we are unable to say this conclusively based on the existing information.

Certainly, the pervasiveness of contract faculty appointments suggests that cuts to public funding may be playing a role. On the other hand, if government funding was the key driver of universities' persistent reliance on contract faculty, then one might expect rates of contract appointments to be consistent within provinces, where schools receive funding based on the same provincial funding formula and have the same rules governing tuition fees. Many schools within a province also face similar challenges or advantages in attracting students based on population demographics and

desirability of location for international students. Yet, as noted, there can be significant variations in rates of contract appointments within provinces. These variations apply even when schools are located in similar markets and are of similar size, suggesting that the prevalence of contract faculty results from more than just the external imposition of austerity.

Responding to market or employer demand?

That the humanities and social sciences have higher rates of contract appointments than science seems, at first glance, to suggest that rates of contract appointments are consistent with the recent focus on the so-called STEM fields. These disciplines are typically promoted as the best bet for future employment opportunities and enrollment in these fields is growing faster than in the humanities and social sciences. According to Statistics Canada, enrollment in science programs increased by nearly 31 per cent between 2006-07 and 2015-16 (data is not yet available for 2016-17), while enrollment in social sciences and humanities increased by only 12 per cent over this same time period.[28] So institutions might be providing greater security to faculty within fields where demand is increasing at a faster pace.

Yet a closer look reveals that enrollment patterns alone cannot explain the frequency of contract faculty appointments. Among science departments, use of contract faculty varies considerably by discipline. The departments with the highest enrollment growth, according to Statistics Canada, are mathematics and computer science. Yet these two disciplines have higher-than-average rates of contract appointments. The life sciences, which have lower enrollment growth, have consistently high rates of tenured and tenure track appointments.

Engineering has also seen significant growth in the proportion of contract faculty appointments. Health sciences, which has seen the largest growth in the number of contract positions, has lower enrollment growth than science, which has fairly moderate growth in the number of contract positions. Business, which has also seen large growth in the number of contract positions, has lower enrollment growth than the social sciences, where growth in tenured and tenure-track positions exceeded the growth in contract positions.

Overall, there does not seem to be a consistent pattern in terms of enrollment changes and overall growth within disciplines and reliance on contract faculty.

Tenured faculty refusing to retire, or the prioritization of research?

Similarly, the changes in total numbers of contract and tenured faculty by discipline over the 10-year period don't really paint a picture of contract appointments being driven by tenured professors holding on to their positions too long, forcing universities to turn to cheaper contract appointments.

The greatest growth in the number of contract positions came in subject areas where the number of tenured and tenure-track appointments were also significantly increasing; in the social sciences, the number of tenured and tenure-track positions actually increased by more than the number of contract positions. In the humanities, which has lost both tenured and tenure-track positions and contract positions, more contract positions have been lost than tenured positions.

If contract faculty were mainly being hired in cases where tenured professors were refusing to retire, then in areas of growth, where the faculty positions being created are new positions, one would expect to see far more new tenured and tenure-track positions than new contract positions. Conversely, in areas of limited growth (or in the case of the humanities, contraction) where few new positions are being created, one would expect to see the number of tenured and tenure track positions shrink while the number of contract positions grows. We do not see either of these patterns, suggesting that tenured professors holding on to their positions cannot be the principal explanation for the use of contract appointments.

We also separated out the U15 Group of Canadian Research Universities to see if there were different trends at the research universities than at other schools. All but two of the large research universities are part of our data set (McGill University and the University of Toronto). At the U15, contract appointments accounted for 47 per cent of faculty appointments. Everywhere else contract appointments accounted for 59 per cent of faculty appointments. This suggests that it is not the research pursuits of tenured faculty that are driving contract appointments either—although our data cannot determine if the U15 universities provide greater support for research, including building it into their faculty model by ensuring that tenured faculty have the time required for this work.

Personal choice of contract faculty?

It is clear that the heavy reliance on contract faculty appointments extends far beyond the use of professionals bringing hands-on, real-world experience to the classroom—those who may not be interested in permanent academic work. As noted earlier, when we remove all the professional fields (architecture, business, dentistry, engineering, law, medicine, midwifery, and nursing), the proportion of contract appointments to tenured and tenure-track faculty changes by less than one percentage point.

Similarly, when we remove criminology and criminal justice, economics, international affairs, labour studies, police studies, public policy and administration, and social work from the social sciences—disciplines in which professionals are more likely to teach—the proportion of contract faculty appointments declines by only one percentage point. Within the humanities, when we remove communications, journalism, and visual arts, the proportion of contract appointments actually increases to 60 per cent. Reliance on contract appointments is a problem that pervades all departments and disciplines and is not restricted to professional fields and programs.

Conclusions

OVERALL, OUR DATA suggests that reliance on contract faculty appointments is not a minor, temporary approach to faculty appointments. More than half of faculty appointments are contract, and this has been the case for at least the past decade. This is not about filling temporary or short-term gaps. Reliance on contract faculty is a structural element of university management.

Given the uneven way in which contract faculty appointments are handled across institutions, regions, faculties, and departments, the structural nature of universities' reliance on contract employment does not appear to be a concerted response to changing job market or employer demands. Nor can it be explained away as solely the personal choices of tenured or contract faculty. Institutions in similar situations, whether based on size or location, have made very different decisions regarding faculty appointments, suggesting that reliance on contract faculty is, in large part, a choice that is being made by the administration of universities.

But these choices are not free of consequences and may, in fact, shape how the public views universities.[29] One of the arguments university administrations have advanced to justify their reliance on contract faculty is that contract faculty do not have the qualifications to deserve tenure.[30] However, the sheer number of contract appointments made by universities—in some cases more than half—suggests a disconnect: you can't simultaneously insist that more than half of faculty appointments are underqualified while continuing to assure students, parents, and governments that universities offer a high-quality education.[31]

Understanding the scope of the problem, and the fact that universities have relied on a significant proportion of contract faculty for so long, also raises questions about the university's role as an employer and educator. Our institutions of higher learning have a responsibility to the students they educate, to the faculty members and education workers who fulfill the core mission of the university, and to the public that finances them.

The solution to this situation is multifaceted: adequate and sustained public funding, greater transparency about hiring practices, and a commitment to improved labour standards.

Recommendations

1. Better data

Our dataset reveals that the extent of precarity in the post-secondary sector is significant. But while our research is the first of its kind on a national scale, there are limits to what information can be acquired through Freedom of Information requests. Not only are we missing universities and years of data, we are unable to provide a demographic profile of contract faculty, nor can we assess their credentials and the lengths of their contract. The data was also not disaggregated by gender or race. Much more needs to be done to obtain an accurate and fulsome picture of precarity in the post-secondary sector.

This should start with much better data-gathering and reporting by the governments that fund public universities. Statistics Canada should ensure that full and complete data is gathered annually on part-time academic staff and that data for full- and part-time staff clearly identifies employment status broken down by gender and other employment equity categories. As we have seen, approximately 20 per cent of contract faculty are full-time. We also know that some institutions have part-time tenured or permanent positions. Simply asking for the full- or part-time status of staff tells us nothing about the long-term security of the worker, which is as relevant to the question of quality education as is their full- or part-time status. Similarly, academic rank might be interesting and important information, but it is not the same as knowing whether someone is permanently or precariously employed.

Including information on part-time faculty and employment status in the UCASS would also allow for a much better understanding of factors, such as gender and wages, among contract faculty. We know based on survey data that contract faculty not only have lower wages, they are more likely to be female, which is consistent with other studies on precarity across sectors. Some universities have committed to closing the gender gap and the gender wage gap by hiring more women for tenured positions and ensuring pay equity among tenured faculty. Having better statistics on gender and wages among contract faculty would allow us to identify where universities might be undermining these important efforts through reliance on contract appointments.

The data collected by Statistics Canada should also include information on both contract appointments and contract faculty. This will provide important insights on the nature of appointments and how they are being used, as well as shedding some light on the number of individuals with multiple contracts at a single university.

Relying on Freedom of Information requests means researchers are dependent on the schools themselves to release accurate data, to categorize it as requested, and to provide transparent information on each type of contract utilized. Having Statistics Canada conduct the survey would allow for a common definition of each category, with schools required to provide the information in a common format.

Faculty associations and local unions should also ensure that their collective agreements require routine disclosure of faculty numbers and employment status (many of them already do). This will allow them to quickly identify trends and to better protect their members.

2. Addressing inadequate public funding

The impacts of this precarious employment model on contract faculty, students, and the quality of education and research are untenable over the long term. Part of the solution lies in federal and provincial governments introducing a sustainable funding model that keeps pace with enrollment and provides adequate support for teaching, research, and administration. Ensuring that universities also have funding to deal with the huge backlog of maintenance will also help to reduce the incentive for universities to cut labour costs. If universities want to claim the title of leader in our communities, they need to model the goal of ensuring that every job is a good job.

3. Stronger labour protections

If federal and provincial governments are serious about protecting the sustainability and quality of post-secondary educational institutions as places of learning and work, they need to take action. Governments have many levers they can use, including labour legislation and funding agreements with the universities, to address employment conditions for faculty and other staff. This includes greater restrictions on the use of contract positions, ensuring fairness in wages and benefits for contract employees (including equal pay for equal work, rather than allowing differential rates of pay based on contract status), and requiring universities to adopt faculty renewal strategies. These kinds of measures reduce the incentives for university administrators to use contract positions, and help ensure all faculty are treated fairly. These tools also help to protect the quality of education at Canadian universities and help retain highly skilled, fairly compensated faculty.

Appendix A

Methodology

OUR PROJECT BEGAN by submitting an identical request to all 78 publicly funded universities in Canada covered by Freedom of Information legislation. This was the request:

1. The number of full-time, tenured (or tenure-stream) faculty in each university department for each year from the 2006-07 academic year through the 2016-17 academic year (inclusive). For greater clarity, I am seeking the number of *individuals* in each category, not the number of *full-time equivalents*. Please include faculty from all bargaining units, as well as any non-organized faculty.

2. The number of full-time sessional or contractually limited appointments in each university department for each year from the 2006-07 academic year through the 2016-17 academic year (inclusive). For greater clarity, I am seeking the number of *individuals* in each category, not the number of *full-time equivalents*. Please include faculty from all bargaining units, as well as any non-organized faculty.

3. The number of part-time sessional or contractually limited appointments in each university department for each year from the 2006-07 academic year through the 2016-17 academic year (inclusive). (These appointments are sometimes called adjunct or contingent faculty and are generally employed on a course-by-course basis, receiving limited-term contracts to teach one or

more courses.) For greater clarity, I am seeking the number of *individuals* in each category, not the number of *full-time equivalents*. Please include faculty from all bargaining units, as well as any non-organized faculty.

We also submitted a similar request to the University of Prince Edward Island, which at the time was not covered by provincial legislation but had just adopted its own institutional policy.

We received information from 73 universities in response. Some universities provided the requested information very quickly; others required multiple conversations to clarify what was being requested before they could provide any information. Several universities did not respond at all and it required multiple phone calls and emails in order to get a response. In one case, we had to resort to filing a complaint with the Information Commissioner for "deemed refusal." Two universities (University of Ottawa and University of Windsor) initially refused to release records but later released records.

We also paid fees to 27 universities for the release of records. For more information on fees, see Appendix C.

Five universities did not provide any information. McGill University in Quebec refused on the grounds that they had no responsive records. In Ontario, Lakehead University, Ryerson University, and the University of Ontario Institute of Technology all claimed exemptions from the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act on the basis of labour relations. Athabasca University in Alberta demanded fees of $21,870 for the release of the information, which we have appealed to the Information Commissioner. Appeals in all five cases are still outstanding. For more information on appeals, see Appendix D.

Of the 73 universities that responded, four universities sent only partial information that could not be used: Université de Moncton, Concordia University, Université TÉLUQ, and Université du Québec à Montréal. The University of Toronto sent us information but it was not categorized properly and could not be used. Our attempts to resolve this situation with the University of Toronto failed. The University of Victoria provided four separate data releases, but after reviewing the information we determined that we could not ensure the accuracy of the data and did not use it.

We requested statistics on full-time tenured faculty because this is the traditional model of job security for academic staff. However, a small number of schools noted that they have part-time tenured faculty. Some schools excluded part-time faculty appointments from their response, while others noted that they were unable to separate them from full-time tenured faculty. Based on information from schools that identified part-time, tenured faculty

in the data they sent us (which we excluded from the analysis) we believe that part-time tenured faculty make up a very small number of the overall count of tenured faculty and do not skew the results.

Other universities do not have a system of tenure but have permanent or regular faculty who have the same status as tenured faculty at other universities. We counted such faculty as tenured and tenure-track. Additionally, a small number of universities with tenure also have non-tenured faculty with permanent contracts. Since our primary interest for this project was in the question of job security, we included these faculty with the tenured and tenure-track faculty in our analysis.

Because certain terms are used in different ways at different schools, we made no assumptions about which category a certain type of faculty appointment fell under. Instead, in order to determine the categorization, we read collective agreements, consulted with Freedom of Information coordinators, and sometimes, confirmed with local unions or faculty associations.

As noted, most of the schools sent us data regarding appointments, rather than individuals. Three schools indicated that they removed individuals with appointments in multiple departments so that they only appeared once: Memorial University, University College of the North, and the University of Saskatchewan. Only one school, Mount Allison University, sent full-time equivalents rather than individual appointments. Mount Allison's data was converted to appointments based on the information the university provided.

We were also dependent on the universities for the accuracy of the data, with limited options for quality control. However, to ensure accuracy as much as possible, we looked at the data for each individual university to identify any anomalies, such as a big swing from one year to the next. In some cases, universities were able to correct errors or provide explanations for a big change. In other cases, we ended up excluding a year or two of data because we couldn't ensure the accuracy.

When universities sent information for multiple semesters, we used the data for the fall semester to align with the data from many other universities that use a fall point-in-time survey to collect data on faculty appointments, generally for the Statistics Canada UCASS survey.

The usable responses were combined into a single dataset, which allowed us to look at trends across time and by region. In order to look at trends by discipline, we assigned each faculty and department a type. For instance, in the case of faculties, the types included agriculture, architecture, business, continuing education, education, engineering, health sciences, humanities, law, library science, other, science, social sciences, trades, and veterinary

medicine. In cases where we had information on both faculty and department, we assigned the faculty type based on the department, rather than on the name of the faculty. This got around the difficulty of knowing where to assign faculties which combined multiple types, such as faculties of arts and science.

We also removed data regarding library appointments (at some schools, librarians can also have tenure), administrative appointments, and student services, in order to focus on the core mandate of faculty: teaching and research. (Although based on the information provided, the trends for contract appointments in libraries and student services are similar to the overall trends.)

Our final dataset can be seen in *Table 2*. The columns align with the filters that can be applied, so the checkmarks represent which universities were included in the analysis when a given filter was applied.

TABLE 2 Final Dataset

School	Ten Years of Data	Information Broken Down By: Institution	Faculty	Dept	Contract Faculty Broken Down by FT/PT
Acadia University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Algoma University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Bishop's University	✓	✓			
Brandon University	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Brock University	✓	✓	✓		✓
Cape Breton University		✓	✓	✓	✓
Capilano University	✓	✓			
Carleton University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Dalhousie University		✓	✓	✓	✓
Dominican University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
École de technologie supérieure	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
École des Hautes Études Commerciales	✓	✓			✓
École nationale d'administration publique	✓	✓			✓
École Polytechnique de Montréal	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Emily Carr University	✓	✓	✓		
Grant MacEwan University	✓	✓	✓		✓
Institut national de la recherche scientifique	✓	✓			✓
Kwantlen Polytechnic University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Laurentian University		✓			
McMaster University		✓	✓		✓
Memorial University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mount Allison University	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Mount Royal University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mount Saint Vincent	✓	✓	✓		✓
Nipissing University	✓	✓	✓		✓
NSCAD University	✓	✓	✓		
OCAD University	✓	✓	✓		✓
Queen's University	✓	✓	✓		✓
Royal Roads University	✓	✓	✓		✓
Saint Mary's University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Simon Fraser University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
St. Francis Xavier University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
St. Thomas University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thompson Rivers University		✓	✓		

School	Ten Years of Data	Information Broken Down By: Institution	Faculty	Dept	Contract Faculty Broken Down by FT/PT
Trent University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Université de Montréal	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Université de Saint-Boniface	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Université de Sherbrooke	✓	✓			
Université du Québec à Chicoutimi	✓	✓	✓		
Université du Québec à Rimouski		✓	✓	✓	
Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue	✓	✓	✓		✓
Université du Québec en Outaouais		✓			
Université Laval		✓	✓	✓	✓
Université Sainte-Anne		✓			✓
University College of the North	✓	✓	✓		✓
University of Alberta	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
University of British Columbia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
University of Calgary	✓	✓	✓		✓
University of Guelph		✓	✓	✓	✓
University of King's College	✓	✓			✓
University of Lethbridge	✓	✓	✓		✓
University of Manitoba		✓	✓	✓	✓
University of New Brunswick	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
University of Northern British Columbia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
University of Ottawa	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
University of Prince Edward Island		✓	✓	✓	✓
University of Regina	✓	✓			✓
University of Saskatchewan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
University of the Fraser Valley	✓	✓	✓	✓	
University of Waterloo		✓	✓	✓	✓
University of Windsor	✓	✓	✓	✓	
University of Winnipeg		✓	✓	✓	✓
Vancouver Island University	✓	✓			
Western University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Wilfrid Laurier University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
York University	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Appendix B

Responses

School	Years of Data Provided: Full-Time Faculty	Full-Time Contract	Part-Time Contract	Contract Not Broken Down by FT/PT	Level of Data: Faculty	Department	Usable	Date Request Submitted	Date Request Completed
Newfoundland and Labrador									
Memorial University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-21	2017-06-01
Prince Edward Island									
University of Prince Edward Island	2012-13–2016-17	2012-13–2016-17	2012-13–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Partial	2017-05-05	
New Brunswick									
Mount Allison University	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-05-31
St. Thomas University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-07-18
Université de Moncton	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17			Yes	Yes	No	2017-04-27	
University of New Brunswick	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-06-21
Nova Scotia									
Acadia University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-18	2017-06-13
Cape Breton University	2007-08–2011-12, 2013-14–2016-17	2007-08–2011-12, 2013-14–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Partial	Partial	Partial	2017-05-05	
Dalhousie University	2012-13–2016-17	2012-13–2016-17	2012-13–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	
Mount Saint Vincent University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	No	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-08-16
NSCAD University	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	Partial	Partial	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-07-20
Saint Mary's University	2006-07–2016-17	n/a	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-06-15
St. Francis Xavier University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-07-19

	Years of Data Provided				Level of Data				
School	Full-Time Faculty	Full-Time Contract	Part-Time Contract	Contract Not Broken Down by FT/PT	Faculty	Department	Usable	Date Request Submitted	Date Request Completed
Université Sainte-Anne	2007-08–2016-17	2007-08–2016-17	2007-08–2016-17		No	No	Yes	2017-05-05	
University of King's College	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		No	No	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-06-19
Quebec									
Bishop's University	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	No	No	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-06-29
Concordia University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17			Yes	Yes	No	2017-04-25	
École de technologie supérieure	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-27	2017-05-23
École des Hautes Études Commerciales	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Partial	Partial	Yes	2017-04-27	2017-06-28
École nationale d'administration publique	2006-07–2016-17	n/a	2006-07–2016-17		No	No	Yes	2017-04-27	2017-05-19
École Polytechnique de Montréal	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	Partial	Partial	Yes	2017-04-27	2017-06-07
Institut national de la recherche scientifique	2006-07–2016-17	n/a	n/a		No	No	Yes	2017-04-27	2017-05-16
McGill University								2017-04-25	
Télé-université (TÉLUQ)	2006-07–2016-17						No	2017-04-27	
Université de Montréal	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-27	2017-08-30
Université de Sherbrooke	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	No	No	Yes	2017-04-27	2017-07-07
Université du Québec à Chicoutimi	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	Yes	No	Yes	2017-04-27	2017-06-01
Université du Québec à Montréal	2006-07–2016-17				Yes	Yes	No	2017-04-27	
Université du Québec à Rimouski	2006-07–2016-17			2010-11–2016-17	No	Yes	Partial	2017-04-27	
Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-27	2017-07-14
Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue	2006-07–2016-17	n/a	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-27	2017-08-30
Université du Québec en Outaouais	2006-07–2016-17			2007-08–2016-17	Partial	Partial	Partial	2017-04-27	
Université Laval	2012-13–2016-17	2012-13–2016-17	2012-13–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-27	
Ontario									
Algoma University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-11-10
Brock University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	No	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-06-23
Carleton University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-06-19
Dominican University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-05-29
Lakehead University								2017-05-05	
Laurentian University	2006-07–2007-08, 2009-10–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Partial	Partial	2017-05-05	2017-08-29

School	Years of Data Provided				Level of Data		Usable	Date Request Submitted	Date Request Completed
	Full-Time Faculty	Full-Time Contract	Part-Time Contract	Contract Not Broken Down by FT/PT	Faculty	Department			
McMaster University	2012-13–2016-17	2012-13–2016-17	2009-10-2016-17		Yes	No	Partial	2017-05-05	
Nipissing University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	No	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-06-06
OCAD University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-08-23
Queen's University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	No	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-10-20
Ryerson University								2017-05-05	
Trent University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-07-20
University of Guelph	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2010-11–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Partial	2017-05-05	
University of Ontario Institute of Technology								2017-05-05	
University of Ottawa	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Partial	2017-05-05	2018-02-27
University of Toronto	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	No	2017-05-05	2017-06-16
University of Waterloo	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2012-13–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Partial	2017-05-05	
University of Windsor	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	Yes	Partial	Yes	2017-05-05	2018-03-07
Western University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-08-17
Wilfrid Laurier University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-09-05
York University	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	Partial	Partial	Yes	2017-05-05	2018-07-11
Manitoba									
Brandon University	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-10-27
Université de Saint-Boniface	2006-07–2016-17	n/a	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-27	2017-06-22
University College of the North	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	No	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-07-06
University of Manitoba	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Partial	Partial	Partial	2017-04-25	2017-06-01
University of Winnipeg	2009-10–2016-17	2009-10–2016-17	2014-15–2016-17		Partial	Partial	Partial	2017-04-25	
Saskatchewan									
University of Regina	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Partial	No	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-09-06
University of Saskatchewan	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-06-09

	Years of Data Provided				Level of Data				
School	Full-Time Faculty	Full-Time Contract	Part-Time Contract	Contract Not Broken Down by FT/PT	Faculty	Department	Usable	Date Request Submitted	Date Request Completed
Alberta									
Athabasca University								2017-05-05	
Grant MacEwan University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	No	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-06-19
Mount Royal University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-07-18
University of Alberta	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-06-19
University of Calgary	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	No	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-07-28
University of Lethbridge	2006-07–2016-17	n/a	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	No	Yes	2017-05-05	2017-09-11
British Columbia									
Capilano University	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	Partial	No	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-07-14
Emily Carr University	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-05-24
Kwantlen Polytechnic University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-25	2018-05-03
Royal Roads University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	n/a		Yes	No	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-06-22
Simon Fraser University	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-07-28
Thompson Rivers University	2008-09–2016-17	2008-09–2016-17	2008-09–2016-17		Yes	No	Partial	2017-04-25	
University of British Columbia	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-07-31
University of Northern British Columbia	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-06-23
University of the Fraser Valley	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	Yes	Yes	Yes	2017-04-25	2017-07-31
University of Victoria	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17	2006-07–2016-17		Yes	Yes	No	2017-04-25	2017-11-02
Vancouver Island University	2006-07–2016-17			2006-07–2016-17	No	No	Yes	2017-04-25	2018-01-24

Appendix C

Fees

Institution	Initial Fee Estimate	Information Covered by Fee Estimate	Requested Reassessment	Complaint to Information Commissioner	Initial Fee Paid	Amount Reimbursed	Total Fee Paid
Algoma University	$1,470	All		Fee not reduced	$1,470	$660	$810
Athabasca University	$21,870	All		In progress			
Brandon University	$892.50	All			$892.50		$892.50
Brock University	$180	All years, broken down by Faculty			$150		$150
Cape Breton University	$80.50	Part-time faculty records			$80.50		$80.50
Dalhousie University	$14,100	2006-07–2011-12		Dalhousie increased fee estimate to $55,000; complaint still in progress			
Kwantlen Polytechnic University	$2,600	All	Fee not reduced	Fee reduced	$2,040	$780	$1,260
McMaster University	$420	2011-12–2016-17			$420		$420
Mount Saint Vincent University	$510	All			$510		$510
NSCAD University	$480	All			$480		$480
OCAD University	$300	All			$300		$300
Queen's University	$3,360	All		Reduced by changing scope	$1,740		$1,740
Simon Fraser University	$450	All			$450	$225	$225
Thompson Rivers University	$75	2008-09–2016-17			$75		$75
Trent University	$360	All			$360		$360
Université de Saint-Boniface	$600	All			$600	$180	$420

Institution	Initial Fee Estimate	Information Covered by Fee Estimate	Requested Reassessment	Complaint to Information Commissioner	Initial Fee Paid	Amount Reimbursed	Total Fee Paid
Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue	$750	Full-time, tenured/ tenure-track records for 2006-07–2010-11			$750		$750
University of Guelph	$360	All full-time records; part-time records for 2010-11–2016-17			$360		$360
University of Ottawa	$7,950	All		Fee reduced	$310		$310
University of Prince Edward Island	$250.25	2016-17 data			$250.25		$250.25
University of Regina	$2,085	Records for FT and PT contract faculty	Fee reduced by changing scope of request		$465		$465
University of the Fraser Valley	$850.50	All	Fee not reduced		$850.50		$850.50
University of Victoria	$1,200	All	Fee reduced		$900	$435	$465
University of Windsor	$540.20	All			$540.20		$540.20
University of Winnipeg	$13,725	2006-07–2012-13		Fee not reduced			
Western University	$303.20	All			$303.20		$303.20
Wilfrid Laurier University	$922	All			$922		$922
Total	**$76,684**				**$15,219**	**$2,280**	**$12,939**

*** Note** This list does not include initial request fees of $5 per request in Nova Scotia and Ontario, $20 per request in Saskatchewan and $25 per request in Alberta, nor the $25 fee to file an appeal with the Information Commissioner of Ontario.

Appendix D

Complaints and appeals

Institution	Reason	Date Filed	Date Closed	Outcome/Status
Algoma University	Excessive fees	2017-06-23	2017-10-27	Resolved through mediation, fee not reduced.
Athabasca University	Excessive fees	2017-07-07		Ongoing; at inquiry stage.
Concordia University	Partial refusal	2017-06-23		Ongoing.
Dalhousie University	Excessive fees	2017-06-23		Ongoing; at review stage
Kwantlen Polytechnic University	Excessive fees	2017-06-23	2018-03-02	Fee reduced upon review by Commissioner
Lakehead University	Complete refusal	2017-06-23		Ongoing; at adjudication stage.
McGill University	Complete refusal	2017-06-05		Ongoing.
McMaster University	Partial refusal	2018-05-03		Ongoing; at mediation stage.
Queen's University	Excessive fees	2017-06-23	2017-09-22	Resolved through mediation; fee reduced by changing scope.
Ryerson University	Complete refusal	2017-08-10	2017-11-15	Appeal dismissed at intake stage.
Ryerson University	Complete refusal	2018-02-28		Ongoing; at adjudication stage.
Université de Moncton	Partial refusal	2017-12-01		Ongoing; at investigation stage.
Université du Québec à Rimouski	Partial refusal	2017-06-05		Ongoing.
Université du Québec en Outaouais	Partial refusal	2017-06-29	2018-09-14	Resolved; withdrew complaint at adjudication stage when university unions provided the information the institution refused to provide.
Université Laval	Partial refusal	2017-05-19		Ongoing.
University of Ontario Institute of Technology	Complete refusal	2017-06-23		Ongoing; at adjudication stage.
University of Ottawa	Excessive fees	2017-06-23	2018-03-01	Resolved through mediation, fee reduced.
University of Ottawa	Complete refusal	2017-09-25	2018-03-01	Resolved through mediation; information released.
University of Waterloo	Partial refusal	2018-03-27	2018-09-21	Resolved through mediation; some additional information released.
University of Windsor	Complete refusal	2017-06-23	2018-03-07	Resolved; FOI request and complaint withdrawn; information released informally.
University of Winnipeg	Excessive fees	2017-08-14	2017-11-14	Appeal dismissed; fee not reduced.
Vancouver Island University	Deemed refusal (failed to respond)	2018-01-09	2018-01-26	Resolved; university provided a response.

Appendix E

TO FIND OUT what may have motivated the refusal to release information by certain universities, whether through an outright refusal or through the imposition of extremely high fees, we approached the local unions and faculty associations at schools that refused to release information.

In some cases, the local unions and faculty associations were able to provide us with the requested information, demonstrating that a lack of information or ease of collecting the information was not the principal barrier to releasing the requested records.

For instance, at Dalhousie University, where the University said it would cost $55,000 to compile six years of data, CUPE 3912 and the Dalhousie Faculty Association were able to provide us with the missing information based on reports which Dalhousie University sends to them every year.

Similarly, the McGill University Faculty Association was able to provide us with a report, compiled by the university, which included a statistical breakdown of faculty by employment status.

The information obtained in this manner suggest that the data in our report can be considered representative of the overall trends, even without the inclusion of every university.

For instance, the information provided by CUPE 3912 and the DFA show that the overall proportion of contract appointments to tenure/tenure-track appointments at Dalhousie University has not changed between the excluded years and the included years.

The information provided by the McGill University Faculty Association suggests that 66.9% of faculty appointments at McGill University are contract, which is similar to Quebec's overall much higher reliance on contract appointments. Adding McGill to the provincial numbers would have slightly increased the proportion of contract appointments overall in the province to 62%.

CUPE 3911 at Athabasca University estimates that contract faculty make up 50% of the appointments at Athabasca University. This is much higher than the Alberta average, but because Athabasca's overall faculty numbers are quite small, it would have only slightly increased the proportion of contract appointments in Alberta to 40%.

Notes

1 Ira Basen, "Most University Undergrads Now Taught by Poorly Paid Part-Timers," *CBC News*, September 7, 2014; Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations, "Faculty from Across Canada Participate in OCUFA's Fourth Social Media Day of Action," March 8, 2018, https://ocufa.on.ca/blog-posts/faculty-across-canada-participate-ocufas-fourth-social-media-day-action/; Canadian Union of Public Employees, *Quality Jobs, Quality Education, Better Futures Report: What We Heard About Precarious Work In the Post-Secondary Sector,* June 2017, https://cupe.ca/sites/cupe/files/report_townhalls_2017_05_18.pdf; OCUFA, "Confronting Precarious Academic Work," 2016, https://ocufa.on.ca/conferences/confronting-precarious-academic-work/.

2 Teresa Healy, "Public Exclusion, Underfunding and the Intensification of Work: Universities and the Erosion of Democracy in Ontario," *Just Labour,* 2002, Vol. 1, pp. 68–76; Indhu Rajagopal, *Hidden Academics: Contract Faculty in Canadian Universities*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002; Harold Bauder, "The Segmentation of Academic Labour: A Canadian Example," *ACME*, 2006, Vol. 4 (2), pp. 228–239; Vicky Smallman, "Academic Labour: The Canadian Context," *Cinema Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Summer, 2006), pp. 108–112.

3 Canadian Association of University Teachers, *CAUT Facts and Figures 2017,* January 2017, https://www.caut.ca/docs/default-source/Mailings-2017/caut---facts-and-figures-(2017-01).pdf?sfvrsn=0.

4 Karen Foster and Louise Birdsell Bauer, *Out of the Shadows: Experiences of Contract Academic Staff*, Canadian Association of University Teachers, September 2018, https://www.caut.ca/sites/default/files/cas_report.pdf; Karen Foster, *Precarious U: Contract Faculty in Nova Scotia Universities,* Association of Nova Scotia University Teachers, 2016, http://ansut.caut.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/ANSUT-Precarious-U-Final-Report.pdf; Cynthia C. Field and Glen A. Jones, *A Survey of Sessional Faculty in Ontario Publicly-Funded Universities,* Toronto: Centre for the Study of Canadian and International Higher Education, OISE-University of Toronto, 2016, https://www.oise.utoronto.ca/hec/UserFiles/File/Sessional_Faculty_-_OHCRIF_Final_Report_-_July_2016.pdf.

5 Foster, *Precarious U*.

6 Field and Jones, *A Survey of Sessional Faculty in Ontario Publicly-Funded Universities*.

7 Foster and Birdsell, *Out of the Shadows*.

8 Jack Hauen and Zak Vescera, "Choosing 'Between Groceries and Rent': Low Wages, No Security for Hundreds of UBC Professors," February 27, 2018, https://www.ubyssey.ca/features/

choosing-between-rent-and-groceries-sessional-lecturers-struggle/; CUPE, *Quality Jobs, Quality Education, Better Futures Report*.

9 Marlea Clarke, Wayne Lewchuk, Alice de Wolff, and Andy King, "'This Just Isn't Sustainable': Precarious Employment, Stress and Workers' Health," *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry,* 2007, Vol. 30, pp. 311–326.

10 Michelle Webber, "Miss Congeniality Meets the New Managerialism: Feminism, Contingent Labour, and the New University," *Canadian Journal of Higher Education,* 2008, Vol. 38 (3), pp. 37–56; Louise Birdsell Bauer, *Permanently Precarious? Contingent Academic Faculty Members, Professional Identity and Institutional Change in Quebec Universities,* Masters Thesis, Concordia University, April 2011, https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/7285/1/BirdsellBauer_MA_S2011.pdf; Andrew Robinson, "A Personal Perspective of Contract Instructing in Ontario," *Academic Matters,* Spring 2015; Erika Shaker and Robin Shaban, *No Temporary Solution: Ontario's Shifting College and University Workforce,* Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, February 2018.

11 Jamie Brownlee, *Academia, Inc.: How Corporatization is Transforming Canadian Universities,* Nova Scotia and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2015.

12 Paul D. Umbach and Matthew R. Wawrzynski, "Faculty Do Matter: The Role of College Faculty in Student Learning and Engagement," *Research in Higher Education,* March 2005, Vol. 46 (2), pp. 153–184.

13 For more on the impact of precarity on students, see Jamie Brownlee, *Academia, Inc.*, pp. 65–68.

14 Field and Jones, *A Survey of Sessional Faculty in Ontario Publicly-Funded Universities*.

15 Brownlee, *Academia, Inc.*

16 Field and Jones, *A Survey of Sessional Faculty in Ontario Publicly-Funded Universities.*

17 David N. Figlio, Morton O. Schapiro, and Kevin B. Soter, "Are Tenure Track Professors Better Teachers?" *The Review of Economics and Statistics,* October 2015, Vol. 97 (4), pp. 715–724.

18 There is some debate over how to interpret this increase, given the fact that UCASS focuses on rank rather than employment status. For instance, education consultant Alex Usher argues that the increase in non-ranked faculty is almost exclusively the result of adding universities that do not use academic ranks to the survey. The data we received from these universities suggest that their addition made up most of the difference in 2009-10, the year this category experienced a big increase, but it does not fully account for the difference between 2008-09 and 2016-17. Statistics Canada, "Number of Full-Time Teaching Staff at Canadian universities, by Rank, Sex, Canada and Provinces," Table 37-10-0076-01 (formerly CANSIM 477-0017), accessed July 21, 2018; Alex Usher, Twitter post, September 4, 2018, 11:10 am, https://twitter.com/AlexUsherHESA/status/1037040108271267840.

19 Statistics Canada has made some attempts to gather data on part-time faculty in the past. In the 1990s they conducted some surveys of part-time faculty but because they were not mandatory, the surveys had low participation rates and the results were not statistically reliable (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, Trends in Higher Education Volume 2: Faculty, 2007, p. 24).

20 Canadian Association of University Teachers Almanac 2015-16, "Table 2.12 Labour Force Estimates of University Professors, College and Other Vocational Instructors, and All Occupations."

21 Similarly, a review of Labour Force Survey data for the province of Ontario conducted by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives showed a decline in the proportion of full-time university instructors from 19.6 per cent in 1999 to 15 per cent in 2016 (Erika Shaker and Robin Shaban, *No Temporary Solution: Ontario's Shifting College and University Workforce,* Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, February 2018.)

22 Council of Ontario Universities, *Faculty at Work: The Composition and Activities of Ontario Universities' Academic Workforce,* January 22, 2018, http://cou.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Public-Report-on-Faculty-at-Work-Dec-2017-FN.pdf.

23 Brownlee, then a PhD student at Carleton University in Ottawa, submitted Freedom of Information requests to 18 Ontario universities, covering the period from 2000 to 2010. Brownlee requested data only for faculties and departments within the Social Sciences and Humanities. He received data from all 18 universities, although the responses from two institutions (Lakehead University and McMaster University) were not usable. Brownlee's research was only possible because FIPPA legislation had recently been extended to cover universities. The Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations had attempted a similar project in 2004 before FIPPA had been extended to universities. While the universities each had a voluntary disclosure policy, only seven responded to the request, with just three providing the requested information.

24 Jamie Brownlee, "Contract Faculty in Canada: Using Access to Information Requests to Uncover Hidden Academics in Canadian Universities," *Higher Education*, Vol. 70, No. 5, 2015, pp. 787–805.

25 Mount Royal University provided us with both appointments and the total number of contract faculty, which gave us a sense of what the difference might look like. In 2016-17, the number of contract appointments exceeded the number of contract faculty by 51 — with 410 contract faculty members and 461 contract appointments. At other schools, of course, the balance may be different, with contract appointments more or less aligned with the number of individuals.

26 This should not be taken to mean that contract appointments are primarily an issue in the health sciences and professional fields. Even when removing these disciplines from the dataset, the rate of contract appointments remains above 50 per cent. With 15,900 appointments in professional programs and 13,596 appointments in health sciences, these disciplines simply have the highest overall number of faculty appointments. In contrast, there were 7,989 science appointments in 2016-17 and 7,659 appointments in the social sciences.

27 While we can't say what accounts for the higher rate of contract appointments in Quebec, it's interesting to note that universities in the Université du Québec system have a much higher reliance on contract appointments (68%) than the universities outside the UQ system (58%).

28 Statistics Canada, Table 37-10-0011-01 Postsecondary enrolments, by program type, credential type, Classification of Instructional Programs, Primary Grouping (CIP_PG), registration status and sex, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=3710001101, accessed August 1, 2018.

29 A 2018 poll by the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations in Ontario revealed that three-quarters of respondents were concerned about the impact of precarity on the quality of education and two-thirds would prefer that university courses be taught by full-time faculty with secure employment and benefits. Nearly all respondents believe that universities should be model employers in their communities. OCUFA, *The 2018 OCUFA Poll: Public Perceptions of Precarious Academic Work — Key Results Presentation,* March 19, 2018, https://ocufa.on.ca/assets/2018-OCUFA-POLL-OVERALLFINAL-1-1.pdf.

30 Council of Ontario Universities, *Faculty at Work*.

31 For instance, at York University where CUPE 3903 went on strike for 21 weeks earlier this year, the administration's position was that they could not offer more than two contract faculty members a shot at tenure because they have to "recruit [faculty] from among the world's most talented academics." In 2016-17, York University had 2,287 contract faculty appointments. Its bargaining position was thus that out of nearly 2,300 appointments, they could not find more than two people qualified enough to deserve a chance to apply for tenure. Simona Chiose, "York University, Union at Odds over Temporary Instructor," *The Globe and Mail*, March 5, 2018, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/york-university-contract-faculty-go-on-strike-as-negotiating-breaks-down/article38205801/.

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